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"Puzzled which to choose": Conservative reform tendencies in the works of Captain Frederick Marryat

Parascandola, Louis John, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1989

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A

"PUZZLED WHICH TO CHOOSE": CONSERVATIVE REFORM TENDENCIES IN THE WORKS OF CAPTAIN FREDERICK MARRYAT

by

LOUIS JOHN PARASCANDOLA

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
English in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City
University of New York.

1989

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in English in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

June 29, 1989
Date

Michael Timko
Chair of Examining Committee

June 29, 1989
Date

Martin Stevens
Executive Officer

Wendell St. John
Supervisory Committee

City University of New York

Abstract

"PUZZLED WHICH TO CHOOSE": CONSERVATIVE REFORM TENDENCIES IN THE WORKS OF CAPTAIN FREDERICK MARRYAT

by

Louis John Parascandola

Adviser: Professor Michael Timko

Captain Frederick Marryat (1792-1848) has almost become lost for modern readers. He is seldom read or studied, and in the brief space accorded him in many literary histories, he is often dismissed as being merely a children's writer or a naval novelist. However, he was a man driven by many often ambivalent impulses. He felt great pride in the navy, yet he advocated reforms even if they inhibited his own career. He believed in the need for a hierarchical social system, but many of his heroes, and he himself, strove for advancement. He feared the democratic spirit, especially as practiced in America, yet he admired the energies of the American people. He was filled with racial prejudices, but he had a knowledge (and often an understanding) of minorities which few authors of his time could match.

This study deals with Marryat's ambivalent conservative reform tendencies on such seemingly diverse topics as naval matters, the English social hierarchy, America, and racial minorities. On these subjects Marryat mirrors the uneasiness and vacillations of many people in the 1830s and 1840s. Marryat had a first-hand knowledge of the globe, and his novels, whether set in England or in some exotic locale, can provide us with insights into pre-Victorian society and England's role in world affairs.

PREFACE

There is, unfortunately, no standard edition of Marryat's novels. The two best editions of the complete novels are _The Novels of Captain Marryat_, edited by R. Brimley Johnson, and _The Works of Captain Marryat_, edited by W.L. Courtney. The Johnson edition is generally the more reliable text, largely based, with minor corrections, on Marryat's first editions. A reprint of this edition is, as of this date, still available (published by Arden Library). All Marryat quotations are from Johnson's edition unless otherwise indicated.

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Writing a dissertation can seem to be one of the loneliest experiences imaginable. However, now that my voyage with Marryat is completed, I realize how much company I actually had along the way. I am grateful in particular to the following people for their expertise and/or moral support:

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My friends and colleagues at Long Island University, particularly Professor Kenneth Scott for introducing me to Marryat and for reading the American and Indian sections.

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Nadine American--like Marryat I admire Americans for their "energy and enterprise," among other things.

Camille Beazer--best friend and "third sister," whose influence was felt.

My brother John Parascandola (who led the academic way), my sisters Maryann Barbieri and Judy Reda, and their families, who were always there.

My parents, Louis and Ann Parascandola, to whom this is dedicated. Here is a partial payment on a debt which can never be fully repaid.

As Marryat says, "It's just six of one and half-a-dozen of the other" (The Pirate), or something like that.

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INTRODUCTION: OVERVIEW OF PREVIOUS MARRYAT CRITICISM

Captain Marryat (1792-1848), although generally neglected in recent years, was an important literary figure in his time. He was the greatest English novelist of the sea between the time of Smollett and Conrad, and he was the first nineteenth century writer to publish his novels serially in his own magazine, the Metropolitan, an important precedent for later novelists like Dickens and Thackeray. He was a popular writer, but he was not, however, just a novelist for the masses. His work was enjoyed by, among others, Coleridge, Irving, Bulwer-Lytton, Thackeray, Melville, Ruskin, and Stevenson. He was a friend of Dickens, being "among the first in Dickens' liking" (Forster 2: 83). Many twentieth century writers also praised his work highly. Joseph Conrad considered Marryat to be one of his chief influences and thought that "His greatness is undeniable" (54). The title work in Virginia Woolf's The Captain's Deathbed and Other Essays (originally published in the Times Literary Supplement, September 26, 1935) is a laudatory piece on Marryat. In a letter from December 20, 1925, to Archibald MacLeish, Hemingway claimed that Marryat, Turgenev and Fielding were his favorite authors (Spilka 116). Ford Madox

Ford called him "the greatest of English novelists" (106).

Such praise as Ford's is obviously exaggerated, but, as Walter Allen says, "Marryat is a most attractive minor novelist" (164). Several of his works, including the novels _Peter Simple_ (1834),[1] _Jacob Faithful_ (1834), _Mr. Midshipman Easy_ (1836), _Japhet, in Search of a Father_ (1836), and _Poor Jack_ (1840) still deserve to be read. Yet Marryat has received short shrift from the critics. He often has been praised for his realistic depictions and for his comic characters by such critics as George Saintsbury, Michael Sadleir, and Ernest Baker; in addition, his influence on later writers has been pointed out.[2] However, that is where study of him generally has stopped, and he frequently has been relegated to being thought of as merely a sea novelist or a boys' writer. Even those who have examined his work tend to oversimplify his ideas or dismiss them altogether.[3]

Full-length studies have been few. All that have been published are more biographical than critical. The earliest is his daughter Florence's two volume _Life and Letters of Captain Marryat_ (1872), written almost twenty-five years after her father's death. As Virginia Woolf points out, they are "two little volumes with very large print and very small pages" (38), often raising more questions than they answer. First of all, Marryat had requested that his personal papers be destroyed upon his death; thus, much primary material was no longer extant. Florence had to rely on material she pieced together and from her own childhood memories. The result often seems as if it is the notes for a biography, rather than a completed work. Letters, for instance, are inserted with no introduction or explanation. To compound these problems, Florence has the typical reticence of many Victorian biographers, particularly towards a family member. She believes that "a biographer has no business to meddle with any facts below the surface" (2: 296). Sometimes even the surface is not touched if it casts aspersions on the Captain's morality (for example, his alleged involvement with a married American woman). The novels themselves are never examined at all. Still, with all its weaknesses, the _Life and Letters_ is the basis for almost all biographical material on Marryat and much useful information can be gleaned from picking through the book.

David Hannay's _Life of Frederick Marryat_ (1889) is a good distillation of Florence's book. Though it adds no significant new biographical material, it does offer a more objective evaluation of Marryat's life and at least provides some pithy comments on his works.

Christopher Lloyd's Captain Marryat and the Old Navy (1939) concentrates, as the title implies, on Marryat's naval career. Lloyd, a naval expert who was for many years a faculty member of the Royal Naval College at Dartmouth, England, offers a valuable perspective on Marryat's naval career. Though he confines his discussion of Marryat's fiction to a brief overview in the final chapter, he provides much useful background on the British navy of the Napoleonic wars, a knowledge of which is essential for any serious study of Marryat.

Captain Marryat: A Rediscovery (1953) also is written by a person knowledgeable of the sea, Oliver Warner, who provides some new biographical material. Warner's book is most useful for its discussion of Marryat's American visit, for its revelations about some of the more unsavory sides of Marryat's life (such as his feud with fellow novelist W. Johnson Neale), and for its succinct critical commentary on the novels.

Maurice-Paul Gautier's Captain Marryat: L'Homme et l' Oeuvre (1973) is in large part biographical, but it devotes much more attention to Marryat's works than prior biographies. The book is by far the most thoroughly researched work on Marryat (with over 3,000 notes), discussing many previously ignored events in Marryat's life, such as his involvement in the Tregony election in 1820. It also treats the novels of Marryat from the 1840s, usually slighted by other critics; furthermore, it demonstrates that Marryat revised his work much more extensively than most previous critics thought. Nevertheless, this book, despite its abundance of previously unpublished Marryat material, is limited by Gautier's enormous scope. He breaks down Marryat's novels into so many diffuse categories that he never analyzes any one work in detail. Still, he is the first critic to look closely at the ideas in Marryat's novels.

Warner claimed that Marryat "has been saved from theses" (149). This, for better or worse, is no longer true. There have been three dissertations written entirely on Marryat. Jules Zanger edited Marryat's _A Diary in America_ (minus the _Remarks on Its Institutions_) with a foreword in 1954 (the dissertation was published in 1960). John McKellar's "A Study of Captain Frederick Marryat and His Contributions to the English Nautical Novel" (1968) gives a general overview of Marryat's life and works. Its most original contributions are his comparison of Marryat and Melville as nautical authors and on Marryat as a naval reformer. Walter Buster's "The Life and Novels of Captain Marryat" (1979) is a good critical discussion of Marryat's work. Buster discusses Marryat's literary theory, based on the model of Gil Blas, heretofore ignored by critics who seemed to believe that he had no creative plan. And though Warner and Gautier made the point to a limited extent previously, Buster is the first to emphasize the ambivalence in Marryat's life and works. There are also two theses on Marryat. Donald Hawes's "The Completed Novels of Captain Marryat 1792-1848: A Survey" (1960) makes some perceptive comments on the novels and especially on Marryat's relationship with Dickens. K.R. Coulson-Gilmer's "The Novels of Frederick Marryat: A Critical Overview" (1978) is a general survey of the novels, but it is hampered by the author's obvious lack of appreciation for Marryat's work.

In addition to these full-length studies there are several works which are devoted in large part to Marryat. Two such books are The Victorian Novel before Victoria: British Fiction during the Reign of William IV 1830-37 (1984) by Elliot Engel and

Margaret F. King and Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914 (1988) by Patrick Brantlinger. The former book provides useful information on the period from 1830-37, when Marryat's most important work was written, although the authors tend to underestimate Marryat's abilities. The latter is the first work to concentrate extensively on Marryat's minority characters. Brantlinger makes some penetrating comments though perhaps he pictures Marryat as being more conservative than he actually was. One only wishes that he had mentioned three of Marryat's later novels, Percival Keene (1842), Narrative of the Travels and Adventures of Monsieur Violet in California, Sonora, and Western Texas (1843), and The Privateersman: One Hundred Years Ago (1846), in which blacks and American Indians are discussed in some detail. Michael Philp's dissertation, "Cultural Myth in Victorian Boys' Books by Marryat, Hughes, Stevenson, and Kipling" (1975) makes the point that Marryat's Peter Simple, Mr. Midshipman Easy and The Settlers in Canada (1844) are not the conservative manifestoes they are often considered but are in actuality subversive texts if one reads between the lines. Perhaps Philp's argument is most convincing when he writes of Mr. Midshipman Easy. Susan Naramore Maher, in her dissertation "Order in Paradise: An Examination of Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Robinsonades" (1985), discusses the Robinsonade tradition in which Marryat's Masterman Ready; or, the Wreck of the Pacific (1841)[4] was written and details his influence on later children's writers.

Thus, there has been a small body of work written on Marryat, yet one still tends to feel what Warner felt in 1953: "Much of the course is uncharted" and "Any present-day writer who attempts to describe Marryat's books will not journey along familiar channels" (149). It is both exhilarating and frightening to follow a path so little taken. The critic on a minor author is faced with the dilemma of showing the writer's significance yet putting the works in a proper perspective. However, it is a position which is appropriate for an admirer of an individualist such as Marryat. For as one of his characters says, it is best "that every man paddle his own canoe" (The Settlers in Canada 61).

I have chosen to dip my paddle into the somewhat troubled waters of Marryat's social and political views. The waters are turbulent because Marryat seems to be frequently changing currents. For example, he stood for election as a Tory in 1820, as a Whig in 1833 (though the same year criticizing Whig policies), soon went back to considering himself a Tory, and wrote for the Whig Examiner in his last few years. It is no wonder that Marryat felt no one knew his politics but himself (Gautier 91). Marryat was not a writer of thesis novels like Kingsley; he was not such a social reformer as Dickens; he was not a brilliant social historian like Tocqueville. Nevertheless, in his shifting views on such issues as the First Reform Bill in 1832 and the emancipation of slaves, Marryat mirrors the uneasiness and vacillations of many in the 1830s and 40s, which was an age of conservative reform. My dissertation will deal with Marryat's conservative reform tendencies on such seemingly diverse topics as naval matters, the English social hierarchy, America, and racial minorities. An examination of them corporately may help us to better place Marryat in the context of his age.

Notes

[1] Although the date of publication is listed as 1834 on the title page, Michael Sadleir notes that the work was actually published in December 1833 (Excursions 84).

[2] For some of the many examples, see the articles by Doubleday, Hawes, Ganzel, and Spilka listed in my bibliography.

[3] Marryat's own assessment of his intellectual capabilities in his novel Newton Forster; or, the Merchant Service (1832) seems accurate to me:

> I have not been entrusted with one of those thorough-bred, snorting, champing, foaming sort of intellects, which run away with Common Sense, who is jerked from his saddle at the beginning of its wild career. Mine is a good, steady, useful hack, who trots along the high-road of life, keeping on his own side, and only stumbling a little now and then, when I happen to be careless,—ambitious only to arrive safely at the end of his journey, not to pass by others. (299)

Sadleir notes that Newton Forster, though dated 1832, actually was published in December 1831 (Excursions 84).

[4] Volume 1 was published in 1841; volumes 2 and 3 were published in 1842 (Sadleir Excursions 92).

CHAPTER ONE: MARRYAT AND THE AGE IN WHICH HE LIVED

All ages are, in a sense, ages of transition. However, perhaps no people ever felt they were in a transitional period more than those in the nineteenth century. And never did the transition seem to be so radical, threatening to change the established order of Christian orthodoxy, rule by the nobility, and the fixed hierarchical social structure (Houghton 1-8). These changes could no longer be ignored by the time William IV became King in 1830. "A boy born in 1810...[says G.M. Young] entered manhood with the ground rocking under his feet as it had rocked in 1789....At home, forty years of Tory domination were ending in panic and dismay; Ireland, unappeased by Catholic Emancipation, was smouldering with rebellion; from Kent to Dorset the skies were alight with burning ricks" (11). One indication of the political instability of the years shortly preceding Victoria's reign is the frequent change in government; between April 1827 and April 1835 there were six different Prime Ministers, one of them, Viscount Melbourne, twice. On the Continent, there were many disturbances, chiefly the July Revolution in Paris deposing Charles X in 1830, which triggered riots in British cities like Bristol. For these reasons, the years from about 1830 to 1848 have sometimes been labeled the Time of Troubles.

However, it has also been called the Age of Reform because of a plethora of major political reforms, including the Factory Act, the Emancipation Act, the New Poor Laws, the Municipal Corporations Act, the Municipal Reform Act, the repeal of the Corn Laws, and, most significant, the Reform Bill of 1832. Perhaps the two terms, a Time of Troubles and an Age of Reform, considered together, sum up the period. There were political liberals such as John Stuart Mill and Evangelicals like William Wilberforce who were genuinely interested in reforms, and the age saw the development of the Chartist Movement and the growth of socialism. Nevertheless, the majority of people felt that they were caught in a position of trying desperately to cling to past values while accepting, often reluctantly, inevitable change. The result tended to be a policy of conservative reform, one which attempted to prevent trouble but with as minimal a change as possible. As Macaulay said tersely: "Reform, that you may preserve" (qtd. in Brantlinger _Reform_ 16). Perhaps the Reform Bill of 1832, prompted largely because of the fear of insurrection in England, may serve here as an example of the ambivalence towards reform characteristic of the age and of Marryat.

The Whigs, led by Lord Grey, insisted on a Reform Bill before forming a government in 1830; however, "Grey was a natural conservative, a grand seigneur, and he approached reform from this standpoint" (Briggs 236). He and his Cabinet were hardly revolutionaries. Their outlook, as with Marryat, was firmly rooted in the past: "they came from the eighteenth century, where privilege was taken for granted, and they brought the eighteenth century with them" (Young 53). The Bill barely passed, in its third attempt, only after panic over a possible revolution (Houghton 54-58).

The Bill marked the type of cautious reform which characterized the period, and, though it seemed radical to many at the time, it was actually rather moderate. Some boroughs were disfranchised; some new ones were created; the total electorate rose considerably. However, the secret ballot was defeated; pocket boroughs still existed; the rising industrial towns of the north actually lost seats; and though more people could vote, the total was still only a small fraction of the total population (Wood 86). In the words of G.M. Young, "Never was a rebellion effected with more economy in change" (48). Yet the Bill, which greatly benefitted the upper middle class, was for most pre-Victorians quite significant. The fire which destroyed the Houses of Parliament in 1834 was symbolic, for many, of the destruction of the era of aristocracy (Wood 95).

Marryat's reactions to the Reform Bill were typical of many pre-Victorians. In 1820, he had stood for election in Tregony, Cornwall, as a Tory (Gautier 46-47, 88-90). However, in 1833 he stood for election in the Reform interest in the newly franchised Tower Hamlets section of London; ironically Tregony was one of the disfranchised boroughs. He described himself at the time as "a liberal and a reformer, but not a radical" (qtd. in Warner 101). His platform rested on reform of the rotten boroughs and, especially, reform in the system of naval impressment. In an essay of the Metropolitan from February 1833, Marryat writes, "on the whole, we may safely assert that the Reform Bill has worked well" (207). Walter Buster believes that Marryat was not merely being opportunistic in switching his political allegiance so soon after the First Reform Bill; instead, the change is an example of Marryat's ambivalent character and his "independent spirit" (25). Marryat, indeed, claims, "I am a reformer, to preserve the constitution, and not to destroy it; I look to measures and not to men.

If the measure is advantageous to the country, I am indifferent whether it be brought forward or advanced by Whig, Tory, or Radical" (qtd. in Gautier 177). After his defeat in the Tower Hamlets election, in a letter to his frequent confidante Lady Blessington from June 17, 1835, he declares, "Surely we are extremely altered by this reform....I am becoming more Conservative every day; I cannot help it: I feel it a duty as a lover of my country. I only hope that others feel the same, and that Peel [the Tory leader] will soon be again where he ought to be" (qtd. in Madden 3: 218-19). The increasing conservatism Marryat felt after the passage of the Reform Bill was shared by many in the 1830s and 40s.

It was a time of great social as well as political change. One significant change was the creation of many more readers from the lower and especially middle classes. Interest in education burgeoned in the early Victorian Age. One of the consequences of the Factory Act of 1833, indeed, was to provide two hours of education per day, albeit often of extremely poor quality, to children.

Accessibility to reading material also increased in the 1830s. Books began to be reproduced more cheaply, if still often out of the reach of the poor and lower middle class (Altick 260-93). However, if people could not afford to buy books, there were means by which poorer people could get reading material, including churches, factory schools, and circulating libraries which bought cheap editions and catered to middle and even lower class readers. Marryat's works were among the most popular titles in the cheap libraries (Williams Novel 10). The coffee-houses, which attracted a large number of working class people, proliferated between 1830-50 and most provided patrons with periodicals and books (James 8-9). The increasing number of inexpensive periodicals, especially after 1832, was probably the main source of reading material for many readers. In 1840, for example, there were twenty-two periodicals in London, none more than twopence, containing solely romances or stories (James 31).

This new readership was to make up a large percentage of Marryat's audience, as with Dickens shortly afterwards. The naval novelists, such as Captains Walter Glascock, Basil Hall, Frederick Chamier and especially Marryat, appealed to these readers and were widely imitated by hack writers. As Louis James points out, "This school of fiction could not but have some impact on the lower-class writers" (178). Marryat certainly knew this new reading population was an important part of his audience. Financially, he saw he could make much money from appealing to this untapped group. Marryat had a great sense of making money if not, unfortunately, possessing the acumen for keeping it.

Nevertheless, money, though always a motivating factor for Marryat, is not the sole reason he is concerned with the expanding reading public. Marryat displays another characteristic typical of the age, the desire to teach. As Young remarks, "The world desired to be instructed" (31). Instructing youths from the lower and middle classes is important to Marryat. In an early essay, for example, "On Novels and Novel Writing," Marryat expresses his belief that the novelist has an obligation to inform his reader. Fiction, for Marryat, takes on the significance Arnold would later reserve for poetry: "As the world, or a great part of it, now choose to be instructed rather by novels than either by sermons or moral essays, books of fiction have become of a paramount importance" (Metropolitan October 1834 113-14). He goes on to say, "If a man cannot calculate moral effects, or cannot appreciate moral causes, let him not attempt a novel" (114). In fact, in Mr. Midshipman Easy, in one of the many authorial intrusions characteristic of Marryat's work,[1] the reader is told that

> We do not write these novels merely to amuse,--we have always had it in our view to instruct, and it must not be supposed that we have no other end in view than to make the reader laugh. If we were to write an elaborate work, telling truths, and plain truths, confining ourselves only to point out errors, and to demand reform, it would not be read; we have therefore selected this light and trifling species of writing, as it is by many denominated, as a channel through which we may convey wholesome advice in a palatable shape. (211)

While digressions in Marryat's early work often concern the process of writing, later digressions become increasingly didactic. This didactic strain is especially evident in his works for children. He says in the preface to Masterman Ready, "It is true that it is a child's book; but I consider, for that very reason, it is necessary that the author should be particular in what may appear to be trifles, but which really are not, when it is remembered how strong the impressions are upon the juvenile mind" (xii). Marryat feels that writers such as Disraeli and especially Dickens are to be commended for their concern with the poor (Florence Marryat 2: 199). Perhaps the most spirited statement of purpose the Captain demonstrates is in the defense of his publication of Joseph Rushbrook; or, the Poacher (1841) in the weekly Tory periodical, the Era.

Marryat stresses that he "would rather write for the instruction, or even the amusement, of the poor than for the amusement of the rich" (qtd. in Florence Marryat 2: 105). He further declares, "If I put good and wholesome food (and, as I trust, sound moral) before the lower classes, they will eventually eschew that which is coarse and disgusting, which is only resorted to because no better is supplied" (qtd. in Florence Marryat 2: 107).

There are several reasons why Marryat appealed to such a wide audience. However, in those troubled times Marryat's popularity was largely due to his ability to combine the two major strains of the 1830s, the historical novel and the novel of social realism. The former, inherited from Walter Scott, tended to emphasize heroism and the aristocracy; the latter treated contemporary middle class life and dealt with reform (Engel 6). There was a certain element in Marryat's novels which evoked the days of the Napoleonic wars. Marryat anticipated a trend, developed further in the 1840s, of setting his novels in the recent past (Tillotson 92). The period of the Napoleonic wars, one of the greatest in British naval history, was recent enough so that many readers had lived through it, yet it was far enough removed to detach it from the present age. His novels often feature noble deeds, dashing heroes, esprit de corps and exciting action. They extol force but force used to preserve order, not subvert it. The frequent hand-to-hand combats, a form of fighting learned by Marryat while on board the Imperieuse with Lord Cochrane, recall medieval tournaments (Engel 26-27). There are gentlemen officers, and promotions from before the mast (the lower classes) are seldom seen and when they occur are generally disastrous. It is natural that a nation yearning to hold onto its past would find comfort in its military glory, "For in the navy of the Trafalgar era, Marryat depicted the kind of moral and social order which his reform-oriented culture nostalgically mourned" (Engel 34).

However, Marryat's work is not merely escapist. Even while extoling the virtues of the navy, he is pointing out the flaws and demanding reform. Edward Wagenknecht notes that Marryat spoke out against impressment, "he opposed flogging, and he entertained liberal views on labor conditions and on slavery" (204). And Michael Sadleir points out that "In matters of naval tactics and policy he [Marryat] became liberal and aggressively outspoken" ("Captain Marryat" 776). Issues such as smuggling, naval discipline, methods of promotion, and the treatment of younger officers and common seamen by senior officers are especially important to Marryat.

Too often Marryat has been dismissed as simply having naval concerns and as being a failure when he treats other subjects. Such a view is exemplified by Joseph Conrad's remark that Marryat's "novels, like amphibious creatures, live on the sea and frequent the shore, where they flounder deplorably" (54). While it is true that Marryat is in his element when writing about naval affairs, it is also true that some of his best work does not concern the navy; social hierarchy, democracy (particularly in America), and the role of minorities in society are all serious concerns of his.

Marryat, not surprisingly in light of his years of service in the rigidly structured navy, was a great defender of the existing social hierarchy. He was a strong supporter of the landed aristocracy, but he often showed great sympathy for the rising middle class. He himself was from an upper middle class mercantile family. He took many of his heroes from the middle class. He believed the gaining of wealth alone, though important, was not enough to raise one's social status. Wealth alone might lead to affectation, a problem with the Americans in general and of such characters as Mrs. Turnbull in Jacob

Faithful. Besides wealth, one also needed to become a gentleman, a middle class quest throughout Marryat's novels and exemplified by characters like Chucks in Peter Simple. In this quest, the hero is often aided by a member of the aristocracy or the upper middle class. Mr. Drummond, in Jacob Faithful, offers assistance to the orphaned Jacob, and Jacob eventually marries Sarah, Drummond's daughter. It is the ultimate middle class fairy-tale; in fact, Jacob is even ironically called "Cinderella" (30) because of his mother's death by spontaneous combustion, but with Drummond acting as a "fairy godfather," the name takes on more significance. The aristocracy seems to be able to spot these elect members of the middle class even when the hero is in the most trying conditions: for example, General O'Brien in Peter Simple still wants Peter to marry his daughter though it seems Peter is penniless and, in fact, locked in an asylum.

This does not mean that Marryat did not present evil members of the aristocracy; his novels are rife with them. His view of the relationship among the aristocracy, the middle class and the lower class is similar to that of the one between senior officers, junior officers and common seamen. Marryat allows for change in the social hierarchy but without destroying the rule of the aristocracy, thereby again demonstrating a conservative reform which is perfectly acceptable to "a middle class eager to preserve the social distinctions it was struggling to attain" (Houghton 103). As one radical writer said in 1832: "The promoters of the Reform Bill projected it, not with a view to subvert, or even remodel our aristocratic institutions, but to consolidate them by a reinforcement of sub-aristocracy from the middle classes" (qtd. in Briggs 258). This seems to reflect Marryat's intentions and those of many in the 1830s and 40s.

On occasion Marryat does write directly about the lower classes. In Joseph Rushbrook he sympathizes with poachers and opposes the Game Laws. He also pities the London children forced into a life of crime. Here, as in other of his works, prostitutes are treated sympathetically. Joseph Rushbrook, though lacking the strength of Oliver Twist, has scenes which also cast the Poor Laws in a disparaging light.

Marryat's social and political views are also displayed in his opinions about America. Marryat, like most early Victorians, had a dread of democracy, fearing it would lead to anarchy and civil war. These fears are reflected in Mr. Midshipman Easy, which ridicules the idea of equality. This novel, written shortly before Marryat's arrival in the New World in 1837, prepares us for Marryat's negative opinions of America. America is Marryat's dystopia come to life, demonstrating the dangerous effects of not following the conservative social movement advocated in Marryat's novels. His _A Diary in America, with Remarks on Its Institutions_ (1839) was written with such acerbity that he was hanged in effigy in at least two American cities. The work was one of the most hated of all the books by British travelers to America. After his return, Marryat took a final thrust at democracy in the novel _Monsieur Violet_, an account of the democratic nightmare as demonstrated by America and Texas.

Finally, in discussing Marryat's views on political issues and social hierarchy, one can also gain insight by examining his opinions on minorities. Probably because of his extensive contact with minorities, Marryat wrote more about them than any other significant author to his time. Marryat again reflects the ambivalent views of the age. He tends to look at blacks and American Indians in the romantic tradition of the noble savage and he sympathizes with them as victims of democracy, yet he also anticipates the racist, imperialistic view of many Victorians. Thus, minorities are sometimes seen as savages and are always at the bottom of the social hierarchy. And Marryat has harsh words about the passage of the Emancipation Act of 1833, though he frequently denounces slavery, especially in America. Marryat's mixed feelings, particularly regarding mulattoes, who have no real place in Marryat's social strata, are intriguing as are his depictions of black and Indian women.

Notes

[1] Wayne C. Booth makes a threefold distinction between the writer, the "implied author," and the narrator. The implied author is a "second self" created by the writer and may be radically different from the narrator (149-65). One must, of course, always be aware of these distinctions in Marryat. However, the distinction between the implied author in Marryat's works and the narrator is often slight, making him a "reliable narrator"--one who "speaks for or acts in accordance with the norms of the work (which is to say, the implied author's norms)" (Booth 158). At times, the narrator will act as a spokesperson for what are clearly Marryat's personal opinions. The passage just quoted from Mr. Midshipman Easy is one example. There also seems to be only a slight difference between the implied author and the narrator in the frequent intrusions, especially in the early novels, on the process of novel writing. Newton Forster, for example, opens with an attack on critics of Marryat's first two books. In The King's Own, we are told what it is like to write a novel at sea, and the narrator candidly admits he is "not exactly pleased with" the novel (2: 80). In these intrusions Marryat tries to establish a close bond with his reader, somewhat like in Fielding's Tom Jones (Booth 215-21).

