

HYPATIA AND CALLISTA: A COMPARISON OF
TWO HISTORICAL NOVELS OF PURPOSE
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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PREFACE

Although Charles Kingsley's attack in 1864 upon John Henry Newman's honesty, and indirectly upon the intellectual integrity of the Catholic priesthood, is well known to students of literature, especially through their acquaintance with Newman's reply, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, no detailed study has been made by way of comparison of the expression of these writers' antagonistic views in their earlier historical novels -- Hypatia by Kingsley, published in 1853, and Callista by Newman, published in 1856. It is, therefore, the purpose of this thesis to make a discriminating and comprehensive comparison of these historical novels of purpose. To accomplish this aim, the writer studied the novels, first, in the background of the nineteenth-century economic, social, political, scientific, democratic, and humanitarian influences; and, next, in their relation to the lives and characteristics of their authors and their reaction to the Oxford Movement and to the types and purposes of other Victorian novels. This comparison is followed by an examination of the novels themselves in regard to type of fiction, purpose, theme, setting, characterization, plot, treatment of material, and style. Furthermore, each novel has been analyzed and criticized as to its

portrayal of the early century it has fictionized. This investigation includes a checking of the authors' sources for authenticity of setting, characters, historical events, and the historical background of paganism, Roman rule, persecution of the Christians, and general conditions of the period. The conclusions of the thesis present an evaluation of the significance of each novel in its own century and in ours.

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CHAPTER I
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND ITS INFLUENCE
ON HYPATIA AND CALLISTA

In general the contents and style of an author's productions reveal the effects of the period in which they are written. Usually two or more dominant characteristics of a writer's own era will forcefully influence his interpretation of the age and conditions about which he is writing. A study of the two novels, Hypatia by Charles Kingsley and Callista by Cardinal Newman, whose stories are set in the fifth and the third centuries, respectively, verifies these statements by disclosing certain influences that the Victorian period had on the novels.

Kingsley has illustrated this relationship in the subtitle of Hypatia, New Foes with an Old Face, which referred to asceticism, aristocracy, theocracy, and skepticism as those nineteenth-century currents or foes that might disintegrate the family and the government of a nation. The Roman Empire of the fifth century represented the Old Face.¹ Just as there were disturbing controversies in the fifth and the nineteenth centuries that made themselves felt, in Callista two of Newman's characters discuss

¹Joseph Ellis Baker, The Novel and the Oxford Movement (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932), p. 95.

the two great dangers of the Roman Empire; namely, the Goths and the Christians.²

Both writers have selected backgrounds with turbulent unrest and controversial activities. The fifth century particularly was one of intellectual fermentation comparable to that of Kingsley's own.³ It was an age in which the Church leaders, the Christian monks, functioning as a fanatical, pettish, jealous mob, battled for power and leadership. Christianity was weakened by the intrigues which existed in the Church councils. The murdering of Hypatia by the monks symbolized the destruction of the best in classical culture by the worst in superstition among Christians and pagans. Kingsley implicitly states:

This was the Church of the Fathers whose doctrine nineteenth-century Englishmen had been told to obey without question, though it might condemn Greek culture, supplement the teachings of Solomon and of Jesus beyond recognition, ignore the wisdom that coming centuries of Christians thought were to develop, disagree with the conclusions of science or scholarship, and defy the democratic hopes of a progressive nation.⁴

The third century witnessed the conflict between paganism and Christianity, persecution of the Christians, and a mixture of "Mythologies, Mysteries, and Philosophies"

²Charles Frederick Harrold, John Henry Newman (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1945), p. 92.

³Stanley J. Kunitz (ed.), British Authors of the Nineteenth Century (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1936), p. 348.

⁴Baker, op. cit., p. 96.

influencing man's religious life.⁵ Newman, who was a Catholic at the time he wrote Callista, would naturally have been interested in the heroic struggle of the Church under such conditions.

A brief survey of the nineteenth century with its many and various complexities will aid one in discerning the effects of the period on the two novels.

The Victorian Age, one of the most important periods in English life and literature, was a complex era characterized by a multiplicity of harmonious and conflicting elements and traits. It was pre-eminently an age of industrialism, democracy, and science. During the entire nineteenth century, which was a time of ferment and adjustment, the forces of social and political revolution slowly and gradually gained recognition. A natural conservatism of the English was a tempering influence that prevented the revolutionary spirit of the earlier part of this century from materializing into an open, violent revolt. Seriousness, richness, and fullness of thought and, above all things, respectability were notable characteristics of this age of progress, prosperity, and reform. Restraint, dignity, and sometimes repression sounded the keynotes of Victorian etiquette and morals. The "virtuous vices" -- stiffness, prudishness, moral snobbery, and hypocrisy -- have

⁵John Henry Newman, Callista (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1941), Introduction, p. xv.

served as targets for criticism and censure from the people of the twentieth century. An analysis of this age, like a prism when sunlight passes through it, reveals a multi-colored spectrum as illustrated by its various efforts, accomplishments, failures, interests, and problems. This age of great social and intellectual advancement -- just as did the third and fifth centuries -- lacked that degree of unity that marked some of the other periods; e. g., the Age of Pericles and the Elizabethan Period.⁶ Because of a tendency to compromise, the Victorians have passed on to succeeding generations many unsolved problems.

The period intervening between the death of Scott in 1832 and the death of Tennyson in 1892 is called the Victorian Period in honor of Queen Victoria, who had been the English ruler during most of its extent.⁷ For the first part of her reign the Queen encouraged several tendencies inherited from the post-Napoleonic problems. Forces which were to bring on the First World War were already portentous in the later part of her long reign.⁸

Every phase of man's rights and behaviorism reflected and refracted a modern, independent thought that

⁶B. J. Whiting et al. (eds.), The College Survey of English Literature (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1944), p. 845.

⁷Tom Peete Cross et al., Good Reading for High School: English Writers (Dallas: Ginn and Company, 1931), p. 439.

⁸Whiting et al., op. cit., p. 845.

had interwoven itself into English life during the early decades of the nineteenth century. Definitely new and creditable requisites dominated political, philosophical, scientific, and religious thoughts and actions. The four major factors in this background were industrialism, imperialism, science, and humanitarianism. By examining each of these we shall be able to discover the influences of the background of the age on Hypatia and Callista. In this way a knowledge of the conditions and current philosophies of the age will aid in understanding the ideology of these two works.

The economic situation undoubtedly integrated all the aspects of society and functioned as a nucleus on which each of the other factors directly or indirectly depended for expression.

Because the drastic changes in the economics and social structure of Western Europe resulted from the application of machinery to production processes, the period -- that is, the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries -- is designated the Industrial Revolution. Like the French Revolution, the resulting economic, social, and political influences of this Industrial Revolution overthrew an old regime; the factory system replaced the domestic system.

Being endowed with natural resources conducive to

industrial development, England ranked high in her industrialism, a major controlling factor throughout the entire nineteenth century. Her soil furnished coal and iron, both essential for the growth of industry; at first water power supplied by the swift streams and, later, steam engines ran her new machinery; and the damp climate aided the textile manufacturing. Through the expansion of industry and trade, English merchants easily disposed of all manufactured goods. Much ingenuity was demonstrated in the practical application of science to new mechanical inventions. Capitalists, desirous of increasing their wealth, made large monetary contributions to various industrial enterprises.

As consequences and causes of this amazing expansion of trade and industry, the population rapidly increased, the national wealth assumed huge proportions, and numerous large cities sprang into existence. Since mining, farming, and manufacturing, because of the large number of machines, could be done on a large scale, there was an increase in the commodities to sell and trade.

Between 1700 and 1800, the population of England had doubled. The ease with which people could live was heightened by the greater production of food and clothing. Employment, conveniences, and apparent attractiveness of the big city caused the greater part of the population to settle in urban communities.

The great accumulation of wealth was, perhaps, the most phenomenal result of England's industrialism. Buyers were attracted by a quantitative production of goods at a lower productive cost, and a greater consumption ensued. Relatively few individuals, however, benefited from this quickly amassed wealth, but many suffered from privations engendered by extreme poverty.

Formation of the factory system widened the gulf between employer and worker. The impoverished, uneducated peasant forfeited his independence and became a victim of the new factory system by assuming the rank of a wage slave. The opulent man bought machines, built factories, and benefited from the profits derived. His accumulated fortunes meant drudgery and destitution for the laboring masses. How appropriate it is that this age is often titled the Age of Capitalism.

Other deplorable conditions stamped these workmen who had migrated from the farms to the factories. These people suffered from several humiliating injustices. Unsanitary environments, crowded and dirty tenement houses, inadequate supply of heat, light, and water, and long working hours caused a moral and physical deterioration among the workers and their families. Diseases and crimes became rampant. Sordid dissipation attracted young men; for an enjoyment in their leisure time, weary laborers sought saloons. Young factory women fell into immorality.

Working mothers neglected their young children, and the strenuous and long hours of factory work impaired the health of working children. The employment of women and children in mines and factories fostered debasing and indecent social consequences.

People in authority indicated no plans for alleviating these conditions vividly manifested by social deterioration. A greater production at the least cost formed the chief concern of these industrialists. Not until the middle of the century was there any discernible effort to pass legislative measures to remedy these demoralizing conditions and to elevate workers from their depraved situation.⁹

While neither novelist has stressed economic conditions in his story as a vital force within the country, and, of course, has made no mention of manufacturing, nevertheless, he has been aware of existing social ills. Newman stated that many people who were applying themselves to the increase of wealth and possessions were "forgetting both the conduct of the faithful under the Apostles and what ought to be their conduct in every age."¹⁰ Agellius, the hero of Callista, is repelled by the vices and immorality so prevalent in Sicca¹¹ and analogous to those of the

⁹Ferdinand Schevill, A History of Europe from the Reformation to the Present Day (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1925), pp. 513-519. See also Carlton J. H. Hayes, A Political and Social History of Modern Europe (New York: Macmillan Company, 1916), pp. 11, 62-65; 76-77.

¹⁰Newman, Callista, p. 20.

¹¹Ibid., p. 24.

nineteenth century caused by the ill effects of industrialism. Prior to 250 A. D., "several bishops had forsaken their sacred calling, had engaged themselves in secular vocations, . . . strayed among foreign provinces, hunted the markets for mercantile profits, and tried to amass large sums of money."¹² As a result Sicca at the time of the story had no bishop. With Newman, paganism rather than industrialism had caused much of the suffering and social upheavals of the third century. The author, in his treatment of Juba, "the representative of intellectual freedom,"¹³ revealed that he himself had no faith in this new progressive force as a vital factor for a man's salvation or his Christian life.

Social conditions in Alexandria at the beginning of the fifth century were irregular, and the spiritual status of the people was at a very low ebb. One of Kingsley's characters embodied the detrimental effects of social life as produced in crowded, unhealthy, crime-provoking atmospheres of an industrial city. The lovely Pelagia is the "elder sister to the nineteenth century sentimental prostitute driven to sin in her helpless youth, a true woman still at heart and capable of one great love."¹⁴ Throughout

¹²Ibid., p. 20.

¹³Baker, op. cit., p. 66.

¹⁴Margaret Farrand Thorp, Charles Kingsley, 1819-1875 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1937), p. 114.

Hypatia Kingsley often referred to the large city and the seething masses of humanity who, because of a desire for wealth and excitement, were easily enticed to become members of some movement for or against the betterment of any cause. Kingsley also pointed out the gulf that existed between a leader and his followers, whether religious, political, or intellectual; for example, a great gulf existed between Cyril and his militant monks, Orestes and his bodyguards or soldiers, and Hypatia and her satellites. Each leader reveled in his own importance. Hypatia recoiled at the sight of a poor, degraded tramp who accosted her and requested alms.¹⁵ The cruelty in the massacre of the Libyan prisoners might easily have symbolized those workers, men and women who labored long, hard hours in mines and poorly lighted, heated, and ventilated factories. Kingsley, like Newman,¹⁶ thought the social ills of the fifth century had emanated from various pagan worship and practices rather than from a type of industrialization similar to that of nineteenth-century England.

Both novelists have shown an interest in food, clothing, and shelter and have pointed out that other

¹⁵This tramp proved to be Raphael Aben-Ezra, Hypatia's very bright student, who was seeking an answer to his troubled soul. See Charles Kingsley, Hypatia (Chicago: Rand, McNally and Company, n. d.), p. 100.

¹⁶Infra, pp. 81-82.

countries have furnished many of the necessities and luxuries used and enjoyed in each country. Perhaps the turbulence and activities of the nineteenth century were prime influences for attracting these men to analogous periods in the past.

Imperialism in nineteenth-century England, as a second notable factor, received a great stimulation from manufacturing. The growth of commerce enhanced by the Industrial Revolution enlarged England's contacts with the outside world and encouraged physical expansion. The need of new raw material, namely oil and rubber from the tropics, is one of the great economic causes for the country's expansion. To be able to purchase their goods from countries ruled by their own government instilled a spirit of security in the manufacturers of England. The other economic incentive was the borrowing of money by backward and undeveloped countries that wished to provide factories, railroads, and other improvements. The lending nation received interest on the debt, sold some needed materials, and, as in many cases with England, gained control of several smaller countries that were unable to repay their debts.¹⁷

By diplomacy and conquest in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, England, to enlarge her empire, seized

¹⁷Remey Belle Inglis et al. (eds.), Adventures in English Literature (3rd ed.; Chicago: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1941), p. 411.

ports and channels essential for her expansion and became the ruler of a scattered but vast empire five times larger than all of Europe. Through purchase, war, or some diplomatic strategy, England had acquired the Suez Canal, the Sudan, Egypt, India, the southern end of Africa, New Zealand, Australia, and Canada. The colonial policies of rule, particularly for the last three countries named, became more liberal and generous. The violence of the American Revolution and the growth of democracy had completely changed the conception that a colony existed solely for enriching the mother country.

England managed to maintain peace throughout most of her imperialistic movements. Many crises, three having been with America, were fortunately resolved, but the Crimean War of 1854-1856 and the struggle against the Boers in South Africa broke the Victorian peace. Private patriotic and profit-seeking citizens rather than the government were responsible for the Boer War, a decided imperialistic struggle; the government, nevertheless, was forced to undertake and settle the conflict. Poor management was displayed by the British in the Crimean War in their protection of Turkey as a buffer against Russia. Tennyson's bitter and ironic poem about the Light Brigade symbolized the whole affair.

Even though England became a large empire, she, as

a whole, remained nationalistic and self-centered. Wealth and self-satisfaction rounded her requirements for happiness and well-being; consequently, she avoided unnecessary relationships with all countries outside the empire. Fear of entangling continental alliances and her natural aloofness prompted a national priggishness and smugness that disgusted and annoyed her own prophets and critics. Industrial and social changes and political reforms -- the outgrowths of democracy -- were slowly but emphatically demanding recognition in order to prevent a permanent chaotic disorder.¹⁸

The two novelists have selected periods of time in which the Roman Empire, through her former imperialistic tactics, had become and was still a great empire. Although there were many evidences of the decline of the Roman Empire in the third century and many more in the fifth century, some of her loyal citizens refused to admit signs of decay. Both novels show tinges of nineteenth-century imperialistic influences. Jucundus, the wily old uncle in Callista, is a zealous imperialist.¹⁹ Newman allowed a Roman, Cornelius, by means of a conversation with Aristo, a Greek youth, to expound upon and expose the imperial domination of Rome at this period. Cornelius boasted of the

¹⁸George B. Woods et al. (eds.), The Literature of England (Rev. ed.: Dallas, Scott, Foresman and Company, 1941), pp. 11, 416-417.

¹⁹Newman, Callista, p. 187.

greatness, grandeur, and superiority of Rome and of her empire, her citizens, her history, her laws and statutes, her architectural structures, her power, her leadership, and her gods.²⁰ The anarchic domination of the mob in Callista demonstrated not only imperialistic patterns of behavior but also illustrated Newman's connotation of the word "democracy."²¹

Orestes planned to establish a separate African kingdom in which he would be emperor and Hypatia empress. This incident and the convoy of Count Heraclian for the purpose of conquest are two examples of imperialism in Hypatia. The only reason that Hypatia consented to this wild scheme of Orestes was that she might have a better opportunity of spreading her Neo-Platonic philosophy and serving the pagan gods more effectively. Kingsley's love of the Goths might in a measure show the sentimental side of the "Imperialistic movement that dominated the politics of the latter end of the century."²² This author has emphasized the imperialistic tendencies of the church at that time to grow and develop under a militant, petty, jealous leadership. As a result conflicts existed between the church and other phases of Alexandrian life -- politics,

²⁰Ibid., pp. 39-45.

²¹Harrold, op. cit., p. 353.

²²D. C. Somervell, English Thought in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1929), p. 211.

paganism, Jews, Goths, and Greek culture.

The third great force in molding Victorian England was science, which exerted a very definite influence on both society and theology. Randall makes this statement:

It was science, the mathematical-physical experimental learning of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries that wrought the changes from the intellectual world of the Middle Ages, changes that neither Renaissance nor Reformation has been able to bring about; and increasingly it has been the growth of scientific knowledge that has caused the heavy spread of the naturalistic viewpoint.²³

The major influence of science on society is closely allied with the Industrial Revolution, which, as previously noted, came and flourished as a result of the great advances made in scientific research and inventions. The unprecedented strides in chemistry, physics, and astronomy helped to change man's prosaic environment into a seemingly veritable fairyland. With the development of the telephone, the telegraph, the railway, and the steamship came spectacular changes in methods of communication and transportation. Pasteur, Koch, Lister, and Paget, together with other famous scientists, had achieved brilliant accomplishments in medicine and surgery. All these contributed toward making living conditions more comfortable and convenient.

²³John Herman Randall, Jr., The Making of the Modern Mind (Dallas: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940), p. 469.

On the other hand, there are conspicuous adverse results of scientific investigation and theory. The sordid slavery surrounding industrial workers had received very little attention and relief. The machines had a crushing effect on the laborers. Men became slaves to machines rather than masters of the machines, and for a time it seemed that men would succumb to this overpowering force. Attention has already been called to the physical changes caused by the factory system and to the "capital and labor" problems detrimental to human society.

Therefore, one of the two major aspects of scientific development is that living and working conditions were affected by the application of mechanical principles to industry and the control of natural power. The other aspect is that man's attitudes toward religion and his thinking have been greatly swayed by new scientific conceptions of geology and biology.

To many orthodox Victorians the new scientific philosophy which discredited the very old beliefs pertaining to the creation of the world and of human life and of man's supreme importance among all living creatures was very shocking. The new theory of evolution, the production of scientific philosophers, maintained that man had ascended to his present position from the earlier and inferior forms of life through a gradual growth and process of prolonged elaboration. Having been ejected from this exalted place

in creation, man, by scientific demonstrations, could more easily prove a definite relationship to the ape and baser forms of life than to God.

Charles Lyell (1799-1875), Alfred Russell Wallace (1823-1913), Charles Darwin (1809-1882), and Thomas Henry Huxley (1825-1895) were the outstanding philosophers of the natural sciences. Darwin in Origin of Species (1859) gave a brilliant synthesis of the findings in the field of natural science presented in the writings of Lyell and others. Huxley, the scientific educator, argued valiantly and ceaselessly with the opposing conservatives, including clergymen and writers, thus indicating a battle between theology and science.

Among the few benefits derived from this new philosophy are these: (1) A new idea of a universal development and evolution revealed through the studies of astronomy, geology, biology, and social science altered the entire intellectual map of the world.²⁴ (2) The new philosophy stimulated as well as disturbed man's mind. (3) The system of thinking was made more universal by the method of scientific investigation; e. g., skepticism which became a virtue based on careful investigation, observation, and logical inductive reasoning, had more weight than conclusions based on human authority. (4) Man's removal from

²⁴Ibid., p. 484.

his important place gave him a more thorough perspective of the physical world and a better recognition of proportion. (5) Man's intellectual independence and mental ability have increased as the final result.

Many of the Victorian theological thinkers discovered two avenues of escape from the situation caused by this new scientific theory. To proceed with the scientist, one became an atheist; to travel in the opposite direction, one came into the mystical realm of "divinely revealed truth." In the Church of England before the appearance of Darwin's Origin of Species, there had already been a change pointing in the second direction.²⁵ This was the Oxford Movement, which with its influences on these two novels will be discussed in a later chapter. Both Hypatia and Callista disclose the influence of science as related to society and to theology. Newman explained that the lack of newspapers, telegraphs, and railroads in the third century necessitated having government messengers for relaying valuable messages.²⁶ He employed the technique of nineteenth-century medical science for treating Agellius when he was ill of a fever. This treatment included the drawing of blood, giving him a draught of herbs, and letting nature, assisted by rest and sleep, restore his health.²⁷

²⁵Wood et al., op. cit., pp. 421-422.

²⁶Newman, Callista, p. 63.

²⁷Ibid., p. 122.