CHAPTER TWO: NAVAL MATTERS

Sailors have traditionally been known for their conservatism. In the opening pages of Charles Nordhoff and James Norman Hall's Mutiny on the Bounty, for example, the reader is told that "no men are more conservative than those who design and build ships save those who sail them" (3). V.S. Pritchett, in speaking of Marryat's fiction, comments, "The literature of the sea is the supremely moral literature. More than any other it inculcates the idea of authority and order. Beside the sailor the landsman is an anarchist" (282). Marryat certainly is a firm believer in the need for order and rank, yet he is not simply a chronicler of the glories of the navy.[1] He is well aware of the serious problems in the navy and nowhere does he strive harder for reform; however, as in the nautical melodrama so popular in the 1830s, the reform tendency is often muted in his work. Jim Davis's comment on such melodrama tends to summarize Marryat's fiction:

> Despite the high regard in which the navy was held at this time, many nautical melodramas are quite prepared to reveal abuses in the service and to explore the social injustices caused by rank and hierarchy. Yet, often in conjunction with such exploration, heroism and patriotism are celebrated as inevitable features of naval service. Consequently, even plays with a radical intention often endorse the

> status quo, and naval life is idealized and simplified to such an extent that the serious treatment of abuses is undermined. (122)

Marryat's years in the navy, 1806-30, were times of great excitement and change. He entered when he was 14, shortly after the Battle of Trafalgar, but was involved in the War of 1812 and the later years of the Napoleonic wars. The navy that Marryat joined was very conservative but was entering an age when reforms began to take place.

Perhaps the area of the navy where the greatest conservatism existed was its hierarchy. All men who entered the service were rated. The navy was highly ordered and there were sharp differences drawn up between seamen and officers. Commissioned officers were generally of gentle, if not noble, birth and served on the quarter deck. Seamen were usually not volunteers (being either impressed or quota-men)[2], working class, and lived on the lower deck (Lewis 25). Though it was not impossible for seamen to become officers, such promotions were uncommon and even when they occurred the men seldom rose above the rank of lieutenant.[3] Among officers, too, there were sharp distinctions of rank. Even the ships themselves were rated by the number of guns.

Conditions aboard the ship were generally abysmal, particularly for the seamen, with the environment often being unhealthy. Officers above the rank of midshipmen lived on the quarter deck above water level; the captain's quarters generally contained a drawing room, a dining room, two bedrooms and closets (Lewis 229-30). There was little intermingling of men of different ranks. The captain, in fact, had little direct contact with anyone on the ship.

Conditions of junior officers such as midshipmen differed greatly from those of their seniors. The typical midshipman's berth is described in the semi-autobiographical _Frank Mildmay; or, the Naval Officer_[4] (1829): "it was ten feet long by six, and about five feet four inches high; a small aperture, about nine inches square, admitted a very scanty portion of that which we most needed, namely, fresh air and daylight" (20-21). Mildmay further remarks of the berth, "The population here very far exceeded the limits usually allotted to human beings in any situation of life, except in a slave ship" (27). The sight and smell of this hellish situation are aptly summed up in Miltonic terms: "A single candle served to make darkness visible, and the stench had nearly overpowered me" (27).[5]

Marryat also captures the misery of the seamen, forced to live on the lower deck, which was even more uncomfortable, foul smelling, gloomy and damp than the midshipmen's quarters, with no fresh air or sunlight. The lower deck was horribly overcrowded with each man allowed only 14 inches width, the only thing making it at all bearable the fact that usually there were two different sleeping shifts (Lewis 271-73). Mildmay laments the situation into which he has been thrown:

> In a ship crowded with three hundred men, each of them, or nearly so, cohabiting with an unfortunate female, in the lowest state of degradation; where oaths and blasphemy interlarded every sentence; where religion was wholly neglected, and the only honour paid to the Almighty was a clean shirt on a Sunday; where implicit obedience to the will of an officer, was considered of more importance than the observance of the Decalogue; and the Commandments of God were in a manner abrogated by the Articles of War--for the first might be broken with impunity, and even with applause, while the most severe punishment awaited any infraction of the latter. (31)

Besides severe overcrowding, the men also had to deal with bad food, poor medical conditions, and rampant disease. Fresh food was seldom available on long journeys. In The King's Own (1830), for example, midshipmen are described "who were amusing themselves with crunching hard biscuits, and at the same time a due proportion of those little animals of the scaribee tribe, denominated weevils, who had located themselves in the unleavened bread, and which the midshipmen declared to be the only fresh meat which they had tasted for some time" (1: 141-42). Medical doctors were often incompetent and drugs were not regularly supplied to ships until 1804. The unhealthy conditions led to many diseases such as cholera, scurvy, and yellow fever. Diseases, in fact, killed more men than the enemy (Lewis 418-20).

Attempts to improve these and other problems were slow in coming. The reforms at sea, as on land, seemed to be spurred both by a fear of further troubles and by Evangelical zeal. Melville writes that "the Great Mutiny [at the Nore in 1797], though by Englishmen naturally deemed monstrous at the time, doubtless gave the first latent prompting to most important reforms in the British navy" (Billy Budd 8). However, these changes occurred, except for pay increases, years later: "in the last decade of the Napoleonic war there was a notable humanizing of life on board, and in the years which succeeded it was possible to make many overdue reforms in a smaller and less active service" (Lloyd Seamen 231). The reform spirit was further encouraged by the Evangelicals, such as Admiral Charles Penrose. Marryat himself said in 1824:

> Whoever has been fifteen years in the Navy, and will compare what took place at the period of his entrance with the present usages in the service, must acknowledge that swearing and abusive language, the oppression of the midshipmen's berth, the custom of starting [hitting a man with a rope] and severe punishments at the gangway, have been discountenanced and checked. A quarterly return of all punishments inflicted is sent up to the Admiralty. Preserved meats, soups etc. for the convalescent are supplied to every ship in the Navy; and great improvements have taken place in the ventilating and lighting of ships throughout. The distribution of prize money had also been newly arranged, and the captains have had their shares considerably reduced, in augmentation of those of the best seamen. (qtd. in Lloyd Seamen 231-32).

Yet we must remember this is a time of hesitant reform, even more so on the sea than on land. For example, when dietary deficiencies were seen, it was often left to the individual captains, pursers, and surgeons to correct them. It took the navy some forty years to dispense lemons to seamen after experiments suggested citrus juice could reduce scurvy (Lloyd Seamen 260-61). And such resistance to reform was not only in the Admiralty. The men themselves often resented it just as strongly. Some men actually had to be flogged because they refused to eat fresh food.

Other reforms were also slow in coming. Marryat was particularly interested in such issues as smuggling, impressment, naval discipline, and the relationship of the officers with the men. In these naval matters, as with land issues, he demonstrates a conservative reform tendency. As Ernest Baker remarks, Marryat's "novels never lost sight of abuses that cried out for reform" (99). Walter Buster makes the point that "Marryat's portrayals of indifference, abuse, and corruption in the Admiralty foreshadow Dickens's vision of humanity struggling at great disadvantage against rapid industrialization and burgeoning public institutions" (52). Like Dickens, Marryat was suspicious of large institutions, which tended to be indifferent to the sufferings of humanity. Marryat's advocacy of reform, in fact, helped bring about several changes in naval policy, but not without hindering his own career.

Smuggling is one area in which Marryat quarrelled with the navy. The smuggling trade reached its peak between 1805 and 1835, and Marryat had first-hand experience with the trade between 1821-22 while he was commander of the Rosario, stationed at Portsmouth. The trade there was extremely lucrative with thousands of people participating without much danger of being caught. Marryat estimated that only about one-tenth of the goods smuggled were actually seized by the inefficient Coast Guard designed to stop the trade (Lloyd *Marryat* 199). Although it was Marryat's task to catch smugglers, he admired the sleek smuggling vessels and their crew: "good seamen, smart, active fellows, and keen witted" (Marryat qtd. in Lloyd *Marryat* 202). The time spent at Portsmouth seems to have been Marryat's most onerous at sea, being both boring and frustrating; however, the experience spurred Marryat to write a memorandum suggesting ways to reduce the smuggling trade. His suggestions, containing much common sense, included increasing incentives for seizing smuggling ships, not just the cargo, drafting the captured crew into the navy, and drawing a cordon around Cherbourg, France, the center of the trade (Florence Marryat 1: 87-100).

That Marryat admired the smugglers is obvious in his novels. There are smuggling scenes in several of his works, including *The King's Own* and *The Three Cutters* (1836).[6] Smugglers are cast in a favorable light, yet in the end they abandon their trade. M'Elvira, the hero of *The King's Own*, for a time manages to reconcile his credo of honesty being the best policy with his career as a smuggler. He points out the hypocrisy of the legislators who contrive laws against smuggling yet whose wives and daughters wear contraband:

> There cannot be one law for the rich and another for the poor[.]...When I hear that the wives of the aristocracy have been seized by the revenue officers, and the contraband articles which they wear have been taken off their backs, and that they have been sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment, by a committal from the magistrate, then--and not till then--will I acknowledge our profession to be _dishonest_. (1: 75)

M'Elvira, though low born, is an honest, brave man. His loyalty to England is displayed when he fights nobly against the French. He eventually gives up the trade because of "many scruples of conscience" (1: 166), and he also convinces his friend Debriseau to give it up.

The smuggling cutter _Happy-go-lucky_ in _The Three Cutters_ is commanded by Mr. Pickersgill, the quintessential Byronic hero, a la "The Corsair." He is well-mannered, honest, and dashing. The ladies are drawn to him since "He was the _beau ideal_ of a handsome sailor" (328). He is in direct contrast to the blundering government men who attempt to capture his ship. Fittingly he captures the party and forces them to dress as smugglers. The change in clothes symbolizes the reversal of roles, with the smugglers becoming the heroes and the government men the villains. Pickersgill dislikes smuggling, and eventually gives it up, but believes it is "no crime" and prefers "the wild life I lead at the head of my men, to being spurned by society because I am poor. The greatest crime in this country is poverty" (314). The government itself is blamed for the trade, by encouraging "the smuggling of our manufacturers to the Continent, at the same time that they take every step to prevent articles being smuggled into this country" (314).

What is particularly interesting in the portrayal of smugglers is the defense made of free trade. One would expect Marryat, a supporter of the Corn Laws passed in 1815 to provide a tariff on grain to protect the interests of the landed classes, to be opposed to free trade. However, the most frequently smuggled item, as in The Three Cutters, is gin, the price of which is kept high because of the tariff on grain, and in The King's Own the point is made that "there would be no smuggling" (1: 76) if free trade existed. Thus, if restrictive tariffs such as those imposed by the Corn Laws did not exist, smuggling would be severely curtailed. His sympathy for smugglers and his simultaneous support of the Corn Laws seems to be another instance of Marryat's ambivalence.

In Newton Forster; or, the Merchant Service (1832), responding to a complaint that he had written a defense of smuggling in The King's Own, Marryat says he was just giving the arguments of a smuggler. But Marryat is told: "You wrote the book, sir[.]...I can assure you that I should not be surprised if the Admiralty took notice of it" (3). The Admiralty did, indeed, notice it, even favorably considering some of Marryat's suggestions. On the other hand, the portrayal of naval ineptitude caused Marryat to make enemies. For example, in 1839 Marryat was blackballed from a navy club after being on its waiting list for seven years (Warner 86). Such mixed reactions were often the case with Marryat's naval reform suggestions.

A far greater naval problem than smuggling was the shortage of men. This had long posed difficulties for the Admiralty; Smollett described an impressment scene in Roderick Random (1748). However, the situation reached its peak during the years of fighting the Revolutionary War with America and with Revolutionary and Napoleonic France. The need for men in wartime could increase drastically in a short period of time. The number of men borne for wages rose from 16,613 in 1792 to 69,868 by the next year (Lloyd Seamen 194). The number of men needed in wartime was staggering; for example, in 1811 over half a million men were needed for the army and navy out of a population of only about 15 million (Lloyd Seamen 117-18). Measures were attempted to lure men, including naval apprenticeships and bounties, but the need for men kept increasing; therefore, the dreaded press was relied upon heavily.

Throughout the eighteenth century methods of reform were suggested to try to eliminate the need for the press, such as better pay, improving living conditions on board ship, and keeping a register for men (Lloyd Seamen 173-80). Nevertheless, impressment continued throughout Marryat's time in the service. In fact, it is estimated that in 1812, about 3/4 of the average crew were pressed men (Lewis 139). It is not surprising that Marryat, on both humanitarian and elitist grounds, would dislike the press. For years he had witnessed the horrors of the press gang, and as an officer he would certainly find it repugnant to have to command such unwilling men. In addition, Marryat's first captain, Lord Cochrane, a man who had a great influence on Marryat, only resorted to the press once in his years of service (Lloyd Marryat 17).

Marryat wrote Suggestions for the Abolition of the Present System of Impressment in the Naval Service (1822), printed seven years before his first novel. Though the need for impressment had been curtailed after the Napoleonic wars, Marryat obviously wished to prevent its future widespread recurrence. In his pamphlet Marryat says that the compulsion to serve disgusts the men more than the service itself (Gautier 173). Marryat is writing about a very touchy subject in impressment. He has to be extremely delicate in his criticism of the service. Yet it is clear that Marryat feels that it is, in fact, conditions in the service which cause much resistance to being impressed. Therefore, he calls for many reforms of the system to induce more men to join voluntarily. He has suggestions for improving medical treatment, pensions, chances for promotion, pay, and abolishing severe punishment (McKellar 229-32). The Admiralty did adapt some of Marryat's suggestions regarding the number of men needed on board ship, but the pamphlet angered King William IV enough to make him later refuse Marryat a promotion (Madden 3: 223-24).

Marryat continued to write about impressment for the rest of his life. Marryat writes in a sea song, "A sailor, although you impress him, / His duty will cheerfully do" (qtd. in Florence Marryat 2: 242-43). However, Marryat could hardly be unaware of the vast number of deserters. In the years immediately preceding his joining the navy, 1803-05, there were some 500 deserters per month (Davis 127), and the situation did not improve greatly until the end of the Napoleonic wars. Thus, it is clear that many men did not simply accept their fate. Marryat himself was aboard a ship where 100 of the 350 members of the crew deserted (Lloyd _Marryat_ 165). And the plight of resisters is generally treated sympathetically in Marryat's novels.

Several of Marryat's heroes, such as the title characters in _Newton Forster_ and _Jacob Faithful_ (1834), are impressed. Newton is clubbed and then told he was brought on board "to sarve your king and your country, like a brave volunteer as you are" (67). The irony of Newton's "volunteering" is underscored by the use of the line "For Britons never shall be _slaves_" from the patriotic song "Rule Britannia" in the quotation heading chapter 10. Newton's impressment is particularly cruel since he is needed at home to assist his mother (who has been confined to an asylum) and his kind-hearted but dim-witted father. The rough treatment the men receive during impressment is obvious: "some were shockingly disfigured, and were still bleeding profusely" (68). The lieutenant on board ship positively refuses to listen to Newton's complaint and tosses him into a small hatch with over forty other men. Even after proving he should be exempted from the press since he was master of his own vessel, he must turn his case over to the Admiralty, which may take months to resolve it. Newton, the most trusting in Providence of Marryat's heroes, accepts his service in his usual Job-like fashion: "he did his duty cheerfully, and was soon distinguished as a most promising young sailor" (75). Yet even Newton is repulsed by his treatment, which leaves a lasting mark on him: "The way in which he had been impressed had caused a dread of the king's service, which he could not overcome; and although he had but to choose his ship as a sailor before the mast, he could not prevail upon himself to accept a berth which was not protected from the impress" (93). Such a dread of losing his liberty obviously is in Newton's mind when he later expresses his dislike of West Indian slavery: "even the shadow of liberty is to be venerated by an Englishman" (112).

The naive Jacob and his friend Tom Beazley, two Thames rivermen, are not abducted as brutally as Newton, but are lured onto a ship by a naval officer. Once aboard they are illegally detained and impressed, and they eventually accept the inevitability of their situation. John McKellar feels this acceptance is given "in an unbelievably docile manner" (237), but it is in perfect keeping with their characters and with the theme of the book. Jacob frequently resorts to his father's practical maxim about accepting what cannot be changed. Therefore, he replies, "it's no use crying. What's done can't be helped" (357). And his impressment gives him time to reflect on his life: "I fell into one of those reveries so often indulged in of late, as to the folly of my conduct in asserting my independence, which had now ended in my losing my liberty" (351). In fact, the stated theme of the novel is the need for Jacob to accept his place and realize a certain dependency on others. That he has learned this lesson is evidenced in the parting words of his captain: "You have conducted yourself well since you have been under my command[.]...[Y]ou have done your duty in the station of life to which your have, for a certain portion of it, been called" (371). The flighty Tom, however, has not learned such acceptance; he acts as a foil to his wiser friend. Eventually he deserts but must be helped by Jacob. Still, the reader sympathizes with Tom, who asserts, "I was pressed against the law and act of parliament, and I deserted....There is no disgrace to me; the disgrace is to the government, which suffers such acts" (412). Even Tom's father, who feels "it's the duty for every man to serve his country" (375-76), replies, "I do think I have reason to be angry elsewhere, when I reflect that after having lost my two legs in defending her, my country is now to take from me my boy in his prime" (415). It is clear that Tom's real flaw is his hastiness in deserting, asserting his own proud independence instead of seeking assistance so he may be released legally. Jacob does eventually gain Tom's pardon by appealing to influential friends.

In several cases the heroes become the enforcers of impressment rather than the victims. Not surprisingly, the cold-hearted young Frank Mildmay actually seems to enjoy the adventure. He especially revels in taking men from the crimps (those who, often at a high price, hide deserters and men who might be impressed). He calls himself "an enthusiast in man-hunting" no more concerned over the victims than when he "rode over a farmer's turnips in England, or broke through his hedges in pursuit of a fox" (192-93). Such feelings of pride and selfishness must be overcome by Mildmay and, upon reflection, he is later convinced of the follies of impressment, with "its cruelty, injustice, and inexpediency, tending to drive seamen from the country more than any measure the government could adopt" (192). The American, Captain Green, points out that impressment "fills our [American] ships. Your seamen will not stand it; and for every two you take by force, rely on it, we get one of them as a volunteer" (306).[7]

In Peter Simple (1834) and Percival Keene (1842) both heroes join press gangs. Peter's gang is beaten back by the women of the men to be pressed. Peter has the tables turned and must yield all his money before he can escape from the women. The scene is parodic of press gangs, but the determination with which the women fight to protect their men is real. When Peter later commands his own ship, he has his lieutenant, Mr. Swinburne, lead a press gang but only after all other means of getting men are attempted. Percival Keene goes undercover to get men by trying to learn where the crimps' houses are. Keene remarks, "I never shall forget the faces of the pressed men when I passed them: they looked as if I had a thousand lives, and they had stomach enough to take them all" (246). However, these men eventually forgive him: "they laughed very much at my successful plan, and were more partial to me than to any other of the officers" (247).

Perhaps the best indication of Marryat's feelings about impressment occurs in Mr. Midshipman Easy (1836). While operating a privateersman, the officers contemplate the possible impressment of their crew. The lieutenant, Mr. Oxbelly, believes "the navy must be manned, and as things are so, so things must be" (396). Easy's friend Gascoigne feels the situation is the government's fault: "if they gave the subject half the consideration they have others of less magnitude, an arrangement might be made by which his Majesty's navy would never be short of men" (396). Jack Easy, who by this time has relinquished all vestiges of his father's theory of equality, agrees to be neutral if the men are pressed. Easy's inability to decide between naval law and the rights of his crew seems to mirror Marryat's own dilemma in choosing between the rights of the government versus those of the individual. However, it is clear that Marryat sympathizes with the men threatened with impressment. Led by the black Mesty, the men to be impressed keep their freedom, largely because the government men "were ready to fight for their country, but not to be killed by or kill those who were their own countrymen, and who were doing exactly what they would have done themselves" (400).

Impressment was a complex issue. It was unpleasant and expensive; in addition, it was of questionable legality and brought in reluctant and undesirable men to the navy. Marryat saw the need for men, but he knew that the navy would not get and keep the men until reforms were made. If such reforms were not made, Marryat felt the navy would decline and the need for harsh discipline would increase to keep the dissatisfied men in line. Slowly some reforms were made regarding impressment, and eventually it was made illegal for anyone to serve against his will over five years (Lloyd Marryat 187).[8]

It was left to the captain to shape the ragged band assembled through impressment into a fit crew. To do so, many captains were forced to use severe, often excessive, discipline. Marryat's novels abound in the disciplining involved with naval life. This includes numerous kinds of punishments such as cobbing, mastheading, keelhauling, and, especially, flogging.[9] It may appear as if Marryat is insensitive to the suffering involved with flogging since officers would seldom suffer such punishment themselves. There is even a story that when queried about flogging, Marryat told the questioner, "If ever you, or one of your sons, should come under my command and deserve punishment, if there be no other effectual mode of conferring it I shall flog you" (qtd. in Florence Marryat 1: 203). However, Marryat, although expressing the need for discipline, "never describes a flogging without making the reader feel what a brutal, humiliating punishment it was" (Lloyd *Marryat* 129).

It is indicative of the dim view Marryat took of flogging that it appears prominently in his three most pessimistic works, *Frank Mildmay*, *The King's Own* and *Snarleyyow; or, the Dog Fiend* (1837). And although none of Marryat's heroes is ever flogged, none in turn ever participates in a flogging. Even with the motley crew put together by the press, a fair captain will do his utmost to avoid inflicting such punishment.

To understand Marryat's position on flogging better, a discussion of his belief on disciplining school children is useful. Schoolmasters in Marryat's works inevitably inflict varying degrees of punishment on their pupils. The two most brutal of Marryat's heroes, Frank Mildmay and Percival Keene, have their lives negatively shaped by early floggings. Mrs. Higginbottom and her husband in *Frank Mildmay* are tyrants who flog the children without cause and instill a lifelong desire for revenge in Mildmay. He says, "I went to school a good-hearted boy, I left it a savage" (11). The sadistic Mr. O'Gallagher in Percival Keene, cruel as Wackford Squeers in Dickens's Nicholas Nickleby, punishes his students regardless of whether they are guilty of any offense. Percival, a jokester, gains his revenge on the tyrant by blowing up the master. It is always justifiable in Marryat's work to rebel against such unjust abuse of power.

On the other hand, not all of Marryat's headmasters are evil. Mr. Bonnycastle in Mr. Midshipman Easy is no slacker in inflicting punishment. He even prefers caning over the birch because it is more painful; however, "Although Mr. Bonnycastle was severe, he was very judicious. Mischief of all kinds was visited but by slender punishment, such as being kept in at play hours, & c.; and he seldom interfered with the boys for fighting, although he checked decided oppression" (22). Thus, while Easy "was having the devil [his parents' upbringing] driven out of him" (25), he is learning the need for just punishment. And he is taught to defend those weaker than himself, a lesson the previously spoiled child retains in later life. Marryat's most fully developed schoolmaster, the abstruse Domine in Jacob Faithful, is also no stranger to the use of the cane, but he too is fair. Jacob says, "He was a father to me, and I loved him as a son should love a father, and, as it will hereafter prove, he was my guide through life" (35).

Therefore, it is not the beatings themselves which seem unfair to Marryat; it is the cruel and capricious manner in which they may be inflicted which disturbs him. Instead of learning the value of discipline, the heroes are made bitter and vengeful because of their treatment. Though there are obvious differences between disciplining school children and sailors, Marryat's philosophy seems to be the same. A just punishment is necessary to preserve order; nevertheless, when a person in authority inflicts punishment unjustly, he has abused his power. Whenever Marryat stresses the need for discipline, he concomitantly expresses a warning of the need for just laws, strong punishment of those who abuse power, and the need for reform when necessary.

The most descriptive flogging in Marryat's novels occurs in Frank Mildmay. On Frank's first appointment he considers himself lucky to have a captain who claims to hate foul language and to take a great interest in his men. But when Mildmay boards his ship and hears the captain's curses and sees a man about to be flogged, he learns the horrible truth. Mildmay sees in the captain's face a "malignant cruelty, and delight in torturing his own species; he seemed to take a diabolical pleasure in the hateful operation which we were compelled to witness" (224). What the crew witnesses is the gigantic Mr. Pipes using a cat-and-nine-tails: "the handle was two feet long, one inch and three quarters thick, and covered with red baize. The tails of this terrific weapon were three feet long, nine in number, and each of them about the size of that line which covers the springs of a travelling carriage" (225). After Pipes uses the cat on his victim, "The poor man lost his respiration from the force of the blow; and the tails of the cat, coming from an opposite direction to the first four dozen, cut the flesh diamond-wise, bringing the blood at every blow" (226).

Some critics, such as John McKellar, feel this scene shows a certain callousness by Marryat, as an officer, to flogging. They believe Mildmay is more upset over the captain's curses than the flogging. This is not entirely fair to Marryat. Mildmay had already encountered naval discipline from a captain who threatened to flog people for such offenses as falling overboard. Another officer he served under sprinkled brine on the wounds of flogging victims to increase their pain. Therefore, between the cruelty he had encountered in school and from previous officers he is not surprised by a flogging. The language is not necessarily more distasteful to him than the flogging; it is just that he is unprepared for the captain's epithets after he had pretended to be a gentleman. Furthermore, one must remember that this is Mildmay, Marryat's coldest hero, speaking. Though the work is partly autobiographical, Mildmay is not always meant to be a mouthpiece for Marryat.

McKellar also believes that we are told "nothing about the justice or injustice of the flogging, but only about the cruel way in which it was administered" (212). Yet clearly the flogging is unjust. The victim receives 60 lashings for spitting on deck, far more than was common for such a minor offense, and when Pipes is called "the vindicator of the laws of his country" (225) the remark is certainly meant to be ironic.

Finally, McKellar states that Marryat "does show it [flogging] vividly as a brutal punishment in his portrayal, but he remains quite objective in that he merely describes it without stopping his tale, as he does with some of the other evils, to tell how he feels about it" (214-15). But, in fact, the narrator does stop his tale and make a very significant commentary on the flogging:

> I will not wound the feelings of my readers with a description of the poor wretch's situation. Even at this distance of time, I am shocked at it, and bitterly lament the painful necessity I have often been under of inflicting similar punishment; but I hope and trust I never did it without a cause, or in the wanton display of arbitrary power. (226)

It is true that we do not get an in-depth comment on the seaman's reaction to the flogging as Melville, for example, provides in White-Jacket (1850), but it is never Marryat's intention to examine the psychological ramifications of such an event on his characters. The fact remains that floggings are never seen as being justifiable, except under the most extreme conditions, and these are rare in Marryat's novels. In fact, it is uniformly true in the novels that only the bad officers must resort to flogging, and there is only one instance of such punishment recorded in Marryat's log (Warner 66).

An even worse fate than a simple flogging was a "flogging round the fleet," a punishment normally described only by lower deck writers such as William Robinson. (Lloyd Seamen 240). In this, a man "receives an equal part of the whole number of lashes awarded alongside each ship comprising that fleet. For instance if sentenced to three hundred lashes, in a fleet composed of ten sail, he will receive thirty alongside of each ship" (The King's Own 1: 6). The victim of such a flogging seldom recovers. Though it sounds as exaggerated as Candide's flogging at the hands of the Bulgars, such a flogging "was by no means a rare practice in 1810" (Lloyd Marryat 129). The punishment is inflicted on Peters, a seaman though secretly of noble birth, after he has been unjustly accused of stealing. As with other floggings, the victim is treated sympathetically.

By Marryat's time, punishments actually were lessened, largely due to the mutinies of 1797. However, the brutal Articles of War, so beloved by Jack Easy, remained virtually unchanged from 1749 to 1860. The section on discipline stated that a captain was never to order punishment inflicted without sufficient cause and then not with greater severity than the offense warranted. Though such a vague regulation was easily circumvented, captains who were deemed excessively cruel were dealt with harshly by the Admiralty (Lloyd Seamen 240-45). Marryat's sympathetic treatment of the victims may have contributed to some extent to this reform. He, in fact, does proudly claim that a captain depicted in The King's Own who waited twenty-four hours to punish a man led to a new naval rule (Mr. Midshipman Easy 212). But the navy, as always, was slow in making significant changes. Flogging was limited to 48 lashes for a single offense only in 1866 and was not abolished altogether until 1879 (Lloyd Marryat 134).

A discussion of Marryat's view of naval discipline would not be complete without mention of the most serious breach of naval law, mutinies. His heroes never, no matter how oppressive the conditions, participate in a mutiny. For example, Frank Mildmay refuses to lead a mutiny and once successfully prevents one. Newton Forster and Peter Simple, too, will not rebel against tyrannical officers. Nevertheless, Marryat is not unsympathetic to those seamen who do mutiny, though they all later repent their actions. In fact, in their resistance to tyranny the common seamen are often seen in their best light by Marryat. In Peter Simple the men who refuse to flog a man as ordered by the martinet Captain Hawkins are praised; one mutineer feels he is doing his duty by disobeying the captain even if he "must swing for it" (2: 200). William Strange in Frank Mildmay is driven to mutiny against a captain who orders his ship holystoned.[10] Strange, while denouncing the captain, still makes a "beautiful speech" (107) indicating his gratitude that the mutiny did not succeed.