In Hypatia Kingsley, in a few references to the practical and natural sciences, has interpreted them in the light of the age about which he was writing. Theon, the father of Hypatia and a noted mathematician and astronomer of Alexandria, combined astronomy and astrology as one science. Besides his plans for the transmutation of metals and a recipe for perpetual youth, he used his mathematics mainly in figuring the future whereabouts of a certain soul that had been born under a certain planet.²⁸ In writing Hypatia, Kingsley utilized the loftiest moral purpose, an attempt toward warning and saving the Church. He felt that the most dangerous sin of his age was "that intellectual arrogance born of scientific enthusiasm which believed that it could by seeking find out God, which permitted each man to set up his intellectual creation in place of the concept hallowed by the Church and time."²⁹ With this plea ever present, the author has tried to show the falsity of this belief. Hypatia and Raphael emphasized by their actions and words the inconsistency and inadequacy of this conception.

Newman retained many ideas advanced by the early scientists. As the question of which existed first, the chick or the egg, he recalled the scientific importance of

²⁸Elbert Hubbard, "Hypatia," Little Journeys to the Homes of Great Teachers (Aurora, N. Y.: The Roycrofters, 1908), pp. 81-83. See also Kingsley, Hypatia, p. 15.

²⁹Thorp, op. cit., p. 110.

the relation of causativity to each.³⁰ The novelist's concrete illustration about the evil spirit which departed from Juba, but left him an idiot, is less convincing than the author's direct argument for belief in miracles. According to Baker this incident in Callista "is one of the most interesting of the Catholic attacks upon the skepticism of Victorian science and one of the strangest fruits of a strange imagination."³¹ Surrounded by an atmosphere of romantic nearness, this supernatural event is more like a production of the Middle Ages than any other nineteenth-century writing characterized by medievalism.³²

Cardinal Newman in discussing with a friend The Origin of Species, demonstrated damaging effects on Christianity.³³ He did not refer to or apply natural science in his writings, as he thought there would be danger of ignoring evil. Reality to Newman is suprapersonal or belongs to the realm of science which is beyond human perception; reality as an absolute knowledge is beyond sound, reason, or image.³⁵ Thus it is that Callista deals so very much with the mystical and supernatural.

³⁰Newman, Callista, p. 72.

³¹Baker, op. cit., p. 60.

³²Ibid.

³³Harrold, op. cit., p. 76.

³⁴Ibid., p. 256.

³⁵Ibid., p. 261.

Kingsley, on the other hand, believed that "spiritual laws must be in harmony with every fresh physical law which we discover the spiritual cannot be intended to be perfected by ignoring or crushing the physical."³⁶ These beliefs account for the fact that his characters are more realistic than Newman's. He refused to cope with miracles, relics, and virgins.³⁷ A common source represented the union of the many channels through which his trust in nature flowed. Complete faith in science formed his conception of the universe; this meant that he believed that knowledge about the physical world arrived at through experiment and speculation unfettered by a priori formulae, will increase the sum of happiness.³⁸ Hypatia generally more than specifically embodies Kingsley's conception of science.

A fourth major factor, the New Democracy or humanitarianism which came gradually into existence as a result of the continuance of many influences originating during the Transition and the Romantic Periods, demonstrated itself through various reforms. Prior to the beginning of the Victorian Period, laissez-faire had been a doctrine which, along with legislative reform, came into being with industrialism. Laissez-faire means "hands-off," or literally,

³⁶Baker, op. cit., p. 89.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Ibid.

let the people do or make what they choose; hence the government must not interfere by any intention to promote or regulate manufacturing, commerce, labor, etc., by any type of provisions.³⁹ The other, a positive and direct doctrine, operated by means of controlling industry and legislative action. According to this Roman government motto, "Quieta non movenda,"⁴⁰ the third-century society experienced a laissez-faire principle comparable to that of the nineteenth century.

During the nineteenth century many governmental reform bills of an humanitarian nature were passed. The Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829 removed nearly all the civil restrictions from the Roman Catholics living in the British Isles. Later the same privileges were accorded the Jews. The Reform Bill of 1832, which shifted political power from the upper to the middle classes and eliminated fifty-six of the so-called "rotten" boroughs in which small populated groups had an over-representation in Parliament, brought no relief to the laboring class.

The Chartists, more practically active from 1837 to 1848, fought viciously and consistently for definite political reform. Having obtained their name from a document labeled People's Charter, the Chartists based their

³⁹Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition (Springfield, Mass.: G. and C. Merriam Company, 1937), p. 1384.

⁴⁰"What is at rest must not be disturbed," Newman, Callista, p. 65.

program on these six points: (1) universal suffrage, (2) vote by ballot, (3) annual Parliament, (4) payment of members, (5) abolition of property qualifications, and (6) equal electoral distribution.⁴¹ Kingsley, who championed the cause of the Chartists, has given in his earlier novels -- Yeast and Alton Locke -- a view of the problems which disturbed men's minds in the middle years of the century, the years of Chartism and of the Catholic revival. He attempted to point out a middle course between revolution in politics and Toryism and between skepticism in religion and Catholicism. Because, however, he imitated Bulwer in combining realism with romance, Kingsley's dramatic incidents are often childish and unconvincing.⁴² Newman never demonstrated any active interest in the Chartists.

A second type of reform centered about industrial problems. Although slavery was ended in the colonies by 1833, industrial slavery continued. During the first ten years of Victoria's reign special attention revealed the hazardous and inhuman conditions surrounding working women and children. For eleven or twelve hours each day, women dragged heavy loads of coal through subterranean passages in

⁴¹Wood et al., op. cit., p. 421.

⁴²William Vaughn Moody and Robert Morss Lovett, A History of English Literature (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), p. 417.

coal mines. In 1842, coal-mine jobs for women and girls were abolished;⁴³ in 1852, children working in factories were given shorter hours and an opportunity for a part-time education.

A few reforms improved social conditions. The Poor Law passed in 1834 helped to check pauperism. People assumed obligations for their neighbors' physical and social welfare and their spiritual lives. Laymen and clergymen, assisted by many organizations, purposed to help people by constantly emphasizing the attractiveness of goodness and virtue and the repulsiveness of evil.

In 1837 there were 438 crimes still punishable by death. Long after the death penalty had been limited to murderers only, the executions occurred in public. It came as a surprise that the softening of penalties decreased the number of crimes. Educational advantages were doubled.

Pressure groups and economic theorists were largely responsible for many radical reforms and changes. Together with the proponents of laissez-faire, the Utilitarians, who had based their ideas on Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), were noted economic theorists. "The greatest happiness for the greatest number" is the philosophical doctrine of Utility as defined by Bentham, who expressed his social idea in Fragments on Government (1776) and Introduction to Principles

⁴³Inglis et al., op. cit., p. 408.

of Moral Legislation (1789). James Mills, Bentham's greatest follower, elaborated on the utilitarian psychological basis for economic theories. James Mills brought the Utilitarian theories into the Victorian Period.

Against all the forces working for various reforms, the conservatives contended, but they fought a losing battle. The controversy was between two factions of people rather than between the people and their ruler. When Queen Victoria promised at her coronation to be good, she was embodying the character and spirit of her people.

Callista, which shows little of the economic situation, would naturally have no humanitarian message. Many critics have accused Newman of being indifferent to the Victorian social problems, but one critic says that "he was actually conscious of them, but found no occasion and no desire to offer some easy nineteenth century panacea."⁴⁴ H. L. Stewart said that one would conclude from Newman's sermons that the social passion of an Isaiah or a Jeremiah had no place in Christianity.⁴⁵ Since Callista deals with a phase of Christianity, the conversion of a soul, Newman had ulterior motives that will be discussed in a later chapter.

Kingsley, on the other hand, being a man deeply interested in a person's well-being, has included many

⁴⁴Harrold, op. cit., p. 110.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 432.

incidents bearing the stamp of humanitarianism. The rescue of Philammon from the hippopotamus, Pelagia's defense of the young monk, Philammon's protection of the Negro woman from the mob, the interest of Eudaemon and even of Miriam, the Jewess, in Philammon, Raphael's rescue of Victoria's father from the debris and his protection of them, and scores of other incidents are truly in keeping with Kingsley's benevolent attitude toward humanity. His interest in people and in society, however, embodied the principles of the Christian socialist.

The majority of readers who discern and like the unexpressed moral in Hypatia are very much like Kingsley in their failure to derive satisfaction from the Transcendental philosophy. For mental tranquillity the Victorian individualist was forced to believe that he was of personal value in God's universal scheme. Being a member of the human race would not suffice; man must feel that his particular welfare was God's immediate and special concern. The incarnation, the answer found by the Jew in Hypatia, was also the answer to the stated problem above: "God the loving Father, a creed to satisfy not only the philosopher but all mankind, who must learn in the limit of that faith which is higher than reason."⁴⁶ This is his creed, a religious philosophy:

⁴⁶Thorp, op. cit., p. 112.

I want a faith past arguments; one which I believe to my own satisfaction and act on it as undoubtingly and unreasoning as I do my own newly rediscovered personal identity. I don't want to possess a faith. I want a faith which will possess me.⁴⁷

Of the attitude of mind he was attacking, Kingsley has given *Hypatia* a few touches of Tennyson's *Princess* as he has employed her as a courageous embodiment of "Emersonianism in full beauty, but she strains her intellect beyond its powers and she stands in the last great scene naked before the cross."⁴⁸ Kingsley has not only colored his book with existing hues of the nineteenth century but has also presented much that foreshadowed twentieth-century people with their perplexing social and spiritual problems. In chapter thirteen of *Hypatia*, Raphael's struggle with "the great world problem -- Given self; to find God are those of the earnest youth of today."⁴⁹ This Jew learned for himself and taught that Christianity alone would save the world, but in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, just as in the fifth century, the world needed to be saved from itself first.

Newman, who has revived our early century ancestors-in-the-faith, has presented a vivid record of the third century -- a record not foreign or strange to either the

⁴⁷Kingsley, *Hypatia*, p. 214.

⁴⁸Thorp, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 112.

nineteenth or twentieth centuries.

Although these two novels have recounted interesting stories set in two very early centuries in the Christian era, their contents, moral teachings, and points of view are clearly molded by the prevailing thought of the century in which they were written.

CHAPTER II
RELATION OF HYPATIA AND CALLISTA TO THEIR AUTHORS
AND TO THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

In addition to considering the novels as special documents of their age, they must be considered also as a record of each author's experience and his reaction to it. These two minor Victorian novels are the literary productions of men who gained great recognition in other fields of writing and activities. Although Newman was about eighteen years older than Kingsley, his Callista appeared three years later.

Therefore we shall study Kingsley's life in order to discover anything in his life which contributed to this production of the brilliant Hypatia. Charles Kingsley was born at the Vicarage in Holne in the extreme southeastern section of Dartmoor on July 12, 1819, the same year that Queen Victoria was born. Just as the Queen represented the Victorian woman, Kingsley symbolized Victorian manhood. Most of his fundamental principles -- beliefs in England, the Empire, and the Established Church, in the ennobling influence of womanhood and the sanctity of the home, in a "good God guiding the universe and each of its individual inhabitants, in the spiritual brotherhood of men within a

benevolent aristocracy, in evolutionary progress and the compatibility of science and religion"¹ -- were those shared by England's beloved Queen.

The versatile Charles, who later in life became Victoria's Chaplain, a Canon of Westminster, and Macmillan's most remunerative novelist, wrote letters to the Chartists and preached God's great ever-enduring love to the laborers.² Besides his novels, Kingsley contributed essays, lectures, sermons, poetry, books for children, and other prose works. His novels are usually classified as these three types: (1) Christian Socialist works, represented by Yeast (1848) and Alton Locke, Tailor and Poet (1850); (2) historical and philosophical, represented by Hypatia (1853) and Westward Ho! (1855); and (3) the muscular novel, represented by Two Years Ago (1857) and Hereward the Wake, Last of the English (1866).³

Since Kingsley's writings, a vital part of his life, were intended for the day in which they were written,⁴ the reader will be interested to survey some of the influences of

¹Thorp, op. cit., p. 1.

²Supra, pp. 22-23.

³William Bradley Otis and Morris H. Needleman, A Survey of English Literature (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1938), pp. 547-548.

⁴Charles Kingsley, The Roman and the Teuton (New York: Macmillan Company, 1901), Preface, p. viii.

his life and winnings, particularly as they are connected with the novel being discussed. From his father, a man of cultivation and refinement, a good linguist, an artist, a keen sportsman and natural historian, the shy, gentle, delicate, precocious Charles inherited the love of art, his sporting tastes, and his fighting blood. Having been born in the West Indies, Charles' mother, Mary Lucas, a remarkable woman full of poetry and enthusiasm, passed on to her son the love of travel, science, and literature, and the romance of his grandfather's nature, a keen sense of humor, a vigorous force, and a sparkling originality.⁵ Nearly all these traits have found expression in Hypatia in describing characters, incidents, scenery, or the plot itself. Raphael particularly demonstrates the love of art, travel, science, and literature, and a forceful sense of originality and humor. These traits, being so overshadowed by his cynicism and nonchalance, are not very discernible to the casual reader. The Goths are symbolic of Kingsley's sporting tastes and fighting instincts. Hypatia demonstrated a love of literature, art, and science. Philammon had the urge to travel and was ever dauntless in times of danger, ready to utilize his ability as a fighter. Pelagia, with all her immoral practices, had an endearing geniality and a love of the beautiful and of life itself. The novel

⁵Charles Kingsley, His Letters, and Memories of His Life, ed. by his wife (New York: J. F. Taylor and Company, 1900), II, 20-22.

as a whole substantiates the author's attraction to historical facts and to natural history.

During his entire life Charles was a passionate lover of scenery, and with greatly elaborated detail he was able to describe it, especially Devon. In his youthful, close association with deaths by drowning, Kingsley retained such vivid scenes of Clovelly in Devon and described them so beautifully and realistically that this town became a place that every tourist must visit. His mother was convinced that he had inherited this love of scenery, because before his birth, she had taken such intense delight in the country where she and her husband were living. At a very tender age this boy, who possessed so much imagination, vitality, and nervous energy, composed poems and sermons, employing unusual words for a child. Hypatia abounds in well-chosen words arranged in clear, scholarly phrases and sentences. As he grew older he gleaned rich poetic materials from the beautiful country scenes in which most of his childhood was spent.⁶ These descriptive scenes adorned many of his writings.

Kingsley's later adolescent years were significant in molding his life and influencing his writings. His over-energetic body and his youthful mind had difficulties in accepting certain Tory-evangelical ideals because to him

⁶Thorp, op. cit., pp. 5-7.

they were unreasonable fetters. A love for his parents caused him to conquer these thoughts and impulses that he had been taught were wicked and the malevolent results of a personal devil. How similar is the experience of Philammon, who was taught that women are devils, and that he must not even look at them. Respect and admiration for the Fathers at Laura caused him to believe in and abide by their teachings. Kingsley's father and his schoolmasters encouraged him to direct his youthful mind along the lines of geology and natural history. His quick observation, accurate visual memory, curiosity, and an eager desire for learning developed increasingly as a result of his continued collecting of all types of things and classifying them. Raphael, the Jew -- like Kingsley -- had a quick discriminating observation and an insatiable thirst for knowledge. Kingsley's curiosity soon began to center on religion and morals; his questionings and doubts about faith alarmed him.⁷ Again in Hypatia we see the young monk wavering over religious principles after his arrival in Alexandria; Raphael, however, is for some time the greatest of doubters and spends much of his time in pursuit of truth.

As Kingsley grew older and later became a student at Magdalene College, Cambridge, he lost his schoolboy

⁷Ibid., p. 10.

eccentricities and developed and displayed those traits of interest, kindness, and friendliness, and the conversational ability that won and held friends for him. In the summer of 1839 he learned from Mansfield, a spiritual materialist, the answer to his doubts and found the long-dreamed-of peace.⁸ Like Raphael, he had a new lease on life; and even though both experienced hardships, they ever retained the Faith and understood the meaning of the universe. Since they had discovered God's truth and were aware of a continual tender remembrance of their suffering, they wanted to pass on this great understanding and tolerance that had been brought to them by great revelation.

Having met and fallen in love with Frances Eliza Grenfell, whom he married in 1844, Kingsley came in contact with one of the greatest and most beneficial influences of his life. These two found each in the other the solution of their religious doubts; they "sustained each other through all vicissitudes, financial and celestial, with much happy companionship along the way; and they wrote upon their tombstone: 'Amavimus, amamus, amabimus.'"⁹ Victoria, the gracious and almost perfect young woman who became Raphael's wife, shared many similarities with Mrs. Kingsley. In fact, the two couples are almost duplicates

⁸Ibid., pp. 16-17.

⁹Ibid., p. 18.

of each other.

Kingsley had many friends from all walks of life.

This description is very suitable:

One saw him in town-alleys preaching the gospel of godliness and cleanliness while smoking his pipe with soldiers and navvies [sic]. One heard him in drawing-rooms, listened to with patient silence. . . . How children delighted in him! How young wild men believed in him and obeyed him too! How women were captivated by his chivalry; older men by his genius, humility, and sympathy.¹⁰

Perhaps Frederick Dennison Maurice, a chaplain and a Cambridge University professor, was his dearest friend and influenced him more than anyone else in his Christian-socialist views, his sermons, and his writings, particularly Hypatia. Kingsley refused to profit by any criticisms of Hypatia other than those which came from Maurice or his wife. Thomas Hughes, Alfred, Lord Tennyson, and Anthony Froude were close devoted friends who shared many views with Charles Kingsley.

Possessed with an excessive nervous energy, he said that while he was writing Hypatia he had to have violent exercises in order to be able to think.¹¹ He began Hypatia while with his parents and his brother Henry on a holiday trip to Germany. After his return the author, having felt refreshed, finished Hypatia, worked his parish all winter without a curate, and worked to keep the Christian Socialist

¹⁰Kingsley, The Roman and the Teuton, p. vi.

¹¹Thorp, op. cit., p. 10.

alive.¹² Throughout the entire writing of Hypatia, Kingsley, much in love with his subject, determined to let nothing prevent his making it the best production possible. He has used one character as his mouthpiece. This person is Raphael, the author's favorite character, who is quite revealing when one realizes that he is the embodiment of Kingsley's dreams, aspirations, and desires. Raphael is even said to be thirty-three years of age, the same age of Kingsley when he wrote the novel.

Hypatia reiterates its author's extreme and equal dislike for atheism and the Church of Rome, his strong disinclinations toward professional celibacy, his love of the Goths as true prototypes of men and of worship of his own country, and his anti-Romanism, which is symbolic of his mind reversed from that of medievalism.¹³

This man who watched and studied the beauty and wisdom of nature understood her solemn lessons and chuckled over her matchless fun. Through his writings, including Hypatia, he has passed on this valuable information to future generations. Down through the ages readers will remember "the young curate and The Saint's Tragedy; the chart-ist parson and Alton Locke; the happy poet and the 'Sands of Dee'; the brilliant novelist and Hypatia and Westward

¹²Ibid., p. 88.

¹³Somervell, op. cit., p. 310.

Ho!"¹⁴ and other outstanding characteristics and abilities of Kingsley.

Having noted the relation of Hypatia to its author, we shall now observe Callista in respect to its creator. Callista, written by a man who was a poet, a preacher, a theologian, an historian, and a controversialist before he became a novelist, was prompted by an urgent feeling of duty -- a defense of certain phases of Catholicism against charges brought out in Kingsley's Hypatia.¹⁵ Because the chief interest of Callista was in the spiritual development of an individual, Callista, the representation of Newman himself, we feel that this novel is directly and indirectly related to his life.

The key to Newman's very personal and subjective religion was surely found in the man's complicated personality and analytical, introspective life. His conversion, that great crisis in his life, was a psychological problem, and Callista, which treats of a conversion, signifying the author's own conversion to Roman Catholicism, portrays religion as a dialogue between God and Conscience.¹⁶ Simplicity and uniformity characterize this life dominated by

¹⁴Kingsley, The Roman and the Teuton, p. vi.

¹⁵Infra, p. 80.

¹⁶Charles Sarolea, Cardinal Newman (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1908), p. 36.

religious ideas in which God was the only supreme thought. Having existed in a material universe of which he had become no part, Newman, who lived for nearly the entire duration of the nineteenth century (February 21, 1801 -- August 11, 1890), devoted a period of sixty years to the discussion of men. About the only important external incident of his life was the Italian journey, and the publications of his writings mark the only major dates.¹⁷

A descendant of Jews and Huguenots, both noted for intellectual gifts and unusual vitality, John Henry, a reticent, serious, dreamy, self-willed, and physically delicate, though never sickly, child, was the eldest of six children of a wealthy banker. His first conversion, a decisive crisis of his inner life, came at the age of fifteen.¹⁸ Callista was not yet eighteen years of age when she was converted.¹⁹ Financial reverses in the Newman family overshadowed the boy's adolescent years and caused him to pursue hastily his studies in order to enter the university that he might become an asset rather than be a liability for his family.

When Newman as a very young child was living at Ham near Richmond, he indulged in religious daydreams that the

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 36-37.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁹Newman, Callista, p. 253.

Apologia mentioned. Magical powers, unknown influences, and talismans occupied the imagination of one who wished that the Arabian Tales were true.²⁰ The early Platonic sensations of the mysterious and supernatural unrealities of the physical world soon brought Newman to the belief that there existed "two and two only absolutely and luminously self-evident beings, myself and my Creator."²¹ Caecilius, the exiled Carthaginian monk, emphasized this belief in his attempt to convert Callista. She is later convinced, and frequently Agellius stressed the authenticity of this belief by means of words and deeds. His superstitious nature carried from childhood often crept into his writings throughout his entire life. There are several incidents, particularly relating to Juba and Gurta, the old crone, in Callista to substantiate this statement.

Before his early conversion Newman read Tom Paine's tracts and Hume's Essays. After his conversion he read from the great Evangelical divines; these readings taught him many doctrines, among them being the warfare between the City of God and the powers of Darkness gleaned from William Law's memorably treated Serious Call.²² This doctrine is prevalent throughout Callista; not only in the

²⁰John Henry Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, ed. Wilfred Ward (London: 1913), pp. 105-106. See also Anne Mozley (ed.), Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman (London: 1891), I, 16.

²¹Newman, Apologia, p. 108. See also Harrold, op. cit., p. 3.

²²Harrold, op. cit., p. 3.

general emphasis of the theme, but Caecilius in his preachings to Agellius, Juba, and Callista made indirect references to this doctrine. Juba, Gurta, Jucundus, the mob, and other pagans represent the powers of darkness in their fight against the existence of the Church which points to the City of God. At the age of sixteen, Newman became convinced that to carry out God's will, he was to lead a single life. In the opening paragraph of Chapter XI in Callista Newman, whose views are English-Hebrew, expounded upon the values and necessity of celibacy in the Christian life for many people. This was one of the assumptions which motivated his life and were necessary for his existence.²³ It is no wonder that our hero Agellius experiences only a passing fancy of love and later gladly consigns himself to living a single life for Christian service.

Besides the influences of heredity and environment of these early years, Oxford itself was the second great influence on Newman's religious personality. The great classical powers of Oxford molded and tempered the author's intellectual powers. From reading and studying the works of Thucydides, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Plato, Lucretius, Xenophon, Livy, Cicero, and Aristotle, Newman acquired much of his literary taste, logical accuracy, and controversial adroitness.²⁴ Although other writings show

²³Barry, op. cit., p. 20.

²⁴Ibid., p. 13.

more of this influence, Callista makes casual and intelligent references to these great historical figures.

Also, Newman, who was always a better representative of the eighteenth century as a theologian, writer, and gentleman than of his own century, was influenced in his thinking by the Augustan writers, some of the more important being Locke, Hume, Bishop Butler, Addison, Gibbon, Pope, Johnson, Cowper, and Crabbe. Personal association and friendship were more effective in Newman's life than Oxford's classical and eighteenth-century influences. To such men as Whately, Hawkins, Copleston, and Thomas Arnold at Oxford he owed directly several of his specific religious doctrines. Newman maintained that from the brilliant and scholarly debates of this Noetic group he learned to think accurately and clearly. Like the Noetic group, Newman held to the end of his career some of their unwillingness to permit simple historical considerations to dictate answers to religious or moral problems. After he had withdrawn from this group, Newman contacted other men, including Keble, Froude, and Pusey, with whom he became great friends. From Keble, noted for his charm, unostentatious saintliness, and scholastic reputation, Newman acquired a greater feeling for the value of authority, a confirmation of his own belief and the doctrine of "the living power of faith and

love,"²⁵ this last being a great lesson learned by Callista. Froude, a genius with a bold, uncompromising, logical intellect, had an enormous and exciting influence on Newman. Froude at an early date despised the Reformation, recognized the Blessed Virgin's perfection, humbly bowed to the Real Presence, adored thinking about the saints, practical penance and mortification, and highly and rigidly respected the outstanding qualities of Virginity.²⁶

The third major influence was that of the early Church Fathers. A study of these devout men of the first three or four centuries made Newman a Catholic. These men because of their charming humanity, strength of character, and the virtue of their doctrines amplified the Platonic and mystical in him²⁷ and made Newman seem to belong to these early Christians he has so vividly described in Callista.

There are excellent examples in Newman of the relation between an author's religious convictions and his artistic technique.²⁸ Baker says this:

His belief in miracles permits him to use, with serious intent, certain devices which, in some writers, would seem merely unreal coincidence or

²⁵Ibid., p. 17.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid., p. 18.

²⁸Baker, op. cit., p. 61.

romantic accident. He tells us the plague of locusts was sent from God because of the iniquity of the inhabitants of Sicca. The "natural and direct interpretation was 'Do penance, and be converted.'" . . . he disposes of the arguments of scepticism by delivering the sceptic to an evil spirit. But, in spite of this and other colorful materials in the historical romance, a certain tepidness of treatment keeps it from giving the delight expected. His heart was not in this sort of thing. Who was he to set himself telling of narrow escapes and love affairs, or describing the appearance of a mob or of a witch -- this austere mystic?

This is a brief survey of the life and personality of a man devoid of physical science and Roman politics, who could tell the story of his own life, as in Callista, but hardly any other. Because he had a narrow range of vision, he was unable to see people very well; because he was absorbed in thought, he knew people's motives better than their features; thus it was that Callista or any drama of life to him was a dialogue instead of a scene.²⁹ In reading the masterly portrayal of Callista, the reader is not amazed that the author was depicting John Henry Newman. Her spirit and idealism are his. Furthermore, her spiritual endowment is the same as his; the feeling of isolation, the craving for sympathy, and the need of satisfying her longing for contentment -- these are the visions of peace. Newman, "essentially the solitary soul, a third-century pagan seeking for light and dowered with an almost feminine

²⁹Barry, op. cit., p. 203.

sensibility is portrayed in the soul of Callista."³⁰

In Callista Newman has fulfilled his own definite aim to give forth what he has contained within himself.³¹ Like Sir Walter Scott, he has arrayed his thoughts -- fresh or recondite -- in natural, yet not commonplace, terms of the present-day speech. Too, in this novel he has been faithful to his first great principle: Literature is concerned not as science with things, but with thoughts. He states that science is universal; literature is personal; science uses words merely as symbols, "but literature uses language in its full compass, as including phraseology, idiom, style, composition, rhythm, eloquence, and whatever other properties are included in it."³² And just as Callista is guided by a divine influence that is not merely conscience but a voice from a Personality outside herself,³³ so Newman felt that he was guided. In the Apologia Newman stated that conscience, which is on the side of the Creator, has been given us by that Creator in order that we may have sentiments of right and wrong. Callista seemed to know what she should do before she believed it. Her change was one which expanded itself in concentric circles. As her goodness developed, she recognized that the intellect did not

³⁰Joseph Reilly, Newman as a Man of Letters (New York: Macmillan Company, 1925), pp. 92-93.

³¹Barry, op. cit., p. 209.

³²Ibid., p. 218.

³³Newman, Callista, pp. 247, 256.

originate the goodness but only approved it. Thus this Personality fused her emotions into a complete whole, bringing peace, happiness, and goodness³⁴ just as it had done for Newman.

Because the Oxford Movement played such a vital part in the lives of these authors, we shall conclude this chapter by a more detailed study of its influence upon these two novels and their writers. The Oxford Movement, sometimes known as the Anglo-Catholic Revival, is also called Tractarianism or "Puseyism." A laxity in urging the ancient doctrines, in keeping church buildings in good condition, in observing ritual, and in enforcing discipline became prevalent in the English Church during the first third of the nineteenth century. This condition, perhaps in keeping with such liberal advances as the American and French Revolutions and the English Reform Bill of 1832, was the natural product of an era of free-thinking.

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, a counter movement, counter to this free thinking, practiced the dogmas of the radical propagandists and advocated a return to order, obedience, and discipline, a reverent respect for ancient customs, and a preservation of established institutions. The reformers also aimed at protecting the Church from State infringements, as the Whig Reform of 1832

³⁴Baker, op. cit., p. 65.

and other attempts for curtailing the authority of the Church and reducing its revenues had threatened.³⁵ Both politics and religion were influenced. Disraeli, in politics, promoted and led a new Toryism; on the religious side the Oxford Movement, romantic in its feelings for the past, urged a return to the more picturesque religious ceremonies of the centuries preceding the Protestant Reformation.³⁶ Emphasis in religion was placed on the sacramentarian conception, with authority as the basic tenet. Since the Church was God's representative on the earth, she would be the recipient and keeper of the truth. For this reason the Movement was more classic than romantic.³⁷ Because the early Oxford Movement was consciously opposed to democracy, both forms of radical economics (laissez-faire and socialism), science, and liberalism -- characteristic components of the nineteenth century -- it aided greatly the process of sanctifying social prejudices.³⁸

The author of The Christian Year, John Keble, as a protest against reducing the number of Anglican bishoprics in Ireland, delivered to the Oxford judges of Assize, a sermon on "National Apostasy," on July 14, 1833, which became

³⁵William Flint Thrall and Addison Hibbard, A Handbook to Literature (New York: Odyssey Press, 1936), p. 295.

³⁶Baker, op. cit., p. 1.

³⁷Whiting et al., op. cit., p. 880.

³⁸Baker, op. cit., p. 43.

the birthday of the Oxford Movement. This sermon was based on the doctrine that clerical rights were inherited from Apostolical Succession and must not be tampered with by human hands for fear of invoking God's wrath.³⁹ The real issue was not one of a utilitarian nature, but the old perplexing question regarding the relationship existing between the State and the Church. John Henry Newman, later the author of Callista but at that time the vicar of St. Mary's, of the university church, and of the parish at Oxford, became the most powerful of the leaders and wrote most of the ninety papers (Tracts for the Times from 1833 to 1841). In the summer of 1832 Newman, having felt convinced of his being needed on the religious battle line in England, hurried back from a trip with Froude in the Mediterranean. "Lead Kindly Light" is the faith hymn he wrote as a supplication for guidance. Richard Hurrell Froude, Edward B. Pusey, Hugh Rose, and Isaac Williams were the other leaders. Having recognized the need of reform, these men with Newman desired to appeal to the authority of the undivided Church and hoped to accomplish this by calling attention to the present though neglected Catholic elements.⁴⁰

As a definite change in the English Church before Darwin's perturbing Origin of Species had appeared, the

³⁹Ibid., p. 2.

⁴⁰Whiting et al., op. cit., p. 880.

Oxford Movement came as the second of two avenues of escape for the contestants in the Victorian battles between theology and science; this second means of escape "led into the mystical region of divinely revealed religion."⁴¹

As the Oxford Movement became more intense, it urged the doctrine of Apostolical Succession, confession and absolution, and the value of the Sacrament (Mass being the main act of worship). Hope for a reconciliation with Rome, some practice of celibacy among the clergy, and the establishment of a few monastic institutions resulted eventually from this movement.

It is no wonder that Callista with its artistic, romantic, and mystic elements sprang into existence from the mind of Newman, the great controversialist, leader of the Oxford Movement, and mystic who leaned toward the artistic and colorful richness of the Catholic service. In this novel, which portrays a development of mind resembling his own -- and this development led to his conversion to Rome in 1843 -- are included many subjects of a religious nature that pertain to Catholic beliefs and rituals. Included among the various subjects are references to and illustrative incidents regarding the eternal Tartarus for unbelievers, the Blessed Sacrament, Baptism, Confirmation, and the Holy Eucharist for Callista before her persecution, confessions,

⁴¹Wood et al., op. cit., p. 406. See also supra, p. 18.

penance, celibacy, supremacy of Rome, devotion to the Blessed Virgin, vestments, and Mass.⁴² Each one of these subjects is analyzed and fittingly applied to specific persons or situations. Newman used concrete events to illustrate his ideas. After her baptism Callista quickly assumed a serenity quite different from any other conceivable inner power.⁴³ Often times he pushed the story aside and presented his arguments directly by letting some abstract person who existed only as a mouthpiece relate the theory. In Callista, however, he more often in his own words interrupted the progress of the story to explain some religious dogma or belief.

Hypatia as one of the hundreds of "books -- fiction, scholarship, theology, verse -- produced by the movement, pro and con, is [probably] the one book which is now considered indispensable in the education of a complete gentleman."⁴⁴ This novel, one of the most important books actually evoked by the Oxford Movement, is the product of the great antagonist of the movement, Charles Kingsley, who as also one of the leading writers of the novel of purpose and a severe critic of the Tractarians and their views, made attacks here and later which paved the way for Newman's

⁴²Newman, Callista, pp. 173-176, 181, 272, 26, 126, 128, 101, 194, 27, 265-267, 268.

⁴³Ibid., p. 277.

⁴⁴Baker, op. cit., p. 88.

great Apologia. Kingsley opposed the Oxford Movement because of its reaction against social, economic, and political entanglements as well as against Rationalism and Protestantism. Baker stated:

His hostility was based upon opposition in the one most fundamental question of all ethical, social, or religious thinking: Whereas Newman and the Anglo-Catholics agreed with the Calvinists in believing that human nature is sinful, unless regenerated by the Grace of God, Kingsley belonged to the third "Christian" religion, which has faith in the goodness of the Natural. The Neo-Humanists would be correct in saying that Kingsley is of the school of Rousseau. Indeed the whole Reactionary Revolution -- the Oxford Movement, New-Toryism, Neo-Catholicism -- had for its avowed object to warfare just that extreme Rousseauistic faith in the goodness of the natural man and consequent belief in democracy and moral liberty.⁴⁵

To Kingsley, Protestantism usually relies on the natural man's interpretation of the Bible rather than the interpretation controlled by the Church, on the natural deductions of the human intelligence rather than the acceptance of an earlier accepted doctrine, and on natural instinct instead of the ideal of celibacy. The seeds of Rationalism were in the religion which helped the individual three hundred years ago to make his own interpretation of the Bible. Just as the Protestant, because of his unrestrained reason, long ago criticized the Church, he may criticize, as well as interpret, the Scriptures.

Believing in man's natural desire for monogamy,

⁴⁵Ibid.

Kingsley also thought that the highest life portrayed the love of one man for one woman and that was glorified and sanctified by matrimony. Although England had few people who protested against the sinfulness of marriage or who defended promiscuous privileges, Kingsley's Raphael praises orally monogamy through his exposition of the Song of Solomon. In this the great king, forgetful of his sixty queens and large number of concubines and virgins, thinks of the one great pure love.⁴⁶ The doctrine of the superiority of celibacy was the arch-enemy that threatened to annihilate wedded love for the Victorian clergyman. Having recognized their results, Kingsley determinedly denounced the ascetic views presented in the Oxford tracts. Again in Hypatia, Raphael becomes the spokesman who derides the idea that God would derive pleasure from the human practice of celibacy and states:

He reserves his faith for some God who "takes no delight in seeing his creatures stultify the primary laws of their being." Raphael's mother speaks of herself as "a nun fattening her own mad self-conceit upon the impious fancy that she was the spouse of the Nazarene" . . . and says that the Christians and philosophers consider it brutal to be a man and not a monk or eunuch.⁴⁷

Kingsley, who depended upon the individual conscience in his novel Yeast, has classed Catholic spiritual

⁴⁶Kingsley, Hypatia, p. 23.

⁴⁷Baker, op. cit., p. 91.

direction with opium and alcohol as the three superior methods by which peace of mind could be attained.⁴⁸

Perhaps the greatest difference between these two novels is the explanation each gives for the Oxford Movement. Callista, the mouthpiece of Newman, calmly but emphatically presents the pros. Hypatia, the mouthpiece of the greatest antagonist of the Roman Catholic Church and an outstanding exponent of the Broad Church, very clearly and effectively presents the cons with emphasis on the rights of the individual to interpret the Scriptures and make his own intercessions with God, and on the unnaturalness and harm of celibacy as practiced in the monastic life. Every step taken by Newman showed that he had closely reasoned his position. Although he was strongly in favor of reason, he was broad-minded enough to use and illustrate the workings of intuition also. Callista substantiates this characteristic of Newman as portrayed in the characters -- in Caecilius' concern for Callista and in Agellius' general attitude.

By reading and studying both novels, the reader gets a better perspective of the Oxford Movement from their presentation of the two opposite sides.

⁴⁸Charles Kingsley, Yeast (New York: Macmillan Company, 1901), p. 165. (Baker adds in parentheses, "Anticipating Soviet Russia," Baker, op. cit., p. 93.)

CHAPTER III
THE RELATION OF HYPATIA AND CALLISTA TO
THE VICTORIAN NOVEL

Hypatia and Callista are not only social documents which reveal the Victorian economic, social, and political forces, and personal records -- conscious or unconscious -- which relate the authors' reactions to them, but also, the productions of conscious art which show a planned manipulation of the technical elements of the novel. To carry out their purpose both writers chose the novel, the most popular form of Victorian literature.

From their point of view, the English authors make the story of English literature, but the English readers may make it from their point of view. Therefore the form and the content of literature are determined as much by the readers as by the writers. During the Elizabethan Age the patronage of the court largely shaped the characteristics of literature, especially drama and lyric poetry; the pressure of readers on writers in Victorian England is even more obvious. Consequently, as the Elizabethan writers had written for the court, the Victorian writers wrote for the people. It is evident that the masses of the Victorian Age ruled both the literature and the social life. Instead of

having individuals as their readers, the writers now had the busy many-headed multitude in the homes and in their places of business.¹

As a result of the new interests and material added by exploration, systematic study of conditions in various sections of life, science, and modern invention, the novel underwent immense expansion in the later nineteenth century. The increase of literacy changed the distinct character of the reading public so that for their satisfaction they demanded an immense amount of reading matter, particularly fiction. As this age had many social, economic, and political controversies,² there was a great need of reform. Hence the propaganda novel became the chief vehicle for advocating and preaching reform. Oftentimes many novels, animated by the problem of the oppression of the poor and the separation of classes, sacrificed art to purpose. The social problem, death, religion, and love were the four leading themes of Victorian fiction.³

Kingsley and Newman evidently recognized that the novel had the widest popular appeal of all the current literary types. Therefore, they thought by using this form

¹Wood et al., op. cit., pp. 407-408.

²Supra, pp. 3-5.

³Robert Morss Lovett and Helen Sard Hughes, The History of the Novel in England (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1932), pp. 187, 190.

they could reach a larger audience with their ideas than by sermons. Both men had already been recognized in other activities and other types of writing, even in the field of novel writing, before they produced the novels studied in this thesis.

Before noting the relations of Hypatia and Callista to the Victorian novel, the investigator will briefly review earlier novels by Kingsley and Newman. Charles Kingsley had expressed his zeal for causes through the historical novel,⁴ which he wrote only as a side line, as the means for his propaganda. That he used the form at all confirms the testimony of the importance at that date held by the Victorians for the novel -- once a hated literary type -- as a method of discussion and reform.⁵ Kingsley's first two novels, Yeast (1848) and Alton Locke (1850), dealt with contemporary problems. As a document which reflects the active forces in the youth of a nation, Yeast, which was inspired by the terrible situation of the farm laborers of England, has a poorly constructed plot. Alton Locke, which portrays the horrible sufferings and abject poverty of the sweatshop workers, shows a more satisfactory craftsmanship. Both novels added to Kingsley's prominence as a writer and a social reformer.

⁴Ibid., p. 239.

⁵Edward Wagenknecht, Cavalcade of the English Novel (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1943), p. 261.

Loss and Gain (1848), which was Newman's first attempt at fiction, is a conversion story in which the main character reflects the author's own religious development. This novel, argumentative in its dialogue, has a very inferior plot, obscurely sketched characters, and a contemporary setting in London.⁶ Loss and Gain and Yeast bring into sharp contrast Newmanism and Kingsley's Broad Church principles.⁷

Hypatia and Callista, like so many other Victorian novels, cannot be classified under one of the three divisions of fiction; namely, the romance, the realistic study of manner, and the story with a purpose. Let us now examine these two novels from several angles to note their reflection of the influences of eighteenth- and of nineteenth-century novelists. Hypatia, as an historical romance with a definite purpose to teach a lesson in Christianity, shows a blending of these motives: romance, realism, and didacticism or reform. The novel also reveals in its structure, style, and use of history the influences of earlier novelists.

The novelists of the eighteenth century had laid the foundations and determined the forms for the modern novel. Too, these novelists had begun to expand this new

⁶Harrold, op. cit., pp. 283-287.

⁷Wagenknecht, op. cit., p. 260.

form of fiction in various ways and to experiment with various forms. The first attempt to introduce history into a novel was the Gothic novel, invented by Horace Walpole. The intellectualized novel of which William Godwin was a central figure was the ancestor of the novel of reform. These were two of the three types of fiction existing at the end of the eighteenth century that -- in several ways -- likely influenced Hypatia. Both types show two phases of the Romantic Revival that produced a notable change in English literature -- interest in the past and in reform. The second phase the growing concern for the dignity and rights of human beings interests us most because this concern found expression in the humanitarianism of the Victorian period.⁸ The Gothic novel, in general, contributed to the plot development of the English novel, but made little -- if any -- connection between the plot and the characters.⁹

From Horace Walpole's Gothic romance, The Castle of Otranto (1764), Kingsley may have inherited the element of terror which -- in a modified form -- is evident in several incidents in Hypatia, the most outstanding pertaining to the persecution of the heroine by the mob. Too, this novel, as did nearly all Gothic novels, illustrated that English fiction would never be entirely controlled by reason.¹⁰

⁸Grant C. Knight, The Novel in English (New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1931), p. 93.

⁹Wagenknecht, op. cit., p. 133.

¹⁰Ibid.