Marryat, though believing mutiny is wrong, puts the blame on the officers. He would agree with Admiral Collingwood's belief that "when a mutiny takes place on board a ship, it must be the fault of the Captain or officers" (qtd. in Lewis 279). Marryat felt this from his own experience; one of his first tasks in the Mediterranean on board the *Centeur* was to help quell a mutiny (Lloyd *Marryat* 130). The importance of the chief officer in subduing a mutiny may best be seen in *The King's Own* and *Mr. Midshipman Easy*. *The King's Own* opens with a description of the Mutiny at the Nore in 1797:

> Doubtless there is a point at which endurance of oppression ceases to be a virtue, and rebellion can no longer be considered as a crime: but it is a dangerous and intricate problem, the solution of which had better not be attempted. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the seamen, on the occasion of the first mutiny, had just grounds of complaint, and that they did not proceed to acts of violence until repeated and humble remonstrance had been made in vain. (1: 1-2)

The Mutiny at the Nore was led by Richard Parker, a "quota man," as were many of the chief mutineers. Parker, an educated man of gentle birth, is considered by many naval historians to have been a psychopath (Lewis 125-27). He established the so-called "Floating Republic at the Nore" by uniting the quota-men, "the social misfits and outcasts of the countryside and the riff-raff of the new town-slums" (Lewis 126). The idea of a mutiny by such a rag-tag group hardly seems to be something that would arouse Marryat's sympathy. Indeed, he sees it in a far different light than that in the more sympathetic treatment in Douglas Jerrold's popular play, *The Mutiny at the Nore* (1830). But instead of concentrating on the mutiny as a whole, Marryat is more concerned with the triangle of the evil Captain A--, the mutineer Peters, and a loyal common seaman William Adams, who has been in the service thirty-five years and will not mutiny. Though the captain is clearly the villain ("by a captain possessing resolution and a knowledge of human nature, the mutiny might have been suppressed" 1; 16-17), Peters repents his action, dedicates his child to the service, and is executed. Fittingly, the repentant man's son is raised by Adams.[11]

A final example of Marryat's view of mutinies occurs in *Mr. Midshipman Easy*. Easy is persuaded by

Mesty to take an excursion despite Jack's insistence that "we must obey orders" (102). His crew rebels and three are eaten by sharks, for which Jack feels responsible: "if I had not shown them the example of disobedience, this would not have happened" (127). The remaining mutineers become more tractable after the incident, and Jack takes them back when they agree they should be hanged. The men are eventually pardoned for their bravery in fighting against a Spanish ship. This incident is important for several reasons. In it we see Jack's changing ideas towards the need for order over equality. This is apparent in his reluctance to go forth on the cruise and his reaction to the death of the crewmen; however, this need for discipline is qualified by mercy. Just as Jack had been treated in a firm but kind manner by his captain, so Easy in turn must act in a similar manner with his own men.

The sailor is, in a sense, the first working class hero, a fact not unnoticed by Tories (Rahill 152-60). However, on Marryat's ship (and in his ideal society) everyone has a position and particular responsibilities. He is especially concerned with the duties and responsibilities of higher ups to those beneath them. Margery Fisher believes that "the preponderance of officers over seamen [in Marryat's novels], was a matter of literary choice and not of social prejudice" (39). However, it is almost inevitable that Marryat, being an officer, would take his greatest care in depicting officers. It is also inevitable that he would believe that the best officers are gentlemen. He maintains that "Our service has been wonderfully improved since the peace, and those who are now permitted to enter it must be gentlemen" (Mr. Midshipman Easy 214). The low born are most suitable to be followers, as virtually all Marryat's seamen are. At best, they are capable but subservient assistants, such as Lieutenant Swinburne in Peter Simple. Marryat, like most naval novelists, treats "the sailor with affectionate amusement" (Warner 93), but those who are promoted before the mast, as is Captain Jackie in Frank Mildmay, are generally wicked.

On the other hand, nepotism in the navy is also attacked by Marryat.[12] He favors the regulations "which prevented any lieutenant being promoted to the rank of commander until he had served two years at sea from the date of his first commission; nor could any commander, in like manner, be promoted before he had served one year in that capacity" (Frank Mildmay 321). Officers such as Captain Horton in Peter Simple and the young aristocratic captain in Newton Forster have potentially fine careers stunted because of hasty promotions prompted by family influence. The latter captain "had within him all the materials for a good officer: as it was, he was neither officer, sailor, nor anything else, except a spoiled boy" (160). The twin problems of promoting before the mast and nepotism are summed up in Frank Mildmay:

> The service had received serious injury by admitting men on the quarter-deck from before the mast; it occasioned there being two classes of officers in the navy--namely, those who had rank and connections, and those who had entered by the "hawseholes," as they were described. The first were favoured when young, and did not acquire a competent knowledge of their duty; the second, with few exceptions, as they advanced in their grades, proved, from want of education, more and more unfit for their stations. These defects have now been remedied; and as all young men who enter the service must have a regular education, and consequently be the sons of gentlemen, a level has been produced, which to a certain degree precludes favouritism, and perfectly bars the entrance to such men as Captain G-- [Captain Jackie]. (249)

Marryat feels that although there are bad captains, and as has been seen they are in no short abundance in his novels, the captain must rule the ship. For the good captain, "the greatest charm attached to power is to be able to make so many people happy" (Mr. Midshipman Easy 215). With a sense of firm discipline tempered by mercy he can make his crew into a well-oiled machine, one in which everyone knows his place. This is emphasized by the noble Captain Savage in the club-hauling scene in *Peter Simple*:

> The consequence of any carelessness or neglect in the fitting and securing of the rigging, will be felt now; and this danger, if we escape it, ought to remind us how much we have to answer for if we neglect our duty. The lives of a whole ship's company may be sacrificed by the neglect or incompetence of an officer when in harbour (1: 120).

The importance of every man's role is stressed not only by officers such as Marryat but by the common seamen as well. This is demonstrated in the words of the seaman Samuel Leech: "A ship contains a set of *human* machinery in which every man is a wheel, a band, or a crank, all moving with wonderful regularity and precision to the *will* of its machinest--the all-powerful Captain" (qtd. in Lewis 275).[13]

Mr. Midshipman Easy concentrates on the role of this "all-powerful Captain" more than any other of Marryat's works. Jack and Gascoigne encounter the appropriately named Captain Tartar when they are in plain clothes. They entertain him and address him informally without any titles. After he discovers that they are really midshipmen who have not treated him with what he feels is the proper respect, he orders them court-martialed. Tartar is challenged by one of Easy's non-naval friends and justly killed in a duel. Tartar exemplifies what Marryat believes is a great error in the service: "the disregard shown to the feelings of the junior officers in the language of their superiors[.]...The articles of war...were equally binding on officers and crew; but what a dead letter do they become if officers are permitted to break them with impunity" (213). Marryat has his ideal of what the relationship should be like between officers and the men:

> In the wooden world of a Marryat ship, a handful of officers form a kind of benevolent aristocracy. They are constantly occupied with the lower ranks--their duties, troubles and amusements--ruling them, advising them and sympathizing with them. In response, Marryat's crews have the kind of reverence for their natural superiors that Carlyle would approvingly define as 'Hero-Worship' (Engel 34).

Captain Wilson, in contrast to Tartar, is such a man. He, like all of Marryat's good captains, is modeled on Lord Cochrane, with whom Marryat served from 1806-09.[14] Wilson realizes that he has a potentially fine officer in Easy but he must rid him of his unorthodox ideas of equality. He patiently explains the ship's discipline in a way that Jack can understand and accept: "He pointed out that the articles of war were the rules by which the service was to be guided, and that everybody, from the captain to the least boy in the ship, was equally bound to adhere to them" (55). Marryat understands that behavior such as Wilson's is not always practiced, but that it will produce better officers and men. As Walter Buster notes, "The principal lesson of Mr. Midshipman Easy is that persons of rank should show consideration and even nurturing care toward their subordinates" (178).

Marryat spent his life praising the service yet stressing the need for reform. He believed the navy to be the nation's "protection and...pride" (The King's Own 2: 110), but he did not simply paint a romantic portrait of naval life. Indeed, many people felt he was too harsh in his depiction. Marryat's words in Mr. Midshipman Easy sum up his position:

> In our naval novels, we have often pointed out the errors which have existed, and still do exist, in a service which is an honour to its country; for what institution is there on earth that is perfect, or into which, if it once was perfect, abuses will not creep? Unfortunately, others have written to decry the service, and many have raised up their voices against our writings, because they felt that, in exposing error, we were exposing them. But to this we have been indifferent; we felt that we were doing good, and we have continued. (212)

Such diverse reactions were always characteristic responses to Marryat's work.

Notes

[1] In *Typee* Melville speaks of youths filled with romantic ideas after reading Marryat. They join the navy expecting "a pleasure excursion to the Pacific" (30). Kenneth Hovey, in "*White-Jacket* vs. *Mr. Midshipman Easy*" *Melville Society Extracts* 56 (November 1983): 13-15, discusses Melville's criticism of the romantic elements in Marryat's fiction. A reviewer in the *Dublin University Magazine* in March 1856 also expresses the idea that Marryat's navy is quite romantic. The reviewer warns mothers not to let their babies read Marryat: "No author, whomsoever, has sent so many young gentlemen to sea as Captain Marryat" (295).

[2] Each parish was required to provide a certain percentage of men to the navy. Generally, they were considered the dregs of the community.

[3] See Lewis (31) for estimated statistics.

[4] First published under the title *The Naval Officer: or Scenes and Adventures in the Life of Frank Mildmay*. However, it often has been reprinted as and referred to simply as *Frank Mildmay*.

[5] George Cruikshank made a series of engravings, from sketches by Marryat, on the life of a midshipman. The series is called *The Progress of a Midshipman, exemplified in the career of Master Blockhead* (1819-24).

[6] First published in *The Pirate, and the Three Cutters*. Sadleir notes that "Although dated 1836, this book was actually published in December, 1835" (*Excursions* 85). Johnson separates the two stories in his edition, placing *The Pirate* in the second volume of *The King's Own* and *The Three Cutters* in the second volume of *Peter Simple*.

[7] Many of the best British sailors did desert and join the American navy. The British often searched

American ships for deserters. Such searches were one cause for the War of 1812 (Lewis 434-39).

8

For further discussion of Marryat's views on impressment, see his essay "The Practice of Impressment of Seamen for the Royal Navy," Metropolitan Magazine 8 (September 1833): 1-6. See also Gautier, pp. 172-76 and McKellar, pp. 226-41.

9

Cobbing is described in Frank Mildmay as being hit "with a worsted stocking filled with wet sand" 30). Mastheading meant being sent up the mast for a period of time. Keelhauling, already outlawed by Marryat's day, is described in Snarleyyow: "It is nothing more nor less than sending a poor navigator on a voyage of discovery under the bottom of the vessel" (57).

10

A holystone was a piece of sandstone used by sailors to clean the ship. Marryat hated officers who forced the men to polish the ship during lulls just to keep busy.

11

It is interesting to compare Peters's plight with that of another sailor hanged during the revolutions of 1797, Billy Budd. Both are beloved by the men and suffer from the harsh discipline meted out during mutinies. Although both are virtuous men, Peters's death is seen as just punishment for mutiny. Melville's position is, of course, much more ambiguous.

12

Marryat complained about the unfairness of examinations for junior officers for naval advancement in Frank Mildmay, Peter Simple and in the short story, "S.W. and by W. 3/4 W." (in Olla Podrida).

Seniors were often promoted largely because of their "butcher lists" (the number of men killed or wounded in battle). Chances for promotion were small in the post-Napoleonic wars navy. Marryat displays his concern in a sketch made into an engraving by Cruikshank, "Waiting-Room at the Admiralty" (1821). The lack of advancement was probably the major reason for Marryat's decision to leave the navy in 1830.

[13] The image of men as cogs in a machine is an intriguing one in a navy which was rapidly converting to steam. Marryat's novels, set on wooden ships, show an absence of rush and the inconsequence of time. Surely this must have appealed to a society forced into checking rail and boat schedules. The machine became one of the dominant metaphors of the Victorian period as, for example, in Dickens's description of Coketown in Hard Times (1854). Nevertheless, despite the pre-engine appeal of his wooden ships Marryat, during his time in Burma, was one of the first to command a steam vessel.

[14] Marryat was extremely fortunate to have a captain such as Cochrane, who is the model for Captain Savage, Captain Wilson, and Captain M-- (The King's Own) among others. For more on Cochrane, see Sir John Laughton's article on Thomas, Lord Cochrane in the Dictionary of National Biography or Cochrane's Autobiography (written under his title, the Earl of Dundonald).

CHAPTER THREE: SOCIAL VIEWS

The tumult in the years shortly before and after the First Reform Bill is reflected in the increased interest in the aristocracy. Many people in this time of flux wished to cling to the old order. In 1828, for example, Sir James Lawrence published a popular work, On the Nobility of the British Gentry. At the same time, interest in social mobility was also increasing, which is evidenced in many novels, perhaps culminating most famously in Great Expectations (1860-61) where Pip aspires to become a gentleman and escape his class.

The interest in the aristocracy is demonstrated in the growth of the silver-fork novel, which came into vogue in the 1820s. Its popularity probably was caused by the changing of class alignment after the Napoleonic wars. The rising middle class, aspiring to wealth, wanted to forget about the problems of the poor. The silver-fork novel, a glimpse into the life of the aristocracy, afforded them this opportunity (Rosa 4-5). Marryat was friends with some of the leading practitioners of the silver-fork novel (Theodore Hook, Mrs. Gore, Lady Morgan, and Bulwer-Lytton). He was a frequent visitor to Gore House, the abode of fashionable novelist Lady Blessington and Count D'Orsay, who "fathered the literary tradition of dandyism" (Moers 147). Marryat even wrote some articles for Lady Blessington's keepsakes and beauty books, and his novel Japhet, in Search of a Father bears some traits of the silver-fork school.

However, Marryat is no fashionable novelist. He, like Carlyle in Sartor Resartus, condemns the fashionable novel and its useless aristocratic heroes.[1] In his essay "On Novels and Novel Writing" (1834) Marryat criticizes the writers of fashionable novels because their works are not true to life and cannot "improve" us: "There is nothing in them that can afford us a lesson of action, nothing by which we can model our manners, regulate our taste, or correct our morals" (114). His satirical essay, "How to Write a Fashionable Novel" (1833) features a character who is writing a fashionable novel solely to pay his tailor's bill (ironically displaying the same sartorial interest as many of the beaus, but showing a concern for merchants not shared by most of them).

Even more to the taste of the growing middle class audience than the fashionable novel is the novel displaying the quest to become a gentleman. The idea of the gentleman in English literature goes back at least as far as Spenser's Faerie Queene and continues through the eighteenth century in the works of Richardson and especially in the creation of the

Sir Roger de Coverley character by Addison and Steele. The figure of the gentleman becomes increasingly middle class throughout eighteenth and nineteenth century literature.

The notion of the gentleman often had great appeal for the middle class, traditionally providing "a time-honoured and not too exacting route to social prestige for new social groups" (Gilmour 5). The growth of the gentleman in early Victorian literature, like the Reform Bill, reflects a type of conservative reform which allows for class movement for a small, select group: "Its appeal for them [the middle class] lay in its dignified and partially independent relationship to the aristocratic order, and its potential for moralisation and modernisation. They wanted to widen the basis of qualification to include themselves, without sacrificing the exclusiveness which gave the rank its social esteem" (Gilmour 4). Marryat's novels describing the quest to become a gentleman reflect this concern and, thus, appeal to this rapidly growing middle class audience. He marks a link in the tradition between eighteenth century writers like Addison and later Victorian novelists such as Thackeray and Trollope.

Though the nineteenth century was deeply concerned with the concept of the gentleman, defining what the term meant was difficult. Determining a gentleman was a complex issue revolving around such issues as birth, land, money, manners, fashion, and religion (Castronovo 5-61 passim), all concerns in Marryat's novels. Marryat's views on the aristocracy and social mobility again reveal his characteristic ambivalence. As Buster says, "Ostensibly he is the conservative defender of strict social hierarchy, but frequently he appears to espouse egalitarianism and social reform" (40). His mixed views probably reflect his own uncertainty over his social status, particularly after resigning his naval commission in 1830. He was obsessed with the idea of being considered a "gentleman" and was proud to have dined with King George IV on the royal yacht, yet he also was accused of crudeness and once engaged in an ugly street brawl with the novelist W. Johnson Neale.[2] In addition, despite his desire for social subordination and order, as the second son in a wealthy middle class family, Marryat's chances for social advancement were dependent upon social fluidity. Furthermore, Marryat, who had waited for advancement himself in the stagnant naval hierarchy, could sympathize with those caught in a rigid social system.

For these reasons the desire to improve one's social status is present in virtually all of Marryat's novels. Many discuss youths who achieve "positions of social eminence--wealth, a country estate, an aristocratic wife." Other novels focus on "second or natural sons who prove worthy enough to inherit the estate" (Buster 42). An examination of several representative novels throughout his career--Peter Simple, Jacob Faithful, Japhet, in Search of a Father, Poor Jack, Joseph Rushbrook, Percival Keene, and Valerie, an Autobiography--all reveal protagonists striving to become gentlemen or ladies.

In Peter Simple (1834) two characters, Chucks and Peter, exemplify the aspiration to move up the social ranks. Their situations, however, differ. Chucks is low born and dreams of achieving nobility while Peter, the second son of a high born but unsuccessful clergyman, must struggle to gain his proper place.

Drawing vivid characters, as Virginia Woolf notes (43), may well be Marryat's greatest skill and Chucks is possibly Marryat's greatest creation. He is a boatswain, a member of a group not normally drawn from the higher social ranks, who fancies himself "Gentleman Chucks" (1: 75). He is handsome and has received a smattering of education from a Port Admiral's wife. His father is supposed to have been a boatswain, but because his mother was a woman of "loose virtue," Chucks thinks his father may actually be a high born first lieutenant. Ironically, as is also the case in Percival Keene, the son hopes that his mother has not been virtuous so that he may be the offspring of a gentleman: "I had rather be the bye-blow of a gentleman, than the 'gitimate offspring of a boatswain and his wife" (1: 105). Chucks, though treated sympathetically, shows signs of his lower class upbringing. He often loses his temper and curses at the men, behavior which Marryat would not find acceptable for a gentleman (though several of Marryat's gentlemen, such as Japhet's father, demonstrate a similar loss of temper):

> Allow me to observe, my dear man, in the most delicate way in the world, that you are spilling that tar upon the deck--a deck, sir, if I may venture to make the observation, I had the duty of seeing holystoned this morning. You understand me, sir, you have defiled his Majesty's forecastle. I must do my duty, sir, if you neglect yours; so take that--and that--and that--(thrashing the man with his rattan)--you d--d hay-making son of a sea-cook. Do it again, d--n your eyes, and I'll cut your liver out. (1: 75-76)

Before going to sea Chucks had once pretended to be a lord and as such had dined with Peter's uncle, Lord Privilege, in London (more than Peter had done to that point). When his fraud is discovered, he is sent out on a man-of-war. His brief taste of aristocracy, though, only made things worse for Chucks: "I formed ideas above my station in life, and cannot help longing to be a gentleman" (1: 111). He frequently laments that "there is nothing so miserable as to have ideas above your station in life" (1: 141) and that "there's as much difference between nobility and the lower classes, as there is between a racer and a cart-horse" (1: 239).

However, as usual in Marryat's novels, we have an ambiguous message. Chucks is later shot because he was mistaken for an officer by the enemy while he was wearing an officer's coat. It seems as if Chucks has gotten a just punishment for having aspired to more than his lot (even though he is happy if he can die in officer's garb). We discover, though, that he did not actually die. He returns as Count Shucksen, a war hero who has married a Swedish countess of high birth. Thus, Chucks has been rewarded for his aspirations and has achieved his goal specifically because he had donned an officer's uniform. Chucks's transformation is the first in a series of Marryat's works where clothes figure a part. This may be the influence of eighteenth century comedy on Marryat's work, but it may also show the influence of Carlyle's Sartor Resartus as well. In either case, Chucks's aspirations to nobility are not condemned. He has pride but not vanity, an important distinction in the novel. Chucks never acted basely "Because he aspired to be a gentleman, and that feeling kept him above it. Vanity's a confounded donkey,...but pride's a fine horse[.]...Mr. Chucks has pride, and that's always commendable, even in a boatswain" (2: 39-40).[3]

Peter is the youngest son, the fool of the family, who is accordingly sent into the navy: "It has been from time immemorial the heathenish custom to sacrifice the greatest fool of the family to the prosperity and naval superiority of the country, and, at the age of fourteen, I was selected as the victim" (1: 2). Peter is really the victim of primogeniture, which had been perfunctorily attacked in Newton Forster.[4] It is also criticized in Peter Simple:

> The law of primogeniture is beset with evils and injustice; yet without it, the aristocracy of a country must sink into insignificance. It appears to me, that as long as the people of a country are content to support the younger sons of the nobility, it is well that the aristocracy should be held up as a third estate, and a link between the sovereign and the people; but that if the people are either too poor, or are unwilling to be so taxed, they have a right to refuse taxation for such purposes, and to demand that the law of primogeniture should be abolished. (2: 73-74).

Peter is the nephew of Lord Privilege, a snobbish old man who does not want to know him until it seems he will be his heir.[5] However, before Peter can become heir he must thwart the machinations of others in his family.[6] One uncle contrives to have Peter's ship sent to the West Indies in the hope that he will get yellow fever. Peter's illegitimate cousin, Captain Hawkins, attempts to have Peter court-martialed. However, with the resilience of all Marryat's heroes, Peter eventually gets to be viscount. Along the way he is befriended by a bevy of people from a variety of social classes: Mrs. Trotter, a faded beauty he once aided; his seamate, Terence O'Brien; the seaman, Swinburne; Captain Savage; and his wife-to-be, Celeste, and her father, General O'Brien, who accept Peter even after he has been in an asylum for 20 months.

Chucks and Peter demonstrate two sides of social ambition. One may rise from the lower classes, as does Chucks, to a higher station. Ironically, he achieves greater heights than Hawkins, though Chucks had yearned for aristocratic blood even if it may be illegitimate. However, Chucks's success is partial since he is only acknowledged as an aristocrat in a foreign society. Peter, on the other hand, though higher born than Chucks, still must struggle to be acknowledged as an aristocrat because of the laws of primogeniture. In both cases Marryat presents favorable portrayals of these social climbers.

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In "De Finibus" from his Roundabout Papers Thackeray speaks fondly of Marryat's Jacob Faithful (1834). Many other critics have also been kind to the book, often ranking it with Peter Simple and Mr. Midshipman Easy as Marryat's best work. It was, in fact, Marryat's own favorite. Unlike his other two major works, Jacob Faithful is not set at sea, but on the Thames riverside. Instead of producing a realistic book on the more seamy side of the water front, such as Patrick Colquhoun's nonfictional Treatise on the Commerce and Police of the River Thames (1800), Marryat chose the river as a setting for one of his most optimistic (and melodramatic)[7] novels. Within the generally lighthearted tone of the book, Marryat treats the function of the individual within society.

Faithful says at the end of the novel:

> There are two morals, I trust, to be drawn from the events of my life, one of which is, that in society we naturally depend upon each other for support, and that he who would assert his independence throws himself out of the current which bears to advancement:--the other is, that with the advantages of good education, and good

> principle, although it cannot be expected that every one will be so fortunate as I have been, still there is every reasonable hope, and every right to expect, that we shall do well in this world. (429)

Unfortunately, perhaps critics attach too much importance to this tag. Engel and King, for example, use this passage to stress the theme of sublimating one's individuality to a larger whole, a belief which would seem to come naturally to one with Marryat's military background (35). There is certainly truth to such critical views. In fact, Jacob does condemn himself for being too independent at times, and he is also scolded by others (Turnbull, Sarah, Mr. Drummond, and the Domine) for this tendency. However, these passages are not always consistent with Marryat's beliefs as expressed in several other novels, and they are not always convincing even in this book. Although Marryat does express the need for a social order, he also consistently demonstrates in his work that it is possible for certain individuals to raise their social position; moreover, despite the stated belief that the individual spirit should be submerged for the larger whole, the novel actually seems to praise the quest for independence if done in moderation. The real target of condemnation is pride, of which excessive independence is only one part.

The key to understanding Jacob's reluctance to accept assistance is to examine his upbringing. He is one of Marryat's most practical heroes. He, unlike Japhet Newland and Percival Keene, is not secretly of high birth. His parents are common river people. As a child Jacob knows nothing of religion and society, never leaving the ship until he is eleven. His mother has never been in church and the father in a ritual bordering on sacrilege baptizes Jacob by crossing him with the end of a pipe. By age eleven, shortly before his parents' deaths, Jacob has almost complete charge of the ship. As he becomes more independent, the father becomes more and more dependent upon his son, often drinking himself into a stupor. Still, life on board the ship is not all bad; in fact, several times it is compared with the Garden of Eden. Jacob lives on the lighter in "the happiness of content, and dignity of simplicity" (20). He can continue in blissful ignorance of society, good and evil, but he must be tested with the knowledge of society

Jacob's father leaves him with a small legacy: a love and knowledge of the river, and three quotations--"What's done, can't be helped"; "Take it coolly"; "Better luck next time" (15). These maxims, though they appear simple, provide Jacob with a model which he follows throughout his life. The first bit of advice helps with not worrying about the past, the second aids in coping with the present, and the third provides hope for the future. His mother, an obese drunk, dies of spontaneous combustion.[8] The legacy she leaves is literally her body. Jacob sells her ashes to a surgeon after allowing them to be exhibited, but only after he is assured that they will be well-cared for. Thus, his mother's remains "proved more valuable to me than ever she did when living" (17) even though he never uses the money for himself.

With such irresponsible parents and being devoid of other contact with society, it is little wonder that the boy develops an overly independent spirit and is suspicious of outside aid. Breaking the pattern of one's life, one's "human natur" (sic) as one character calls it, is seen as being extremely difficult in this novel. Jacob resists civilization. As in Huckleberry Finn, which resembles this book in some ways, the protagonist dislikes clothes, the mark of civilization. Though Jacob does not renounce society as Huck does, Jacob will accept it only on his own terms.[9]

The novel does allow for individuality, and Jacob is able to advance most when he is able to develop on his own. An early scene, in which Jacob is eating soup, provides a simple example. Jacob, unaccustomed to eating the hot liquid, scalds himself. While others try to tell Jacob what to do, Mr. Drummond, who has taken Jacob in after his parents' deaths, says, "Let the boy eat it after his own fashion" (19). Though Jacob must endure physical discomfort and embarrassment in this scene, he learns, and the novel consistently stresses that we learn from suffering. Unfortunately, Drummond, later in the novel, does not adhere to his own credo, and will not allow Jacob to advance at his own pace.

Though people from different classes can befriend one another in Jacob Faithful, they are aware, as in all Marryat's novels, of class distinctions. Jacob feels he is beneath the Drummonds. Even as a child he feels "humiliated and degraded" (20) around them. This feeling of inferiority towards the family continues into his adult years, and it is the reason he waits so long to court Drummond's daughter, Sarah. On the other hand, Jacob is higher on the social scale than such rivermen as the Beazleys. As in other Marryat novels, a promising boy of low birth is able to advance with the assistance of others, especially a beneficent member of the aristocracy. Jacob is such a chosen one, for as Sarah Drummond tells him, "if you were not born noble, you have true nobility of mind" (407).

Jacob does have several friends from various social strata. How much he accepts from them depends upon the way the help is offered. The Domine is a kindly teacher in the charity school. Though he appears gruff, he loves Jacob: "in a thousand instances, the affection of a father appeared towards me under the rough crust of the Domine" (33). He teaches Jacob in a manner that allows the boy to maintain his independence. When he corrects Jacob's errors, such as his method of spelling, the correction is by means of the boy's own system. Indeed, because the boy is allowed to maintain his independence, he is not discontented with his education. The Domine even remains friends with Jacob in later years.

Another friend is Captain Turnbull, a foundling who has grown rich. Turnbull, a self-made, independent man, takes an immediate liking to Jacob and offers him assistance, which the boy rejects:

> Towards him I felt unbounded regard--towards those who had ill-treated me unlimited hatred; towards the world in general a mixture of feeling which I could hardly analyse; and, as far as regarded

> myself, a love of liberty and independence, which nothing would ever have induced me to compromise. (220-21)

Because he understands Jacob, he aids the boy secretly and leaves him his money when he dies. As Jacob remarks, "I did not know at that time how much Captain Turnbull had been my friend" (190).

Tom Beazley, the river pilot, also admires Jacob's spirit. Tom tells him, "I likes your pride after all, 'cause why, I think you have some right to be proud; and the man who only asks fair play, and no favour, always will rise in this world" (190).

Jacob's biggest benefactor is Mr. Drummond. He has Jacob educated and apprentices him to the kindly Tom Beazley. But his assistance often has strings attached to it. He tries to improve Jacob's status by making him a clerk, a position totally unsuitable for such a spirited boy: "the confinement to the desk was irksome, and I anxiously looked for the arrival of the new clerk to take my place, and leave me free to join the lighter" (129). Marryat, who as a boy constantly ran away to sea, surely must have sympathized with Jacob's feeling of confinement. Certainly many readers will.