Kingsley's eulogistic preface to a republication of Henry Brooke's The Fool of Quality (1770) indicated that Kingsley was greatly impressed by this novel, especially its digression regarding religion, education, politics, and ethics. Kingsley, who liked the idealism, purity, and sacredness expressed in the book,¹¹ also had digressions in his novel and propounded several sacred and noble principles. As previously mentioned, Caleb Williams (1794), a well-planned intellectualized novel by William Godwin, furnished an inspiration for reform. The precise literary style and the didactic section of the novel would have appealed to Kingsley because they added an intelligent seriousness to the general tone of the novel.

Thus these eighteenth-century novelists furnished Kingsley examples of the romantic element, a seriousness of tone, didactic expression, humanitarian interests, fairly well-constructed plots, and a lofty ornate style. The nineteenth-century novels, however, had much better and more varied models to offer. The novelists of the first half of the nineteenth century had already made such vast extensions of the three divisions of fiction that each type had lost much of its exclusive character.¹² English fiction in the first third of the nineteenth century stood

¹¹Knight, op. cit., p. 89.

¹²Moody and Lovett, op. cit., pp. 393-394.

at a dividing point. Should Jane Austen and the novel of every-day life or Scott and the romance take precedence?

Other decisions involved these points:

Should it [the novel] adopt the form of story-making which puts stress on action and plot and is objective in its method, roaming all lands and times for its material; or dealing with the familiar average of contemporary society, should it emphasize character analysis, and choose the subjective realm of psychology for its peculiar domain?¹³

There is no wonder then that by 1850 there existed so many varieties of fiction and such a mixture of these varieties. Thus we find that Kingsley has mixed propaganda with romance and realism in Hypatia -- producing the historical novel of purpose.

Because an historical background was for many years the requirement of the highest fiction and drama, many English novelists of the nineteenth century -- Dickens, Thackeray, Reade, Bulwer, Kingsley, and George Eliot -- aspired to produce at least one masterpiece.¹⁴ Sir Walter Scott, undoubtedly the first great writer of historical romances, had many followers who retained his methods and purposes but varied in one way or another the pattern he set.¹⁵ Many

¹³Richard Burton, Masters of the English Novel (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1915), p. 150.

¹⁴Moody and Hughes, op. cit., p. 180.

¹⁵Gordan Hall Gerould, The Patterns of English and American Fiction (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1942), p. 235.

of these historical writers endeavored to present actual facts in order to entertain and inform readers who had cultivated a taste for the historical romance by reading Scott. By taking the old familiar themes of Gothic Romance, Scott brought them to life and transformed them from more or less cheap melodrama into real life. From the appearance of Waverley in 1814 and almost until his death in 1832, Scott wrote and published novels, most of which show a keen interest in the past and a wholesome love of nature. The romantic note in Scott's historical novels could easily have influenced Kingsley as evidenced by the fact that he has included two beautiful ladies who experienced distress, told several thrilling adventures, described a gorgeous abode and several old buildings in Alexandria, and has portrayed brave heroes (Philammon and Raphael Aben-Ezra) with winning personalities. Historic characters gave atmosphere, color, and background to Scott's novels; imaginary personages, adequately manipulated, controlled his plot action. Altogether he combined the probability of romance and the probability of history.¹⁶ Scott never lost sight of the fact that he was writing about the past as one who looked at it from another period. Always he interpreted its strangeness and made allowances for its differences.¹⁷

¹⁶Wagenknecht, op. cit., p. 166.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 164.

Therefore, Scott's success with the historical novel resulted in a deluge of similar fiction. A brief survey of a few historical novels of the first half of the nineteenth century will suggest possible influences on Kingsley. One of Scott's chief successors, William Harrison Ainsworth, who retains a popular place as a writer of historical romance, wrote Rookwood (1834) and Jack Sheppard (1839). In these two books the picaresque incident is abundant, but the stories follow another pattern.¹⁸ Just as the vividness of Ainsworth's novels and his popularity inspired other authors to write historical romances,¹⁹ they may have been one incentive that directed Kingsley in this path.

The melodramatic Bulwer Lytton, author of The Last Days of Pompeii (1834), Rienzi (1835), The Last of the Barons (1843), and Harold, The Last of the Saxon Kings (1848), was guilty of artificiality, self-consciousness, and theatrical imagination. His first novel was the product of research and a revelation of many secrets of Roman life. This book and Rienzi are noted for historical accuracy, and both include detailed essays. Hypatia, which also strives for historical accuracy, abounds in descriptive passages and has much bloodshed -- all similar to the novels just discussed. Evidently Kingsley was acquainted with Bulwer's novels.

¹⁸Gerould, op. cit., p. 229.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 246.

Kingsley would have approved of the well-contrived plot in Dickens' historical romance, Barnaby Rudge (1841), but he would have disapproved of its artificial dialogue, melodramatic false tone, and dullness. Dickens, like Sir Walter Scott, approached historical fiction by working from the present time into the past, but his method of working was different.²⁰

William Makepeace Thackeray, the only Victorian novelist to equal Scott in this particular field, wrote Henry Esmond, which ranks as one of the greatest novels in English literature. This book vividly and realistically presents the commonplace and often the sordid life of the eighteenth century. As this book did not appear before 1854, Kingsley would not have been influenced by it for Hypatia, but he may have benefited by some of its merits for his later historical novels, Westward Ho! (1855) and Hereward the Wake, Last of the English (1866).

In Kingsley imagination and memory, two mental powers, cooperated to carry out a two-fold purpose: entertaining the reader and giving him a basic historical background. Consequently he has produced in Hypatia -- his first of three historical novels -- his best writing of this type, because he has departed from philosophy and dramatized his theme.²¹ Hypatia, like Kingsley's later historical

²⁰Ibid., p. 248.

²¹Thorp, op. cit., p. 111.

novels, praises the English national past. Since he thought the source of England's strength was in the race itself, in Hypatia he has made the Teutonic barbarians the only healthy people in the Roman Empire.²² A study of Hypatia shows a blending of romanticism and realism. From the historical romances discussed above, it is easy to see that Kingsley had enough illustrative material to inspire him to combine these two important characteristics for Hypatia. Too, as a realistic novel, Hypatia has expanded its perspective, especially in the increased interest shown for the varying circumstances and conditions of the early Christians' lives. The romantic possibility of real life set in the Church of the fifth century largely determined the realistic plot-development and character depiction in Hypatia.

Kingsley has also intended his first historical romance to function as a novel of purpose and preach a sermon of Christianity. This element of purpose adds greater power and dignity to Hypatia because it -- like the social changes -- signifies the deeper thought of the century. As a propagandistic exposition this novel relayed to English readers the author's religious concepts. The characters and the plot have receded somewhat in importance to emphasize the didactic aim.

²²Baker, op. cit., pp. 98-99.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, there were relatively few great novels of purpose even though nearly every novelist had attempted to write one or more novels of this type. Dickens, the most prolific writer in this field, had conscientiously preached his theories of reform by inculcating the various elements into his novels. Oliver Twist (1837) mercilessly exposed and attacked the poor laws; Nicholas Nickleby (1838) dealt with the necessity of school reform; and Hard Times (1854)²³ completed the author's economic theories. Charles Kingsley was an earnest though occasional practitioner of the group following Dickens. This group in the middle century directed the novel toward removing a social wrong, or abuse, of the government.²⁴ But like Dickens' novels, Kingsley's failed to display the dramatic quality essential to a novel.²⁵ From Mrs. Gaskell's propaganda novel Mary Barton (1848), Kingsley very likely noted the excellent presentation of characters' motives and behavior and he endeavored to treat his characters in a similar way.

The scholarly Hypatia -- as was the custom of the time -- appeared serially in the Fraser's Magazine, beginning with the January, 1852, issue and ending with the April, 1853, issue. Although Kingsley had planned to profit

²³This novel was published a year later than Hypatia.

²⁴Lovett and Hughes, op. cit., p. 230.

²⁵Ibid., p. 234.

by criticism in an improvement of the plot before it was published in book form, he made scarcely any changes in it. Many other novels that had appeared serially in magazines received much reshaping before they were published in book form.

Without doubt Hypatia resembles in style, diction, structure, use of history, purpose, and mixture of romanticism and realism one or more novels of the nineteenth century. The use of dramatic situations and romantic episodes in Hypatia shows that the author may also have been acquainted with a few French novelists, Dumas in particular.

Attention will now be centered on Callista, by Cardinal Newman, to note its reflection of influences of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writers. Because John Henry Newman was not a novelist, one should read his autobiographic Apologia, in order to judge him fairly.²⁶ He did produce two novels, one -- Loss and Gain -- mentioned above -- and Callista. As a product of his genius, done en passant, Callista -- like all of Newman's writings -- was evoked by a special incident and an exacting feeling of duty.²⁷ The plot, besides presenting a series of arguments, contains elements of "the historical romance, the familiar 'saint's life,' and something of the psychological study which matured

²⁶Wagenknecht, op. cit., p. 260.

²⁷Harrold, op. cit., p. 283.

in the later Victorian fiction."²⁸ Since Newman has stated that very little of historical truth is in Callista -- and usually it was indirectly introduced²⁹ -- he has permitted his imagination to take precedence. Although Callista is representative of its author, it does reflect the influences of a few of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writers. Newman's literary enthusiasm, on the whole, "seemed largely and singularly bounded by the ancient classics, a few English novelists, and Romantic poets."³⁰ This accounts for the limited literary influences in Callista.

Many affinities exist between Newman's mind and the mind of almost any of the great Romantics. Newman had a tendency to seek the past -- the Patristic Age. His turning to the past was an attempt to find what was permanent religious truth; it was not prompted by the Romantic or un-Romantic in him.³¹ Thus the reader is not surprised to find Newman dealing with the Church of the third century as a possible source of finding this truth to expound in his novel, Callista.

Too, Newman's literary preferences included those of a Romantic character. Among the eighteenth-century novels

²⁸Ibid., p. 285.

²⁹Newman, Callista, Advertisement.

³⁰Harrold, op. cit., p. 266.

³¹Ibid., p. 254.

that he read -- many of them while he was a child -- were the Gothic novels of Mrs. Radcliffe, probably the best writer of her type. The two best known, The Mysteries of Udolpho (1794) and The Italian (1797), employ very romantic devices and all the elements connected with melodrama. The explanations of the related terrors were always rationally suggested. Although her characterization was a failure, Mrs. Radcliffe wrote carefully and vigorously. Her finished stories were complete, satisfying narratives. In spite of a good imagination, she wrote a badly overstrained far-fetched kind of story.³² Many of these same virtues and vices are prominent in Callista. One illustration of the horror element is the incident in which Gurto placed a curse upon her son Juba so that for several days he acted like one possessed of a demon.³³ Yet the sureness of touch and evenness of technique will cause the reader to recognize Newman to be more than the writer of beautiful rhythmical prose and tender religious lyrics. Newman, through his creative imagination, could touch "some of the depths of evil and depravity and set them forth in not implausible artistic form."³⁴

Callista shows possible influences of eighteenth-

³²Wood et al., op. cit., p. 24.

³³Newman, Callista, pp. 212-215.

³⁴Harrold, op. cit., p. 298.

century writers who were not novelists. The author admired Dr. Johnson's learning but disliked the Johnsonese style which was often unsuitable to time and place.³⁵ Johnson's The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia (1759), a story, would have interested Newman because it is an attack on easy optimism and expounds the vanity of any quest of happiness in this world. This latter part is one of the teachings emphasized by Caecilius, the exiled Carthaginian monk. Addison is the only Neo-Classic writer that Newman admired.³⁶ It is very likely that Newman profited by the charm of Addison's essays noted for their good-humored, conversational tone and clear and simple, yet polished style. Perfect taste, classical culture, and aristocratic fastidiousness mark his diction. All these characteristics adorn Callista and all of Newman's writings. This author also liked the moralizing, the firm realistic touches of the description of character and scenery, and the common-sense understanding of humanity in Crabbe's³⁷ writing.³⁸ The description in Callista is one of its strongest points.

Newman knew very little about the fiction of his own period. Of the earlier Victorian novels, Newman was familiar with the writings of Jane Porter, Sir Walter Scott, Mrs.

³⁵Ibid., p. 263.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Crabbe was a poet of the Neo-Classic Age and a writer whom Newman loved greatly.

³⁸Harrold, op. cit., p. 263.

Gaskell, and Jane Austen.³⁹ Miss Jane Porter, who claimed the distinction of starting the historical romance, had combined imagination and moral instruction to produce two good stories in Thaddeus of Warsaw (1803) and The Scottish Chiefs (1810).⁴⁰ The first named contains Gothic effects obtained from contemporary history. Newman used a few Gothic effects,⁴¹ but they came from the history of the third century.

Newman, obviously fond of the romantic in modern literature, was attracted to Scott not only by the enchantment of the world of the Waverley novels but also by the "manifestation of Scott's benevolence and firm moral fiber. Scott's manliness, humorous sanity, and careful conservatism appealed to something deep in Newman."⁴² Callista reveals many of these same characteristics. Another writer at the time of Scott but very different from him was Jane Austen, who attracted Newman by her stylistic felicities but repelled him by the lack of substance and romanticism in her novels. Her works may have given him the incentive to add a little realism to his generous supply of romanticism as found in Callista. We observe that the solid effect of reality is built up in this story through the

³⁹Ibid., pp. 247, 265.

⁴⁰Knight, op. cit., p. 94.

⁴¹Infra, pp. 98-99.

⁴²Harrold, op. cit., pp. 263-264.

author's rather slow-moving outmoded narrative methods; one example of this realism is that the mob in the story acted like a true mob. Sometimes to accomplish this realistic effect, he even made "the now unpardonable fictional blunder of invoking the 'magic pen of Sir Walter Scott' right in the midst of the mob scenes [so that] one still may feel the hot breath and hear the nameless noise of the rioters."⁴³

As a devoted admirer of Mrs. Gaskell -- the third great mid-Victorian producer of the novels of manners⁴⁴ -- Newman probably utilized some of her methods used in Mary Barton for expression of propaganda and some of the high quality of artistry from Cranford. He read faithfully all of Thackeray's works⁴⁵ and may have received inspiration from Henry Esmond for developing his own historical romance.

Because Callista was intended to present doctrines, the author uses action and setting for very little more than a coating for the pill.⁴⁶ Critics who estimate the real value of an author's breadth and humanity by his creation of characters are inclined to believe that the bounds of Newman's dogma curtailed his sympathy because only those characters that are prototypes of himself are real. Fiction

⁴³Ibid., p. 297.

⁴⁴Gerould, op. cit., p. 307.

⁴⁵Harrold, op. cit., p. 265.

⁴⁶Baker, op. cit., p. 63.

was his method for conveying dramatically a moral perception of the values that produce character and control conduct.⁴⁷

Thus by using his own imagination controlled by a disciplined sense of Christian duty and religious principles, Newman wrote Callista, in which these influences of other writers played a part: the horror element came from Mrs. Radcliffe; romanticism, chiefly from Scott; style, tone, and description, Addison; description and common sense, Crabbe; moralizing, Johnson, Addison, and Jane Porter; and propaganda, Mrs. Gaskell.

It is important now to estimate the rating of Hypatia and Callista with historical novels of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As historical novels these two literary productions do not rate first place. If examined dispassionately, Hypatia, much the superior of the novels, may be classified "as an historical romance with elements of greatness rather than a great historical romance."⁴⁸ It is surpassed by the author's more successful Westward Ho! and Hereward the Wake, sterling historical romances which can be listed with a select group including Reade's The Cloister and the Hearth (1869) and Joseph Henry Shorthouse's John Inglesant (1880).⁴⁹ These books have more convincing

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 66, 68.

⁴⁸Burton, op. cit., p. 249.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 249-250.

and realistic plots and characters and relate more authentic historical episodes than does Hypatia. Dickens' A Tale of Two Cities (1895), because of its treatment of character, violent action, and marvelous display of the author's imagination, is a much greater book than Hypatia. George Eliot's Romola (1863), which vividly traces the deterioration of Tito Melema, is worth studying for characterization; this novel is very realistic in theme and treatment and has a psychological insight that makes it superior to Hypatia.

Comparing Kingsley with four of the prominent twentieth-century writers of fiction, we find that each is superior to him. Joseph Conrad used effectively the mystery, terror, and magic of the sea as a background for studying men. His Lord Jim (1900) reveals the mental anguish of a young sailor who failed to perform his duty in a critical moment. H. G. Wells, who has written romances on many aspects of human life and thought, has produced The Soul of a Bishop (1912), concerning religion, Tono-Bungay (1908), a masterful epic of quackery in big business, and Mr. Britling Sees It Through (1916), an excellent treatment of the First World War. Arnold Bennett was a realist who had the ability to make ordinary people interesting by explaining the motives of their actions. John Galsworthy wrote the history of a family through several generations.⁵⁰

⁵⁰Inglis et al., op. cit., pp. 311-312.

In its day Hypatia was well-received in both England and Germany and was praised by Bunsen.⁵¹ Many readers, however, thought it was immoral⁵² and would corrupt young men. This novel, more or less sensational, frankly purposive, and emotionally moving, helped to satisfy the appetite of the reading public. Books of this type, popular but short-lived, received praise from many critics who were in sympathy with the thesis treated but condemnation from the critics who opposed the thesis. Charles Reade and Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe were also guilty of writing the same type of novel.⁵³

Realism was the imperative thing in 1850. Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, and Trollope gave a deeper cut to the channel already deepened by Scott and Jane Austen. Bulwer, Disraeli, Kingsley, and Reade made a few modifications in the direction of the main current.⁵⁴ For example, in the use of history in novels, Scott had used history for romance and color; Bulwer used romance to make history interesting; and Kingsley used history for propaganda purposes.

Kingsley belongs to the Dickens school "in somewhat

⁵¹Stephen and Lee, op. cit., p. 177.

⁵²Thorp, op. cit., p. 108.

⁵³Gerould, op. cit., pp. 335-336.

⁵⁴Burton, op. cit., p. 176.

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⁵²Thorp, op. cit., p. 108.

⁵³Gerould, op. cit., pp. 335-336.

⁵⁴Burton, op. cit., p. 176.

a Pickwickian sense,"⁵⁵ but he excelled Dickens in the extent of his ideas. Kingsley and Disraeli used the novel for spreading their ideas of social Toryism and Christian socialism.⁵⁶ As a novel representing the Oxford Movement, Hypatia, however, has no peers or even rivals in the presentation of the arguments opposing the movement. Because this novel, as well as his other novels, was written so hastily, many characters and episodes are distorted from reality. But his genuine imagination helped him to expound more effectively his ideas of religion and social reform.

When Kingsley is compared with Jane Austen, the reader notes that the latter seems a serene classic in her literary art. She is read far more than Kingsley because she is so vitally alive.⁵⁷ However, critics of the past praised Hypatia for its lofty tone and vigorous action. On the other hand, they criticized the lack of reality in the Jews, Christians, Romans, and Goths.⁵⁸ In his day Kingsley was classed with Bulwer, Disraeli, Reade, and Trollope -- all loomed large in their fields. Yet they never were so important as Dickens, Thackeray, and George Eliot, the three great Victorian novelists.

⁵⁵Wagenknecht, op. cit., p. 100.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Burton, op. cit., p. 122.

⁵⁸Wagenknecht, op. cit., p. 265.

According to Gerould this statement is true:

The productions of Ainsworth, Kingsley, and Reade unquestionably had an evil influence on a great deal of the ephemeral fiction written during the second half of the nineteenth century. No doubt these men were themselves the victims of the decline of taste that affected all the arts for four or five decades, but by their eminence, they contributed to the decline.⁵⁹

Kingsley contributed little to the development of the novel; following the course of others, he applied it to social and economic problems. It is doubtful "that his novels had any important influence on the breakdown of structure so often apparent in later 'novels of ideas.'"⁶⁰ But certainly they themselves prefigure it.

As previously stated, Callista ranks very low as an historical novel. It is, however, important for the ideas presented that defend the Oxford Movement. Callista is also important because it resembles the psychological or problem novel, one of the newer types of this period. Newman's fictionized story of conversion based on his own experience while he was still an Anglican presents Catholic practices and doctrines. Because of his belief in asceticism, Newman let the divine and spiritual take precedence over physical well-being. For example, after Callista's health had been injured by the heat of the prison and she had lost her former

⁵⁹Gerould, op. cit., p. 254.

⁶⁰Wagenknecht, op. cit., p. 267.

beauty, Newman stated that a divine loveliness took its place.⁶¹

Later psychological novels of importance include George Eliot's Adam Bede (1859), The Mill on the Floss (1860), and Silas Marner (1861). The Ordeal of Richard Feverel (1859) is typical of Meredith's power to develop the problem novel, study human character, and present true-to-life characters. His status as a great novelist in this realm is substantiated by other psychological novels, such as The Egoist (1879), Diana of the Crossways (1885), and others. Baker gives this interesting information concerning the psychological novels as they are connected with Newman:

In short, with the novel of psychological study, as we pass from Newman through Eliot to Hardy, we pass from supernaturalism in which a man's fate is offered him by benevolent Providence; through a form of moral Protestantism, in which men owe their fate largely to their own actions, and then to naturalism, in which fate is determined by circumstances. Hence the setting was to become more and more important. Trollope and Eliot, writing later than Newman, gave with artistic care the local color that would be perceived by the normal human consciousness, not yet the background as discovered by the mystic or scientist. But with Egdon Heath, of The Return of the Native, or the social milieu of Zola's Debauché, the setting becomes the real center of interest. Second only to background for increasing importance is the past of the individual; in Eliot, Trollope [and Yonge], the individualist's earlier deeds; in Hardy even his heredity.⁶²

Under the influence of his religious beliefs, Newman

⁶¹Baker, op. cit., p. 59. See also Newman, Callista, p. 242.

⁶²Baker, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

used characterization to illustrate his belief that the progress of a human soul is due to God rather than to the individual himself or to his environment.⁶³ Hardy and Zola, who believed in a determinism colored by scientific views, emphasized the influence of environment on their characters. In the plot of Callista the characters, particularly Callista herself, act in a certain way in spite of environment, heredity, and interest in self.⁶⁴ George Eliot, who is not necessarily a believer in determinism, philosophically and chronologically separated Newman from the naturalists. She has directed her attention to the individual in his moral responsibility.⁶⁵

Mediocre as fiction but very interesting from a religious viewpoint, Callista with its shadowy outlined characters devoid of a conflict between duty and desire, with its sketch of the third century done more by incidents than by a closely knit plot with suspense and conflict, with its many beautiful and picturesque passages, memorable scenes, drama, technical shortcomings, and Christian philosophy, is the product of a minor novelist who has responded in his unique and individual method to a strong religious stimulus and an obligation.

⁶³Newman, Callista, p. 172.

⁶⁴Baker, op. cit., p. 62.

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 63-64.

Truly these novels do show the influence of other writers and deserve a rating as significant Victorian novels. Now that Hypatia and Callista have been catalogued among the Victorian novels and have been shown to be representative of the nineteenth century and characteristic of their authors, let us in the following chapter study them from the standpoint of contrast in purpose, theme, setting, character, plot, methods of treatment, and style.

CHAPTER IV

HYPATIA AND CALLISTA IN CONTRAST

Hypatia and Callista are, as previously mentioned, two of the numerous Victorian novels which sprang from and reflect the Oxford Movement. Analyses of these two novels on the bases of purpose, theme, setting, characterization, plot, treatment of materials, and style reveal startling, as well as expected, similarities and differences.

After appearing serially in Fraser's Magazine from January, 1852, through April, 1853, as previously mentioned, Hypatia or New Foes with an Old Face, the remarkable historical romance of the Oxford Movement, was published in book form in 1853. It was the result of about four years' careful planning by the author. After he had exhausted both his brain and his supply of materials on English subjects, Kingsley felt that exploring some new field that presented a fuller, less confused, and more picturesque life would rest his mind. Long interested in writing something historical, he also wished to bridge the gap between the New World and the old.¹ In 1856 Cardinal Newman published anonymously, after having completed it within a few months, his second novel, Callista: A Sketch of the Third

¹Kingsley, His Letters and Memories of His Life, I, 264.

Century, a story materializing from a subplot begun in the early spring of 1848, the year that his first novel, Loss and Gain, was published. In 1847 he had sketched the character and fortune of Juba and had written portions of the first, fourth, and fifth chapters in addition to formulating the plot.² Callista, a prose historical romance, is a sketch, or simple fiction, that combines something of a spiritual, of a psychological, and of an argumentative nature.

The appearance of Hypatia three years prior to Callista had served as an impetus to Newman to finish his novel because the more Catholic party in the English Church had been offended by the pagan thought in Hypatia and its criticism of the monastic practice by the early Christians.³ In a letter to Maurice on January 19, 1851, in reference to Hypatia, Kingsley stated that his idea aimed "to set forth Christianity as the only really democratic creed and philosophy, above all spiritualism as the most exclusive creed."⁴ This novel, in keeping with his former novels, was intended "to convey a lesson for the day with an analogous period of fermentation."⁵ Newman's purpose in

²Baker, op. cit., p. 55.

³Kingsley, His Letters and Memories of His Life, I, 366; II, 179.

⁴Ibid., I, 264.

⁵Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (eds.), The Dictionary of National Biography (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), XI, 177.

writing Callista, opposite to that of Kingsley, was an attempt "to imagine and express from a Catholic point of view, the feelings and mutual relations of Christians and heathens at the period to which it belongs."⁶ Because of these different purposes, readers can expect a diversity of treatment of material in each novel.

The general theme of Callista is the conflict between Rome and the North African Church, or the clash existing between heathens and Christians during the third century. Special emphasis has been placed on the indomitable courage, perseverance, and determination of these early Christians in maintaining their faith as Christians and in keeping the early church intact in spite of the ever popular and prevalent pagan practices and persecutions. The theme of Hypatia, being more subtle, gives a brilliant delineation of the new Christianity as it grapples with the dying gods of Greece for supremacy in the early part of the fifth century.⁷ In Hypatia there is a five-fold conflict among the Roman officials, Greek philosophers, Jews, Christian sectarians of a spectacular militant nature, and Gothic invaders. The main struggle pictures the efforts made by the illustrious Hypatia to restore the pagan worship and philosophy of ancient Greece to its original supremacy and the opposing efforts of the

⁶Newman, Callista, Advertisement.

⁷Knight, op. cit., p. 105.

Christians, with Cyril the leader, to thwart both the Greeks and the Jews and to give dominance to their own power under the government of Rome.⁸

Kingsley has chosen Alexandria in the fifth century, a very interesting, critical, and important era, as the official setting for Hypatia. This period, because it represented a very ghastly though a very remarkable age in which vices and virtues existed side by side -- and sometimes in the same person -- may be unpleasant to many readers. Because heinous sins existed in the church and the most horrible, indescribable sins among the heathen people, the author had difficulty in presenting the case of the church as strongly as it should be presented.⁹

Alexandria in 413, the opening date of the story, was the intellectual center of the world. Having been founded by a king and placed at a strategic point for commanding three great continents, Alexandria had achieved a "pre-eminence in beauty, in vice, in learning, in turbulence, in the cosmopolitan character of its people."¹⁰ The rival inhabitants of three continents, representing the best and worst of these, called this city the hub of the universe

⁸William T. Brender, "Hypatia," Encyclopedia Americana (New York: Americana Corporation, 1945), XIV, 601.

⁹Charles Kingsley, Hypatia, Preface, pp. v-vi.

¹⁰Edwin A. Grozier, One Hundred World's Best Novels Condensed, "Hypatia" (Garden City, N. Y.: Halcyon House, 1947), p. 370.

because it was the meeting place of the East and the West. At the opening of this story, a few more than one hundred years had passed since the Roman Empire had become Christian. From the moment that Constantine had embraced Christianity, all Roman subjects were permitted to become Christians or to remain pagan. Gradually Christian churches supplanted pagan temples; Christian preachers, pagan priests.¹¹

A Roman governor or prefect ruled Alexandria and aimed at carrying out the Roman policy for religious tolerance. Although the lust for power by the Empire had been cruel, bold, coercive, and brazen, the people who paid their taxes and assessments had little cause for fear. The Church was now beginning to compete with the state and endeavored to reduce spoliation to a system. The major warring elements¹² existing in Alexandria of the fifth century were these:

1. The belated schools of Greek philosophy,
2. The bigoted Cyril and his savage monks inflicting their fanaticism on both the pagans and the Jews,
3. The churches stigmatized by corruption and superstition,
4. The Roman Prefect attempting to control the restless population through, first, tyranny and, second, flattery; and
5. The enumerable masses, "of every race and color, the prey of every lawless impulse from within and

¹¹Edward Gibbon, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (New York: Peter Fenelon Collier, 1899), II, 180, 184.

¹²W. D. Howells, Heroines of Fiction (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1933), II, 7-8.

without, effete and hysterical, violent and cruel, kept from famine by public doles of food and amused by bloody public shows at once pitiless and shameless.¹³

Here in this city with the exception of a few scenes -- for example, two at Laura, the desert hermitage, one at Cyrene, one at Ostia, one on the river just entering Alexandria, and one in a rural section several miles away -- most of the entire story occurred at various places inside the city. The home of Hypatia and Theon, the Church, the archbishop's house, the spacious and imposing abode of the Goths, the Caesareum, the museum, Eudaemon's humble home, the theatre, the streets, the Esplanade -- all these formed fitting places for various scenes and incidents that happened within a period of about twelve months, beginning in 413 A. D. In a ten-page conclusion information is given concerning the fate and final home of the most important characters.

Although Newman does not give his readers the feeling of a colorful background in Callista, he does select a logical place and time in the development of the early church about which he seems familiar and genuinely interested; his setting forms a nucleus for his plot development and characterization. Covering a period of several weeks in the summer of 250 A. D., during the reign of the persecuting emperor, Decius, this story of Callista takes

¹³Ibid., p. 8.

place mainly in Sicca Veneria, a town in that part of North Africa then known as Pro-consular Africa. Carthage was the metropolis, and Sicca was perhaps the center of this province, which in the third century was noted for its luxuriant and superb vegetation.

Sicca, the seat of a Roman colony, occupied a place at the crossroads of two strikingly contrasting geographical sections. The city itself was situated upon a precipitous bank, with a mountainous background to the north and east. The large section south and west of the city, extending to the Atlas layers and far-distant Numidian Mountains, was described as a veritable fairyland of trees and flowers of many colors and varieties. Symmetrical in arrangement and proportion, vineyards, meadows, cornfields, gardens, and trees, as borders or in groves, filled the space nearest the city. The luxuriant and productive growth was in keeping with the splendor and profuseness of nature, a gift of God's bounteous hand. The temples, basilicas, public baths, mansions, a theatre, the capitol, and private and public edifices in the city and scattered throughout the countryside were monuments to man's creative and artistic ability. These were not only representative of man's pride in his architectural structures but in many instances were also symbolic of the pagan worship.

The lowly and lonely domicile of Agellius was the setting for several important episodes in the story. The

incident of Juba's evening visit, on the opening day of the story, to the home of Agellius reveals some of the two brothers' outstanding differences in character and emotional reaction to religion. It is at this cottage that Caecilius nursed back to health the very ill Agellius and a short time later talked with Callista about the values and joys of a Christian life and urged her to accept the Christ as her personal Savior.

The opening scene occurred in the midst of a farm owned by the wealthy Vitricus. Soon after Agellius had spoken gently and cheerfully in Latin to Sansar, one of the servants, advising him about the care of the vineyard, the bailiff or villicus, Vitricus, demanded to know why Agellius had not gone with the crowd to celebrate the holiday feast in honor of the great goddess, Astarte. Other important incidents occurred in the streets, in the home of Jucundus, in the prison, or just outside the gates of Sicca.

Thus we see that Newman has chosen the third century, a time in history when paganism enjoyed power and supremacy and Christians suffered martyrdom; Kingsley has selected the fifth century, a time when Christians were no longer persecuted by governments, but when many of them wreaked their fanaticism on those who refused their doctrines. Both time and place have been aptly selected by each author for the development of his theme idea.

The reader will recognize in the delineation of characters by each author the congruity existing between the character and his creator. Not only the nature and peculiarities of the writer himself but also his theme and plot influence his selection and portrayal of characters.

For characterization in Hypatia, Kingsley has employed strong historical figures and has devised his own realistic creations, both falling under the categories of Christians, Jews, Roman authorities, Greek philosophers, and Goths.¹⁴ The characterization in Callista, though perhaps thin, suffices for the purpose of a book which stresses episodic narrative.¹⁵ Since Newman intended that his characters continue fundamentally as spiritual beings, he has sketched shadowy outlines instead of animated portraits; in some cases he has given no description at all. As a result his characters are so vaguely and inadequately described that one would be unable to recognize them if he should encounter them anywhere.¹⁶ If his characters are prototypes of himself, he has endowed them with enough reality; if his characters are neither Romanist nor High Anglican, he employs caricature or melodrama for portraying them. Description is given, therefore, only to the ridiculous

¹⁴See Tables I and II for classification of characters.

¹⁵Bertram Newman, Cardinal Newman (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1925), p. 111.

¹⁶Reilly, op. cit., p. 95.

TABLE I
HISTORICAL CHARACTERS IN HYPATIA

Christian	Roman Rulers	Greek Philosophers	Goths
* Cyril, bigoted bishop of Alexandria; later known as a saint.	* Orestes, imperial prefect who was a worldly, ambitious, elusive, debauched, and unscrupulous person; believed in neither gods nor saints and was a rival and an enemy of Cyril.	* Hypatia, beautiful and talented heroine; idealist, Neo-Platonist, leader and teacher of dying Greek philosophy.	Alaric, king of the Visigoths.
/ Saint Augustine, most illustrious Latin Father; bishop of Hippo.			Adolph, brother-in-law of Alaric.
/ Father Aufugus, (Arsenius), lived at Laura hermitage; noted for his ascetic piety.		/ Theon, father of Hypatia; Platonic philosopher, mathematician, and astronomer.	
/ Synesius, bishop of Cyrene.	/ Julian, a Roman emperor.	Proclus Marynus Isidore	
// Innocent I, bishop of Rome, 402-417 A. D.	/ Count Heraclian, head of a fleet that was destroyed.	-- successors of Hypatia.	
// Theophilus, uncle of Cyril; former bishop of Alexandria.			
// Athanasius, bishop of Ancyra; advocate of Nicene Creed.			
** Abbot Isidore, saint of Alexandria and friend of Athanasius.			
** Chrysostom, pre-eminent Greek Father.			

* Most important.

/ Medium importance.

// Least importance.

** Deceased at time of story.

TABLE II
FICTITIOUS CHARACTERS IN HYPATIA

Christian	Jew	Goths	Roman	Greek
<p>* Philammon, Christian hero and monk.</p> <p>/ Victoria, a Christian girl, daughter of Marjoricus and became wife of Raphael.</p> <p>Pambo, abbot at Laura.</p> <p>Hierax, a Christian who was tortured in the theatre.</p> <p>/ Peter, Cyril's henchman.</p> <p>Ammonius, crucified.</p>	<p>* Raphael Aben-Ezra, represents keynote of the conflict of humanity.</p> <p>* Miriam, Raphael's witch-like mother and the Jewish dealer in slaves; managed many persons and controlled their public and private affairs.</p> <p>Jonadab Bar-Zebudar, one of Miriam's tools.</p>	<p>Goderic, son of Emenric.</p> <p>Agilmund, son of Cinra.</p> <p>Wulf, son of Ovida.</p> <p>Smid, son of Troll.</p> <p>Amalric the Amal, son of Odin and Pelagia's lover.</p>	<p>Marjoricus, the prefect; also a Christian.</p>	<p>* Pelagia, pagan sister of Philammon; dancer and beauty.</p> <p>/ Eudaemon, the porter.</p>

* Most important characters.

/ Medium important characters.

Least important characters are not marked.

or unimportant personages, and even to only a few of them.¹⁷ The author has introduced approximately twenty characters that may be pigeon-holed as to their degree of importance -- major, medium, and minor -- and as to their type -- fictitious or historical.¹⁸

The most important character in each novel is a woman, as indicated by the titles of the respective books. Kingsley's heroine -- the idealist, Neo-Platonist, mathematician, supporter and expounder of the essential vital remnants of Greek philosophy -- was born the daughter of Theon, between 370-380 A. D. in Athens.¹⁹ She was instrumental in securing a number of disciples, cultured and gilded young men, who attempted to practice the theories of human conduct as she had interpreted them from such Greek philosophers as Plato and Aristotle.

Although Kingsley has given Hypatia a wonderful intellect, an attractive and healthy body, perfectly chiseled features, with golden hair and bright blue eyes, he does not give her charm, warmth of heart or understanding and magnetism -- those requisites for a winning personality. Her arrogant mind scorned matrimony and ignored the sanctity

¹⁷Ibid., p. 94.

¹⁸See Tables III and IV.

¹⁹Howells, op. cit., pp. 5-10.

TABLE III
FICTITIOUS CHARACTERS IN CALLISTA

Major	Medium	Subordinate
Callista, the "divine" heroine; a pagan who became a Christian.	Aristo, a young Greek artist who was Callista's brother.	Vitricus, wealthy bailiff.
Agellius, the Christian hero; an admirer of Callista.	Cornellius, son of a Roman freedman; a pro-consular officer of little importance.	Sansar, slave for Vitricus.
Jucundus, the pagan uncle.		Nomentanus, a young Christian convert.
Juba, Agellius' pagan brother.		Pater Patratus, a venerable man who had a Christian wife and son.
Gurta, witch mother of Agellius and Juba.		Rupilius, schoolmaster.
		Strabo, father of Agellius and Juba; deceased at time of story.
		Corbufus, grain dealer.
		A baker A Tertullianist A woman and children -- killed by the mob.

of motherhood. It is in points like these that her foil, Relagia, the wanton, although not a better woman than Hypatia, does have a more lovable nature. Hypatia in trying to transcend her own nature exhibited a passionless and

TABLE IV
HISTORICAL CHARACTERS IN CALLISTA

Major	Medium	Subordinate
Caecilius, St. Cyprianus, the exiled bishop of Carthage and an eminent Latin Father supposedly born in Carthage about 200 A. D.	<p>Decius, the Roman ruler who persecuted Christians and urged conversion to paganism.</p> <p>Polemo of Rhodes, a smug, self-satisfied, celebrated philosopher.</p> <p>Arnobius, a famous rhetorician and eloquent apologist for Christianity.</p> <p>Firminus Latantius, young boy rescued from cruel schoolmaster; a tool for plot-development.</p> <p>Calpurnius, a tribune who made impractical plans for saving Callista.</p>	<p>Reference to important deceased characters:</p> <p>Rulers: Maximim. Didius. Gordians. Caracalla. Commodus. Heliogabulus. Severus. Many others.</p> <p>Historian: Herodotus.</p> <p>Saints: St. Pionius. St. Nestor. St. Fabian.</p> <p>Apollonius.</p> <p>A host of famous Greeks and Romans.</p>

faithless Neo-Platonism.

She had two passions: one was an ambition to attract people by a beauty that instructed and illuminated; the other, a jealousy in which she could not share honors with a rival. Both of these limitations, which indicate femininity, gained some sympathy for her. Sometimes her

sincere mood was dominant when she was at her worst; sometimes when she was incredibly sincere, she was at her best. The horrible spectacle of the realistic death scene of this intelligent, though unimpressively limned, Hypatia did arouse the sympathy and compassion of the reader.

The novelist has given her a double role; in addition to being the beautiful propounder of an obsolete creed, she also exemplified its inadequacies for sustaining the need of human nature, particularly a woman's nature. Hypatia, a feminine version of the Apostate Julian and a type similar to Margaret Fuller, was very much like the young ladies of the middle nineteenth century who were crudely stigmatized "strong-minded."

Most of the entire book of Callista must be read before one learns that Callista, the heroine, was a beautiful, "tall, graceful" girl under eighteen years of age, and that she had "expressive features," "a sweet, trilling voice," and "auburn tresses." Calpurnius thought it a catastrophe to let a girl "'who sings like a Muse, dances like a Grace, and spouts verse like Minerva'"²⁰ be killed. These physical traits were given to her more for the purpose of attracting Agellius and Calpurnius than for making her a real human being in the eyes of the readers who were to accept her just as Newman did, first as a mind and perhaps later as a body.²¹

²⁰Reilly, op. cit., p. 90.

²¹Ibid., p. 94.

But when Newman meticulously traced her growth from distrust to understanding, from unhappiness to peace, and from paganism to Christianity, he triumphantly and completely revealed the idealism in her soul which searched for self-expression. In this drama of her soul, the major parts are played by seemingly casual and relatively unimportant forces; yet the climax was final, positive, and forceful. In the masterly self-analysis of her when she was alone in her cell on the eve of the examination, Newman showed her conversion through the fusion of the evenly proportioned processes of reason and emotion. Deliberation, analysis, and deep-thinking revealed to her the soul-satisfying attributes of Christianity. Reason and her heart made her conscious of the possible communion of her soul with God because He had shown an interest in her soul, conscious of a mutual love or friendship, and conscious of a Divine Presence within her heart. All these led to her final declaration of her acceptance of Christianity and prepared her for meeting the derisions of the mob, the horrible prison, the suffering on the rack, and death.

When Callista had requested Caecilius to make her a Christian, immediately there was "an utter disappearance of that majesty of mien a gift so beautiful, so unsuitable to fallen man. . . . She had lost every vestige of what the world worships under the titles of proper pride

and self-respect."²²

The young heroine, Callista, had experienced a marvelous transformation, in which the glorification of the spiritual was the climax. The older woman, Hypatia, the epitome of intellectual attainment, underwent no visible transformation and at the end of her life retained the spirit of self-sufficiency. Both characters demonstrate the value of real Christian living -- one by accepting Christianity, the other by rejecting it and holding on to an outmoded form of philosophy.

The hero of each novel is next in line for study and comment. The hero in Callista was Agellius, a shy, reserved young man of about twenty-two, with eyes, hair, and features similar to those of the European. The older of the two sons of Strabo, a former Roman legionary and member of the Secunda Italia, Agellius was an assistant bailiff to Vitricus at the same time that he managed his own small productive farm. At the age of six he had received baptism; at the opening of the story this young man was experiencing a religious langor and coldness. At times he was doubtful concerning his own standing other than his conviction of his firm faith and his dislike for and avoidance of the vice and immorality so prevalent in Sicca. After receiving the reprimand from Vitricus, Agellius felt a strong urge to

²²Baker, op. cit., p. 57.

leave Sicca, but after having spent some time in prayer and meditation, he received the spiritual message which advised him to remain.