It is during this period of confinement as a clerk that Jacob has an argument with Drummond. After being tormented by another clerk, Jacob retaliates.

Drummond, seeing the retaliation and not the cause, condemns Jacob, angrily saying, "I had hoped to have been able to place you in a more respectable institution in society than was my original intention when you were thrown upon me a destitute orphan; but I now perceive my error" (160). Jacob is not even allowed to defend himself. In this case both Drummond and Jacob are at fault. Drummond should have listened to Jacob's side, especially since he knows what the boy is like. Jacob, however, goes too far in his desire for revenge and in letting his pride get the better of him. His fault is in not forgetting what Drummond has done even after Drummond realizes his error: "that he was kind to me, and that I owe much to his kindness, I readily admit; and now that he has acknowledged his error in supposing me capable of such ingratitude, I heartily forgive him; but I cannot and will not receive any more favours from him. I cannot put myself in a situation to be again mortified as I have been" (187). Jacob is finally reconciled with Drummond after Drummond apologizes in person. Jacob says, "I have been very wrong in being so revengeful after so much kindness from you" (317). However, clearly, as Drummond himself acknowledges, "We both have been wrong" (318). And the reader likely believes "that Jacob is correct in remaining independent, at least of Mr. Drummond" (Buster 151).

In this novel Marryat is not condemning independence; rather, he is attacking the more general sin of pride. An excessively independent spirit can be guilty of such an offense, but in Marryat's novels there is always a commendable strength in the virtuous character who struggles on his own. The manifestations of pride most disturbing to Marryat are those of affectation and vengefulness. Social aspirers who seek to rise above their natural position are condemned in the novel but with a gentle, humorous touch. These overreachers are seen as comical buffoons, puffed up by their vanity. The best example is Mrs. Turnbull, a ridiculous woman who tries to deny her simple upbringing. She pretends to know French (mistakenly saying _bidet du poms_ rather than _Beignets de pommes_ 142-43). She is swindled by a bogus aristocrat, Tagliabue, who believes "a gentleman has no profession" (283).[10] However, when forced to choose between Mr. Turnbull and her ostentatious lifestyle, Mrs. Turnbull opts for her husband.[11]

More disturbing to Marryat is the pride that leads to thoughts of revenge and ingratitude. It is these feelings that Jacob must learn to curb, and through his humbling experiences as a waterman, a clerk, and as a pressed man, Jacob learns his lesson. Quoting from the Bible, he says, "It is good for us to be afflicted" (425). Jacob has moved from the primitive Christianity practised by his father to a real understanding of the Scriptures, in which one must suffer but through suffering gain knowledge and true goodness.

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Japhet, in Search of a Father (1836), the most socially conscious of Marryat's novels, is concerned with the question of what is a gentleman. But in the hero's mad quest to find his father this question often changes focus and becomes blurred and, at times, the novel, as in much of Marryat's writing, becomes ambiguous.

The speed with which the novel was composed, as much as 65 pages in one day (Warner 100), has caused some critics to consider the book to be carelessly made. Nevertheless, the novel was one of Marryat's biggest selling works and has sections which are splendidly written, including the following passage from the opening scene where Japhet says,

> It was on the---I really forget the date, and must rise from my chair, look for a key, open a closet, and then open an iron safe to hunt over a pile of papers---it

> will detain you too long---it will be sufficient to say that it was on a night but whether the night was dark or moonlit, or rainy or foggy, or cloudy or fine, or starlight, I really cannot tell; but it is of no very great consequence. (1)

K.R. Coulson-Gilmer believes the opening section is insignificant (93-94). However, it is important for several reasons. The opening is an attempt, as is Marryat's wont, to establish a warm bond between the narrator and the reader. Yet it does more. It establishes the state of the narrator's mind, obsessed with the idea of his birth to the point of lunacy. The many asides in the sentence indicate the rambling disjointedness of the speaker's thoughts. Why, for example, emphasize that he does not know what kind of night it was if it is of no importance? The fact that Japhet was born on "a night," not a specific one, is also significant. Any night, it seems, will do. It is a thought similar to the one implied in the title, Japhet, in Search of a Father (rather than his father). Anyone will do, provided he is of a proper social standing.

Japhet had been born in wedlock and left at the Foundling Hospital. Unlike Dickens's waifs, Japhet undergoes no great trials at the Hospital even though he stays there until the age of 14. He is, in fact, out of the Hospital before the first chapter ends.

when he becomes apprentice to the apothecary, Mr. Cophagus, the first of Japhet's several benefactors. Though Japhet likes Cophagus, the boy feels compelled to seek his father. This search is suggested even in Japhet's surname, Newland.

Japhet encounters Timothy Oldmixon, a workhouse boy named for the workhouse pump, who becomes his Sancho Panza. Tim, though friends with Japhet, perceives himself to be socially inferior to Japhet: "you are wrong in looking upon me as an equal, for I am not so, either in personal appearance, education, or anything else" (100). Tim is also in search of a parent, but unlike the paternal minded Japhet, Tim seeks his mother. And while Japhet seeks a father in the upper class, Tim's search is in the lower class since he feels that is where he belongs.

In their quest they meet a kind of false gentleman, Major Carbonnell, who is thirty-five years old, "tall and well made, and with an air of fashion about him that was undeniable. His linen was beautifully clean and carefully arranged, and he had as many rings on his fingers, and, when he was dressed, chains and trinkets, as ever were put on by a lady" (117). As with most fashionable people in the novel, Carbonnell is only concerned with appearance: "it's astonishing how well any name looks in large gold letters" (118). He is in many ways exactly the type of hero parodied in Marryat's essay "How to Write a Fashionable Novel." He is vain and will not repay debts even though he has money (his conscience is appeased because he tells people he will not repay money before he borrows it). However, he survives because he is fashionable and is in line to inherit property. He is, in essence, the type of useless aristocrat scorned by Carlyle and frequently mocked by Marryat. Indeed, the words of the fashionable Captain Atkinson have bearing on Carbonnell: "The only difference I can see between a gentleman and anybody else, is that one is idle and the other works hard. One is a useless, and the other a useful, member of society. Such is the absurdity of the opinions of the world" (272).

Still, Carbonnell is not altogether cast in a negative light. Perhaps Marryat modeled him after his friend D'Orsay, who shares many of Carbonnell's traits. He is brave, intelligent, and loyal to Japhet. He teaches the naive Japhet how to survive in vicious social circles, steering him clear of evil characters such as Captain Atkinson, who duels not out of honor but "to hold his position by main force" (260). In addition, Carbonnell leaves Japhet his money upon his death. He also serves as a warning for Japhet. Once Carbonnell was innocent like Japhet, but dealing with corrupt people made him jaded: "Newland, there was a time when I was like yourself--the world took advantage of my ingenuousness and inexperience; my good feelings were the cause of my ruin, and then, by degrees, I became as callous and as hardened as the world itself" (163).

His death, appropriately, comes by dueling, a staple of the silver-fork novel. Carbonnell believes society cannot be held together without dueling. The view of dueling in the 1830s and 40s was ambiguous. Though the practice was dying out, it was a holdover of aristocratic gentlemanliness and lingered for years. Prince Albert helped to get the Articles of War amended in 1844 to emphasize apologies rather than duels (Castronovo 20-26; Gilmour 27-30). Marryat himself would shortly after parody the conventions of dueling in a ridiculous three-cornered duel in Mr. Midshipman Easy, and he condemns dueling in the Diary in America (159-62). Earlier, in Newton Forster he described it as "a necessary evil," which one should try to avoid (257-59). And in "How to Write a Fashionable Novel" (published in 1833 in the Metropolitan and reprinted in Olla Podrida in 1840), the hero "fights three duels with the two brothers and father [of his mistress]. He wounds one of the young men dangerously, the other slightly; fires his pistol in the air when he meets her father--for how could he take the life of him who gave life to his adored one? Your hero can always hit a man just where he pleases" (Olla Podrida 198). The more favorable view of dueling in this novel and the model of Carbonnell as a gentleman offer an ambiguous message. Carbonnell is an example of what is both best and worst of the gentlemen seen in the fashionable novel. Marryat seems to be heeding the advice he mockingly offers in "How to Write a Fashionable Novel": "The great art of novel writing is to make the vices glorious, by placing them in close alliance with redeeming qualities" (192).

Japhet's monomania (a term he himself uses 128, 144) often leads him on false quests. He pursues a bishop whose nose resembles his own on the assumption that the man is his father. He confronts Lady Maelstrom claiming that he is secretly her illegitimate son. The woman, so stunned by the line of questioning and the accusation, shrieks that the child she had was a girl. The insensitive Japhet, the complete opposite of the calculating Percival Keene, merely replies, "A girl! then I have lost my time, and it is no use my remaining here" (183). Even when he is on the verge of death, Japhet's only lament is that "I never shall find out who is my father" (240-41). Eventually this monomania does push Japhet over the edge. After being falsely accused of a crime, he goes into a fit upon hearing the word father, and he succumbs to the common nineteenth century malady, brain fever (for examples see A.C. Peterson 445-64).

Japhet's cure comes only when he lives with the Quakers and is completely disassociated from the corrupt, false London society in which he had been living. By being apart from society, Japhet can restore himself and later be reintegrated into society. Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of Japhet's time with the Quakers concerns clothing. The Quakers dress severely because they believe the outside world shows its vanity by its gay clothes. However, Mr. Masterton, another of Japhet's benefactors, points out that by dressing severely the Quakers themselves stand out, thus making their clothes garments of pride. Japhet uses this argument to help persuade the lovely Quaker Susannah Temple to abandon her plain garb.

The clothes are also symbolic of differences between London society and that of the Quakers. Japhet tells Susannah that the making of expensive clothes is socially beneficial: "How many are employed at the loom, and at the needle, in making these costly dresses. This vanity is the cause of wealth not being hoarded, but finding its way through various channels, so as to produce comfort and happiness to thousands." He goes on to say, "society requires that the rich should spend their money in superfluities, that the poor may be supported. Be not deceived, therefore, in future, by the outward garments, which avail nothing" (396). Even the fairly independent minded Susannah accepts the advice of her husband in this, the most patriarchal of Marryat's books. By the novel's end, her plaint is that Japhet is too conservative in his clothing tastes.

Marryat's views on the Quakers are typically ambiguous. Donald Hawes feels that the novel is critical of non-conformity ("Novels" 126); however, as when Marryat deals with many "non-mainstream groups" his message is mixed. Such an attitude is not surprising when one considers that Marryat's family were religious outsiders themselves, being Dissenters (Lloyd Marryat 3-6). The Quakers are praised for their goodness and honesty, which is in direct contrast to the corrupt, false London society which drove Japhet to lunacy. Their independence of mind is also noteworthy. Yet Japhet can remain with them no more than Marryat's English heroes can remain in places like Africa or the Canadian wilderness. It is not the natural society to which they belong. The Quakers, though essentially good people who revitalize Japhet, live in an Edenic state which is not natural for man, who, after all, has fallen. It is clear that while Japhet admires the Quakers, he feels that man must participate in the larger society, even if it is corrupt. Being exposed to evil and proving ourselves strong enough to resist it is preferable to being in a state of innocent goodness. Marryat is so insistent on this message that he has Japhet marry Susannah (rather than Fleta, who is typical of many of Marryat's child-bride heroines) and has her learn that it is preferable to live in a state of experience over innocence.

Although the established church nominally proves the victor in the novel, it is clear that there is much which is praiseworthy in Quaker life. Although we are told that not all Quakers are good, the only ones we have seen who are not devoted to their creed are those who have come from outside the community. During Japhet's time with the Quakers, unlike his stay in London, he learns to be "a useful member of society" (320). Furthermore, Quaker society, as embodied by the character of Susannah, the only

Quaker fully described, is also essentially feminine. Japhet is rejuvenated by surrendering his will to a woman, who persuades him to accept a simple tradesman's position. With his pride, which is both his strength and weakness, kept in check, he is able to return to the paternal society dominated by the image of a father. And now he is ready to succeed. At this point he can also exert his authority over Susannah by influencing her in her choice of religion.

While living with the Quakers, Japhet is reunited with Tim, who serves as a foil to Japhet in the novel. While Japhet has become more conservative throughout the novel, revealing his natural aristocracy, Tim, in searching for his mother, comes in contact with the masses and becomes a radical, going around the country reading to the lower classes from radical newspapers. Ironically, he abandons these politics when he has his property stolen while making a speech about the equality of property. Marryat's belief seems to be that radicals are only so until they get what they want. Once they have achieved a more desirable status, they quickly abandon their lofty principles.[12] However, Marryat is not unaware of the plight of the less fortunate. As

Tim says, "until you can afford to be moral...it's a very expensive virtue that" (108).

Japhet does eventually learn of his true parentage and meet his father.[13] It was a reunion anxiously awaited by Marryat's audience (there is a story that when two ships passed at sea one queried the other on whether Japhet had found his father or not Florence Marryat 1: 213-14). Both Japhet's parents were would-be social climbers. When they married, they discovered their mutual deceit and asked for an annulment. Yet the mother, who never actually appears in the novel, is the only one who is really condemned. Japhet, unlike the lower class Tim, has little interest in finding her. The only lead he ever follows up on his mother is with Lady Maelstrom. For the socially conscious Japhet, finding a father is more likely to guarantee success. Even though, as it turns out, the mother before her death convinced Japhet's father to seek him out, she is an obstacle in Japhet's path. The father will never acknowledge Japhet's existence as long as the mother is alive because their offspring is a palpable reminder of his earlier folly.

Japhet's father, a wealthy retired general from India, comes from a family with an Irish peerage for which Japhet is not in line. Japhet, born in wedlock, can make demands that illegitimate heroes such as Percival Keene cannot make on their fathers. He soon plays on the father's weaknesses. For example, he knows that the father believes a gentleman should be able to control his temper but that the father has a quick temper.[14] By the novel's end, he has completely won over the old man.

On the surface, this appears a pleasant book, almost like a fairy-tale. Japhet raises himself through society and finds his father, but the moral of the book is rather cynical, a sort of fairy-tale gone bad. As in _Hucklebery Finn_, it seems more natural to lie than to tell the truth. Clothes are used for disguise. Aramathea Judd and Melchior are proof that appearances cannot be trusted in this novel. Judd is a beautiful young prophet who takes drugs and disguises herself as her dead aunt. She warns Japhet to "look upon me as a sepulchre, fair without but unsavoury and rottenness within" (29). Melchior pretends to be a gipsy but in reality is an evil aristocrat. He lives by exploiting others: "I practise upon the folly of mankind--it is on that, that wise men live" (52). Japhet, too, takes on several identities, once even "disguising" himself as Japhet Newland. In fact, he is able to find his true identity only after disguising himself as Japhet "Gnow-land" (323). By temporarily humbling himself as a tradesman and submitting to Susannah's will, he may, as the name punningly suggests, know himself.

Japhet's morality is questionable. He pretends to be a pharmacist and takes money from patients (though always leaving some money to the real pharmacist for the supplies he used); he is involved in a scheme with Melchior; he pretends to be the nephew of Windermear (another benefactor) to gain access to society; he will not repay the interest to a moneylender (but he does return the principal he borrowed); he uses all the cunning at his disposal to win his father's favors. However, he will not embezzle money or do anything illegal. The message seems to be that society at all levels is permeated with evil people and it is necessary for one to assume disguises, lie, and deceive at times in order to survive. As Tim laments, "when honest I could make nothing, and when I deceived, I have done very well" (333). In such a world, Japhet is naturally distrustful. He is talked into a duel against his friend Harcourt and even when they are reunited he says, "I know the world, and am not to be soothed down by a few fine words" (366). Japhet is, it seems, more sinned against than sinning, "the rogue of circumstances" as Windermear says (177). We excuse him because

> To be a deserted orphan in search of a father is apparently to be above recognised social codes, and so thoroughly does Marryat engage our sympathy for his hero that we feel nothing stronger than a mild surprise on learning either Japhet's moral delinquencies or his extraordinary breaches of social convenances (Courtney introd. to Japhet vii).

However, the implications are further reaching. This is Marryat's most picaresque novel (Buster 164-65). In it people at all levels are corrupt. Aside from Susannah and a few cardboard figures such as Masterton all the characters are flawed. As Walter Buster points out, "In episode after episode Marryat seems to suggest that the structure of society rests on illusion, misapprehension, and deceit" (162). Marryat is stressing that we live in a fallen world in which one needs his or her wits to survive. Even those from more privileged situations, such as Major Carbonnell, are capable of being corrupted in such a wicked world. Yet this fallen state is the natural condition of man and is preferable to that of the innocence of Susannah Temple.

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Perhaps Marryat exhausted his earlier material, but the novels are noticeably different after his return from America in 1838. The later novels are less naval oriented, have less humor, are more didactic, and demonstrate an increasing sense of Christian benevolence. Though most critics believe Marryat's novels become increasingly conservative, the heroes rise from more desperate situations than those of earlier heroes such as Peter or Japhet. Of the protagonists in the four post-American novels which will be examined, one is a boy totally neglected by his mother (Poor Jack), one is a fugitive (Joseph Rushbrook), one is illegitimate (Percival Keene), and one is a female abused by her mother (Valerie), yet all triumph and achieve wealth and social status.

By using heroes from the lower end of the social spectrum, Marryat may well be demonstrating the changing social status of his readers. He may also be displaying the influence of his American trip. Though Marryat allows for more wide-ranging class movement than in the earlier novels, all the heroes end up settled in the traditional English social hierarchy. They have at times been aided in their quests by the aristocracy, a class which Marryat felt was virtually non-existent in America.

Marryat was busy after his return from America. In 1839-40, he published A Diary in America (1839), The Phantom Ship (1839), Olla Podrida (1840), and Poor Jack (1840). It appears Marryat may have been worn out from his American trip, the constant writing, and his increasing marital problems. He was, in fact, separated from his wife Catherine in July 1839, shortly before the first of 12 monthly installments of Poor Jack appeared beginning in January 1840. Marryat's own preoccupation with his family concerns may well have led to the creation of Poor Jack, his most domestic novel, and one filled with light social satire. It was written while his visit to America was a recent memory, and perhaps his ambivalent views of America are reflected in the novel. Marryat disliked America because it lacked a rigid social structure, yet he admired the sense of independence of the Americans. Both the need for hierarchy and the conflicting desire for social fluidity are evidenced in this work as well as in Marryat's other post-American novels.

The hero of Poor Jack is one of Marryat's humblest protagonists. He is born in poor circumstances and, unlike other Marryat heroes raised in mean conditions, not secretly of upper class birth. He must estimate the year of his birth, and the lack of family lineage is so pronounced that he does not even know who his grandparents are: "My father was a man who invariably looked forward, and hated anything like retrospection; he never mentioned either his father or his mother; perhaps he was not personally acquainted with them" (1). He sounds like an American, with no interest in the past. The father, Tom Saunders, is gruff, somewhat coarse, but affable.

If the father is not concerned with social status, the hero's mother, Araminta (she pretentiously calls herself Madam Araminta), is obsessed with it. She feels she is marrying beneath herself by marrying a mere coxswain. She tells Tom

> that her father might be said to have been royally connected, being a king's messenger (and so, indeed, he might be considered, having been a two-penny postman); and that her mother had long scores against the first nobles in the land (she was a milk-woman) and that she had dry-nursed a young baronet, and was now, not merely a ladies' maid, but a *lady's* ladies' maid. (6)

The father, being a sailor, is often away from home, but he is around often enough for the couple to have two children. The first child, Poor Jack (whose real name is also Tom Saunders), is totally neglected by his mother, while the other child, Virginia, is lavished with affection.

The union of these disparate types is the most extraordinary marriage in Marryat's work. It is shocking in its bold references to sexuality, an aspect of the novel surprisingly not elaborated upon by previous critics. The father--a tall, handsome sailor pursued by many women--possesses "a pigtail of most extraordinary size and length, of which he was not a little proud, as it hung down far below the waistband of his trousers" (5). His favorite hobby is fondling the appendage; in fact, he is described by one character as being "all pigtail within and without" (7). His first reaction upon seeing Araminta is that he is "very much inclined to board her" (5). After being discovered in a compromising position by the lady of the house (in "the kitchen of all places," as the lady exclaims), they agree to marry. But Araminta's shame over her husband's poor upbringing soon supplants her passion. She has her husband impressed and denies her marriage to him. Upon his return from the service, she cuts off his pigtail one night.

Araminta married Tom because of passion, but her anger with the object of her passion is clear when she severs the pigtail with a scissors. She holds it "with an expression of the utmost contempt, between her finger and thumb" (37). Tom feels as if he has had "a limb shot off in action, never to be spliced again" (39). The statement is charged with sexual connotations. The father has indeed gone from a state of being sexually "in action" to one of "inaction" without the limb. The choice of the word "spliced," used throughout the novel to imply sexual joining as well as marriage, is equally telling. To compound matters, this ritualistic castration is witnessed by the horrified young Tom. Ultimately, Samson gains his revenge on Dalilah as the father beats Araminta with the severed pigtail, which is "nearly as thick as her own arm" (40). And he promises to reserve the pigtail just for her, and always to give her "a taste of pigtail without *chewing*" (36) with each visit.[15]

Araminta is one of Marryat's more intriguing characters, probably of more interest than Jack himself. She better than anyone else exemplifies the theme of the novel: the destructiveness of false pride. But as usual Marryat's message is ambiguous. She marries a man who she feels is beneath her, much as the mother in *Percival Keene*, and spends her life trying to make up for this mistake. When her husband is gone, she pretends that he is the captain of a merchant ship even though to keep up this pretense she must spend more money than she can afford. Her anger at her husband and her shame for having surrendered her ambition to lust have probably shaped her attitude towards the children. She neglects Jack, the male offspring. She will not provide him with clothes, only reluctantly gives him meager portions of food, and totally ignores his educational and spiritual well-being. She physically abuses him for no apparent reason. When he shows up after being reported dead, she is angry with him because Virginia will not be able to wear the pretty black mourning dress she made for her.

Despite her pretentiousness and misandry, Araminta is not an unsympathetic character. In many ways she represents the plight of poor Victorian women who aspire to raise their status with little hopes to succeed. The lot of domestic help, the main source of employment for such women, is seen to be a precarious one. Araminta is dismissed by Lady Hercules after becoming pregnant. A letter written years later describing a possible appointment for Virginia as a "boudoir assistant" gives a sense of the obsequiousness employees are expected to display:

> MRS. SAUNDERS,
> I have received a letter from your daughter, which, I presume, was forwarded as a specimen of her penmanship; otherwise it was your duty to have addressed me yourself. I said to you, when I met you at Greenwich, that you were educating your

> daughter above her condition in life, and I now repeat it. My patronage is extended only to those who are not above their situations, which, I am sorry to observe, most people are now. (301)

The pompous, obese Lady Hercules (her corpulence is a sign of her affluence and is in marked contrast to the lean lower class characters) and her friends exemplify the type of useless aristocracy condemned by Carlyle and Thackeray. The duties of the successful candidate for the above job, which would be unsalaried for a year, are as follows:

> Morning, up at six, and nicely dressed;...wait at bedside, in case Lady Towser should be troubled with her morning cough, to hand the emulsion, & c. ....[C]lean and feed macaw, cockatoo, and parrot, also canary and other birds; bring up dogs' dinners[.]... [R]ead to Lady T., if required; if not, get up collars and flounces, laces, & c., for Lady T. and Lady T.'s tirewoman....[W]alk out with dogs if weather is fine, and be careful to prevent their making any acquaintances whatever.
>
> ...At night see that the hot water is ready for Lady T.'s feet, and wait for her retiring to bed; wash Lady T.'s feet, and cut corns, as required; read Lady T. to sleep, or, if not required to read, wait till she is certain that Lady T. is so. (301-02)

The ultimate irony is that the position that Virginia is offered turns out to be with Araminta who, unbeknownst to Lady Hercules, has become a successful milliner.

Araminta is not essentially a bad woman. Ben the Whaler, a Greenwich pensioner, says "she's a good sort of woman in her way, and keeps up her character, and earns an honest livelihood" (20). Araminta struggles hard to achieve success for her daughter. Even Jack allows that she is indefatigable in this pursuit: "she was a very industrious woman, and, in some things, very clever" (50). Her ability to succeed independently of her husband, indeed in spite of him, is admirable. From the beginning she is said "to husband her resources" (14), ironic since her husband is not one of her resources. In fact, she supports him for years after he is wounded. Marryat, a great admirer of independent people, must have felt a certain warm spot for Araminta since she achieves her quest. She becomes a successful milliner and ends up having possible employees referred to her from society women. She manages to arrange a good match (a minister with fine prospects for becoming a bishop) for Virginia. Araminta lives independently of her husband and is much-pursued by the bachelors, who believe her to be from a genteel family. Jack says of her: "prosperity had not spoiled but improved her: she was more kind and more cheerful every time that I went to see her" (240-41).

Although Araminta and her husband have grown to understand each other during the course of the novel, Marryat refuses to have them live happily ever after.

Instead, they separate amicably, probably a surprise to his audience. Marryat's opinion of marriage appears typically ambiguous in the novel. Though the marriages of both young Tom and Virginia appear to be happy, marriage is described as being "a lottery" (348). There may well be, as Buster implies (227), some of Marryat's unhappy marriage to Kate in the marriage of Araminta and Tom. Kate, like Araminta, is quick-tempered but independent. And the book, written in the year of Marryat's own separation from Kate, ends with the couple's separation. But, as with most of Marryat's work, it is dangerous to read in too much autobiography. There are many dissimilarities as well. For example, Marryat was proud of his lineage and his immaculate appearance, two things to which Tom seems indifferent. The uneducated Tom can hardly be seen as a self-portrait of Marryat.

Young Tom (Poor Jack) is also an ambiguous character. Jack is virtually an orphan, having been neglected by his mother and with a father who is usually absent. He grows up in Fisher's Alley, a poor area of Greenwich, which is inhabited by drunken, quarrelsome people. After being all but abandoned by his mother, he becomes a mudlarker who begs for money while helping people out of boats. The boys so employed also try to attract the attention of those passing by in ships "so as to induce the company to throw us halfpence to scramble for. This they would do to while away their time until their dinner was ready, or to amuse themselves and the ladies by seeing us roll and tumble one over the other" (47). These people, like Lady Hercules, look upon the poor without any sympathy. They are a means of diversion: "the major portion of those who threw us silver for their own amusement, would not have given us a farthing, if we had asked charity for the love of God" (48).

Though Jack receives little help from his parents, he has, like Jacob Faithful, several benefactors from a variety of social classes. Ben the Whaler educates him on the practical aspects of life. The somewhat priggish Peter Anderson, another pensioner, teaches him about religion. Jack is also aided by those from higher classes such as Wilson, a lawyer, and Mrs. St. Felix, who turns out to be the noblewoman, Lady O'Connor. The most intriguing figure is Nanny, who runs a rag and bottle shop. The seemingly lower class miserly woman turns out to be the daughter of a wealthy merchant. Like Araminta, she overindulges her child, but Nanny's child turns out to be evil (though he reforms shortly before his death).

Jack, the recipient of all this assistance, is seemingly the antithesis of false pride. In the end he manages to become the owner of a landed estate with money he inherits from Nanny. He claims that "By not assuming a station which does not become me, I find myself treated not only with respect, but with friendship, by those who are in birth, as well as other qualifications, my superiors" (398). But such subservience does not completely fit with his independent nature. Even as a child he refuses to go to church until he has purchased a good set of clothes. He is proud when he earns enough so that he does not have to rely on his mother's pittance. In one remarkable scene he asserts his financial independence by showing his mother that he has money of his own, and the way he holds the money, "between my thumb and finger" (46) is clearly an assertion of his sexual independence as well since it harkens back to the way his mother had held the father's pigtail before severing it. Furthermore, we can hardly dispute his decision, against the advice of Anderson and Nanny, to abandon his career as a mudlarker because he is too proud to accept money. Marryat never encourages the acceptance of such charity in his characters. The novel demonstrates a constant theme in Marryat's work, that a virtuous, hard-working member of the lower or, especially, middle class can raise his station with the help of others, most often from the benevolent upper class. But the hero must demonstrate enough independence to prove that he warrants such assistance. Young Tom is the prototype for such a hero. Even the sons he eventually has with Bessie, the orphan girl raised by another of his benefactors, the river pilot Mr. Bramble, are all said to be independent, thus continuing in their father's footsteps.

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Joseph Rushbrook; or, the Poacher (1841) is often considered to be one of Marryat's weakest novels. Edgar Allan Poe, who generally disliked Marryat's works, particularly those written after his trip to America, says,

> It has the merit of a homely and not unnatural simplicity of style, and is not destitute of pathos; but this is all. Its English is excessively slovenly. Its events are monstrously improbable. There is no adaptation of parts about it. The truth is, it is a pitiable production. (201-02)

Poe's complaints are not without some validity. This is not one of Marryat's better works. Still, the novel is often interesting in its views on lower middle class life. The work was originally published serially in the weekly lower middle class periodical, the _Era_, in 1840-41 before being published as a book.