Agellius, though not an exact portrait of Newman, does possess certain feelings and ideas common to him. The meekness and a seeming instability of Agellius drew unfavorable impressions from people who contacted him. Juba sneers at him as a half-hearted Christian; Aristo thinks his looks have little in them of a Christian left. Callista "accuses him of speaking one word for his Master [Christ] and two for himself; Jucundus thinks him weak and innocent."²³ Agellius, being too dreamy and negative, oftentimes wavered, and his goodness and aspirations existed without the aid of a strong will.

The young monk, Philammon, is the real hero of Hy-patia because Kingsley has used his various experiences as the nucleus about which are grouped the political and spiritual conflicts and the philosophical constituents of the novel.²⁴ Abounding in health, beauty, life, and youth, this young Apollo with long shiny black hair, a rich dark brown complexion, hard hands, sinewy sunburned limbs, high forehead, and flashing eyes -- as an inhabitant of this Thebaid waste -- experienced a burning desire to see the world and save humanity.

²³Reilly, op. cit., p. 92.

²⁴Encyclopedia Americana, XIV, 601.

His various adventures showed him to be daring, venturesome, courageous, enduring, and honest. As Hypatia's beloved pupil, he admired her intelligence and self-assurance and became somewhat fascinated with her as a woman. Disappointment in the behavior of the so-called monks aroused his contempt and, perhaps, a little doubt. Because of his trusting and unsuspecting nature, he became the victim of several tricks. On learning that Pelagia was his sister, he gladly and lovingly risked his life to save her from her sins and from Amal. Mere rashness or ignorance of conventions or of facts rather than a desire to offend often brought upon him the censure of others. Obedience to the dictates of his own heart ruled his life and actions, and when he became the new abbot at Laura, his judgment in regard to sanctity and orthodoxy was stern and cruel. After he learned the injustice of one of his deeds, he quickly and honestly confessed his mistake and demonstrated a bitter humiliation. His straightforward Christian principles attracted the publicans and sinners and filled the hearts of the Pharisees of the Nile with dread.

The heroes of the two novels are more nearly alike in their attitudes and beliefs than any two of the other characters. Agellius was perhaps the stronger in his convictions, more impulsive and aggressive. Both experienced admiration and love for a woman. Both led useful, Christian lives to the end.

A study of other major characters in Callista proves Newman's ability in character delineation and clarifies somewhat both his theme and plot. One is the good-natured, self-indulgent, and positive Jucundus, "a zealous imperialist and a lover of tranquillity, a despiser of the natives, and a hater of Christians,"²⁵ who had in Sicca a "thriving trade in idols, large and small, amulets, and the like instruments of the established superstition";²⁶ this business was conducted within his very attractive, spacious home. Through speeches and soliloquies this wily, hearty, gruff old Jucundus, the maker of images, revealed many of his characteristics, such as his fondness for the good things of life, common to pagan Rome; his scornful impatience of scruples and insensibilities; his tenderness of heart, particularly for his nephews; and his warm attachment to the reigning paganism.

The other character was the skeptical, superstitious Juba -- a tall, swarthy-complexioned boy who flaunted his independent arrogance before the sainted Caecilius and Gurta, his witch-mother. Having an aversion to holding an opinion at all and always glorying in his independence of mind, Juba, sometime after his father's death, began to resemble his mother; and under her direction, he declared that

²⁵Newman, Callista, p. 187.

²⁶Ibid., p. 22.

the only belief he had was in the devil. A madness in the form of an evil spirit was the punishment accorded Juba for his free thinking. Against his will, Juba, after having fallen on his knees before an image of Pan, and having lapped up sacrificial blood, screamed a chorus in Greek, a language with which he was unfamiliar. While he was still a maniac, his reformation was shown by the loss of pride. He was compelled to recognize the sign of the cross, and when he touched the feet of the dead Callista the evil spirit departed but left him an idiot.²⁷

Although there are no characters in Hypatia to correspond with these just described, there are two personages who make decided contributions to the development of the plot. One is Pelagia, Philammon's sister, who as Hypatia's foil and enemy, was very lifelike and human. Unconscious of right and wrong and practically devoid of a soul, Pelagia, the Athenian-born maiden who was the darling of Alexandria and the pet of many admirers, possessed unlimited good humor, wit, frolic, fun, physical beauty and grace, and ranked as the most perfect dancer, musician, and pantomime. Enjoyment and vanity had always been her chief desires; her latest affection was centered on Amal, the Gothic chief, whom she sincerely loved and worshipped. As Amal's paramour, Pelagia, with her winning ways, was kind to everyone

²⁷Baker, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

and wanted people, regardless of their lack of virtue, to have happiness. Seemingly unaware of her physical immodesty, Pelagia was spiritually modest.²⁸

Perhaps the best-loved character, particularly by Kingsley himself, was the Jew, Raphael Aben-Ezra, a fictitious creation for sharpening and vivifying the controversies existing among the various factions in Alexandria. In outward appearance this boon companion of Orestes and his rival for Hypatia's love was rich, lazy, indifferent, cynical, and skeptical. It was within his mind and soul that the struggle and conflict which formed the keynote of the book were clamoring most violently for a solution.²⁹ After his conversion, in the few short years allotted to him for living, he practiced real Christian living in his tithing, gifts, brotherliness, and general conduct.

In addition to the characters listed in Tables I and II (pp. 88-89), there are in Hypatia also a large group of fanatic monks, the forty Gothic barbarians "stalking through the scene and casually hewing down enough miscreants of every tradition and persuasion to satisfy the blood-thirstiest reader; the hermits and fathers of the desert; and the soldiers, students, porters, slaves, and singing and dancing women who thickly people the scene."³⁰

²⁸Howells, op. cit., pp. 5-10.

²⁹Grozier, op. cit., p. 372.

³⁰Howells, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

Followed by a few concluding statements, synopses for these novels are given to illustrate the contrast in plot. The longer novel, Hypatia, plunges at once into a story that deals with the various warring elements and conflicts existing throughout the story.³¹ That women are beautiful came as a surprising revelation to Philammon, the young monk, one day after he had viewed many carved figures in a pagan temple, situated some distance from Abbot Pambo's Laura at Scetis. Immediately the desire to see and convert the world became a burning passion within this boy's heart. Having received, from Pambo and Aufugus, permission, instructive admonitions, and enough provisions to last the long three-hundred-mile journey, the inexperienced, untutored youth, dressed in a sheepskin garment, started in his canoe down the Nile toward the city of Alexandria.

Just before reaching his final destination, the boy, after having been rescued by the Goths from an hippopotamus, was saved from being killed by an angry Goth by a beautiful dancer, Pelagia, who, instinctively drawn to him, rescued him. In Alexandria he plunged into a decaying Roman world of paganism, noted on one side for its cruelty, skepticism, sensuality, and weariness; on the other side for its art, refinement, and learning symbolized by Hypatia. Although the rulers had been nominally Christian since the time Julian had been unsuccessful in restoring the pagan faith,

³¹Grozier, op. cit., pp. 370-373.

the empire felt the incessant attack of the growing strength and importance of the Church. The Bishop Cyril and the Prefect Orestes, envious of each other's authority, constantly sent messages to Constantinople, accusing each other of usurping power. The large number of monks and the army of the legionaires, having had several street fights, respected each other's battle tactics.

Occupying an unhappy position between church and state were the large number of Jews; too, the Greeks from all sections of the Mediterranean and the descendants of Alexander's Macedonians tenaciously retained a remembrance of their ruling power in Egypt. Followers of each side were in continual combat. Philammon, so innocently zealous of braving the flesh, the world, and the devil, found the triad here in Alexandria, particularly among the leaders and supporters of the church and of the state. The worldly, ambitious Orestes, ignoring the seriousness of his present troubles, planned to make an empire of Africa and to crown as his empress, Hypatia, the noted Neo-Platonic philosopher. Hypatia's philosophic message and her physical beauty magnetized the young monk Philammon, who was also of Greek heritage. The well-beloved Pelagia exerted a different type of influence on him.

Not only were the simple monk and the worldly prefect attracted by Hypatia's charm, but the most interesting character in the book, Raphael Aben-Ezra, also yielded

somewhat to her message. Carefully he weighed and measured every possible solution for the surging problems pending his own soul's salvation. Finally after a long, hard personal battle and through the living example of Victoria and the teachings of Saint Augustine and Synesius, he found that the power of Christianity -- rather than the appeal of Greek philosophy, the attractions of a pleasant though confused world, or the traditions of Jewry -- was the answer to the question that had long perturbed his mind and soul.

After he had learned that Pelagia was his sister, Philammon made two spectacular efforts to save her from her sins and from the Gothic chief Amal, her illicit lover. He rescued her from the theatre where she had danced before a large group. Later, in a struggle with Amal, Philammon killed him when they both fell from the porch of the top story of Amal's home into the depth below.

By means of uncanny and supernatural methods, Miriam, the Jewess, throughout the novel, played a dominant part in protecting her son, Raphael, in secretly aiding Philammon and controlling public and private affairs of individuals and the government. Rather spectacular were the contacts she made with Hypatia, the last one resulting in hypnotizing the girl and recovering a very valuable ring given her by Raphael.

The last major event was the capture and persecution within the church itself of Hypatia by the crazed mob, composed

of the more ignorant and lawless Christians. She had been previously warned of her danger by Raphael, who had himself been informed by Philammon. Scornful of the warnings and the last-minute pleadings of Philammon, who had waited at her gate on this day while Raphael had gone to alarm the legionnaires, she resolutely decided to face the possible danger. In a very short time she was taken by her enemies.

In Hypatia there are the struggles and conflicts of body and soul: Philammon's desire to encounter more of the world than that afforded by the desert monastery; his enslavement to Hypatia produced by the enchantment of her pulchritude and master mind; Cyril's use of militant means for achieving a spiritual end; Orestes' maneuverings for gaining a kingdom; Pelagia's beguilements to captivate a lover; Raphael's endeavor to discover the truth; the struggle between the new and the old ideologies; and Hypatia's final physical conflict.

After a long, rambling introduction which describes the setting, presents several major characters and their imputations, and explains the consequence and prevalence of paganism at that time, the plot of Callista³² becomes evident but develops rather slowly and leisurely. This novel is a little more than one half as long as Hypatia.

Agellius, introduced early in the story as a young

³²Reilly, op. cit., pp. 83-85.

Christian who owned and managed a small farm near Sicca, was in love with Callista, a very young attractive Greek pagan, who with her brother Aristo lived in the city, where the two modeled and constructed idols and statues. Agellius was very eager that Callista become a Christian convert and marry him. Although heartily approving the plan of the marriage, Jucundus, his uncle, disapproved of the girl's conversion because he preferred that she remain pagan in order that she might allure Agellius from this unpopular and degrading religion that the imperial Roman government had banned. For mercenary designs, Aristo agreed to the prospective plan for his sister's marriage, but Callista objected to Agellius' attitude as a lover and refused his proposal. She stated that to her he had always seemed a superior person whose religion had elevated him above the carnal appetites, greeds, and selfishness of the average human being. This mundane passionate love of his had lowered him in her estimation. She respected him much more for placing his affection and highest concern in Christ the Savior, rather than on her, an earthly creation. Her reception of and response to his offer of marriage surprised and humiliated him and filled him with a confused feeling of bereavement, embarrassment, and remorse. Agellius left her presence immediately, and the pitiless heat of the mid-day sun so affected him that only after much painful

discomfiture was he finally able to reach his lonely cottage.

During a prolonged feverish illness which attacked him, Agellius was cared for by a Christian priest, who was later revealed as Caecilius, an exiled Carthaginian bishop. Almost immediately after the young man's recovery, locusts destroyed nearly all the crops, fruits, and vegetation in the country. The ignorant inhabitants placed the blame for the resulting pestilence and starvation upon the magistrates because they had failed to perform the imperial edicts against those Christians who, in the estimation of many, were only fools and slaves. Heard from nearly every source was the cry, "Christians ad leones."³³ Pillaging, plundering, and murdering assumed alarming proportions by a ruthless, banded, unrestrained mob. This mob selected Agellius for persecution and moved in the direction of his cottage.

Becoming concerned about her rejected admirer, Callista, in the meanwhile, departed for his home to warn him of pending danger. Agellius had already gone; surmising the mob's tentative plans, Jucundus had maneuvered his nephew's escape. Callista, instead, found in his home Caecilius, who, fearless in the quick approximation of death, willingly and happily lingered to urge this beautiful maiden

³³Newman, Callista, p. 152.

to abandon the deception of paganism. Her reply indicated both her unbelief in the gods and her indecision as to what to believe. The priest encouraged her to put her faith in the Christian God. Within a short time following his exhortations with the girl, Caecilius was seized by the mob which had encircled the cottage. With hilarious and gleeful demonstrations for this prize capture, the mob began to wend its way back to the city.

Influenced by a momentary impulse, Juba, the pagan brother of Agellius, under cover of darkness and confusion, audaciously freed the prisoner. Soon after this event Callista, charged of being a Christian, was arrested and placed in jail. Immediate measures were enacted for her freedom, but the trivial encounters between military and civil authority prevented their realization. Finally this agreement was planned: To clarify any doubts pertaining to her Christianity, she was requested to offer incense to the gods. After she had performed this convincing act, the girl would be freed. But Callista refused to make the sacrifice. Although she was not a Christian, she no longer retained any faith in the Roman and Greek gods. Her refusal filled her brother with an apprehensive terror and surprised and baffled her friends.

Thrown into a miserably dark, smelly, and noisy cell, Callista analyzed and meditated upon many things concerning the true status of her belief. Polemo, a social idol and

favorite philosopher who came to see her and to resolve her indeterminate beliefs and doubts, found her case hopeless and beyond repair. During the lonely hours of waiting Callista took from her bosom the parchment given her by Caecilius and read and pored over the message as given in the writings of St. Luke. Having become convinced of the authentic beauty, reality, and honesty of Christianity, Callista was baptized by Caecilius, who had contrived an admittance to her cell. The news of her conversion spread rapidly. Abandoned by her brother and unable to receive any assistance from friends, Callista was tried, tortured, and executed. Thus it was that Callista became a martyr and a saint soon after her conversion. Many miracles were worked by her body, one the curing of Juba's madness, supposedly inflicted by the evil influence of Gurta, his witch-mother. Grieved because of Callista's early death, Agellius found solace and glory in her conversion, and he retrieved her body after several days and prepared it for burial. The end of the novel emphasized the celebration by Caecilius (St. Cyprian) at Callista's burial.

The plot of Callista reflects Newman's asceticism. In this story of conversion the author stated that Agellius was in love with Callista, but he went no further. As previously shown, Callista, who at the time was not a Christian, censured Agellius for courting and loving her instead of attempting to bring her to the knowledge of Christ; this

rebuke brought surprise, chagrin, and remorse to the lover. Death rather than marriage ended the novel, because to Newman one gets from divine love the emotional joy and pleasure that would usually be found in sexual love.³⁴ In the last phase of Callista's execution, "She spoke her last word, 'For Thee, my Lord and Love, for Thee! Accept me, O my Love, upon this bed of pain! And come to me, O my Love, make haste and come!'"³⁵

Although there are indications of possible love affairs in Hypatia, only the love affair involving Raphael and Victoria culminated happily. The result of certain evil forces and lastly the frenzied Christian mob prevented the marriage of Orestes and Hypatia, even had Hypatia ever wished for this consummation. The death of Amal prevented his union with Pelagia. Hypatia's philosophy and intellectuality made her immune to physical love and desires. She at the end of the story, like Callista, was persecuted. Before the mob she appeared calm, reserved, defiant, and speechless. Her dying prayer, if she prayed, was silently lifted to a Christ whom she had never acknowledged.

Kingsley's plot of Hypatia is more complicated and more interestingly and artistically constructed than Newman's Callista. In Newman's plot God's voice leads the

³⁴Baker, op. cit., p. 61.

³⁵Newman, Callista, p. 289.

characters; in Kingsley's, by trusting their emotions, they lead themselves.³⁶

The difference in the manner of treatment of material is a reflection of the author himself, and of his beliefs, opinions, attitudes, and interests. Kingsley, in giving a panoramic account of the fifth century in Alexandria, emphatically delivered a sermon in favor of spiritual Christianity. As the great antagonist of the Oxford Movement and a representative of the Broad Church, Kingsley endeavored to prove his religious beliefs, particularly his faith in the goodness of the Natural and his objection to monastic celibacy.

The author, as previously stated, chose the material for his novel from his various experiences for the purpose of presenting his own political and spiritual conflicts and philosophy. But in order to enlarge upon the information regarding contemporary happenings, Kingsley from time to time left his hero and transferred his reader to witness other scenes, such as a visit with Saint Augustine and with Synesius at Cyrene or the defeat of Count Heraclian at Ostia. The great lesson he attempted to convey was that "the future welfare of society demands a new outburst of the latest forces of Christ's religion."³⁷ The masses of this fifth-

³⁶Baker, op. cit., p. 98.

³⁷Grozier, op. cit., p. 369.

century empire were being enslaved; conflicting human ideals were in a death struggle. His purpose in writing a novel of this era was to prove that the ideal of Christianity was the only salvation for individuals and the world in all ages.

To fictionize his own experience of conversion, Newman chose a setting in the third century and used a few, and referred to several, historical characters for the historical romance Callista. Concentrating upon his major interest of a change of faith taking place within the soul, the author did not attempt to give thrilling adventures or to create the feeling of a colorful historical background. Instead he propounded his belief that neither great success nor even human failure is the most significant event in life, but the great thing is to attain subjective attitudes and a communion with the true Church. The selected and related incidents and the climax project this belief. An excellent unity of structure results from the concentration upon one character and one action. Undramatic dialogue is used to illustrate the intellectual steps leading to conversion rather than to portray the emotional reaction of character to character.³⁸

Thus by transferring himself to the third century in a city of Roman Proconsular Africa and recounting many of his own experiences in changing from an Anglican to a Roman

³⁸Baker, op. cit., p. 62.

Catholic, Newman has given to the world a story that combines autobiography with fiction, the ancient with the modern, paganism with Christianity, conflict with peace, superstition with faith, the emotional with the psychological, the supernatural with the natural, and the intellectual with the spiritual. The lesson he wished to teach is achieved through an understanding of the interplay of these various forces.

Both novels require background information for greater enjoyment. Both novels have come from men who had logical insight, religious convictions, and a love of Christianity. Newman, the Roman Catholic, put the greater stress on the Church and its relation to Christ; Kingsley, a member of the Broad Church, related the shortcomings, bigotry, and hypocrisy of the early Church, but he stressed the need of Christianity in the world and the necessity of each individual's having a personal relationship with Christ.

In the contrast of these two novels the next and last significant point is to discuss the technique and style of each novel.

The remarkable, brilliant, and tragic Hypatia, "a successful attempt in a very difficult literary style,"³⁹ is marked by a multitude of imperfections and merits. Perhaps the greatest and most influential defect manifests

³⁹Stephen and Lee, op. cit., p. 177.

itself in the author's delineation of Hypatia herself. Too strictly confined by the authenticity of history, Kingsley, with imagination inhibited, has presented a heroine so cold and aloof that she neither influences the characters of the novel centered in or moving around her nor wins the reader's sympathy.⁴⁰ His aims for fusing the various warring elements into a dramatic entirety are frustrated. Because Hypatia had this repellent trait, these elements remained dispersed. Even horror rather than compassion symbolized the manner in which the onlookers beheld Hypatia's fate.⁴¹

Many of the High Church people of Kingsley's day considered this novel to be immoral from the standpoint of its encouraging young men in profligacy and false doctrine.⁴² Since in paganism there is no conviction of sin, no offense against the spirit of righteousness, no meekness of heart propelled by some outside goodness, and no repentance, Kingsley could not possibly tell all about paganism, but he could tell the worst about Christianity. Therefore, Hypatia in her enthusiastic pursuit of pagan philosophy overlooked the contamination of life and rejoiced in her own will as the cause of her personal and unblemished purity.⁴³

⁴⁰Howells, op. cit., p. 10.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Kingsley, His Letters and Memories of His Life, II, 179.

⁴³Howells, op. cit., p. 10.

Although Callista when compared to Loss and Gain shows several improvements, such as having more individualized characters, more appropriate dialogue spoken by various characters, and more subtle and discerning psychological insight⁴⁴ -- particularly shown in the motivation, reaction, and development -- it has several defects as a novel. This novel will hold little interest for the reader who has no understanding of the Oxford Movement or of Christianity and Roman life in the third century. Designed as a propaganda novel, Callista fails from the very beginning in presenting a finished replica of reality.⁴⁵

Very noticeable is the absence of a dramatic quality and of the clashing of will. In Callista herself there is the power of duty, but little inclination for performing it because she is doubtful of the exact location of this duty. One feels certain that Newman's own solution will motivate Callista in her aspirations.⁴⁶ There are only two dramatic moments of any importance. One is the harsh and shrill sound which announced the appearance of the destructive locusts; the other is the hoarse sound that indicated that the mob had reached the cottage of Agellius.