Marryat's choice of a lower middle class periodical as a vehicle influenced the content of the work. As noted in chapter one, Marryat had a strong interest in improving the lower middle class. The theme, familiar in several Marryat novels, of a poor boy who becomes rich and successful after surviving numerous trials, would certainly appeal to an aspiring lower middle class audience. He is also aware of the influence a periodical can have on the reading public. This is seen in Japhet, where Tim for a while reads such material. In Joseph Rushbrook one of the characters distributes "the Propeller, or some other publication full of treason and blasphemy, and read it aloud for the benefit of the labourers assembled" (13-14). The effect of the reading causes dissension against the established government and church. Marryat is deeply concerned about such possible consequences and this, besides the ever-present need for money, led him to publish the novel serially.

Joseph Rushbrook is the son of a poacher; his maternal grandfather had been transported for the same offense. It is implied that it is almost in the boy's genes. Joey's father, an ex-soldier pensioned off after being wounded, is forced to kill his "fence" because he is afraid the man will go to the authorities.[16] Joey, who witnessed the murder, is willing to accept the blame for his father's actions. Thus, he is forced to flee, only to be pursued doggedly by the demonic Furness, who hopes to collect the reward money.[17] The adventures that follow range from wildly improbable to totally predictable.

Yet despite the similarities to other Marryat stories, the novel is in some ways different. Though Marryat has some other low born characters (e.g. Poor Jack, Jacob Faithful), Joey is the only one descended from criminals; however, he is treated with complete sympathy. In fact, just as he admired smugglers for their cunning, Marryat tended to sympathize with poachers (this is also demonstrated in Jacob Faithful, ch. 19). He even hired one to work on his estate at Langham.

The elder Rushbrook had begun poaching some forty years earlier, a time when "the law was not so severe, or the measures taken against poachers so strong" (7) as in 1812, when the novel is set. The poaching laws were most stringent in the beginning years of the century, but the harshness of the Game Laws were still felt at the time Marryat was writing:

> For a time the warfare between gamekeepers and poachers was a savage affair of spring-guns and buckshot, but the spring-gun was prohibited, and in 1831 the sale of game

> was legalized, leading to a decline in the organized poaching gangs. But there still remained the village lads who for the sake of a few rabbits or hares, pheasant, trout or salmon were prepared to risk imprisonment and transportation and the chance of being maimed for life. (Chambers and Mingay 138)

Not surprisingly, the greatest number of poaching offenses occurred in areas where the laborers were the poorest. As Chambers and Mingay point out, "It was poverty and the longing for a taste of meat, rather than a mere disrespect for property or want of diversion, which turned labourers into poachers and made the woods ring with nocturnal alarms" (138). These poachers were not political radicals; they were just hungry men. As such they could command Marryat's sympathy. Still, the wealthy landowners, sometimes blamed for the increase of agrarian poverty because of the passage of the various enclosure acts (Chambers 77-104), are not criticized. In the world of Joseph Rushbrook it is the upper middle class mercantile class which is responsible for rural poverty, not the landed aristocracy. The poor long for the days before "their lands were held by wealthy manufacturers or retired merchants" (8). Undoubtedly Marryat also longed for those bygone days.

Poachers are not the only social "undesirables" who receive sympathy in this novel. Prostitutes, also treated with kindness in Peter Simple and Snarleyyow, are cast in a beneficent light. When we first meet Nancy, a harlot, she is described as "a very handsome, fair, blue-eyed girl, with a most roguish look." She descends the side of the ship "with very little regard as to showing her well-formed legs" (134). However, during the course of the novel, she reforms, even changing her name to Mary, obviously religiously symbolic of her new life (Hawes "Marryat and Dickens" 65). Ironically, "Mary" is traveling with Joseph, who is disguised as her brother. The idea of rebirth is strong in the novel. Joey assumes many names, and at one point, in a reversal of the usual trend in Marryat's work, even dresses poorly so as not to be considered a gentleman. The use of disguise is a somber reminder in this generally optimistic book that to survive in the world one often needs to be disguised.

Poe charges that Marryat plagiarized the character of Nancy from Dickens's Nancy in Oliver Twist (200). This, however, is probably not the case since Marryat already had a kind-hearted prostitute named Nancy who first appeared in the June 1836 instalment of Snarleyyow in the Metropolitan. Donald Hawes believes the more sentimental character of

Nancy in Joseph Rushbrook, in contrast to the frank manner of Marryat's earlier prostitutes, is probably a reflection on his awareness of changing social mores in his audience ("Marryat and Dickens" 65). This is undoubtedly true, but we should also keep in mind that Marryat is trying to "upgrade" the morals of his lower middle class audience and hence he takes pains to remove any crassness from his novel. The depiction of Nancy is also in keeping with the belief in Christian benevolence which predominates Marryat's later works. Furthermore, her portrayal is consistent with the overall favorable treatment of women characters in the book (Buster 238-40).[18]

The novel has further interest because of its depiction of London life. Marryat generally paints a negative picture of city life in such novels as Snarleyyow and Poor Jack, but this is his most bleak portrayal. Joey flees to London naively thinking everyone there can get a job. He is not in London twenty-four hours before he is robbed of all his money by a band of young pickpockets, of both genders, some no more than seven or eight years of age. The little girl who leads him to their lair even offers to sleep with him. The description of their den is reminiscent of Oliver Twist: "In the centre were huddled together on the floor, round a tallow candle, eight or ten of the inmates, two of them playing with a filthy pack of cards, while the others looked over them; others were lying down or asleep on the several beds" (32). Marryat, like Dickens, has an "insight into childish feelings, especially those of bewilderment and fear" (Hawes "Marryat and Dickens" 62). While the novel is not a vigorous condemnation of the Poor Law Act as is Oliver Twist, the narrator does make some caustic comments:

> Attempts have been made to check these nurseries of vice; but pseudo-philanthropists have resisted such barbarous innovation; and, upon the Mosaic principle, that you must not seethe the kid in the mother's milk, they are protected and allowed to arrive at full maturity, and beyond the chance of being reclaimed, until they are ripe for the penalties of the law. (32)

There are also more subtle comments on the plight of the poor, as for example, the kind-hearted bumboat woman Mrs. Chopper's complaint about having to work on Sunday: "Church, like everything else in this world, appears to me only to be made for the rich" (141).

Despite these hardships, Joey has several friends (Mrs. Chopper, Spikeman, M'Shane), but he says, "I like to be independent" (242). Certainly he cannot depend on his father, who does not make much of an effort to find his son after inheriting a fortune. The elder Rushbrook is even willing to let his son die on his account until finally, guilt-ridden, he gets brain fever, confesses the truth, and conveniently dies thereby leaving all his money to Joey. The gaining of financial independence is important in the novel. It is the essential part of the tinker Spikeman's definition of a gentleman. Spikeman, in fact, claims that "a gentleman does not work, he has liberty to go where he pleases, he is not controlled, and is his own master" (180). Joey's future wife, on the other hand, urges Joey to take up "a respectable profession" and not to be "an idle gentleman" (248), but after inheriting his fortune it is unlikely that he will take up such a profession.

As with Jacob Faithful, a moral tag is given at the end of Joseph Rushbrook:

> In this story we have shown how a young lad, who commenced his career with poaching, ultimately became a gentleman of ...7000 [pounds] a year; but we must remind our youthful readers, that it does not follow that every one who commences with poaching is to have the same good fortune. We advise them, therefore, not to attempt it, as they may find that instead of...7000 [pounds] a year, they may stand a chance of going to where our hero very narrowly escaped from being sent; this is, to a certain portion of her Majesty's dominions beyond the seas, latterly termed Australia, but more generally known by the appellation of Botany Bay. (344-45)

Such a warning in light of the rest of the novel seems ludicrous. Clearly we are meant to sympathize with and admire Joey; therefore, such a contrived moral, "In somewhat tardy fashion" (introd. to The Poacher v) as Courtney says, is not at all convincing. One cannot help but wonder if the moral, especially with the sarcastic tone of the final sentence, is at least partly tongue-in-cheek. Is Marryat mocking his lower middle class audience? Or is the message subversive? Considering how seriously Marryat takes the moral purpose of the novelist, it is more likely that he was simply in a quandary. He wants his audience to admire Joey, yet he does not want them to follow in his footsteps. He realizes that he has presented an unorthodox hero to his audience and, therefore, he undoubtedly tries to undermine any radical sense of espousing criminal activity. One wonders how much his audience heeded this casual warning.

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On the surface, Percival Keene (1842) bears certain similarities to Japhet, in Search of a Father. Both novels consider the question of what is a gentleman and in both works the protagonist pursues a father who turns out to be well born. But there the similarities end. Whereas Japhet is born in wedlock and can gain the acknowledgment of his father while the elder gentleman is living, Percival's suffering is much more psychological. He knows who his father is (his paternity is often surmised by other characters as well) and can even be near him, yet any assistance Percival receives is always distanced. The father never acknowledges him. Japhet can tease and even affront his father, boldly complaining about the lack of care the old man has provided, but Percival must scrape for every crumb thrown to him by his father. It is the harsh difference between being legitimate and illegitimate in a rigidly defined socially conscious world, a difference which causes Percival to become calculating and somewhat cold in contrast to the emotional, overzealous Japhet. Percival's quest, therefore, is more muted and controlled.

Percival's father, Captain Percival Delmar (later to become Lord de Versely), is a good conservative who has held a seat in the House of Commons and voted with the Ministry. He is heir to an estate with 12,000 acres, which has been in his family for centuries. Thus, unlike the hero in Japhet, the family heir will have a title and land, an important concept since Percival longs not only for wealth but also to gain a respected place in the landed aristocracy.[19]

Another difference from Japhet is that the mother, Arabella Mason, plays a prominent role in Percival Keene. Arabella is socially ambitious. She is the daughter of a steward and is employed by Delmar's aged aunt. Arabella maintains a position which is

> betwixt and between, a sort of humble companion in the drawing-room, a cut above the housekeeper in the still-room, a fetcher and carrier of the honourable spinster's wishes, a sort of link between the aristocratic old dame and her male attendants, towards whom she had a sort of old maidish aversion (3)

Arabella has frequently been criticized as being a flat character. Courtney calls her "a very ordinary woman" (introd. Percival Keene vii) and Buster dismisses her as a cipher (250). However, she is more than that. She is clever, independent, and self-sacrificing. Her dilemma over the lack of a clearly defined social position is reminiscent of the lot of the mulatto woman, Carlotta, in Frank Mildmay. Put "in a family way" by Captain Delmar, she is forced into a marriage of convenience with the imbecile Benjamin Keene, a marine private who serves as Delmar's valet. Percival's sympathy for Arabella, totally different from the way Japhet feels towards his mother, is evident:

> [W]hen she found out the pride and selfishness of the man to whom she was devoted, and for whom she had sacrificed so much; when her ears were wounded by proposals from his lips that she should take such a step [her marriage to Benjamin] to avoid the scandal arising from their intimacy; when at the moment that he made such a proposition, and the veil fell down and revealed the heart of man in its selfishness, it is not to be wondered, that, with bitter tears, arising from wounded love, anger, and despair at her hopeless position, she consented. (12)

Although she accepts this arrangement, she is not docile; she tries to improve her situation. Certainly her words about her marriage, "I'm commanding officer, and intend so to be as long as I live" (15), are not those of a typical faint-hearted Victorian heroine. Arabella is in some ways like Araminta in _Poor Jack_. Both aspire above their class and are independent of their loyal, physically attractive, but dull-witted husbands. And, like Araminta, Arabella succeeds: "She had raised herself, unaided, far above him [Benjamin]" (11). Rather than live in the barracks, with a class of people she feels are beneath her, she sets up a fashionable circulating library, a business at which she is enormously successful. She lets Percival go into the navy because "she perceived that it would be for my advantage that I should ensure the patronage and protection of Captain Delmar, and she sacrificed self to my interest" (68). It is such a self-sacrificing spirit which enables her to feign her death in the hopes of aiding her son.

Percival has also been condemned by some critics, particularly in the nineteenth century, as being a base character. David Hannay, for example, feels "there is a disagreeable flavour in the book. The hero is a low fellow--not in a healthy human way even, but in a very mean intriguing fashion, and he plays his part in the meanest possible manner" (124). Certainly Percival breaks all the rules of etiquette which nineteenth century readers expected from romantic heroes (Coulson-Gilmer 141); still, his behavior is no worse than that of Japhet. Yet, as has been seen, Japhet's disreputable behavior has often been excused. That Percival's has not, one suspects, is largely because of his illegitimacy.

Such condemnation, however, is not completely fair. Percival, like his mother, is a curious combination of humility and pride. Around strong male figures such as Captain Delmar or the black pirate, Vincent, Percival is a humble child. Nevertheless, he is certainly selfish and unscrupulous at times, particularly in his treatment of Arabella. Like Japhet, Percival's chances with his father are better if his mother is absent. As a result, Percival is willing to humiliate his mother, confronting her with his illegitimacy and asking her to pretend to die so that his chances for patronage may live. In a sense, he is asking her to die in "childbirth" so that he may achieve his proper birthright: "the captain was ashamed of his intimacy, and the claims of my mother upon him, but not so much ashamed of me; and, now that she was removed, probably he might not be at all ashamed. My mother was no relation, and below him--I was his own flesh and blood, and half ennobled by so being" (265). Yet Percival is not trying to shame his mother; instead, with his obsessive logic, he is praising her for going above her station. He tells his mother he would rather be the illegitimate son of a nobleman than the legitimate offspring of a private: "I prefer the half relation to that class [the aristocracy], such as it is, with all its penalties, to being supposed to be the son of the man whom, from prudential motives alone, you took to be your husband" (228).[20]

Percival is aided by several benefactors in his quest: his mother, his aunt, Captain Bridgeman (ironically, he and Percival's aunt cannot marry while Ben is alive because "it would be derogatory that one sister should be the wife of a private and the other of an officer" 44), and the seaman, Bob Cross. But he needs to prove himself more than such heroes as Japhet or Jacob Faithful. Delmar, as ever trying to maintain a cool distance from his son, even says, "You have gained all your rank in the service by your own merit and exertions" (332). The remark is in many ways true. As a child Percival grows up without male guidance: the house is run by his mother, aunt and grandmother. He certainly has no respect for Benjamin Keene and is aware of his mother's frustrations over her situation. He acts out his own aggression by pranks, the most violent in Marryat's work, one of which almost blows up his schoolteacher. Later, when he realizes who his real father is, Percival's situation does not seriously improve. He knows he can never declare Delmar to be his father if he hopes to gain anything from him. There is a fine line he must tread. He can never get too familiar with his father. Bridgeman ironically advises Percival, "be very civil and respectful to Captain Delmar, and he may be as good as a father to you," (58)[21] and Cross suggests, "You must always be very respectful to Captain Delmar, and keep yourself at as great a distance from him as he does from you"

(94).

While Percival's father helps him more than the absent parent of Japhet, it is always from a distance. He loses touch with the family for a while and only by chance does he re-encounter them (it is fitting that Percival is reunited with his father through a practical joke ch. 10), and he later gives Percival several opportunities to leave his command. When Percival risks his life, substituting for his ill father in a duel, Delmar (unaware what his son has done) objects when the wounded Percival is brought into his home: "Are all the midshipmen who are taken ill to be brought to my house to be cured?" The cold Percival is momentarily stung, saying his father's remark "cut me to the heart. I felt what an invincible pride had to be conquered before I could obtain my wishes" (262). Though he says his father is kind, one can feel Percival's pain in humbling himself to such a pompous man, who showed "in almost every action and every word that he never forgot his superiority of birth" (125). Percival's pursuit of his father is more out of obsession, like Japhet, than love. At his father's death he admits, "my grief at his death was increased by my disappointment in having for ever lost the great object of my wishes" (390). Can we blame him for such feelings?

The subject of unacknowledged gentlemen was difficult to bring up in early Victorian England. Marryat's treatment of such a taboo was one reason he was not likely to be popular with the aristocracy. The book is, in a sense, a guide to unacknowledged gentlemen on how to gain patronage, if not outright acknowledgment, from their fathers. Again there is an ambivalent message: one must cautiously follow the dictates of the decorum of society, but one should strike out independently and try to take care of oneself as well. By his resolve and patience, Percival does gain his "wishes." He has a handsome income and, at the posthumous request of de Versely, he is to "assume the arms and name of Delmar" (409). "Assume," meaning "to pretend to have" as well as "to take on," seems an aptly ambiguous word choice.

Percival was prepared to renounce his false patriarchy and give up the name Keene. Instead, he is willing to adopt his wife's name because it carries more prestige. However, Delmar's request makes this decision unnecessary. It is ironic that his father's wishes are delivered second-hand in a lawyer's letter as a postscript overleaf not even noticed by Percival; his entire quest has been reduced to a postscript. The observer of the overleaf is his wife, Minnie, who had been prepared to give

Percival her name; instead, by her discovery, she now allows him to have his own proper identity. Percival has succeeded in gaining patronage if not quite in finding a "pater."

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The first eleven chapters of Valerie, an Autobiography, Marryat's final novel, were published serially in the New Monthly (1846-47). The last two chapters were completed by an unknown author and published in book form in 1849. The theme, the social advancement of the protagonist despite many obstacles, is a familiar one in Marryat's work, but for the first time the main character is a woman.

Valerie is born to an aristocratic family; her father is an officer from "the ancienne noblesse of France" (1). However, Valerie's mother hates her because the child, being female, has hindered her husband's chances for advancement in Napoleon's army. The mother's gender-based hatred is reminiscent of that in Poor Jack except in the earlier novel the victim is a male. Valerie endures constant physical and mental abuse. Once she is beaten for refusing to marry a man her mother had chosen for her. Valerie's reluctance to marry is especially appropriate considering the negative portrayal of marriage in much of the book. She receives a final beating in a startlingly graphic scene: "my mother caught up a hearth-brush, and struck me for several minutes such a succession of severe blows, that my face was so disfigured that I was hardly to be recognised, my head cut open in several places, and the blood pouring down me in every direction" (27).

As a result of this beating, Valerie flees her home and lives in a variety of situations. The novel emphasizes the precarious position of a single woman living alone. Valerie is first aided by Madame d'Albret, but is abandoned by her when Monsieur de G--, whom Valerie had previously rejected, convinces Madame d'Albret that Valerie has slandered her. Valerie is then literally stranded with Madame Bathurst, whom she is visiting, when Madame d'Albret severs all ties with her. Thus, Valerie must learn to fend for herself. Valerie has knowledge of music and foreign languages. She also learns millinery and how to make wax flowers. The dreary and limited job prospects for an educated woman--a lady's maid, companion, amanuensis, music and French tutor--are discussed.

Valerie decides to become a governess for Bathurst's niece, Caroline. The sorry lot of governesses, seen earlier in Poor Jack, are summed up by Madame Bathurst:

> I do not know any class of people, who are more to be pitied than these young people who enter families as governesses; not considered good enough for the drawing-room, they are too good for the kitchen; they are treated with hauteur by the master and mistress, and only admitted, or suffered for a time to be in their company: by the servants they are considered as not having claims to those attentions and civilities, for which they are paid and fed; because receiving salaries...they are not entitled in their opinion to be attended upon. (64-65)

Like Marryat's male protagonists, she is resilient and keenly aware of finances, earning 100 pounds a year.[22] But she, as many Victorian governesses, is a woman without a social class, always a pitiable position in Marryat's work.[23]

After her mistreatment by her mother and by Madame d'Albret, Valerie is afraid to become too attached to anyone. She tells Madame Bathurst, "I should be miserable and unhappy if not independent" (73). Therefore, she leaves Bathurst's protection and takes a position with Lady R--, an eccentric novelist. Though an affable woman of good breeding, Lady R--is laughable in her eccentricity, asking Valerie to tighten the laces on her stays when writing a moral, strait-laced dialogue and then loosening them when writing an impassioned scene. Valerie leaves her employment for a position with the mercenary Lady M--, ostensibly as a tutor, but in reality as a milliner for Lady M--'s daughters to increase their chances of achieving "good" (financially lucrative) marriages.[24] Finally, through a legacy from Lady R--, Valerie inherits some 1500 pounds. As a result, she has achieved her wish and is financially independent, the goal of Marryat's heroes whether male or female: "I felt a tranquillity I had not known before. I was now independent. I could work, it is true, if I felt inclined, and had an opportunity. I could, however, do without work" (171). Like Jacob Faithful, she is compared by one character with "Cinderella" (187), which is an appropriate image.

However, Valerie's triumph is not yet complete. Throughout her experiences, she maintains a distance from her employers and casts a cold eye on marriage, the traditional source of relief from financial distress for Victorian heroines. Indeed, she roundly condemns marriage at every opportunity. This is not surprising considering the many poor marriages she has seen, including those of her parents and grandparents, the loveless marriage of Caroline's parents, that of Madame d'Albret and the scheming Monsieur de G--, and that of Adele (who marries a man who believes she is an heiress). Repeating a description in Newton Forster and Poor Jack, marriages are seen as "lotteries, with more blanks than prizes" (194). Valerie even says, "For my part, I would not cross the street for the best man that ever was created. As friends, they are all very well; as advisers in some cases they are useful; but, when you talk of marrying one, and becoming his slave, that is quite another affair" (195).

Valerie does, nevertheless, finally meet her white knight, the Count de Chavannes, who defends her from Monsieur de G-- and then, the picture of decorum, apologizes for fighting in front of a lady. After a brief period of courtship, they marry and decide to settle in England. Though both Valerie and the Count were born in France, they feel more loyalty to England, demonstrating the consistent bias Marryat had against France. Valerie says, "France banished and repudiated me like a step-mother--England received me, kinder than my own, like a mother" (270).[25] She becomes the Comtesse de Chavannes and lives comfortably surrounded by her friends. She is even reconciled with her mother; however, though giving up her native country, she shows her independence by retaining her Catholicism.

The ending of the book has been seen as disappointing to some critics. There is a discernable drop in quality in the final two chapters. W.L. Courtney feels that the introduction of the Count is a blot on the novel:

> [S]urely Marryat meant to leave Valerie a happy old maid, a picture of an independent, self-reliant woman, earning her own living, and asking help from no one. Must it not be the "other hand" who is responsible for the marvellous Count de Chavannes, who appears at the end of the book? Marryat would never have drawn so immaculate a man: he would not have believed in him. (introd. to Valerie vii)

However, despite Marryat's admiration for independence, it is unlikely that he would have left Valerie unmarried. He had already received his audience's censure for not having the hero in The King's Own marry. Marryat was not one to risk his audience's displeasure twice for the same offense, especially since his hero is a woman. Furthermore, it is clear that Marryat was planning to culminate the story with Valerie's marriage. As Walter Buster notes, the view of marriages becomes increasingly optimistic throughout the novel (259-60). In addition, the character of the Count was introduced by Marryat himself in the final chapter he wrote. That the Count is a lifeless paragon is true, but he is no more so than several of the insipid heroines Marryat had earlier provided for some of his heroes. Depicting the gentler emotions, as Virginia Woolf says (44), is not the Captain's strong point.

The changing views of marriage reveal the ambiguity typical in Marryat's work. Though Valerie is the type of resourceful, independent character so admired by Marryat, ultimately she must subordinate herself to male domination. This is apparent from the very beginning of the novel when Valerie's father is chided for not keeping his wife under control. Valerie comments, "if ever there was a proof that woman was intended by the Creator to be subject to man, it is, that once place power in the hands of woman, and there is not one out of a hundred who will not abuse it" (13). This abuse of power is demonstrated by the most independent woman in the book, Lady R--. Though generally seen in a favorable light, she harbors a secret sin which must be rectified upon her death. She had helped to sabotage the marriage of her sister and defrauded her nephew, Lionel, of his proper inheritance, instead making him her footman.[26] The anti-female tone is obvious in Valerie's statement about Lady R--: "When a woman says everything that comes into her head, out of a great deal of chaff there will drop some few grains of wheat" (76). Women are meant to be protected by men. Caroline, for example, yearns to be married so that "once under a husband's protection, my father and mother have no control over me" (180). Valerie is even skeptical of the Count because of his somewhat effeminate appearance and only falls in love with him after he displays his masculinity by fighting Monsieur de G--. While it is pleasing that Marryat has shown he can write a novel sympathetic to the plight of a heroine, this is not a feminist tract. Though Valerie is a resourceful character who achieves a large measure of independence, she is a woman, and as such she must take a different path from Marryat's male heroes to achieve her proper station. It has been noted that Valerie has been compared to Cinderella; unfortunately, however, the story needs a prince with a glass slipper to be complete.

Notes

[1] Carlyle would not consider Marryat a serious enough writer to be a "hero." And David Hannay says Carlyle never forgave Marryat for calling him "Mr. Carlisle" (99). However, it was to Marryat that Carlyle turned at his lowest point, when the manuscript of The French Revolution was destroyed. Though he included Marryat's works among "the trashiest heap of Novels" (Letters vol. 8, 113), they seemed to have the desired effect of calming Carlyle down, and he was able to resume writing shortly thereafter. And Mr. Midshipman Easy, with its criticism of egalitarianism, bears certain similarities to Carlyle's history of the Revolution (though Carlyle's letter was written shortly before Easy was published).

Marryat and Carlyle actually share some common points. They are contemporaries, Marryat being born in 1792 and Carlyle in 1795. Both published their first significant work in 1829 (Frank Mildmay and "Signs of the Times"). Several of their ideas also coincide. Marryat's all-powerful captain is similar to Carlyle's hero. The hero has an obligation to teach those beneath him and, in turn, is dependent upon the loyalty of those followers. Both Marryat and Carlyle felt the aristocracy often did not fulfill their role as leaders of society. Aristocrats were indolent and dilettante, and instead of helping the poor imposed laws to suppress them. Both criticized democracy because it allowed the masses to rule. Both were skeptical about institutions (Carlyle much more so) and praised the individual. Still, Marryat was not nearly as much of a radical as Carlyle and would hope for a gradual reform. Rather than say that society needs a new set of clothes, Marryat would have the clothes metaphor demonstrate the difference between classes and the possibility of upward and downward social mobility. See Cazamian (especially 83-90), Timko (especially 65-74), and Campbell for more on Carlyle.

[2] Neale was the author of several naval novels including Cavendish or the Patrician at Sea (1831) and The Port Admiral (1833). Although Neale praised Marryat's work, Marryat criticized The Port Admiral, which contained a negative portrayal of a high-ranking admiral. Marryat is said to have revealed Neale as being the author of the anonymous work.

Marryat also insulted Neale to his face. When Neale challenged Marryat to a duel, the Captain refused because Neale was from a lower social group. And when Neale's second, a gentleman, came to Marryat's hotel, the Captain threatened to have the man thrown out. The culmination of the feud came on November 5, 1834, when the two passed each other in the street in London. After exchanging insults, Marryat, twice the size of Neale, charged his opponent and pummelled him (Warner 94-96; Lloyd Marryat 258-61; Gautier 96-99). Such behavior from one who considered himself a gentleman seems inexplicable, though Buster notes that the incident occurred at a period when Marryat was extremely overworked (27-28). Neale published his account of the incident in an appendix to his novel Will Watch (1834). Marryat defended himself in his "Refutation of the Statement of Messrs. Cochrane, Neale, & c." Metropolitan Magazine 11 (Dec. 1834): 105-18.

[3] An example of vanity is a black Methodist preacher, dressed like a dandy, who uses his preaching skills to gain money from his flock. Peter says, "He reminded me of a monkey imitating a man" (2: 164). Still, in his actions this corrupt Methodist preacher is felt by Peter and his friend O'Brien to be no worse than some European preachers.

[4] The narrator in Newton Forster states,

> The eldest son, accustomed from his earliest days to the flattery and adulation of dependents, is impressed with but one single idea, namely, that he is the fortunate person deputed by chance to spend so many thousands per annum, and that his brothers and sisters, with equal claims upon the parent, are to be almost dependent upon him for support. Of this, the latter are but too soon made conscious, by the difference of treatment which they experience from those around them; and feelings of envy and ill-will towards their eldest brother are but too often the result of such inequality (178-79).

Despite this criticism, the narrator feels there is no other way in which "the desirable end of upholding rank is to be obtained" (180). Without primogeniture the English may end up as Americans and their names will quickly be forgotten after death.

[5] Generally nobody mourns death in Marryat's novels as it is seen as a means of getting an inheritance.

[6] Plotting relatives are also present in The King's Own and Percival Keene.

[7] The novel was turned into a melodrama by J.T. Haines which ran for approximately two months (Coulson-Gilmer 90).

[8] This occurs before the instance of spontaneous combustion in Dickens's Bleak House (1853) but after that of Wieland (1798) by Brockden Brown. Some, including George Henry Lewes, feel that Dickens may have been influenced by Marryat here. Hawes examines the issue further ("Marryat and Dickens" 58).

[9] Jacob's world is never so bleak as Huck's. Jacob may have parents who are drunkards but they do not beat him; there are scoundrels, though none are as evil as the Duke and Dauphin, and slavery does not exist (though impressment does). For a further comparison, see Buster 147-49. Dewey Ganzel, in an article listed in my bibliography, discusses Twain's plagiarisms from Marryat's Diary while writing Life on the Mississippi (1883).

[10] Frequently in Marryat's novels those who attempt to copy French manners and customs are seen as being affected. Not surprisingly in light of the recent Napoleonic wars, the French are usually criticized in Marryat's works.

[11] The episode with Mrs. Turnbull is also an example of the generally negative view of women in the novel (Buster 156).

12
This skepticism is also indicated by the character of Corny, a radical peasant in the novel who, "as soon as he was comfortable, became one of the government's firmest supporters" (417).

13
It is entirely appropriate that Japhet, in Search of a Father is cited by Joyce in Ulysses since Stephen Dedalus also seeks a father. Both protagonists are isolated, but at the end of the novels have succeeded to some extent in achieving a union with society.

14
Japhet says, "The greatest proof of a perfect gentleman is, that he is able to command his temper." However Jacob allows that "there are many gentlemen, who, unfortunately, cannot command their tempers, and are more to be pitied than blamed for it" (385). Perhaps Marryat had himself in mind here. Though Marryat considered himself a gentleman, he had a fierce temper. The best example of it came in his street brawl with the novelist W.J. Neale which took place shortly before this section of Japhet was written (see note 2 of this chapter). The constant desire to make peace between fathers and sons in Marryat's novels may also be autobiographical (Buster 172-73).

15
Possibly because of his unhappy marriage Marryat seems to have been fearful of potentially castrating women. In Snarleyyow Vanslyperken, too, is "unmanned." He is cuckolded when Van Spitter, his chief officer, becomes involved with the widow Vanslyperken had been courting. And he is symbolically raped by a mob of female smugglers who strip him and force him to kiss them and buy them drinks or else "kiss" a phallic red-hot poker brandished by a woman's "masculine fist" (232-39). (This is similar to the impressment scene described on page 44 above in Peter Simple, except Peter is "man" enough to wield the poker and free himself). Vanslyperken's dog Snarleyyow also has been debased by a woman, having his tail severed by Moggy. Finally, Vanslyperken is hanged with Snarleyyow, who in a perverse way is his lover; his last request is to kiss the animal.

16

There is probably a pun in the fence's name, "Byres." Byres is described as "a radical knave" (13). He is a pedlar, a dangerous occupation in Marryat's view because pedlars are "the cause of much of the ill-will and discontent fomented among the lower classes" (13). They cause this discontent by their distribution of radical periodicals. Appropriately, Byres does so in this novel. Thus, he is a "fence" not only for stolen goods, but for inflammatory ideas as well.

17

There is probably also a pun in Furness's name as well (furnace). Appropriately, the object of terror for young Joey is a schoolmaster. Poe sees in Furness an imitation of Dickens's Fagin in Oliver Twist (199).

18

The Era had a large female audience. Marryat attempts to appeal to them by having many courtships in the book. He also has a digression praising the cultivated minds of women (267-68).

19

The emphasis on becoming a landed gentleman in the later novel reflects Marryat's interest in becoming a gentleman farmer. He became more and more attracted to his estate at Langham in Norfolk, particularly as his expenses increased in the city. He had acquired the estate over a glass of champagne in exchange for his London home in 1830. Marryat finally moved to Langham in 1843 and spent the remainder of his life there. However, his income never matched his expenditures. For more on Marryat and Langham, see the anonymous "Captain Marryat at Langham," Cornhill Magazine, 16 (August 1867), 149-61.

20

He later repents his actions towards his mother; in fact, this deception almost causes him to lose everything (ch. 46).

21

Percival's reply, thinking of Ben, "I'd rather have two mothers than two fathers" (58), would be an anathema to the paternalistic Japhet.

[22] The emphasis on finance is reminiscent of Defoe's Moll Flanders. Valerie's interest in finance is also apparent when she receives her legacy and when she gives money to her father.

[23] For more on Victorian governesses see M. J. Peterson 3-19.

[24] Again we see an example of the importance of clothing in Marryat's work.

[25] Such a comparison seems ironic in light of Valerie's treatment from her mother, except that Valerie never truly acknowledged the woman as her mother (15).

[26] Even in his most female-oriented novel. Marryat did not seem able to pass up the theme of a young man struggling to achieve his proper inheritance. Lionel did not know he was really an aristocrat though others could see he was really above his lowly station.

CHAPTER FOUR: AMERICA AND DEMOCRACY

The early Victorian era was a time when many Englishmen visited America. Between 1836-60, for instance, some 230 English sojourners visited America and published accounts of their travels (Berger 190). For several reasons, the years after 1820 brought a different English traveler to the United States than earlier. A major factor was the introduction of steamships to cross the Atlantic in 1819, which cut the journey to America from about three months to one month. One result was an increase in upper class and upper middle class travelers. The America these visitors saw was also rapidly changing. The rail system had begun to open up America so that travelers could venture from the amenities of the more "genteel" East coast and journey toward the less settled Midwest and West. This frontier often was criticized harshly by British writers (Nevins 111-14).

England's relations with America were also changing. There was a certain amount of hostility still present after the War of 1812, and both countries were undergoing internal struggles as well. The French Revolution made the English aristocracy apprehensive about a similar event occurring in their own country. America, with its emphasis on democracy, was viewed with suspicion by many of the English, especially after the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828. Tories, concerned over the turbulent domestic situation in England in the 1820s and 30s, saw America as a dangerous model for England to follow. While some British, notably Harriet Martineau in her Society in America (1837) and Retrospect of Western Travel (1838), wrote favorable impressions of the Americans, the bulk of travelers from 1825-45 were critical of the young country. As it is said in Dickens's Pickwick Papers, a book about America will "pay all his [the writer's] expenses and more, if he blows 'em [Americans] up enough" (700). These attacks regularly were praised in the Tory periodicals, the Quarterly Review and the newly established Blackwood's (Nevins 111-12).

Since the majority of the travelers were from the aristocracy or upper middle class, it is not surprising that many of them held Tory views. The democratic government of the nation became the focal point of many of the writings. "Democracy," always a complex term, generally carried unfavorable connotations in England into the nineteenth century. Many, including Marryat, followed Bentham's formulation of democracy as the rule by the majority of people (Williams Keywords 82-87). However, for

Marryat rule by more than the smallest aristocratic minority amounted to mob-rule.[1] Democracy was thought to lead to a lawlessness, bordering on anarchy, particularly in the more sparsely populated areas. The egalitarian spirit was said to cause a uniformity in dress, language, education, and religion. Americans were also reviled for their hypocrisy; they claimed to be a classless society, yet often demonstrated strong aristocratic feelings in their social relationships (Berger 58-63). In addition, many travelers criticized the existence of slavery in the land of equality.

By the time that Marryat arrived in America in 1837, there was a sizable body of Tory travel works, including Captain Basil Hall's Travels in North America in the Years 1827-28 (1829) and Frances Trollope's Domestic Manners of the Americans (1832). Marryat, however, in a letter from October 1837, claimed that works such as these had been unfair to the Americans: "All I have read about America, written by English travellers, is absurd" (qtd. in Florence Marryat 2: 26). Nevertheless, it was unlikely that Marryat could be objective in his views of America. His biases against equality are apparent, for example, in Mr. Midshipman Easy, written shortly before his American trip.

In Mr. Midshipman Easy (1836), Nicodemus Easy, the hero's father, is a laughable caricature of the concept of democracy. Easy's hobby-horse is philosophy, especially concerning the equality of man:

> For some time, Mr Easy could not decide upon what description his nonsense should consist of; at last he fixed upon the rights of man, equality, and all that; how every person was born to inherit his share of the earth, a right at present only admitted to a certain length; that is, about six feet, for we all inherit our graves, and are allowed to take possession without dispute. (1)

Jack, realizing at an early age that equality is not attainable on land, decides to try the sea. Gradually, under the tutelage of several persons from various social standings, Jack learns the folly of equality. Teaching is of great importance in this novel, which is the closest to a bildingsroman of Marryat's works. Jack learns from his schoolmaster Mr. Bonnycastle, the seaman Jolliffe, Mesty, and Captain Wilson. Perhaps the most important teacher is Dr. Middleton. Even his name is indicative of Marryat's credo: follow the middle path. It is he who persuades Nicodemus to send Jack to Bonnycastle's school. It is he who encourages the boy to go to sea. And it is he who is the boy's intellectual father, not Nicodemus. It is noteworthy that Jack is a midshipman for most of the novel, and thus even is name is he linked to Middleton. What Easy must learn, as in other Marryat novels, is how to become a gentleman. He must overcome not a lowly birth or illegitimacy, but his father's notion of equality, which threatens the concept of a gentleman. Jack must claim his proper station in life and aid those below him. He learns this lesson in the navy, where, as he is told by Jolliffe, "everybody finds his level,--not the level of equality, but the level which his natural talent and acquirements will rise or sink him to, in proportion as they are plus or minus" (96).

As a final test, Jack must confront his father, who has allowed the servants to take over the family estate. Nicodemus appears as a demonic symbol of democracy. He attempts to stir up the peasants, "exciting them to acts of violence and insubordination. He has been seen dancing and hurrahing round a stack fired by an incendiary" (348). He awaits the revolution eagerly: "Kings, lords, and aristocrats; landholders, tithe-collectors, church and state, thank God, will soon be overthrown, and the golden age revived" (355).

Jack, after listening to his father, makes his case against equality:

> Were all equal in beauty there would be no beauty, for beauty is only by comparison--were all equal in strength, conflicts would be interminable--were all equal in rank, and power, and possessions, the greatest charms of existence would be destroyed--generosity, gratitude, and half the finer virtues would be unknown....Were all equal in ability, there would be no instruction, no talent, no genius--nothing to admire, nothing to copy, to respect--nothing to rouse emulation, or stimulate to praiseworthy ambition. (366)

Instead of the mediocrity Easy feels that democracy engenders, a feeling which would be confirmed for Marryat on his trip to America, he proposes a pyramid as the perfect hierarchical social structure:

> The most lasting and imperishable form of building is that of the pyramid, which defies ages, and to that may the most perfect form of society be compared. It is based upon the many, and rising by degrees, it becomes less as wealth, talent, and rank increase in the individual, until it ends at the apex or monarch, above all. Yet each several stone from the apex to the base is necessary for the preservation of the structure, and fulfils its duty in its allotted place. (366)

Ultimately, the elder Easy is killed by his own invention, a ludicrous machine designed to increase one's capacity for benevolence. His fate is symbolic of what will happen, according to Marryat, to a nation advocating democracy. After Nicodemus's death, Jack quickly restores order, rights the estate, and eventually becomes a Tory member of

Parliament.

The conservative message seems to be clear, but as usual we are given conflicting views. Jack, Marryat's most likeable hero, is praised for his generosity and fairness, qualities fostered by his sense of egalitarianism. Even as Marryat calls for a certain conformity to rank, he obviously admires his hero's individuality. Nicodemus, too, has admirable traits. One tenant (while still paying rent) praises him as "a right good landlord" (40). In addition, Nicodemus's generosity benefits Jack because it leads to his gaining assistance from two of Nicodemus's friends, Captain Wilson and Dr. Middleton. Wilson is kind to Jack because Nicodemus had lent Wilson money; in fact, Wilson says it is a pity that a man "should be so weak in the head" who has "so good a heart" (53). However, though Nicodemus the individual is not really evil, the institution of democracy is dangerous. The America which Marryat would soon see is, in essence, a nation full of Nicodemus Easys driven mad by their institutions.

Marryat had several reasons for coming to America: curiosity, free time after the sale of the Metropolitan in October 1836, the need for new material for his novels, to make money, to help try to enact a new copyright law, and personal problems with his wife. Another important reason for Marryat's visit was his interest in the American government. At the conclusion of his "Diary on the Continent" (published serially from 1835-38 and reprinted in Olla Podrida),[2] Marryat, in discussing the Swiss, commented,

> Do the faults of this people arise from the peculiarity of their constitutions, or from the nature of their Government? To ascertain this, one must compare them with those who live under similar institutions.
> I must go to America, that's decided. (Olla Podrida 204)

Marryat was at the height of his popularity when he arrived in New York City on May 4, 1837. His novels had had great success in the United States, and, although Americans were cautious of the attacks by previous English travelers, they looked forward to his arrival, especially since Marryat's mother had been born in Boston (though, significantly, her family had been loyalists). The following report from a Saratoga Springs newspaper is typical of the early American response: "Surely now it is but natural that they [Americans] ought to be tickled to death at the idea of having him [Marryat] present" (qtd. in Florence Marryat 2: 8).

The first few months went well despite a few skirmishes with the New York editor, James Gordon Bennett (Bader 116-17). Marryat published articles in the *New York Mirror*, had a play (*The Ocean Wolf; or, the Channel Outlaw*) produced, and arranged for an exclusive American publisher--no mean feat--for the *Diary* when it was completed. Marryat himself said in a letter, October 1837, after five months in America: "It is a wonderful country, and not understood by the English now[.]...I at least shall do them [Americans] justice, without praising them more than they deserve" (qtd. in Florence Marryat 2: 27).

Given his interest in observing American government and his generally conservative bent, however, a confrontation was almost inevitable. It occurred on St. George's Day, April 23, 1838, in Toronto.[3] Marryat proposed a toast, "Captain Drew and his brave comrades who cut out the *Caroline*." The incident to which Marryat referred was the sinking of the American ship the *Caroline* on December 29, 1837. The ship sold guns and supplies to Canadian rebels trying to gain independence and was sunk by Drew on the American side of Niagara Falls. American newspapers immediately attacked Marryat. For example, the *New York Daily Express*, in an article on Marryat from May 3, 1838, complained that "the favors lavished on English tourists...are repaid by the selfish ingrates with abuse, misrepresentation, and insult" (qtd. in Bader 120). His novels were burned--except Mr. Midshipman Easy and Snarleyyow, whose "stupidity rendered them fire-proof" (qtd. in Bader 121); he was burned in effigy; he received numerous letters, many postage due; and he began to fear for his life. The toast, in fact, seemed to have angered Americans more than the fact that Marryat had earlier enlisted to fight in Canada against the rebels. He would later send back to England a map of the New York navy yard and military statistics from West Point and Annapolis in case of an Anglo-American war (Hannay 112-13).

If the problems over Canada were not enough, Marryat also aroused the Americans' ire over an alleged affair in Kentucky. The Captain was found in the bedroom of a married woman (both were scantily dressed) by the woman's husband. Even though the husband later absolved Marryat from blame, the newspapers attacked Marryat severely (Bader 123-25). Because of the increasing threat of war and Marryat's burgeoning troubles in America, he cut short his trip and departed for England on November 21, 1838.

Marryat's account of his stay, A Diary in America, with Remarks on Its Institutions, was written in two parts, totaling six volumes. The first three volumes, consisting of the diary proper and part of his series of essays on American institutions, were published in October 1839. The remaining three volumes on American institutions were published in December 1839. In his introduction to the work, Marryat criticizes those such as Mrs. Trollope, whom he feels have written about American manners rather than the government:

> I did not sail across the Atlantic to ascertain whether the Americans eat their dinners with two-prong iron or three-prong silver forks, with chopsticks, or their fingers[.]...My object was, to examine and ascertain *what were the effects of a democratic form of government and climate upon a people which, with all its foreign admixture, may still be considered as English*. (15)

Throughout the *Diary* Marryat lets us know what he feels the effects are: a corrupt, inept government and mob-rule.

Marryat's negative impressions of America are revealed even before he arrives, on the voyage out. Within a half an hour of Marryat's boarding the ship, a sheriff comes and searches for a stowaway criminal trying to reach America. America, seemingly, is composed of the dregs of European society: "What cargoes of crime, folly, and recklessness do we yearly ship off to America! America ought to be very much obliged to us" (20).[4] That America has taken the worst that Europe has to offer seems to be reflected in the description of disease in the voyage out. Once at sea, the people on board are overtaken by flu and seasickness, making the ship "like a hospital" (24).

This disease imagery continues upon Marryat's arrival in New York City. Marryat's appearance in New York coincides with a serious financial crisis over specie.[5] It seems to Marryat as though a "plague" (26) has hit New York. Marryat condemns the speculative interests of both Americans and English: "It almost amounts to an epidemic, and is infectious --the wise and the foolish being equally liable to the disease" (31).[6]

Marryat's reasons for disliking America are varied but are typical of many English travelers to America at the time. He dislikes the excessive curiosity of Americans, their lack of personal hygiene, their vanity, their hypocritical chant of equality while subjugating blacks and defrauding Indians. Yet he feels the main fault of America lies in its institutions, starting with the educational system where independence, not obedience, is taught. All other flaws, such as the uniformity of language and dress, are the result of democracy. There is a frightening regularity achieved by leveling. The ironic part is that this uniformity comes about through the excessive desire for independence which Americans have. They all seek individualism, but it is a uniform individualism in which dissent is impossible. The masses, rather than being led by a handful of well-educated aristocrats, now rule as a mob. (P. Conrad 47-60). In religion, for instance, with no established church, the clergy become slaves to the congregation. They are forced to do what the masses want or risk removal by them.

Marryat's definition of a gentleman, as discussed earlier, involves several factors, including money, birth, religion and property. For Americans, however, money is all: "The only compensation they can offer for services is money; and the only distinction--the only means of raising himself above his fellows left to the American--is wealth" (13). And they will pursue this wealth by any means, hence the American love for deceit. Even money, though, is ultimately unsatisfactory: "wealth in a democracy gives an importance which is so common to many that it loses much of its value" (307-08). The result is a mad desire to form societies and associations where Americans can attempt to distinguish themselves.

The government, of course, is the most faulty of

American institutions:

> The example of the Executive is most injurious. It is insatiable in its ambition, regardless of its faith, corrupt in the highest degree: never legislating for morality, but always for expediency. This is the first cause of the low standard of morals; the second is the want of an aristocracy, to set an example and give the tone to society. These are followed by the errors incident to the voluntary system of religion and a democratical education. To these must be super-added the want of moral courage, arising from the dread of public opinion, and the natural tendency of a democratic form of government to excite the spirit of gain, as the main-spring of action, and the summum bonum of existence. (479-80)

Marryat's purpose in writing the book is clear in his conclusion:

> Within these last few years, that is, since the passing of the Reform Bill, we have made rapid strides towards democracy, and the cry of the multitude is still for more power, which our present rulers appear but too willing to give them....My object in writing these pages is to point out the effects of a democracy upon the morals, the happiness, and the due apportionment of liberty to all classes;...if I have any way assisted the cause of Conservatism--I am content, and shall consider that my time and labour have not been thrown away. (481)

Marryat's attack on the Americans was considered vicious by some. Philip Hone, once mayor of New York, said after Marryat left America: "it would have been better for both parties if the sailor-author had been known on this side of the Atlantic only by his writings" (359). Publication of the Diary did not improve Americans' opinions of Marryat. Social historian George Templeton Strong said upon seeing the second part of the Diary, "The first was sportively slanderous, but this is stupidly malignant. Mrs. Trollope can't hold a candle to the captain in fertility of invention. I never read such a farrago of lies. He don't lie like a gentleman, either...but rampages in his mendacity like any loafer" (1: 124). The Lady's Book (later called Godey's Lady's Book) immediately attacked the book as did most of the American press. The reviewer, like Philip Hone, felt Marryat's coarseness denied him access to "better" society in America; therefore, he got a distorted view of the country. This is an interesting charge since Marryat reported that Mrs. Trollope's opinions were mistaken for the same reason (Diary 223-25). Probably the most scathing review was in the Southern Literary Messenger by Poe, who claimed that the Diary was "the most extraordinary national libel which the press of England, fertile in such productions, has yet given to the world" (253).

Perhaps worse than any of the other attacks on him was a pamphlet entitled A Lie-ary on America with Yarns on Its Institutions (1840), and published under the pseudonym Captain Marry-it. The first part of the pamphlet has some literary merit; the author is obviously quite familiar with Marryat's work. For example, the language is an attempt to capture Marryat's "sea talk," and the weak grammar may well have been a parody of Marryat, who was often accused of committing grammatical errors and infelicities of style. The sections on New York City are especially entertaining. We can clearly discern the closeness of the parody here. Marryat, for instance, praises the beauty of Broadway and the many pretty faces he sees there, "except on Sundays" (36). In a note, the Captain explains that Sunday is a bad day because then "the coloured population takes possession of Broadway" (36). The author of the Lie-ary, obviously familiar with Marryat's note, exclaims: "Half past four--Broadway so black with niggers they're obliged to light the street lamps" (12).

The Diary got poor reviews in Britain as well. Marryat's comments on blacks were attacked in A Reply to Captain Marryat's Illiberal and Incorrect Statements as Published in His Work Entitled A Diary in America, a pamphlet published in 1840 in London. The Diary was also criticized by the more liberal part of the British press. The Dublin Review commented that Marryat, "Known as an author not over-favourable to free institutions" (403), was incapable of understanding or appreciating American society.

The reviewer concludes, "There is nothing very remarkable--nothing in short removed from superficiality--in Captain Marryat's...essays" (429). The most critical, as could be expected, was the Whig Edinburgh Review in October 1839. Marryat thought that the unsigned twenty-six page article was penned by Harriet Martineau though it was actually written by a staff reviewer, William Empson. The main charge against Marryat, that he promised more than he delivered, is not without justice, although the reviewer does not even allow for Marryat's sharp descriptive skills. The conclusion states that Marryat's impressions of America "too much resemble the trifling of a schoolboy, who cannot help running away from his business, to laugh over an idle story, or play with a tricksy [sic] word as a kitten with its tail" (148-49).

Not all of the criticism, of course, was negative. The New York Review felt the book was full of "keen observation and just reflection" (qtd. in Jackman introd. to Diary xxiv). The Ladies' Companion, an American periodical, praised the book, saying "Let us have the mirror held up before our deformities" (249). Tait's Edinbugh Magazine, generally a liberal periodical, gave a favorable review (though before the second part of the

Diary was issued), concluding that Marryat, "while condemning the Democratic principle,...sees so much virtue in its practical operation" (563-64). The Quarterly Review, as could be expected, highly recommended the work to its readers. John Gibson Lockhart, the reviewer in the Quarterly, said of Marryat: "his masculine understanding must be allowed to confirm, if these wanted any confirmation, the general conclusion in which [Captain] Hall...and De Tocqueville had previously concurred" (309). And the Monthly Review claimed the Diary was greater than Dickens's American Notes when that work appeared in 1842 (Moss 93).

The Diary is certainly a conservative work. Yet one should consider the reasons for this. Of course, the democratic system would be unlikely to please Marryat. It appealed to few of the English. Even those travelers who praised America rarely advocated the adoption of democracy in England. Furthermore, Marryat was hoping to gain a position in the Tory government, and such an attack would not hurt his cause. In addition, the Americans had aroused the ire of the Captain, a man easily driven to vengeance, by their treatment of him while on his stay in America. He felt "They had no right to insult and annoy me in the manner they did, from nearly one end of the Union to the other" (9). Part of the venom in the Diary, no doubt, is a result of personal anger.[7] For these reasons the Diary is actually in many ways rather restrained. Marryat finds many things to praise about America, especially its "energy and enterprise" (11). The American belief in mechanization and progress appeals to Marryat, but he makes it clear that "it is the country, and not the government, which has been productive of such rapid strides as have been made by America" (12). Even so, Marryat is grudgingly able to say that "democracy is the form of government best suited to the present condition of America" (17). It is a remarkable admission for him to make in light of his attacks.

The Diary is not an important piece of political philosophy. Its criticisms are often flippant and are not as penetrating as Marryat undoubtedly would have liked, yet the work has a lively style, partially because of the lack of chronological entries and the use of dialogue. As an editor of the Diary points out, Marryat "was a shrewd observer, and filled his descriptions with a wealth of detail and minutiae--often the very minutiae he had so vehemently disavowed an interest in" (Zanger, foreword to Diary 30). Whatever the worth of Marryat's Diary it was required reading for scores of subsequent British travelers to America, including Dickens. One historian, Max Berger, even claims that Marryat and Harriet Martineau "became the two most widely read British authors [of travel works] on America in the period 1836-1860" (208).

Marryat's post-American fiction is much harsher than Mr. Midshipman Easy or even the Diary. In The Settlers in Canada (1844) Mr. Campbell, giving his children a history lesson, warns them of the dangers of democracy by the examples of the American and French Revolutions. He advises that "there is no form of government [as democracy] under which the people become so rapidly vicious, or where those who benefit them are treated with such ingratitude" (176). He reiterates that "there is no government so contemptible or so unpleasant for an honest man to live under as a democracy" (177).

In Narrative of the Travels and Adventures of Monsieur Violet in California, Sonora, and Western Texas (1843) Marryat unleashes his most critical volley on democracy. The general targets in the novel are Americans, Texans and Mormons. Americans are seen as being rude and without manners: "Politeness at meals may be and is practised in Europe, or among the Indians, but among the Americans it would be attended with starvation" (294). There are, of course, more serious charges made. Americans are largely responsible for the corruption in Texas and are treacherous in their dealings with Indians, a discussion of which is reserved for a subsequent chapter.

Texans come under attack with more venom than Marryat had ever unleashed upon any other group. Virtually every chapter (indeed every page) contains a slur against Texans. This vehement attack may seem surprising in light of the fact that Marryat never even visited Texas. However, one must realize that at the time Monsieur Violet was written, Texas was in a crucial stage of its existence, between when it declared its independence from Mexico in 1836 and was annexed by the United States in 1845. The possibility of Texas becoming part of the United States had been of great concern in England, partly because of the enormous territory and resources it would add to the already powerful young country and partly because it was assumed that Texas would become a slave state. Marryat said of Texas in the Diary,

> If Texas is admitted into the Union, all chance of the abolition of slavery must be ...lost in the mist of futurity; if, on the contrary, Texas remains an independent province, or is restored to its legitimate owners [Mexico], and in either case slavery is abolished, she then becomes, from the

> very circumstance of her fertility and aptitude for white labour, not only the great check to slavery, but eventually the means of its abolition. (287)

Texas, in Monsieur Violet, seems a corrupt puppet state, peopled by "every vagabond and scoundrel who could not venture to remain in the United States" (164). It is "a nation of barbarians" (162) and serves as a warning of the pervasive damage the American system of democracy can cause. Texas is so corrupt, in fact, that there is a possibility it will be defenseless against outside attack since "a democratic form of government is powerless when the nation is so utterly depraved" (288).

Perhaps the most interesting assault is on the Mormons. Monsieur Violet is, in fact, the first novel to deal extensively with the Mormons (Hunsaker 849-61). Marryat had spoken in the Diary of the danger in America of a voluntary system of religion, rather than an Established Church: "It would appear as if the majority were much too frail and weak to go alone upon their heavenly journey; as if they required the support, the assistance, the encouragement, the leaning upon others who are journeying with them, to enable them successfully to gain the goal" (291). One "American" religious group, the Shakers, is seen as unnatural and dangerous.

However, in Monsieur Violet Marryat speaks of the Mormons, with their belief in polygamy and communal living, in even more severe terms.[8] Their founder, Joseph Smith, is "a drunken vagabond" (350) who is, in essence, the prototypical American. He is dangerous because of his persuasiveness: "he succeeded in inspiring, in hundreds of uneducated farmers, a feeling of awe which they could not account for" (350). In addition, he demonstrates the Yankee admiration for those who cheat others. When he needs money to win the hand of a woman, he steals money by fabricating a silver deposit. It is appropriate that he is predicted to become a general or even president "provided he was not hung" (346).[9]

The Mormon leaders are intelligent, persuasive men, drawn to "Mormonism because of the wealth, titles, rank, and power which it procures them" (386). In fact, the religion is seen as far more hierarchical than the Established Church, a fact that is fitting since "no people hate the word equality more than the American" (386).

The followers are ignorant but fanatical, and they are powerful in their slavish uniformity of will. This conformity is made more dangerous because of their militancy. One leader says that the time is not far off "when the elders of the Church should go forth to the world with swords at their sides, and...slay every man, woman, and child" in Missouri (359). Eventually Marryat feels the Mormons will band with the Indians, anxious for revenge against the Americans, and attempt to establish their own nation in the West:

> [T]here are no troops in the States like them in point of discipline and enthusiasm: and led on by ambitious and talented officers, what may not be effected by them? perhaps the subversion of the constitution of the United States; and if this should be considered too great a task, foreign conquest will most certainly be attempted. The northern provinces of Mexico will fall into their hands, even if Texas should first take possession of them. (362-63)

Thus, in effect, Marryat sees America as being weakened or even destroyed by creatures of its own making, Texans and Mormons both springing from the fountainhead of democracy. This impending threat is perhaps reflected in the oblique ending of the novel where an unsuspecting squirrel is killed by a rattlesnake. A non-vigilant America, too, could be assaulted by enemies within its own home. Marryat would likely have found it to be a fitting demise.