Specified as artistic sins are these: The author

⁴⁴Harrold, op. cit., p. 286.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Reilly, op. cit., p. 93.

was guilty of omissions, sometimes a name, sometimes an act or an incident to prove a person's characteristics, and sometimes essential intervening episodes for tying the story together. Many sections within the novel are essays rather than integral parts of the novel itself, examples being the historical and topographical beginning of Callista and the opening of Chapter II. Sometimes the author himself intruded to give voice to his own convictions and ideas. In addition to the shadowy outlines given his characters, there is also the absence of realistic touches in mannerisms, personal associations, or mental activities.⁴⁷

But the two novels are certainly not void of commendable characteristics. On a gigantic scale, Hypatia proves that the author, who had a genial, fresh, and vigorous power for distinguishing between the original prophets and the inferior disciples, had not only discovered the eternal truth and the depth of human nature from a sketch of the historical past, but also he has ably represented them. This novel, like all his works, indicated that he could sound the refreshing note of modern life and portray amusing characters and their conflicting elements with a perfection similar to Shakespeare's.⁴⁸

By placing his characters in an ancient time when

⁴⁷Harrold, op. cit., pp. 285-288.

⁴⁸Kingsley, The Roman and the Teuton, Preface, p. xiv.

they may be presented in an absolute illumination, in a setting unquestioned by the Victorian readers, the Kingsley imagination has given them greater reality.⁴⁹ He has given a vital, simple, unaffected message enhanced by his own exuberant faith and vivacity. Too, he has emphasized that all human passions and stimuli are immutable in regard to time and place; that philosophy in spite of its beauty and veracity eventually perishes because it is concerned only with things of the intellect; and that religion, in spite of its ugliness and falsity will survive because of its interest in the affairs of the soul.⁵⁰ Too, reliance on nature formed the major keynote to both Kingsley's thought and art.⁵¹ Kingsley's best descriptive passages are almost unequalled and certainly unsurpassed. In the strange panoramic and phantasmagoric charm of Hypatia there is an equal magnitude existing between its brilliant variety and its tragedy.⁵² The novel illustrates the variety of subjects in which Kingsley was interested, the tremendous amount of reading and research required for writing it, his descriptive power, and his ability for creating dramatic scenes.

In spite of the defects listed in Callista, it has

⁴⁹Howells, op. cit., p. 9.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 8.

⁵¹Baker, op. cit., p. 98.

⁵²Saintsbury, op. cit., p. 328.

several redeeming qualities which will keep it extant. Representative of the spirit of the age which it adequately portrays, Callista has historical, biographical, esthetic, and ethical values. Many passages will long be remembered for psychological understanding, beauty, or drama. The accounts of the two catastrophes that befell Sicca (the invasion of the locusts and the rioting of the mob) are the most successful passages. Jucundus will perhaps be the longest remembered of any of the characters. Successful use of irony is found in the book: Caecilius finds Callista, his new young convert, preceding him toward martyrdom; "Juba's flight through the woods reminding us of the great forty-second chapter of The Ordeals of Richard Feverel,"⁵³ and Aristo's suicide narrated in a style similar to Thackeray's.⁵⁴

A delicate spirituality and fascination are produced in Callista by an author who skillfully and successfully planted in his remarkable psychological insight a bit of mood and feeling. With equal ability, Newman, even as a young man, was able to read the inner heart of the agnostic or saint, the man of the world or the moral coward; yet he was unable to give them earthly bodies unless they were like Callista, a reflection of himself. Because of the author's supernaturalism, he was able to achieve an intimate

⁵³Reilly, op. cit., p. 97.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 98.

blending of plot and setting.⁵⁵

The style of the two novels conforms to the types of the writings and their authors. While both books are scholarly and interesting and lack a pretentiousness or pedantry, they possess individual and unique traits. Newman, in order that he might express clearly and exactly his meaning, has copied the style of Cicero, who was his only master. The rhythm, senatorial grace, leisurely rhetoric, and instant authoritativeness of his sentences are imitative of the Latin structure, particularly that of Cicero.⁵⁶ There is a remarkable union of an academic style with the simple and informal manner, the urbane with the scholarly; of ease with strength, and a strictness of control with an abundance of feeling. A skillful repetition of key words, illuminating antitheses, paralleled phrases and clauses, and adroit subordination are some of the various rhetorical devices that Newman has used to give clearness and unity to his often very long sentences.⁵⁷ He has utilized Latin names for his fictitious characters. Throughout the book there are many applicable quotations spoken for proving a point, and many Latin terms replace everyday words. The entire book -- story, characters, setting --

⁵⁵Baker, op. cit., p. 63. See also Reilly, op. cit., pp. 96-98.

⁵⁶Barry, op. cit., pp. 198, 200.

⁵⁷Harrold, op. cit., p. 347.

embodies a past that corresponds to the age of the early Church Fathers. Kingsley's novel depicts an early century but surrounds it with the atmosphere of the author's own age. As a result we see the demonstration of force and energy in the story and the characters. Action and movement are two noticeable characteristics of the story. An ability to describe realistically and picturesquely was his chief power, and he could describe more vividly and more truthfully when he had seen the landscape with his own eyes than when he used his imagination. A variety of types of sentences is used, many being short, terse, and compact to give rapidity of movement, force, and vigor. A conversational style pervades much of the novel; this increases the appeal and interest of the story. The use of historical, mythological, and Biblical allusions indicates careful research and scholarly ability. The author's dominant didacticism keeps the reader aware of his purpose.⁵⁸

Thus these novels, both written about the middle of the nineteenth century, show individual traits and differences -- and a few similarities -- as to setting, characterization, plot development, treatment of material, and style. They are representative products of two men, revealing their personal opinions about and reactions to the Oxford Movement.

⁵⁸Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th ed. (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1943), XIV, 399.

CHAPTER V
THE TWO NOVELS AS INTERPRETATIONS OF THE
EARLY CENTURIES DEPICTED

The next problem is to learn what sources Newman and Kingsley have utilized for the historical data appearing in their novels. After an investigation the writer believes that for the greater part of the story in Callista, Newman has depended upon his own experiences pertaining to his mental development which led to his conversion into the Roman Catholic Church. Second, a cruise in the Mediterranean and a trip to Sicily and Rome gave him first-hand information for the many descriptions ornamenting the story. His third source was derived from his general knowledge acquired through quantitative, purposeful, and selective readings, especially Milner's History of the Church of Christ,¹ Gibbon's The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, the English Bible, and mythology.

In carrying out his aim² for writing Callista, Newman has expressed his own experiences while he was still an Anglican and has reflected his inner conflicts while passing

¹Cf. Harrold, op. cit., p. 58: "This book has a most significant effect upon Newman's later thinking about the early Church and the doctrinal changes with which it struggled."

²Supra, pp. 80-81.

from a semi-conscious to a fully conscious acceptance of the "primitive Christianity."³ Many direct Biblical quotations and reminiscences of the Bible illustrate his knowledge and application of it.

The versatile Newman had such a promptly and intensely responsive intellect that he could easily write on any subject, unless it were a purely technical criticism. Therefore Callista, like all his other writings, is a lucid mirror reflecting his life and mind. Because the author felt keenly, he wrote his book passionately and earnestly. His vivid conceptions have given it vitality. His seriousness, firmness, and ability to analyze, to see clearly, and to embrace facts in parts, as well as a whole, have enriched the story with authenticity, luminosity, richness, clearness, and consistency. While studying the book, the reader catches glimpses of the heart that is touched and the imagination that has overflowed. The author has expressed his feelings, sometimes briefly and sometimes lavishly,⁴ thus revealing his sensitive nature.

Callista contains many delightful pages which recall his voyage in the Mediterranean⁵ and his sightseeing tours

³Harrold, op. cit., p. 285. See also Baker, op. cit., pp. 58-60.

⁴Barry, op. cit., p. 210.

⁵Charles G. Herbermann et al. (eds.), The Catholic Encyclopedia, Special Edition (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, Inc., 1913), X, 797.

of Rome and Sicily. How vividly Newman, through the mouth of Cornelius, described the eternal city.⁶ Memory from his extensive readings enhanced by a visit there added to the freshness and accuracy of the minute details. The descriptions of Sicca and the surrounding districts likely represent the country as seen from the boat; too, he has probably transferred some Sicilian and Italian scenes to Pro-consular Africa. Because the author has a keen geographical sense, he has included interesting and undoubtedly correct local details; particularly his sensitive feeling and love for scenery have caused him to give a remarkable imaginary reconstruction of the African landscape.⁷

After Newman had decided upon his purpose, type of story, setting, and characterization, he began shaping the fictitious story of Callista. His choice of the early century as an historical background is in keeping with this belief of his:

There can be no such thing as ancient history which is not modern, or modern which is not ancient. He caught sight of a principle in virtue of which the Christian religion, organic because it is objective, stands outside the conscience of individuals, allows of its being handled as scientific men handle their subject matters and will yield results on this plan which when stated are capable of verification. The mystic void of Evangelical sentiment was,

⁶Newman, Callista, pp. 41-45.

⁷Bertram Newman, op. cit., p. 111.

therefore, to be filled up; history afforded a ground to move upon; out of the cloud we might come to the city of saints and martyrs.⁸

He has made the Church Fathers of the early centuries present themselves "in imagination to a supercilious age, and he broke the barrier which had long divided ecclesiastical from secular story."⁹

From the casual references made to historical and ecclesiastical persons and incidents centering around the third century, Newman has illustrated his possession of reliable and authoritative background material. A brief survey of this background, which includes Rome, North Africa, and the Church,¹⁰ reveals his thorough acquaintance with Gibbon's and Milner's histories and with mythology.

Traditionally Rome was founded by Romulus in 753 B. C. Kings (including Romulus' immediate successor Numa, who established the religious rituals of Rome) ruled two and a half centuries. Then as a republic for five hundred years Rome was ruled by consuls elected annually. Class strife occupied much of the first one hundred and fifty years of this second period. During the mid-fourth century Rome expanded and became ruler of all Italy and eventually of the whole Mediterranean world. Toward the end of

⁸Barry, op. cit., P. 66.

⁹Ibid., p. 204.

¹⁰Newman, Callista, pp. 1-xii.

the first century B. C., the republic was near an end. Augustus, although investing himself with the old republican titles, became the first of the Emperors. Christ was born during his reign.

From 14 A. D. to 96 A. D. the following were rulers: Tiberius (14-37), Caligula (37-46), Claudius (41-54), *Nero (54-68),¹¹ three claimants who were all slain in 69, *Vespasian (70-79), *Titus (79-81), and Domitian (81-96); from 96-180 there were these "Five Good Emperors": Nerva (96-98), *Trajan (98-117), *Hadrian (117-138), *Antoninus Pius (138-161), and *Marcus Aurelius (161-180); between Marcus Aurelius and Decius -- the ruler during the time of the story -- are included the following more important men of the twenty-seven rulers:¹² the efficient *Septimus Severus (193-211), the incredible *Caracalla, the still more incredible *Heliogabalus (probably the most insane of all Roman Emperors), the capable and virtuous *Alexander Severus (222-235), his murderer, the totally illiterate *Maximin (235-238), *Gordianus, father and son (238-244), *Philip the Arab (245-249), and Decius (249-254).

¹¹The asterisk indicates that one or more casual references are found in Callista to these rulers. In most cases the reference is made during a conversation.

¹²Gibbon, op. cit., I, 114, 116, 122, 124, 127; 145, 161, 166, 646; 163, 172, 173, 174; 179, 183; 185, 187, 192, 212; 209, 211, 213, 488; 216, 218, 221, 224, 233, 235; 234, 288, 289; 301, 302, 650.

In addition to referring to these Roman rulers, Newman has made casual though meaningful references to scores of other historical figures, including earlier Roman rulers, rulers of other countries, philosophers, historians, and many Christian Fathers of note. The reader is able to appreciate the author's extensive comprehension of secular and ecclesiastical history after reading Callista.

Regardless of the unsteadiness of the tenure of the Emperors themselves, the social life maintained an apparent stability. The general ability of the permanent officials and Rome's attitude toward her provinces enabled this vast area to be kept as a union under Roman authority. Individual cities were permitted a certain amount of self-government; local gods and local customs were respected unless they were too much in opposition to the Roman sense of what was to be tolerated; citizens were freely awarded Roman citizenships.¹³ The small towns with 20,000 or fewer people formed the organic unit of life in the greater part of the Empire. Each town elected its own officials (as in Callista we are told that Sicca had the duumvirs)¹⁴ and enjoyed a certain autonomy. However, a Provincial Governor

¹³In Callista, p. 41, Aristo stated that Caracalla gave Roman citizenship to all freedmen all over the world. See also the statement in Gibbon, op. cit., p. 197: ". . . a most important edict of Antoninus Caracalla, which communicated to all free inhabitants of the empire the name and privilege of Roman citizens."

¹⁴Newman, Callista, p. 66.

appointed by Rome had in each town his representatives who controlled all matters of grave importance.

The second phase of the historical background to be considered is the Province of Africa, one of the four provinces included in this section. Westward from Egypt, the Romans occupied the comparatively small strip running along the Mediterranean coast to the Atlantic. Sicca, the specific setting of Callista, was in Pro-consular Africa, and Carthage was the chief religious and civil city. A mixture of races made up the populace. Greek was the language of the educated classes; Latin, of the Roman officials.

The Church, the third unit of the background under consideration, was, in this story, the most important. Before the end of the first century, Clement, the third Pope after Peter, gave orders to the Church in Corinth. The Roman bishops, therefore, were supreme over the whole Church. Because of Rome's good roads and safe travel, she easily became the center of the Christian world. It is no wonder that persecutions of Christians in Rome became so prevalent since many Christian converts gathered there.

The two great tasks of the Christian Church were to keep truth free and pure and to maintain fortitude under persecution. In a measure the first task was more difficult as three dangers -- Gnosticism, Marcionism, and Montanism -- were much in evidence up to the year 250 A. D.

Newman, in Callista, spoke of the difficulty the officials would have in punishing the Christians because the mob might mistake for Christians those who were on the borderland, such as the Marcionites, Tertullianists, Gnostics, or Montanists.¹⁵

Gnosticism, chiefly an intellectual cult, was determined by knowledge and was intended for the mentally superior persons only. It gave a very profound, mysterious interpretation to any religious thoughts and phenomena. Marcionism had its beginning from Marcon, an heretic, who aimed to restore Christianity to its original perfection. His teachings eliminated from the Bible all types of so-called "errors" that had been inserted by the "enemies of truth."¹⁶ Founded by Montanus about the year 170, Montanism,¹⁷ a sect noted for its rigorism in morals, insisted that private revelation made by the Holy Ghost to individuals governs the teachings of the Church. Tertullian,¹⁸ a great religious writer, came under the influence of Montanism and soon after

¹⁵Gibbon, op. cit., I, 534-537. See also T. Haweis, History of the Church of Christ (2nd American ed., Baltimore: John West Butler, 1807), I, 129-130.

¹⁶Newman, Callista, pp. viii-ix.

¹⁷Gibbon, op. cit., II, 228.

¹⁸Haweis, who has discussed Tertullian and his relation to the Montanists and also has quoted statements made by Milner concerning the man, said (op. cit., p. 172): "Tertullian is a striking instance of how much wisdom and weakness, learning and ignorance, faith and folly, truth and error, goodness and delusion may be mixed up in the same person."

joined the sect; he then attacked the Church as furiously as he had previously attacked the Gnostics.

St. Iranaeus¹⁹ and Origen,²⁰ two great founders in this age of beginnings, are referred to several times in Callista. Iranaeus, who stated the Rule of Faith, finally defeated the Gnostic threat. Origen, the great scholar of Alexandria, Egypt, born about 185, was "the first Christian to build a synthesis in which all the truths of revelation should be expounded in their relation to each other and as parts of a totality."²¹ He was being tortured by Decius at the time of this story. St. Cyprian, or Caecilius, is the most outstanding character in the book. Both Gibbon²² and Haweis give glowing accounts of him.²⁴

The accession of Decius to the throne again loosed merciless executions upon the defenseless Churches.²⁵ Since he felt that the Christians were the impediments to maintaining peace among his subjects, Decius proclaimed his

¹⁹Gibbon, op. cit., I, 170-172.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 198, 202-206; 631-632. See also Newman, Callista, p. 168.

²¹Newman, Callista, p. x.

²²Op. cit., I, 633, 636-637.

²³Op. cit., pp. 206-221.

²⁴Newman evidently had gleaned information from both Gibbon's and Milner's histories. The Rev. T. Haweis, author of History of the Church of Christ, was familiar with Milner's history and cites and quotes many of his statements.

²⁵Haweis, op. cit., p. 191.

edict for the extermination of the name and religion of Christ. Those accused Christians who refused to sacrifice to the gods were to be submitted to all types of tortures which would result in death.²⁶ Among those persecuted were St. Fabian, the bishop of Rome, who was executed on January 20th;²⁷ two months later St. Nestor²⁸ was crucified in Pamphylia and St. Pionius of Smyrna was burned at the stake.²⁹ Arnobius and the boy Firmius Lactantius are brought into the story twenty or thirty years ahead of their time.³⁰ Arnobius, who had lived in Sicca where he taught rhetoric, later became a Christian. He wrote a book entitled Against the Heathen. Lactantius, who became a tutor to Crispus, son of Emperor Constantine, became a Christian and wrote theological books in pure Latin.³¹

This book includes four subjects pertaining to the era about which Newman was writing. They are paganism, persecutions, conditions of the Christians, and conversions.³²

²⁶Newman, Callista, p. 62. See also Gibbon, op. cit., I, 650.

²⁷Newman, Callista, p. 61.

²⁸Ibid., p. 62.

²⁹Newman probably obtained this information from Milner, whose long passages on extracts from the Fathers -- Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origin, Clement, etc. -- had greatly thrilled Newman. See Harrold, op. cit., pp. 58-59.

³⁰Newman, Callista, p. 69.

³¹Ibid., pp. xi-xii. See also Haweis, op. cit., p. 222.

³²These topics have been discussed in other parts of this thesis, particularly in Chapter IV.

Paganism concerned itself with all types of worship. The gods of the people of the Roman Empire included the greater gods -- Jupiter, Juno, Mars, Neptune, Minerva, Venus, etc. -- and the lesser deities, such as those associated with vegetation and the home. To all these gods the worshipers paid a certain reverence and gained favors by proper observance of correct religious rituals. Later the Romans added gods from other countries. From various mythologies came ideas regarding the abode for the dead. Elysium was for the more fortunate; Tartarus, for the damned. Later these two were merged into Hades, the unattractive abode in the underworld. Five rivers and the three-headed dog Cereberus were in Hades.³³

The mysteries,³⁴ special secret religious rites, formed another stream of pagan influence on the religious minds of men; these included the Orphic mysteries, Mysteries of Eleusis and -- at the time of the story -- mysteries of Astarte, Cybele, Mithra, Isis, and of the Oriental gods generally. The mysteries, which went in for songs and drama, imitation, a type of hypnotism, and ritual purification, aimed at uniting the person with a godhead for the

³³Newman has shown in Callista his knowledge of mythology through the many references to various pagan deities and the pagan beliefs concerning the abodes of the dead.

³⁴According to a statement by Harrold (op. cit., p. 59), Newman knew something about Alexandrian mysticism.

person's redemption.³⁵ A shameless immorality was the final outcome, and only an official ritual survived from the old paganism of Rome. The Philosophies, the third influential stream in paganism, had three well-known philosophical schools at the time of Callista: the Stoics, the Neo-Platonists, and the Neo-Pythagoreans.³⁶

For a knowledge of the last three subjects -- persecutions, conditions of Christians, and the problems of conversion -- Newman evidently relied on the histories of Milner and Gibbon for much of his information. Newman presented Callista at one of the higher levels of paganism. After she had tried art, philosophy, and sexual pleasure, she was regarded with a hopeless and sad despair that is the mark of the more intelligent pagan everywhere. It is by that despair that Christianity makes its first contact because it brings hope. Further characteristics and results of it are these:

It is not a creed or hope that she embraces, but Christ himself, and with Christ she receives that creed and hope. That is the key to conversion -- to make man conscious of his weakness and insufficiency and degradedness and ultimately of his despair; and then show him Christ our Lord.³⁷

Therefore Newman, who was a scholar of the transitional

³⁵Newman, Callista, p. xv.

³⁶Ibid., p. xvi. See also Gibbon, op. cit., I, 50, 466.

³⁷Ibid., p. xxiv.

school, "literary rather than learned, interpretative rather than merely factual, in his treatment of history, yet gifted with infallible literary taste,"³⁸ has introduced historical data in Callista almost entirely for the supporting framework for his fictitious characters and incidents and for his thesis. Some of this shortcoming as an historian results from his being wholly unimpressed by the pageantry of history or by sheer fact. Greatly deficient in historical sense, Newman could not visualize the past as a process of uninterrupted growth. He paid little attention to dates and the physical facts about a man and his environment.

For Newman, historical writings involved philosophy and psychological insight. Other characteristics of his writings are these:

He approached history with his mind made up and solidly established on principles which, for him, throw light on everything and are indeed truer and more real than historical facts. Thus he explains the facts in accordance with a philosophy which appears to him much clearer than the facts themselves. . . . Newman is less interested in a great man's outward appearance, habits, and peculiarities than he is in the man's mind.³⁹

Thus in Callista his sources are not valuable for imparting specific historical or biographical information, but they form a cohesive force which enriches the story through

³⁸Harrold, op. cit., p. 224.

³⁹Ibid., p. 225.

psychological insight into human nature and philosophies that make lives purposeful.

Now let us study Hypatia to determine Kingsley's uses of his sources and this interpretation of the period as a whole. The numerous situations and plot strands of Hypatia are sometimes taken directly from the historical sources -- Gibbon, the Letters of Synesius, and the Letters of Isidore, the Ecclesiastical History of Socrates, surnamed Scholasticus; and "sometimes there is a skilful pointing and vivifying or a personifying of historical wholes."⁴⁰ In the following statement by the author, the reader learns a few facts about his use of sources for historical data:

I have, in my sketch of Hypatia and her fate, closely followed authentic history, especially Socrates' account of the closing scene as given in Book VII., 15, of his Ecclesiastical History. I am inclined . . . to date her death two years earlier than he does. The tradition that she was the wife of Isidore, the philosopher, I reject, with Gibbon, as a palpable anachronism of at least fifty years . . . contradicted, moreover, by the very author if it, Photius, who says distinctly, after comparing Hypatia and Isidore, that Isidore married a certain "Donna." No hint, moreover, of her having been married, appears in any contemporary authors; and the name of Isidore nowhere occurs among those of the many mutual friends to whom Synesius sends messages in his letters to Hypatia, in which, if anywhere, we should find mention of a husband, had one existed.⁴¹

In addition to these historical sources named, the author makes many references to names, places, and terms common to

⁴⁰Thorp, op. cit., p. 112.

⁴¹Kingsley, Hypatia, p. xiii.

Greek, Roman, or Norse mythology. Therefore mythology furnished another basic source for the writing of Hypatia.

Kingsley's second general source included those contemporary incidents and influential people that affected his theological and philosophical thinking. Of course, the Oxford Movement with its beliefs, practices, aims, and leaders, was the stimulus that prompted the writing of the book.⁴² Kingsley, a man who kept abreast of the times in all phases of life, had responded previously to situations involving social reform. As a minister of the Broad Church, he was keenly aware of and opposed to the general purposes and trends of the Oxford Movement. A reading of the tracts kept him informed as to the direction in which the movement was going and what accomplishments were being made by it.

Kingsley was indebted to two men for some specific ideas and beliefs. An ardent apostle of Thomas Carlyle, he glorified a few conceptions of Carlyle's social philosophy in Hypatia. For example, this particular doctrine has been adapted to the story: To maintain the best social order, there should be great personalities endowed with divine power who should command reverence and obedience rather than having political economy similar to the Manchester school that insisted on an economic law which would control

⁴²Supra, pp. 46-50.

industrial society.⁴³ The author has enlarged upon this philosophical belief to bring out the faults of both Cyril and Orestes, the ecclesiastical and political leaders of Alexandria at the time of the story, and to show the real function of the Church as an instrument of Christian socialism. Cyril, an able politician, directed the Church. He was a prototype of the churchmen of Kingsley's own day -- such as Manning and Wiseman. Because the Church was beginning to show a corruption in its organization, Kingsley, on account of his Protestant mind, felt this corruption to be a real danger to England.⁴⁴ The other man to whom he was indebted was Maurice, who shaped many of Kingsley's theological conceptions.⁴⁵ Kingsley, like Maurice, thought that philosophy was always aristocratic but religion was democratic, and that the Incarnation is the answer to the human problem. Thus it was that Hypatia, when she confronted the unhappy Pelagia, had "no gospel for the harlot! No word for the sinner, the degraded!"⁴⁶

From his use of these two general sources -- the historical and the contemporary -- the reader readily understands why Hypatia "gets farthest away from Kingsley's

⁴³Lovett and Hughes, op. cit., p. 241.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 239.

⁴⁵Wagenknecht, op. cit., p. 100.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 265.

own time but stays the closest to it in spirit."⁴⁷ There is a third source, one of personal character, that joins these two in giving the story vitality. As a student of history, with an historical imagination, and as an amateur of natural science who won the respect of Darwin,⁴⁸ Kingsley had the power to communicate his emotional excitement⁴⁹ by combining the present with the past and by making characters synonymous with contemporary personages. As one example of this he shows his likeness to Bishop Synesius, who glorifies married love and sportsmanship.⁵⁰ Another illustration is Raphael Aben-Ezra, who had problems similar to the problems of the youth of his day. These problems were suggested to Kingsley "by his friendship with A. N. Louis, a Jew who, by his ministrations, was received into the Church of England in the year in which Hypatia appeared."⁵¹

After noting the sources, let us now make a brief survey of the general background, which included the Empire, the Church, Alexandria, the Jews, and the Goths, in order to understand a plausible reason for Kingsley's choosing the fifth century for the setting of Hypatia and to account for

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 264.

⁴⁸Lovett and Hughes, op. cit., p. 240.

⁴⁹Gerould, op. cit., p. 330.

⁵⁰Wagenknecht, op. cit., p. 264.

⁵¹Thorp, op. cit., p. 114.

the controversies presented in the novel. Coming into existence at about the same time, the Roman Empire and the Christian Church -- for somewhat more than four centuries -- had been developing side by side as rival powers in a death's struggle to control the human race. The Empire possessed an unparalleled ability for organization, an uniform system of external law and order, a ruthless lust for aggressive conquest, and an unmatched physical force. The wealthy citizens of every province usually agreed to assist the conquerors on the conditions that they were allowed to share in the plunder of the slaving multitude below them. The result was that a degraded populace ransacked the realms of art and nature to satisfy their greed and ferocity.

The Church, armed with the manifestations of love, self-sacrifice, and a pure and virtuous spirit, and with its own powerful and all-embracing message, had been contending against this immense Empire. The Church had succeeded in melting and joining together men's hearts in brotherhood. It at last -- in spite of numerous handicaps and interferences -- had won the victory.

The Empire, however, did not become Christian even though her emperors did. At the beginning of the fifth century she was still a great tyranny, enslaving the masses, "crushing national life, fattening itself on a system of

world-wide robbery; and while it was paramount, there could be no hope for the human race."⁵² The Empire sought to be the sole, domineering ruler of the Church, thus reaping the benefits of the Church and throwing on her the care and support of the masses on whose lifeblood the Empire was feeding.

The spiritual condition was even more anomalous at the beginning of the century than the social situation. To study the results of the intermixture of ideas, creeds, and races, many men (now known as Christian Fathers) volunteered their services. By observation, tolerance, and patience they helped the Church survive its crisis and gave much to the furtherance of Christianity and civilization.

Alexandria was selected as the location for the setting for Hypatia because it was the meeting place of the East and the West and the center of world culture, which came chiefly from Greece and Constantinople. The contact with Rome gave the city a knowledge of organization, laws, architecture, etc. This cosmopolitan center, the stronghold of Greek philosophy and ancient science, also sheltered some of the remnants of Chaldee astrology, Brahminic spiritualism, Egyptian symbolism, and Parsee dualism. Although the fate of Greece had been told fifteen years before the opening of the story and that of Rome four years earlier,⁵³

⁵²Kingsley, Hypatia, p. vii.

⁵³Ibid., p. x.

the Graeco-Eastern mind was still in the middle of its great work.

The Jews -- the fourth element in the background -- are important because of the ideas they had held and practiced: For ages they had been a great witness for those ideas concerning family and national life, the two divine roots of the Church. They had deteriorated greatly in their moral and religious lives and shifted the blame of sin from their own consciences to duties and human relationships.⁵⁴

To Kingsley the Goths, the fifth element, were most important because they brought into the Western Empire these high principles:

Comparative purity of morals; sacred respect for women, for family life, law, equal justice, individual freedom, and honesty in word and deed; bodies untainted by hereditary effeminacy, hearts earnest though genial, and blest with a strange willingness to learn, even from those whom they despised; a brain equal to that of the Roman in practical power, and not too far behind that of the Eastern in imaginative and speculative acuteness.⁵⁵

The Goths were never able, however, to make permanent settlements outside Western Europe.⁵⁶

Therefore the leaders of the Church, the Roman officials, Goths, Jews, Greek philosophers form the bases for the five-fold controversy developed in the novel. To represent the groups Kingsley chose historical figures for many

⁵⁴Kingsley felt a great debt to the Jewish nation for its ideals of family life and principles that guided it.

⁵⁵Kingsley, Hypatia, p. ix.

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. v-xiii. (Kingsley was indebted to Gibbon for most of the information given in his Preface.)

of his main characters.

This brief analysis of the contents of Hypatia indicates the extensive use Kingsley made of his various sources. Historical references furnished many incidents -- which added complexity to the plot -- the names of many of the rulers (past and present), and Church leaders and Christian saints; many fifth-century characters, as well as allusions to those of earlier periods; places and terms. The Bible was used frequently for illustrative information. Mythological allusions for names, places, and incidents are very common throughout the novel. The author's contemporary sources and personal characteristics gave force and vitality to the work as a whole.

The following are only a few of the historical episodes recorded in Hypatia which are taken from Gibbon's history. The driving of the Jews from Alexandria is an historical event used by Kingsley⁵⁷ to further his plot and explain certain characteristics of Raphael and Miriam. Forty thousand Jews, who had secured their toleration and privileges by laws of Caesar and the Ptolemies, were living in Alexandria. It seems that without any "legal sentence, without any royal mandate, the patriarch, at the dawn of day, led a seditious multitude to attack the synagogues."⁵⁸

⁵⁷Kingsley, Hypatia, pp. 78-84.

⁵⁸Edward Gibbon, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (New York: The Modern Library, 1931), II, 469.

The Jews had no arms; their homes and houses of prayer were burned and the remaining Jews were driven from the city. A second episode described the attack on Orestes by a band of five hundred Nitrian monks who assaulted him as he rode through the streets. He was finally rescued even though his guards had fled.⁵⁹ There is a hint in the novel that Synesius wrote letters to Hypatia. Gibbon has stated in a footnote that Hypatia was "honorably mentioned in Epistles 10, 15, 16, 33-80, 124, 135-153 by her friend and disciple the philosophic Synesius."⁶⁰ This information would be convincing circumstantial evidence that a correspondence had taken place between these two historical characters. Count Heraclian's attack on Italy was an historical incident that adds to the development of the plot and characters.⁶¹ Socrates in his Ecclesiastical History, Book VII, section 15, has related how Hypatia was pulled from her chariot, "dragged to the Caesareum (then a Christian Church), stripped naked, done to death with oyster shells and finally burnt."⁶² Kingsley has followed this account very closely in his novel.⁶³

⁵⁹Kingsley, Hypatia, pp. 209-210. See also Gibbon, op. cit., p. 470.

⁶⁰Op. cit., p. 470. See also Kingsley's Hypatia, pp. 268-278.

⁶¹Gibbon, op. cit., pp. 1082, 1118. See also Kingsley, Hypatia, pp. 210-220.

⁶²Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th ed., 1943, XII, 20.

⁶³Kingsley, Hypatia, pp. 338-390.

A brief account of several historical leaders, a few Greek philosophers, two Roman rulers, and two Goths has been given in Table I of Chapter IV. To prove a point or give weight to a discourse, Kingsley made references to many former rulers. Included among them are these three: Honorius, Emperor of the West, was shamefully overcome by the Goths under Alaric; the Roman Emperor Diocletian (285-304 A. D.) was persuaded to approve a cruel persecution of the Christians whom he had formerly protected; Pulcheria, a woman of commendable conduct, born in 399 A. D., in Constantinople, governed the empire under the name of her brother.⁶⁴

The introduction of earlier characters of other nations and degrees -- usually done through conversation or exposition -- adds variety, interest, and valuable information. The reader finds one or more references made to the following earlier characters: Theocritus, a Greek pastoral poet, a contemporary of Ptolemy; Seneca, a celebrated Roman philosopher of the first century A. D., the tutor of Nero and for a time his adviser; Alcibiades, a pupil of Socrates, a selfish, overbearing soldier who became a distinguished general in the Peloponnesian War; Plotinus, an Egyptian philosopher of the third century; Arrian, a Greek historian; Pormenides, a Greek philosopher who set forth many of his

⁶⁴Charles Kingsley, Hypatia (Mable Goddard, ed.; New York: Macmillan Company, 1915), Notes, pp. 459-462.

ideas in a didactic poem entitled "On Nature."⁶⁵

References made in Hypatia to numerous places in and near Alexandria add charm to the story and reveal the author's skill in displaying his wide historical knowledge. For example Laura, a collection of several hermitages, was located about three hundred miles above Alexandria. An abbot, thought of as a superior, had charge of the inhabitants who lived in separate cells here. A very desolate place was the Thebaid waste which was compared to Thebes, a city in upper Egypt which Alexander destroyed in 335 B. C. Pharos was the name of a lighthouse which stood on an island by the same name near Alexandria. On the Strait of Gibraltar there were two promontories called the Pillars of Hercules; this name was given to them because, according to fable, Hercules placed them there. In Alexandria there was a Corinthian red-granite column known as Pompey's Pillar, which had been erected in 302 A. D. in honor of Diocletian.⁶⁶

Frequent allusions illustrate Kingsley's knowledge of the Bible. For example, Boanerges is the name given by Christ to James and John because of their power as preachers. Judas Maccabeus was one of a family of religious and patriotic heroes of the Old Testament days. Ehud was a Biblical character who came with a special message to the king

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Ibid.

of Moab and killed him. Joab was the chief captain of David's army.⁶⁷

Again Kingsley proves his knowledge of historical data in the use of many learned and technical terms. For example, the Donatists were followers of Donatus, bishop of Carthage in 313 A. D. and leader of a group who believed that a holy church should include only holy members. Attic, the most refined of all Greek dialects, was the dialect spoken in Athens. "The Numidian lion" was an allusion to Orestes, Precept of Alexandria. Cabbala was a system of mystical interpretation that the Jewish rabbis and some medieval Christians gave to the Scriptures. Tiglath-Pileser was the name assigned to several Assyrian kings. Ptolemies was the appellation of sixteen ancient Egyptian rulers.⁶⁸

After noting these various historical and Biblical references, let us examine a few mythological allusions to characters and incidents found in Greek, Roman, and Norse mythologies. The following illustrations are convincing evidence of Kingsley's interest in this realm of study: Athene Polias was the title given to Pallas Athene, the goddess of wisdom and war. The title Polias indicated that she was a protectress of cities. Asgard was the city of the gods in Norse mythology. When thrown into the sea by Odin,

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 461-463.

⁶⁸Ibid.

the Snake Midgard grew so long that it embraced the whole world in its folds. The Delphic tripod is the tripod upon which the priestess in Delphi, Greece, sat when she delivered oracular utterances. Thammuz was the Phoenician deity identified with Adonis. The worthy pair of Dioscuri referred to Castor and Pollux, the twin sons of Zeus who were thought of as patrons of warriors and travelers. One of the woodland dieties in Greek mythology was Silenus. Hylas, a beautiful youth loved by Hercules, was drawn into a spring by adoring nymphs while he was drawing water. The Laestrygonians were a mythical race of cannibal giants whom Ulysses visited. In Greek mythology Antaeus was the giant son of Poseidon and Earth.⁶⁹

From these illustrations the reader recognizes the tremendous amount of research done by Kingsley in producing Hypatia. By fusing legendary and mythological sources with the historical sources, he often, however, violated the historical truth at which he aimed. It seemed that he was unable to comprehend the real spiritual taste of a period however much he might read about it. Also, this historical truth was altered by infusing certain theories and ideas obtained from his contemporary sources and by exhibiting great emotional excitement. Gerould says there is no denying the "emotional intensity of the scenes laid in the fifth

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 461-464.

century of Alexandria though a rereading discloses the melodramatic falsity of the whole production."⁷⁰ It was perhaps an overplay of this emotional excitement in Hypatia that cost Kingsley his D. C. L. at Oxford in 1863.

In spite of his many faults of inaccuracy and exaggeration, Kingsley knew how to tell a most exciting story even though his "arrow often failed to hit the mark at which aimed."⁷¹ He was -- and probably will remain -- an important figure in English fiction because he is representative of those ideals which were most powerful in England between 1848-1870.

Kingsley has utilized a great deal more of his-
torical data than Newman. This fact is shown by the many historical episodes woven into the story and by the use of many historical personages as main characters. His heroine Hypatia was an historical figure while Newman's heroine Callista was a fictitious character. Newman, however, has kept more distinctly than Kingsley the atmosphere of the past. Although neither Callista nor Hypatia is an absolutely accurate account of the period depicted, the two books do utilize enough historical data to make them informational as well as interesting and appealing.

⁷⁰Op. cit., p. 329.

⁷¹Wagenknecht, op. cit., p. 267.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

After this study of Hypatia and Callista in their relation to the nineteenth century, to their authors, to the Oxford Movement, to the types, styles, and tendencies of the Victorian novel, and to the interpretation of the periods depicted, the writer has reached the following conclusions:

First, Hypatia and Callista, generally classed as historical romances, are both propaganda novels which present their authors' views concerning the Oxford Movement. Kingsley's Hypatia, the first novel to be written, sets forth the cons, or objections to this movement. Kingsley, who detested the saints and the Alexandrian schools, believed that celibacy and monasticism, which they advocated, caused the abasement of Christian morals. He bitterly resented the medievalism and narrowness of the Tractarian Movement. Newman, on the other hand, who was the greatest proponent of the Oxford Movement, wrote Callista as a positive assertion which lauds and verifies the merits of the movement.

Also, both novels were either directly or indirectly molded by these nineteenth-century national tendencies --

industrialism, imperialism, science, and humanitarianism. Newman casually mirrored such contemporary ideologies as influences which hastened or hindered the mental development leading to the final conversion of a Christian, or which clarified the obscure reactions involved in this conversion. Kingsley, a man more attuned to the physical world of his time, responded more specifically and concretely to intellectual, economic, and social forces by paralleling them in the fifth century. Newman, like a single-stringed instrument, could emit musical sounds only by a gentle plucking of this string which, in his case, was the religious principle; Kingsley, like a symphony, was able to harmonize the various vibrating notes into a pleasing whole, thus giving a resonance to the many-fold national problems touching his life.

Although these novels are classed as minor novels of the period, they do conform to the general style, type, and tendencies of the Victorian novels. They have used the historical novel as a novel of purpose. They also have used psychological insight in explaining the complex nature of the characters. Of the two novels, Callista shows the greater psychological insight; Hypatia, the longer of the two, has a better organized and more complicated plot, more clearly described and realistic characters. Both novels contain dramatic incidents and beautiful descriptive passages.

As a whole, they are written in a sincere, convincing manner and are expressed in a dignified, elevated style. Some incidents in both, however, are exaggerated, weird, and even ridiculous.

Both novels reiterated the thoughts and beliefs of their authors as they in turn had been shaped by their heredity, environment, education, reading, friends, and religion. Kingsley, in addition to these influences, acknowledged a debt of gratitude to his wife for the inspiration she gave him.

The two novels very accurately describe the general conditions of the age about which they are written. Newman, because of his wide and careful readings in the early centuries, his classical scholarship, and his quick eye for detecting likenesses between widely separated things, was able to draw several comparisons of the modern with the ancient or primitive with an unusual rhetorical effect. Too, through the knowledge gleaned from his travels and his studies of Milner's and of Gibbon's histories, he incorporated with the circumstances of his own conversion without a general definite plan or organization. The average reader would probably classify Callista as a simple fictionized sermon in an historical setting. Kingsley, whose chief sources were Socrates' Ecclesiastical History, Gibbon's The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Isidore's Letters, and

Synesius' Letters, aimed at being definite, concrete, and authentic. The average reader would classify Hypatia as an exciting historical novel and overlook the propaganda.

The contrast of the novels disclosed a few astonishing similarities, as well as many expected and indisputable differences. The similarities are most prominent in the method of analyzing emotions, in the attempt to enliven the picture through rather forced jocularity of conversation, and in a manner of weaving elaborate description into a very solemn discourse. Their differences are more obvious. Callista, a novel dealing with one special precept -- religious or spiritual -- is simple in style, structure, and setting, the last emphasizing God and His bounteous gifts. Newman calmly but persuasively placed great stress on man's relation to the Heavenly Father. Hypatia, a novel dealing with several forces or precepts -- religious, intellectual, and social -- is written in an elevated style and has a complicated five-fold plot. The setting illustrates man's contributions for comfortable living and grandeur of sight. The author has stressed the value of the Christian religion for the improvement of relations between human beings. Kingsley's opinions are often narrow, positive, and polemical.

Finally, because they are unique in expression, contain valuable and authentic biographical and historical material, state opposite views of the Oxford Movement, present

memorable incidents and picturesque scenes, have -- in sections -- the solid effect of reality, express psychological and philosophical views of life, and tell interesting stories, Hypatia and Callista are likely to retain a permanent place in fiction. They will probably never appeal to the masses but will fascinate and inspire those who seek enlightenment regarding the Oxford Movement and the third and the fifth centuries.

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