Marryat's work on democracy, particularly in America, reveals him at his most conservative, but this is not surprising. America seemed to bring out the more conservative side in many nineteenth century travelers. Dickens, for example, came to America hoping to praise the young nation, yet he left no more pleased than Marryat. Dickens, in fact, was happy that Marryat enjoyed both American Notes (1842) and Martin Chuzzlewit (1843-44). In a letter from September 6, 1843, Dickens writes to Marryat, "It gives me great pleasure to find that you like the tickling [in Martin Chuzzlewit]. I shall go in again before I have done, and give the eagle a final poke under his fifth rib" (qtd. in Florence Marryat 2: 144). Edgar Johnson felt that America "was a paradox incomprehensible to the insular complacence of most Europeans. It did not yield its secret to Dickens, although he had imagined he would understand the republican character, and although there were many elements in its pattern that he shared" (1: 445-46). If America was not understood by a potentially kindred spirit such as Dickens, it is not surprising that it was not fully grasped by Marryat.

Notes

[1] In the Diary in America Marryat gives us his definition of democracy:

> [W]hen those possessed of most talent and wisdom are selected to act for the benefit of a people, with full reliance upon their acting for the best, and without any shackle or pledge being enforced, we may consider that form of government as a republic ruled by the most enlightened and capable; but that if, on the contrary, those selected by the people to represent them are not only bound by pledges previous to their election, but ordered by the mass how to vote after their election, then the country is not ruled by the collected wisdom of the people, but by the majority, who are as often wrong as right, and then the governing principle sinks into a democracy, as it now is in America. (17)

All quotations from the Diary are from Sydney Jackman's edition.

[2] R. Brimley Johnson deliberately omitted "Diary on the Continent" from his edition of Olla Podrida because he felt it was a journalistic piece. Therefore, I have used the Courtney edition of the "Diary on the Continent" reproduced in Olla Podrida.

[3] Jules Zanger discusses the chronology of Marryat's Diary in his edition of the work (11) and in an article published in Notes and Queries n.s. 4 (July 1957): 305-06. Incorrect dates are often given in Marryat's biographies because Florence Marryat misdated letters written by Marryat while in Canada.

[4] Marryat, like many in England, was concerned with the large number of emigrants to America, particularly from Ireland. He uniformly depicts an unpleasant picture of their life in America. For more on the Irish in America see Berger (167-72).

[5] For more on the specie crisis, see Schlesinger pp. 126-27.

[6] Marryat, himself, suffered from the "disease." Once, for example, he strongly considered buying a castle in Hungary.

America is often described in terms of disease in the Diary. The climate, apparently too warm for Marryat's taste, is constantly derided as being unhealthy. Unsavory aspects of American society are also described in terms of their unhealthiness. For example, the Shakers, a group Marryat found repugnant because of their rejection of conventional views of the family (by their vows of celibacy) and society (by their communal ways) are described as unhealthy (at least the women). The women are "so pallid, so unearthly in their complexions, that it gave you the idea that they had been taken up from their coffins a few hours after their decease; not a hue of health, not a vestige of colour in any cheek or lip; one cadaverous yellow tinge prevailed" (66).

[7] The name of Marryat's only child born after his return from America, Caroline, may indicate that he never forgave the Americans.

[8] Marryat's novel was written before the Mormons moved to Utah in 1847. In the late 1830s and early 1840s, the 150,000 Mormons were concentrated largely in western Missouri and Illinois. Marryat plagiarized much of the material on the Mormons (Wagner 138-39).

Catholics and Quakers are also spoken of in Marryat's works, but they are not dealt with as harshly as the Mormons or Shakers. They probably did not seem as extreme, as "American," to Marryat. He did feel, however, that Catholics, treated ambiguously in his novels, would eventually be the dominant religion in America west of the Alleghenies.

[9] Marryat probably felt that Smith's murder by an angry mob in 1844 was appropriate.

CHAPTER FIVE: BLACKS AND AMERICAN INDIANS

Just as the navy and social structure had a rigid hierarchy, there was an increasing belief in the 1830s and 40s that there was a racial hierarchy as well. Though by 1820 the belief in a great chain of being was gradually discarded, a racial hierarchy was established with "the notion that the races formed a graded series, with the European at the top and the Negro invariably at the bottom" (Stepan 6). Marryat, who encountered many minority cultures in his travels, writes extensively about blacks (American blacks, West Indians, and Africans) and American Indians. His works give us great insight into the popular view of minorities in this period.

The early nineteenth century view of blacks was formed in large part by Rousseau's notion of the noble savage, one who has the goodness of simple innocence and is untainted by corrupt society. Many of the Romantic writers, attracted to certain tenets of Rousseau, began to interpret him in their own ways:

> In a word, though Rousseau was in some respects a sentimentalist, his attitude toward the savage is almost completely unsentimental. He admires the savage for being strong, healthy, contented, and unpedantically intelligent, and that is all. But the romantic generation wanted much more than that. It merged Rousseau's

> savage with his sensibility, his eroticism, his love of scenery, his emotional deism, and produced a quite different figure. (Fairchild 137)

This figure of the noble savage plays an important part in Romantic literature, being a topic in the works of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Blake, Southey, Byron, and Shelley. Blake's "The Little Black Boy" is the most famous example. The "pre-Victorian writers were often able to envisage Africans living freely and happily without European interference" (Brantlinger Imperialism 176). These favorable, albeit somewhat patronizing, portraits often continued in the 1830s. (Curtin 235). The abolitionist movement, led by Quakers and Evangelicals such as William Wilberforce who believed that slavery was sinful, culminated in the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and in the Emancipation Act of 1833.

Despite these liberal attitudes, at the same time, harsher views of blacks began to develop. The British empire was beginning to expand its horizons in the second quarter of the century and as it did, the tide of racism began to increase. Establishing the inferiority of minorities was one way to justify their exploitation. Anthropology and biology were called upon to substantiate claims of racial inferiority. The theory of monogenesis, supported by scientists like James Prichard who wrote Researches Into the Physical History of Man (1813), was predominant into the 1840s. This theory, based on Christian doctrine that man came from a single stock and that people of all races were fertile with each other, began to be displaced by the theory of polygenesis. Polygenesis, which dates back to the Renaissance, was supported by an increasing number of British scientists in the 1840s (Stepan 29-35). Polygenesists maintained that "The different races were different species, they had been created at different times, could not interbreed and were permanently distinguished from each other" (Street 94). Even most monogenisists of the period tended to show distinctions between the races. The increasing number of exhibitions of Africans, many emphasizing naked black women, throughout Europe also helped to foster the belief in these differences (Gilman 213).[1]

Interest in Africa had been high since Mungo Park's expeditions in the 1790s and early 1800s. As the British empire expanded, the public interest in reading about exotic places also grew. Such interest later was fueled by the Niger Expedition of 1841-42, criticized by Dickens in Bleak House and in his essay "The Niger Expedition." This exoticism was in direct contrast to "the claustrophobic Victorian drawing-room" (Street 4). Interest in travel accounts blossomed: "Like the Elizabethans, the Victorians embarked on their own voyages of discovery" (Buckley 11). In fact, visions of conquering white explorers fulfilled fantasies for many sedentary readers: "The gentleman, with his courage, honour and chivalry, resembles the Arthurian knight, and his journey through strange lands peopled with uncouth beings resembles that of the knight through fairyland" (Street 20). With the high demand for material on exotic settings, Marryat's success was practically assured. Because of his extensive traveling, "No novelist of the nineteenth century could offer his reader more varied, authentic glimpses of exotic cultures and characters than Frederick Marryat" (Engel 30-31).

The Marryat family owned property with slaves for years. Florence Marryat states that Captain Marryat's father, Joseph, normally a political conservative, helped pass "a bill for the abolition of slave-grown sugar, by which act he injured his own cause, being the owner of large property in the West Indies" (1: 6-7). Some critics, including W.L.

Courtney, believe that such family actions caused the Captain to have an "intense sympathy with the [black] race" (introd. to Percival Keene vii). However, Joseph Marryat's views on blacks are usually not so benevolent. He often spoke in the House of Commons about the slave trade and published several works in defense of the West Indian planters.[2] He was, indeed, declared "the Atlas of the West Indian Islands" (qtd. in Gautier 60). The Captain shares his father's views, often conservative but with some ambivalent liberal feelings. Frederick tends to represent blacks in two ways. First, he maintains their inferiority in the chain of racial hierarchy--often depicting them as stereotypes--and second, at times simultaneously, he expresses sympathy for them, usually as victims of American democracy.

In Marryat's first novel, for example, Frank Mildmay (1829), he can in a single paragraph describe the vigor of a West Indian market, replete with stereotypes yet endowed with pulsating energy, and then coolly dismiss the abolitionist movement:

> The confusion of Babel did not surpass the present gabble of a West India market. The loud and everlasting chatter of the black women, old and young (for black ladies *can* talk as well as white ones); the screams of children, parrots, and monkeys; black boys and girls, clad *a la Venus*, white teeth,

> red lips, black skins, and elephant legs, formed altogether a scene well worth looking at[.]...The beauty and coolness of the morning, the lovely sky, and the cheerfulness of the slaves, whom our morbid philanthropists wish to render happy, by making discontented, would altogether amply repay the trouble and expense of a voyage, to those who have leisure or money enough to enable them to visit the tropical islands. (260)

Stereotypes, indeed, abound in the novel, but often to teach a moral lesson. One such stereotype is that of the quadroon, Carlotta, a person without a place in society:

> [I]n the Bahama Islands,...as in all the other islands of the West Indies, there is a class of women, born of white fathers and mustee or mulatto women, nearly approaching in complexion to the European; many of them are brunettes, with long black hair, very pretty, good eyes, and often elegant figures. These ladies are too proud of the European blood in their veins to form an alliance with any male who has a suspicion of black in his genealogical table; consequently they seldom are married unless from interested motives, when, having acquired large property by will, they are sought in wedlock by the white settlers. (252)

Such women would rather have a liaison with a white than marry a black, a situation with which Mildmay is well aware. For six months Mildmay maintains an affair with Carlotta, thwarting her jealous attempt at using Obeah to kill him. Mildmay knows he will hurt her, but he does not care. Inevitably he leaves, merely saying of her, "I learned afterwards that she went on board every ship that arrived, to gain intelligence of me, who seldom or ever gave her a thought" (264).

Carlotta is an example of the tragic mulatto, usually a woman. Such depictions tend to be racist since they are based on the white "assumption that the mixed blood yearns to be white and is doomed to unhappiness and despair because of this impossible dream" (Berzon 99). Although she is a stereotype, the range of emotions Carlotta has makes her plight one of the more touching scenes in Marryat's works.[3] Her fate is also tied directly to the theme of the novel, the dangers of pride. Mildmay displays this flaw in his arrogance toward her, but he is not the only one guilty of the sin. Carlotta is too proud to mingle her white blood with a black man and, in turn, white men are too proud to marry her, fearing society's censure.

Another stereotypical character is Mungo, the slave of an American master, willing to die rather than be separated from him. The slave cries out, "me no want to lib: no takee Massa Green, no takee me! Mungo lib good many years wi massa cappen. Mungo die wi massa." (269). Thus, he proves himself to be a "faithful creature" (269). Minorities are often called creatures in Marryat's work. Yet his loyalty goes beyond a mere stereotype, helping to give Mildmay the courage to stand up to his crew and rescue the captain. It is one of the first noble actions Mildmay makes. It also seems to have an effect on the drunken Captain Green as well. After the incident he becomes a rarity in Marryat's work, a virtuous American. That Mungo is owned by an American is also notable since it distances the English, who had not yet abolished slavery, from the institution.

A further use of stereotypes is demonstrated by an elderly black man who orders his naked children to be whipped each time they make an error with their Latin. After not achieving the desired response from the youngest girl, despite whipping her severely, "the old man darted from his seat, and struck her senseless to the ground" (366). Again the scene goes beyond the mere stereotype, teaching Mildmay another lesson. Marryat shows the brutality of the savage, but at the same time there is a sympathy for the children; the beatings remind Mildmay of ones he received himself as a child, thereby linking him to the children. Mildmay's sympathy for the children shows a change in his character. Previously, he was indifferent to the suffering of others. In fact, he enjoyed watching men be impressed or treated by the ship's surgeon. His reaction to the scene shows one further change. Despite his anger and his desire to avenge the children, he simply walks away in disgust, fearing any action on his part will only bring future retribution upon the children. The children, who accept what they must, demonstrate a humility and control of anger. Mildmay, using self-control, checks his anger; though he still must learn more, it is an action he could not have made previously. It is important that this lesson occurs where it does, immediately before the central test of Mildmay's self-control, re-encountering Eugenia, the mother of his child.

Newton Foster; or, the Merchant Service (1832) describes a bucolic "estate" in Barbados filled with blacks "quite pot-bellied from good living" (104), bred for slavery. They live together as one big happy family. There are "breeding women," who do no work except to have and raise children, and "working slaves" who usually work eight hours a day and often earn enough money to buy their freedom. Most prefer to stay on the plantation in a state of semi-retirement, "heir-looms" (106), supported by their benevolent master. Children are pets, patted on the head and given food from the table until they are put to work at age eight or nine. That the slaves are bred for slavery, a necessity since the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, makes their bondage not seem so severe since they never actually knew freedom.[4] Everything seems so harmonious that Newton says of the slaves, "if an estimate of their condition was to be taken by the noise and laughter with which they beguiled their labour, they were far from demanding pity" (106).

The owner, always called a "planter," gives a lengthy defense of slavery, while half-drunk, on economical, historical, and religious grounds. Obviously a speech made under such conditions is not entirely trustworthy, and Newton is not convinced of all the arguments for slavery. He maintains that an Englishman will cling to any vestige of freedom and that he himself can never be a slave owner. However, Newton tacitly agrees with the Quaker Mr. Bancroft, who remarks that perhaps "this traffic, so offensive to humanity, has been permitted by an Allwise Power, with the intent that some day it shall be the means of introducing Christianity into the vast regions of African idolatry" (112). Thus, blacks are seen as benefiting from their contact with whites, even through slavery, by being civilized and spiritually saved. Finding benefits in slavery is important in a novel in which the major theme is the benevolence of Providence. Even in slavery God is seen as having a just purpose.

After observing how contact with whites helps to reduce the natural "idleness" and "ignorance" (118) of blacks, the party seems to be somewhat more accepting of the owner's contention. He argues that if the slaves are freed, the English government should compensate the owners for their loss of property, which, in fact, it did (Bolt 34). He predicts that if England prohibits slavery, the islands will become part of the United States, which, he feels, will gladly accept them; furthermore, he laments that "the papers teem with the misery of the lower classes in England, yet this affects not the West India philanthropist. You perceive not their voices raised in behalf of their suffering countrymen. They pass the beggar in the street; they heed not the cry of starvation at home" (119). Such a charge was frequently leveled at some of the Evangelicals such as Wilberforce (Wood 44).

The following excerpt from a review in the Metropolitan, almost certainly by Marryat,[5] indicates how Marryat shares a number of the owner's beliefs:

> We contend that, in the revolting sense of the word, the negro labourer is not a slave: he is only a labourer under

> restrictions absolutely necessary to his well-being, and more beneficial to himself than to his master--that if these restrictions be removed, he will relapse from his present state of semi-barbarism into utter barbarity--that he will become a curse to himself, and the destroyer of all that he can overpower by force, or circumvent by fraud--that the West Indies, deserted by civilization, will ultimately be transformed into a wilderness, infested by hordes of naked barbarians, and all the horrors of maternal Africa be re-enacted in the lovely islands of the Caribbean sea--and, above all--hear it, ye saints!--slavery will flourish more vigorously than ever. (September 1833 96)

The slave owner's comment on the English poor is also echoed in the reviewer's remark that "the negroes are better fed, better clothed, better tended, and more considerately laboured, than the free working population of any country in the world" (95).

The comparison of slaves and workers is reiterated in Peter Simple (1834). When an abolitionist boards ship soliciting contributions for black emancipation, the sailors, many of whom serve in their own brand of slavery through impressment, will give him nothing. They believe a slave's life is better than a sailor's, "The nigger's better off nor we" (1: 69). The slaves in Newton Foster, at least, seem to be. The scene also displays Marryat's belief that abolitionists such as Wilberforce were more concerned with the condition of slaves than that of impressed sailors (Gautier 172).

Marryat always ridiculed affectation, but he must have been especially amused by blacks attempting to establish themselves as equal to or above whites in the social order. Peter Simple deals with Peter's need to overcome his naivete and to let his natural good sense come forth. The blacks from Barbados in Peter Simple lack such common sense. The genial satire on the dignity ball ("nothing under mulatto in colour being admitted" 2: 5) demonstrates this fault in one of Marryat's greatest pieces. Barbadians are so obsessed with "whiteness" that they set up a sham society, one that combines prudishness and sensuality, modesty and ostentation: "The Barbadian hierarchy of color mimics what are implicitly much more fundamental hierarchies of race in nature and of aristocracy and social class in Britain" (Brantlinger Imperialism 60).

One pretty black girl looks at Peter and remarks to a neighbor, "I really pity de gentleman as come from England dat no know how to dance nor nothing at all, until em hab instruction at Barbadoes [sic]" (2: 8). When Peter sits to eat he comments,

> It was my fate to sit opposite to a fine turkey, and I asked my partner if I should have the pleasure of helping her to a piece

> of the breast. She looked at me very indignantly, and said, "Curse your impudence, sar, I wonder where you larn manners. Sar, I take a lilly turkey bosom, if you please. Talk of breast to a lady, sar;--really quite horrid" (2: 8).

Despite their self-righteous vanity, the physical attractiveness of the black women on the island is obvious. The fruit vendors, goblin women, are temptresses who claim to "sell ebery ting" (1: 253). And at the ball Peter constantly remarks on the women's beauty, particularly the quadroons, going so far as to say that "I must acknowledge, at the risk of losing the good opinion of my fair countrywomen, that I never saw before so many pretty figures and faces" (2: 6). There is a reveling in their sensuality: "They appeared neither to wear nor to require stays, and on the whole, their figures were so perfect, that they could only be ill dressed by having on too much dress" (2: 6). This sensuality is reflected by the toasts at the ball. A mulatto gentleman says, "Here's to de cock who make lub to the hen, / Crow till he hoarse and make lub again" (2: 10). A woman retorts, "Here to de hen what nebber refuses, / Let cock pay compliment whenebber he chooses" (2: 10). Peter's friend, O'Brien, is so smitten by one woman that Peter and he must flee from the woman's jealous mulatto suitor and his friends.

Peter Simple also contains one of Marryat's several vivid descriptions of a slave ship. The Royal Navy was a major tool in enforcing the abolition of the slave trade.[6] Perhaps Marryat's naval experiences were responsible for the uniformly negative portrayal he gave to the slave trade. Peter is stirred by the horrible conditions he sees:

> Of all the miserable objects, I know of none to be compared to the poor devils of slaves on board of a slave vessel: the state of suffocation between decks--the dreadful stench arising from their filth, which is hardly ever cleared away--the sick lying without help, and looked upon by those who are stronger with the utmost indifference--men, women, and children, all huddled and crowded together in a state of nudity, worn to skin and bone from stench, starvation, and living in an atmosphere that none but a negro could exist in. If all that occurs in a slave-ship were really known, I think it would be acknowledged that to make the slave-trade piracy would be nothing more than a just retribution. (2: 116)

In Mr. Midshipman Easy (1836), Mesty, an Ashanti prince, is actually saved by the Royal Navy. Jack Easy's relationship with Mesty is essential to the novel's theme of equality; Mesty is Jack's teacher and trusted companion. To an extent the relationship between the two anticipates that of Huck and Jim in Huckleberry Finn. Easy befriends Mesty and the black helps Jack in several dangerous situations; in turn, Mesty learns Christian forgiveness from Jack. He feels a gratitude toward Jack for being the first white to treat him as an equal: "could the feelings which were suffocating the negro but have been laid before sceptics, they must have acknowledged that at that moment they were all and only such as could do honour, not only to the prince, but even to the Christian" (129).

Mesty serves as a sort of mirror for Jack, but their relationship is unequal. Though the black is proud, he knows his place and addresses everyone on the ship as "massa." Like the common seamen he can raise his social position, but only to a limited extent. The man who was a prince in Africa can only raise himself to a valet in the "civilized" world (Brantlinger Imperialism 58). Mesty, like all of Marryat's black characters, is ruled by passion, and despite his loyalty and subservient position, there is a demonic quality about him. He is vengeful and wants the skulls of his dead enemies. He is intelligent, but black intelligence is often equated with a dangerous cunning in Marryat's work. As Michael Philp points out:

> Mesty is obviously meant to be demonic. His full name is Mephistopeles, he looks like a devil (color, sharpened teeth, facial shape, and so on), his station is by the

> galley fires. he first appears from the bowels of the ship after having been "called up," and his first words are "By the powers...." His pre-slave life has been all panthers and gold-dust, black legions and super-human power and privilege. (62-3)

Still, Mesty is generally a sympathetic character. Marryat's chief target in the novel is democracy rather than slavery. Mr. Midshipman Easy, written after the British Emancipation Act but before Marryat's trip to the United States. gives him a chance to criticize the hypocrisy of American slavery, an opportunity he seldom resisted: "although people talked of liberty and equality at New York, he [Mesty] found that what they preached for themselves, they did not practise towards others, and that, in the midst of liberty and equality, he and thousands more were enslaved and degraded beings" (76). Such an attack was not uncommon at the time since now that the British had abolished slavery, the blame for it could "be displaced onto others, Americans, for example" (Brantlinger Imperialism 177).[7]

Marryat's comments in his Diary in America (1839) continue the attack, constantly condemning the hypocrisy of Americans who espouse freedom for all, yet maintain slavery. His remarks combine ringing denunciations of slavery with comments clearly indicating his belief that blacks are inferior.

In speaking of Northern blacks[8] he states that they will never be able to "attain to the same power of intellect of the white man" because "the race are not formed for it by the Almighty" (149). However, in the next breath he can condemn the way that free blacks are treated:

> Singular is the degree of contempt and dislike in which the free blacks are held in all the free states of America....In fact, in the United States, a Negro, from his colour, and I believe his colour alone, is a degraded being. Is not this extraordinary, in a land which professes universal liberty, equality, and the rights of man? (149-50)

Marryat, though expressing a distaste for slavery in the Diary, never really condemns it. He never visited the South because he left to fight in Canada, but it is unlikely a visit there would have changed his opinions substantially. In fact, the aristocratic South may well have appealed more to Marryat's taste than the North. His greatest criticism is reserved for two groups: abolitionists, who are seen as fanatical and far more likely to bring about civil war than Southerners,[9] and those who commit miscegenation. Unlike Dickens, who tries to inflame his readers by citing numerous atrocities of slavery from abolitionist tracts, Marryat's most tragic examples of slavery involve mulattoes. The children are physically inferior to both whites and blacks, being "of a sickly constitution" (282).[10] Furthermore, the place of mulattoes in society is even more unhealthy. Marryat's most touching story of slavery is that of the light-skinned mulatto daughters of an American politician (a comment on such politicians) who are sold into slavery because he did not have them manumitted before his death.

After Marryat's return from America, his views on blacks are sharply divided. While *The Phantom Ship* and the children's novels *Masterman Ready* and *The Mission* show negative stereotypes, the late adult novels *Percival Keene* and *The Privateersman* display Marryat's most favorable portraits of blacks. In *The Phantom Ship* (1839) the protagonist, Philip, is shipwrecked off the coast of Africa and falls into the hands of the Hottentots (perennially thought of poorly by the English, Curtin 413). He encounters a native who eats a handful of large beetles, and when Philip sees the women, who treat him kindly, "he turned from their offensive, greasy attire, their strange forms, and hideous features, he sighed and thought of his charming Amine [his beloved]" (109).

The children's books are Marryat's most didactic works, and in them blacks are never seen in a more disparaging light. In Masterman Ready; or, the Wreck of the Pacific (1841) Juno, though a virtuous character, is ridiculed for her "woolly" hair and treated as a slave, someone who "does much of the heavy work to protect her mistresses from exertion" (Maher 80). In the social structure set up on the island, she is clearly at the bottom of the scale. She is the "good" black, loyal and subservient, but she is almost seen as subhuman. In fact, Marryat had a dog named Juno (Warner 11), and there is a fox-bitch with that name in The Settlers in Canada.

Another children's book, The Mission; or, Scenes in Africa (1845), is a disappointing work which may be Marryat's most racist novel, despite condemning slavery "sanctioned by law" (68). Alexander Wilmot goes to South Africa to see if a relative of his has survived a shipwreck off the coast about fifty years earlier. Wilmot is delighted to learn that she is dead (and not having mated with a black) and cannot wait to tell the good news to the woman's father:

> My poor uncle! God grant that he may live till my return with this distinct intelligence, with the assurance that he has no grandchildren living the life of a heathen and knowing no God. What a relief will it prove to him; how soothing will it be to his last days! How grateful am I to God, that I have had so happy an issue to my Mission! (140)

It is ironic that the joy here is that there is no "issue" from the white woman and a savage.[11]

The title, *The Mission*, describes Alexander's quest in terms sanctified by God; it also applies to the missionaries, seen in a positive light throughout the book, who "civilize" the natives. We are told that "Christianity and civilisation go hand in hand" (162). But one is tempted to substitute "racism" for "civilisation" as the link to Christianity (Brantlinger *Imperialism* 67).

The remainder of the book concerns natural history and history of Africa lessons with hunting trips and encounters with stereotypical natives. The bad ones are lazy, cowardly and savage while the good ones are clever, brave and docile; the women are pretty except for an unfortunate tendency to smear themselves with grease, dirt, and animal entrails. Lions generally prefer black flesh because it is tastier and easier to scent than white flesh. The bad natives must constantly be forced to obey. One ponders the effect on a young reader of the following passage: "The dismissal of one [insubordinate black], however, with an order to go back immediately, and threatening to shoot him if he was ever seen in the caravan, had the desired effect of restoring order" (72). Apparently Marryat, never squeamish when instructing his young charges, felt they must learn the value of discipline at all costs when dealing with savages.

Percival Keene (1842) and The Privateersman (1846) contain Marryat's most sympathetic portrayals of blacks even though his later works are generally considered to be increasingly conservative. This may be due, in part, to his deepening belief in Christian benevolence in his later years. In these novels there is a reversal of roles with the white being the slave of the black, but the bondage turns into love. The black pirate, James Vincent, in Percival Keene is somewhat similar to the "Noble Negro" tradition as exemplified by Aphra Behn's Oroonoko (1688). Again, the incident involving blacks is linked to the rest of the novel since Vincent has the same flaw as Percival, vengefulness. Vincent is an intelligent, moody, free-born American who violently hates whites (despite having physical features similar to them).[12] Normally Vincent kills captured whites, but Percival is saved by his quick wits and made a cabin boy.

Marryat, as noted earlier, tends to sympathize with free-born blacks, especially Americans; therefore, it is not surprising when Vincent says, "a free black in America is even worse treated and more despised than a slave" (154). He believes that "most

Americans think no more of taking the life of one like me than of a dog in the street" (154). Vincent recalls the insults and whippings he received which led to his killing a man and then to Vincent's eventual enslavement. After his escape he vows revenge on all whites.

Although Vincent is savage in his vengeance, his actions are not seen as unjustifiable because of the treatment he received. He is able to argue his case convincingly, the only black in Marryat's work, in fact, so articulate. Even Mesty's tale has been translated into "standard" English, but Vincent's dignity is not so impinged upon. Such verbal skills are requisite in establishing one's social identity, a major function of the slave narrative. Keene will not even condemn the roasting of slavers:

> Had this dreadful punishment been inflicted upon any other persons than slave dealers, and by any other parties than negroes, I should not have been able to look at the captain without abhorrence expressed in my countenance; but I knew well the horrors of the slave trade,...and I had imbibed such a hatred against the parties who carried it on, that it appeared to me to be an act of retribution almost allied to justice. (153)

The relationship between Percival and Vincent is unique in Marryat's work and perhaps in all of Victorian literature. Clearly Percival feels an empathy towards the pirate, possibly because Vincent, like Keene, has been denied his proper birthright by society. Percival endears himself to the pirate by painting his entire body black, making him look like a mulatto. This causes Vincent to comment, "I feel that I can love you now" (150). Their frequent talks of love and friendship, topics never brought up by white companions in Marryat's novels, may even imply a homoerotic affair. Vincent gives Percival a pet name, Cato, common for a dog, which also helps to establish the bond between them. Percival describes himself as Vincent's "pet" (154), and Vincent calls Percival "a little spaniel caressed by the tiger" (154), Vincent, in turn, is thought of as a "dog" (154) by most whites. Finally, Percival rescues Vincent from an attack by slave hunters' dogs. Of course, it is impossible for them to remain together, but before Vincent's death, Percival causes Vincent to show mercy once, sparing two whites, ironically one a girl Percival will later marry. Although unaware of its consequences, it turns out to be Vincent's ultimate gift to his beloved.[13]

The portrayal of the African woman Whyna in The Privateersman is also revealing. The blond-haired hero is shipwrecked off the coast of Africa (he stresses that had his ship "been employed in the slave-trade, as were most of the vessels from Liverpool to the Coast, I would not have joined her" 29-30), and is rescued from the cruel native king by Whyna, one of the king's wives. While all the black men in the novel are seen as warlike savages, Whyna is brave and kind, though still with the stereotypical fierce temper and passion. As in later novels by Victorian writers, black women who are considered attractive inevitably have European features:[14]

> I do not think that she was more than seventeen years of age; but they are women at fourteen in that country, and even earlier. She was a Negress as to colour, but not a real Negress; for her hair, although short and very wavy, was not woolly, and her nose was straight. Her mouth was small, and her teeth beautiful. Her figure was perfect, her limbs being very elegantly formed. (38)

The hero tells us he falls in love with her despite apologizing for it to his readers: "although it may appear strange that I should feel myself in love with a black woman, I will not deny but that I was so. I could not help being so, and that is all the excuse I can offer" (48). The sexual implications of phrases such as "mingling my tears with hers" (45) seem explicit in this context. If not for the evil king, Musgrave says he would be quite happy to spend the rest of his days with her.

After leaving Africa, he later returns and saves Whyna from slavery, but by this time he has "truly" fallen in love with a white woman. The hero, of course, can only love Whyna when he has been divorced from civilization. Upon his return, such a relationship is unthinkable. Whyna is unaware of such social nuances and cannot understand why he will not sleep on the ship with her; furthermore, the hero must be faithful to his true love or be no better than the polygamous black chieftain. When Musgrave leaves to go on another adventure, Whyna is devastated, and when it is falsely reported that he died, she dies of grief. This is a convenient ending, but by having the black woman die of grief while the white woman survives, it only emphasizes whose love is stronger. On the other hand, it is another demonstration of the excessive passion which Marryat feels is endemic to the race, and the hazard of mixing races, as with social groups, is clear. The sad lot of mixed races in Frank Mildmay and the Diary demonstrates what happens to those who have no proper place in the social hierarchy. Yet, as R.B. Johnson says, of all the women in the novel, most readers "will prefer, in spite of her colour, the gentle Whyna" (prefatory note to The Privateersman x).

It would be interesting to speculate on

Marryat's interest in blacks. He abhorred the slave trade, yet he lost an election largely because he appeared indifferent about slavery. That he considers them to be inferior to whites is obvious. That he considers them to be victims, on the other hand, is frequently evident. That he is repulsed by miscegenation is apparent. That he is fascinated by black women is also clear. Florence Marryat describes a caricature by her father when planning a trip to Africa in 1818, a sojourn he never made. The drawing shows Marryat hand on heart and looking perplexed--"before three dusky ladies dressed in the highest fashion of their country." It is called "Puzzled which to choose: or, the King of Timbuctoo offering one of his Daughters in Marriage to Captain--(anticipated result of the African Expedition)" (1: 82). It was a choice Marryat never quite seemed able to make.

In fairness to Marryat, in some ways he mirrors the times. Many abolitionists, while striving to free blacks from slavery, believed them to be inferior (Stepan xii-xiii). This ambivalence was also evident in far more enlightened scientific minds than Marryat and continued through the remainder of the century. Even monogenists such as Darwin and Huxley maintained their inferiority (Stepan 49-56, 79-82).

In fact, much nineteenth century writing was "subjective and amateurish where questions of race are touched upon" (Chapple 124). Although Marryat was no social scientist, "his portrayals of Africans, Indians, and other nonwhite peoples are usually more sympathetic--and often more knowledgeable--than those by many of his imitators" (Brantlinger Imperialism 67-68).

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In the increasingly rigid racial hierarchy of Victorian England, the American Indian generally was seen to be somewhere between whites and blacks on the scale. Indians were believed to be teachable and were, at least in principle, not considered as suitable for slavery, yet they were thought to be inferior to Caucasians. Literary figures tended to reflect this ambivalence. Nineteenth century American writers such as Longfellow, Thoreau, and Whittier present Indians in what Elemire Zolla calls "the tradition of benevolence." However, "Side by side with the tradition of benevolence there exists a tradition of hatred or contempt" (134). Writers demonstrating the latter tradition include Brockden Brown, Poe, and Emerson. Even James Fenimore Cooper, who generally continues the Romantic tradition of the noble savage in Indians such as Chiangachgook and his son Uncas, does not uniformly paint a favorable portrait of Indians:

> Some good Indians there always have been, and Cooper did not hesitate to superimpose upon the basic foundation of aboriginal traits a few of the brighter colors of the imagination. But these figures are few and far between, and it would be a serious mistake to crowd out of the picture the cruel, blood-thirsty, treacherous, and fiendish savages with which practically all his Indian stories are peopled. (Keiser 143)

In light of such a tradition, and because of the ambivalence of his chief mentor Cooper, it is not surprising that Marryat holds varying opinions on Indians, depending on his purpose. As with blacks, Indians are seen at times as inferior barbarians and, at other times, as victims. Marryat writes of Indians in A Diary in America and to some extent utilizes his American experiences in three subsequent novels, Narrative of the Travels and Adventures of Monsieur Violet in California, Sonora, and Western Texas (1843), The Settlers in Canada (1844), and The Privateersman (1846).

Indians are a convenient means in the Diary to attack the United States. Therefore, unless they have been sullied by contact with Americans, Indians are seen as noble, brave, intelligent, "the most perfect gentlemen in America, particularly in their deportment" (210). The women are generally "modest and well behaved" (198). Elements of savagery are played down. Indians fighting on the plains are equated with Europeans fighting on the seas. The deceit of the American government is emphasized; agents lie to the Indians, promising to settle disputes between the tribes and failing to do so (207-08). And, of course, treaties with the American government are a farce; Indians in Wisconsin, for example, are said to be "*compelled* to sell--the purchase-money being a mere subterfuge, by which it may *appear* as if their lands were not wrested from them, although, in fact, it is" (173). Nowhere is Marryat's bias more clear than in his lecture to the Sioux at Fort Snelling, Wisconsin:

> I am very glad that you do not forget the English, and that you say they kept their word, and that their rifles and blankets were good. I know that the blankets of the Americans are thin and cold. (I did not think it worth while to say that they were all made in England.) We have buried the hatchet now; but should the tomahawk be raised again between the Americans and the English, you must not take part with the Americans. (206)

The treatment of Indians in *Monsieur Violet*, one of the earliest novels about the American Southwest,[15] is closest to that of the *Diary*. As with Cooper, entire tribes are labeled either good or bad. Not surprisingly, those Indians having the closest contact with Americans or Texans are bad. However, bad tribes are far outnumbered by the good tribes, especially the Shoshones and tribes connected with them such as the Comanches and the Apaches. In this book, Marryat's most scathing attack on democracy as exemplified by Texans and Americans, it is necessary to make the Indians, their foes, into heroes. The main focus of the novel, in fact, giving it what loose structure it has, revolves around this relentless assault.

When the novel opens, the twelve year old Monsieur Violet has gone into political exile among the Shoshones with his father and the Italian Prince Seravalle. The Shoshones are generally seen in the tradition of the noble savage:

> Not one Indian who has been brought up at school, and among the pleasures and luxuries of a great city, has ever wished to make his dwelling among the pale faces; while, on the contrary, many thousands of white men, from the highest to the lowest station in civilisation, have embraced the life of the savage, remaining with and dying among them, although they might have accumulated wealth, and returned to their own country. (3)

Violet is not only a member of the tribe, but eventually he becomes the chief, attempting to unify the 200,000 members of the Shoshones. The ability of whites to rise to superiority in their foreign setting is a consistent theme in Marryat's work. The unifying of the tribes also demonstrates Marryat's preoccupation with preventing civil war.

In their numerous encounters with the Texans or Americans, the Indians are always virtuous and the Texans or Americans villainous. One of many instances can demonstrate this. The Texans, under a flag of truce, invited the Comanches to discuss peace: "Incapable of treachery themselves, the brave Comanches never suspected it in others[.]...While the chiefs were making their speeches of peace and amity, a few hundred Texian [sic] blackguards rushed into the room with their pistols and knives, and began their work of murder" (162-63).

The plagiarism, too, indicates Marryat's bias. Marryat never visited the American West and he took his material from several sources, most frequently George Wilkins Kendall.[16] Kendall wrote sketches on the Santa-Fe expedition for the *New Orleans Picayune* in 1842--Marryat had even singled out earlier work by Kendall for praise in the *Diary* 407--which are lifted almost verbatim, and without credit, in *Monsieur Violet*. Because of Marryat's political beliefs, it was necessary to "edit" Kendall's material, frequently to vilify Texans and Americans rather than Indians. For example, Kendall describes Athens, Texas, in this manner:

> The name by which it was known on the plans...was Athens; and so firmly did the visionary who planned it believe in his speculation, that he built a house and made some other and expensive improvements on the premises....[H]e was attacked by a roaming party of Camanches [sic] and driven off, narrowly escaping with his life....Thus fell a modern Athens. (81)

Marryat describes Athens thus:

> I hardly need say, that this town-manufacturer was a Yankee, who intended to realise a million by selling town-lots. The city (in prospective) was called Athens, and the silly fellow had so much confidence in his own speculation, that he actually built upon the ground a very large and expensive house. One day...he was attacked by a party of Yankee thieves, who thought he had a great deal of money....Thus modern Athens was cut off in the bud, which was a great pity, as a few Athenian sages and legislators are sadly wanted in Texas. (170)

Despite this single-minded attack, or perhaps because of it, the book is probably Marryat's weakest work. Marryat is never able to arouse the reader's sympathy for the Indians because none of the characters seems real. All the Shoshones are paragons: brave, chivalric, hospitable, honest. They are not flesh and blood. Monsieur Violet, too, is merely a stick figure; one has no sense of who he really is. Even his name is known only from the title. It is not so much the lack of a unified plot structure, the digressions, or even the unconscionable but often clever plagiarism that ruins the book. What is most damning is the lack of humor, of a genial bond between author and reader, and of lively characterization, usually Marryat's strengths. Marryat has heaped evidence trying to make us condemn one side and sympathize with another; however, most readers have not really gotten to know or care about either group.

The children's novel The Settlers in Canada begins in 1794 so that the settlers will encounter a more dangerous Canada than that of the 1840s. The British had only gained control of Canada in 1763, and the Indians were often hostile to the few English settlers. The Indians in the work are of two types: renegades who were allied with the French and good Indians who befriended the English.

Bad Indians are necessary in the novel to show that the English are hardy and can, with Providence's help, overcome the wilderness. The appropriately named Angry Snake, who had fought on the side of the French in the French and Indian War, is a belligerent old man. However, his savagery is blunted, almost to a comical point. He leads a group of a half dozen renegades with a couple of rifles, and he is confined to kidnapping women and children. He goes too far, though, when he captures the prissy Mary. At this point, he must be, and is, stopped. The old, white hunter Malachi Bone, modeled after Cooper's Natty Bumppo, vanquishes him and says, "He was a bad man, sir, but he will do no more mischief" (295-96). Not surprisingly, Malachi had fought on the British side in the French and Indian War.[17] He demonstrates that whites can get assimilated to the hostile environment and, in fact, be better suited for it than the natives. He can outshoot, outhunt and outthink any Indian: "Malachi is a better Indian than them all" (277). He, like Monsieur Violet, is an example of the superiority of the cultural hybrid, someone who supersedes both the "civilized" and the "savage" characters, a pattern present in many adventure romances (Brantlinger _Imperialism_ 66).

The good Indian is traditionally one who accepts white customs and religion. An example is Strawberry, raised as a child by Malachi. She is the perfect Indian woman, able to track, sew, use herbal medicine and keep guard over prisoners, yet she is docile, modest, content and quiet. It is no wonder that she is pursued by the white hunter Martin, whom she marries, and several soldiers. As her contact with the white family increases, she is said to be "becoming useful. She has almost given up her Indian customs and is settling down quietly into English habits" (195). Her gradual conversion to Christianity is the final proof that the savage has been civilized. Despite all this, however, Strawberry is still called a "creature" (195), and one feels that she never will be accepted as equal by whites.

Nowhere in Marryat's works is the view of Indians as harsh as in The Privateersman, probably the most brutally graphic of all his novels. The choice of setting, in the mid-1700s, is at the height of the French and Indian Wars. During that time, anti-Indian feeling was at its peak in England, and this hostility is reflected in the novel. Even blacks are seen in a kinder light than Indians in this novel (perhaps the narrator's frequent enslavements may have contributed to his sympathy for blacks). The cruel, old African king never reaches the level of cruelty of the Indians from Virginia. The description of the torture of a Portuguese captain demonstrates what Virginia Woolf calls Marryat's "bright hardness" (44):

> I beheld him bleeding profusely, his ears and nose having been cut off, and a broken iron ramrod passed through both cheeks....Some caught up the burning sticks and applied them to his flesh, others stuck him full of small splints, the ends of which they lighted. The Indian warriors shot at him with muskets loaded with powder only, so as to burn him

> terribly on every part of the body. The women took up handfuls of lighted ashes and showered them down on him, so that the ground he trod upon was a mass of burning embers, and he walked upon fire. (247)

He is then burned over all his body with hot irons. Finally, after being blinded by a hot iron,

> An Indian then went up to him, and with his knife cut a circle round his head, and tore off the whole scalp, flesh and hair together, and when he had done this...[an] old woman...lifted up a handful of burning coals, and put them upon his bleeding head. (248)

This scene is an example of a narrative of captivity.[18] These narratives, many extremely sensational, often helped perpetuate the stereotype of the Indians as cruel savages, a tradition continued in the Dime Novels of the second half of the century. One type of narrative of captivity centers on the martyrdom of a Christian. This is taken to an extreme, almost parodic, in the fanatical desire of the Portuguese captain to be tortured. His final words are, "Take me, ye holy saints. Angels, receive me" (248). In this tradition, the Indians are Satanic and serve as a means "of testing, punishing, or instructing His [God's] creatures" (VanDerBeets xiv), The escape is an illustration of God's Providence. In fact, Musgrave's capture by the Indians is, like his time in Africa, in keeping with the theme of the novel--undergoing enslavement, reflecting upon one's life, and then feeling the hand of God (Buster 254).

There is a major difference in the portrayal of black and Indian women in the novel. Whereas black women, particularly Whyna, are depicted as being caring and attractive, Indian women, for the most part, are seen as being vindictive and ugly. Marryat follows the stereotype that bad Indian women are usually old and the good are young (Barnett 98).[19] The hideous old woman who thrusts the coals on the Portuguese captain's head wishes to marry Musgrave, the man who killed her husband and the man whose eye she had previously thrust a straw into. Though she frees Musgrave from death, as Whyna did, the type of enslavement she offers is worse than death.

Marryat's portrayal of minority women in general requires a further discussion. Works in exotic locations often provide the male writer with a chance to "offer brilliantly charismatic realms of adventure for white heroes, usually free from the complexities of relations with white women" (Brantlinger Imperialism 11). There may be some truth to this in Marryat's case, but his non-white women present their own complexities. In writing about these women he certainly follows some racial and gender stereotypes;

by writing for a largely white male audience his work often addresses their fantasies. Thus, for example, we never find white females attracted to minority males (as in Frances Trollope's The Old World and the New, 1849, where a white woman marries an American Indian), and by showing self-sacrifice towards white men, the women follow the predominant sexist-racist paradigm (Barnett 91). However, Marryat does not conform to all the stereotypical conventions.

In novels where blacks and whites appear, the black female characters are usually vividly drawn, not like the submissive, pure ciphers so many of the white women are. The women at the dignity ball in Peter Simple, Whyna in The Privateersman, and Carlotta in Frank Mildmay are all alive. They are among Marryat's most alluring characters. Whyna and Carlotta have some stereotypical traits and their sad stories end the way nineteenth century audiences would expect (indeed demand), but they are given an emotional depth lacking in their white rivals. They have feelings of jealousy, loyalty, anger, lust and love which Marryat never endowed to their white counterparts. The heroes may not have chosen to marry them, but the minority women are far more memorable than the white women. One need only think of the reaction of Whyna, who dies from longing for her lover, and Miss Trevannion, who staunchly manages to endure. One discerns the same dichotomy in comparing Carlotta with the woman Mildmay marries. Warner says Emily Somerville "is as unreal a heroine as Marryat ever imagined" (151).

The Indian girl Strawberry, who is "purified" by her contact with whites, is also a stereotype, but her marriage to a white, even one with a checkered past like Martin, does not follow the convention. In most Indian-white relationships, the Indian is killed off before consummation can occur (Barnett 119-24). The marriage is even more noteworthy since it takes place in a novel aimed at a young audience. In addition, Strawberry's independence, and that of other Indian women, is stressed. Unlike the white women, Indian women are able to take care of themselves and, therefore, no dowry must be provided on their marriage. In fact, a gift must be made to the bride's father. The independence of Indian women is also noted by Marryat in the Diary 208-09.

This independence may be the chief reason why Marryat's minority women are more human than many of his white women. Marryat seems to believe, in the words of Mr. Campbell in The Settlers in Canada, that "the first mark of civilisation is the treatment of the other sex, and in proportion as civilisation increases, so are the women protected and well used" (145). When not put in such a restrictive, protected environment, women can display more independence, passion and resourcefulness. In Marryat's work, frequently the minority women are in such a non-protected environment. For this reason his minority women (and the white women who are forced to fend for themselves, such as Araminta in Poor Jack) are usually his most intriguing female characters.

Notes

[1] The increasingly racist overtones of these displays are demonstrated in Dickens's essay on a Zulu exhibition he attended in 1853. This humorous piece debunks the image of the noble savage. Dickens calls the typical African "a savage--cruel, false, thievish, murderous; addicted more or less to grease, entrails, and beastly customs; a wild animal with the questionable gift of boasting; a conceited, tiresome, bloodthirsty, monotonous humbug" (337). Though Dickens is comically exaggerating, his major contention, that Africans should be "civilised off the face of the earth" (337), is a call for cultural genocide not atypical of the time (Lindfors 138). Carlyle's "The Nigger Question" (1849) also exemplifies the increasingly racist tone.

[2] See, for example, his Thoughts on the Slave Trade, and Civilisation of Africa; with Remarks on the African Institution, and an Examination of Their Committee, Recommending a General Regularity of Slaves in the British West Indian Islands, published in several editions in 1816. See also Lloyd, Marryat 6).

[3] One should realize that the tragic mulatto did not truly become a stereotype until a plethora of American literature came out on the subject in the 1840s. See Catherine Juanita Starke, Black Portraiture in American Fiction, pp. 89-107 and Judith Berzon, Neither White Nor Black, pp. 99-116.

Edward Howard's Rattlin, the Reefer (1836), a novel once attributed to Marryat, also discusses miscegenation; however, in this novel the hero marries a West Indian quadroon, Josephine. They live happily until Ralph is taken away by his shipmates. Josephine dies of a broken blood vessel (ironically what killed both Marryat and Howard) pursuing them. Ralph never remarries, continuing to remember his one true love. Marryat never has any of his heroes marry a black or not marry a white woman for love of one.

[4] This is further indicated by the quotation from Aphra Behn's Oroonoko heading chapter fifteen:

> Lucy--Are all these wretches slaves?
> Stanley--All sold, they and their
> posterity, all slaves.
> Lucy--O! miserable fortune!
> Bland. Most of them know no better, but
> were / Born so, and only change
> their masters. (113)

[5] Though unsigned, almost all reviews in the Metropolitan when Marryat was editor were written by him. In any event, as editor it is unlikely he would allow such a review if he were not in agreement with it.

Newton is also exposed to slavery in the French colony of Guadaloupe. These slaves are even better off than those at Barbados because of the kind treatment of the French, who have a natural sense of equality: "It must be acknowledged that the French have invariably proved the kindest and most considerate of masters, and the state of bondage is much mitigated in the islands which appertain to that nation" (152).

[6] See, for example, Raymond Howell's The Royal Navy and the Slave Trade and Christopher Lloyd's The Navy and the Slave Trade.

[7] It is, of course, a hypocritical attitude since the British had helped to establish slavery in the United States; in addition, most of the British West Indies still had a transitional apprenticeship, virtual slavery, in effect until 1839 (Bolt 78).

[8] Free blacks are always sympathized with more than slaves (e.g. Vincent in Percival Keene and Mesty in Mr. Midshipman Easy). Even the slave owner in Newton Forster declares, "a man born free, and made a slave, is justified in resorting to any means to deliver himself" (108).

[9] In the Diary in America he remarks, "Of all wars, a civil war is the most cruel, the most unrelenting, and the most exterminating; and deep indeed must be the responsibility of those who, by their words or their actions, have contrived to set

countryman against countryman, neighbour against neighbour, and very often brother against brother, and father against child" (133).

[10] Sander Gilman's comment on the end of the nineteenth century applies to Marryat as well: "Interracial marriages were seen as exactly parallel to the barrenness of the prostitute; if they produced children at all, these children were weak and doomed" (237).

[11] David Hannay feels that the novel is a cheat because there is no heir (146). Marryat could likely have created a more lively work by providing one, but a mulatto hero at that time was unthinkable.

[12] It is interesting to compare Melville's "Benito Cereno" (1855) and Percival Keene. Melville's work is based on a historical incident. Though set in the 1790s it reflects the debates raging over slavery in America in the 1850s (Sundquist 94). Both Babo and Vincent hate whites and lead slave revolts, but they are very different. Babo (baboon) is ugly, feigns servility and is dangerously clever whereas Vincent is physically attractive, noble and intelligent. Babo had been well treated as a slave and his reasons for rebelling are never explained. Vincent, on the other hand, has been horribly mistreated by whites, giving his cause a justness which even Percival defends. Furthermore, unlike Babo, he is highly articulate.

[13] Walter Buster discusses this relationship further (pp. 341-43). Leslie Fiedler's classic article on homoeroticism in American literature, listed in my bibliography, is also pertinent. See Lewis 282 and Davis 134 for brief notes on homosexuality in the Royal Navy in Marryat's time. Perhaps this is alluded to in remarks such as the following: "There is something in the sight of a petticoat at sea that never fails to put a man into a good humour, provided he be rightly constructed" (Frank Mildmay 181).

[14] See, for example, Haggard's King Solomon's Mines (1885) and She (1887). Earlier, Behn's male

hero Oroonoko also had been endowed with Caucasian features.

[15] Marryat is the first British novelist listed in Gaston's survey of early Southwestern novels, p. 211.

[16] Kenneth W. Scott and Jules Zanger discuss this plagiarism further in the articles listed in my bibliography. So does Kendall's biographer, Fayette Copeland. Marryat even criticizes Kendall as being inaccurate. This sort of writing is, ironically, exactly what Marryat is satirizing in his essay, "How to Write a Book of Travels" (originally published 1833-34 in the Metropolitan, reprinted in Olla Podrida).

[17] It is probably not accidental that Malachi is from Maine, not yet a state in 1794. This means that the hero is not a real Yankee.

[18] Percival's capture in The Settlers in Canada is a further example in Marryat's work. Cooper's The Last of the Mohicans is a series of captures and rescues. For other examples see Richard VanDerBeets's Held Captive by Indians, Selected Narratives 1642-1836.

[19] The chief's beautiful daughter, who wishes to marry Musgrave, is an example of the subservient good Indian. Musgrave will not accept her because he feels he would be tempted to break his vows to the white woman he loves at home.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUDING REMARKS

Marryat's works have many flaws. He wrote more quickly and more frequently than he should have. His plots are often flimsily contrived. His novels are overly melodramatic and sentimental, and he relies too heavily on puns and broad farce. However, he can create vivid characters and is capable of writing a sustained humorous piece (such as the opening chapters of Mr. Midshipman Easy or the dignity ball scene in Peter Simple). He is a minor writer, but one not without his charms as demonstrated in the two novels just mentioned and in others including Jacob Faithful, Japhet, in Search of a Father, and Poor Jack. As Virginia Woolf says, "he can create a world" (43), and he has "in embryo at least most of the gifts that go to make a master" (42).

Another admirer of Marryat, Joseph Conrad, claims that the loss of Marryat's work "would be irreparable, like the curtailment of national story or the loss of a historical document" (53). Nevertheless, Marryat has almost become lost for modern readers. He is seldom read or studied, and in the brief space accorded him in many literary histories, he is usually dismissed as being a one-dimensional writer with no ideas other than on the navy. However, he was a man driven by many often ambivalent impulses. He felt great pride in the navy, yet he advocated reforms even if they inhibited his own career. He believed in the need for a hierarchical social system, but many of his heroes, and he himself, strove for advancement. He feared the democratic spirit, especially as practiced in America, yet he admired the energies of the American people. He was filled with racial prejudices, but had a knowledge (and often an understanding) of minorities which few authors of his time could match.

Marryat had a first-hand knowledge of the globe, and his novels, whether set in England or in some exotic locale, can provide us with insights into pre-Victorian society and England's role in world affairs. Moreover, they are often a joy to read. For these reasons it is hoped that he will not completely disappear as a literary figure.

APPENDIX: FIRST ENGLISH EDITIONS AND SERIALIZATIONS

For more information on the first editions of Marryat's books see Michael Sadleir's Excursions in Victorian Bibliography and Nineteenth Century Fiction. Sadleir standardizes the punctuation of Marryat's titles. Many of Marryat's works were initially published in serialized form; this information has been provided immediately beneath the first edition. For more on Marryat's serialized fiction see J. Don Vann's Victorian Novels in Serial and Lance Schacterle's article on the Metropolitan Magazine listed in my bibliography. Vann's dates of serializations are more accurate than those given by Sadleir. The Metropolitan Magazine was entitled the Metropolitan: A Monthly Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts in 1831 and 1832.

A Code of Signals for the Use of Vessels Employed in the Merchant Service. London: J.M. Richardson, 1817.

Suggestions for the Abolition of the Present System of Impressment in the Naval Service. London: J.M.: Richardson, 1822.

The Naval Officer; or, Scenes and Adventures in the Life of Frank Mildmay. 3 vols. London: Henry Colburn, 1829.

The King's Own. 3 vols. London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830.

Newton Forster; or, the Merchant Service. 3 vols. London: James Cochrane and Co., 1832.

Peter Simple. 3 vols. London: Saunders and Otley, 1834.

Chapters 1-42 only serialized in the *Metropolitan Magazine* from June 1832-September 1833. Remaining 23 chapters not in serial.

Jacob Faithful. 3 vols. London: Saunders and Otley, 1834.

Serialized in the *Metropolitan Magazine* from September 1833-October 1834.

The Pacha of Many Tales. 3 vols. London: Saunders and Otley, 1835.

Serialized under the names *The Pacha of Many Tales* and *The Pasha of Many Tales* in the *Metropolitan Magazine* intermittently between May 1831 and June 1835.

The Pirate, and the Three Cutters. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1836.

Japhet, in Search of a Father. 3 vols. London: Saunders and Otley, 1836.

Serialized in the *Metropolitan Magazine* from November 1834-January 1836.

Mr. Midshipman Easy. 3 vols. London: Saunders and Otley, 1836.

One installment (chapters 1-4) in the *Metropolitan Magazine* in August 1836.

Snarleyyow; or, the Dog Fiend. 3 vols. London: Henry Colburn, 1837.

Chapters 1-39 complete, chapters 40-55 summarized, the *Metropolitan Magazine* from January 1836-July 1837.

The Phantom Ship. 3 vols. London: Henry Colburn, 1839.

Serialized in the *New Monthly Magazine* from March 1837-August 1839.

A Diary in America, with Remarks on Its Institutions. 3 vols. London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1839.

A Diary in America, with Remarks on Its Institutions. Part Second. 3 vols. London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1839.

Poor Jack. London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1840.

Published in twelve monthly parts, January-December 1840.

Olla Podrida. 3 vols. Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1840.

Contains work published earlier in the Metropolitan Magazine and other periodicals.

Masterman Ready; or, the Wreck of the Pacific. 3 vols. London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1841.

Volume 1 published in May 1841, volume 2 in April 1842, volume 3 in December 1842.

Joseph Rushbrook; or, the Poacher. 3 vols. London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Co., 1841.

According to Vann (108) serialized under the title The Poacher in the Era December 13, 1840-May 23, 1841. Buster says it ran "from 30 September, 1838, to 21 September, 1839" (338). However, he is the only one to indicate such an early date. I have been unable to locate a copy of the periodical to verify the dates.

Percival Keene. 3 vols. London: Henry Colburn, 1842.

Narrative of the Travels and Adventures of Monsieur Violet in California, Sonora, and Western Texas. 3 vols. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1843.

The Settlers in Canada. 2 vols. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1844.

The Mission; or, Scenes in Africa. 2 vols. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1845.

The Privateer's-Man: One Hundred Years Ago. 2 vols. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1846.

Serialized in the *New Monthly Magazine* from August 1845-June 1846.

The Children of the New Forest. 2 vols. London: H. Hurst, 1847.

One part issue only published April 1847.

The Little Savage. 2 vols. London: H. Hurst, 1848-49.

Completed by Frank S. Marryat.

Valerie, an Autobiography. 2 vols. London: Henry Colburn, 1849.

Chapters 1-11 appeared serially in the *New Monthly Magazine* from July 1846-Feb. 1847.

Final two chapters written by an anonymous author.

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