

THE REFLECTION OF THACKERAY'S LONDON
IN THE NOVELS: "VANITY FAIR",
"THE NEWCOMES", "PENDENNIS"
AND "THE BOOK OF SNOBS"

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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF
ENGLISH OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA, IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS.

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA.

APRIL 1927.

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INTRODUCTION.

THACKERAY AND HIS PURPOSE IN WRITING.

Thackeray is an example of a man who came through 'the burning fiery furnace' of affliction, and who, because of that ordeal, has given to the world an imperishable gift. His daughter writes of him in this connection: "For years and years he had to face the great question of daily bread; life was no playtime either to him or to many of his contemporaries, who also worked for others as well as for themselves - Carlyle, Tennyson, Dickens, John Leech; a dozen honoured names come to one's mind. But their work to each (as to all true workers) was a progress, a fulfilment, rather than a task. They worked on for the work's sake as much as for what it brought them, and understood what was best worth gaining: learning the things that people often don't learn who have only bought their places in the world, or inherited it from others." (1) These men, whose names Lady Ritchie mentions, are fine examples of those, who, like their great contemporary, the Duke of Wellington, scaled the 'toppling crags of Duty' and found them to be:

(1) Biographical Introduction to "Vanity Fair", p. XXX
Lady Ritchie.

"Close upon the shining table-lands

To which our God Himself is Moon and Sun".

As a young man, Thackeray had the best of advantages: Cambridge and the society of such men as Alfred Tennyson, Fitzgerald, and Arthur Hallam; travels in France and Germany; law experience in the Temple; newspaper training and the association of brilliant writers. He belonged to the best clubs; mingled with society, and had a fair fortune. A few years after his marriage came the test of his character in his reaction to the loss of his fortune, to the hopeless illness of his wife and to the struggle to earn a living for his family.

Thackeray was well equipped for the profession of writing for he had the artist's observation, the humorist's quick sense of fun, the society man's perception of his human relationships and the reporter's facile pen. He knew the men of the clubs and the salons, as well as the breadwinners. He saw their struggles for useless things, but yet believed in the 'ultimate decency of things.' To make people see the real values of life and the foolishness of worldly ambitions, he made characters such as Becky Sharp, Lord Steyne, George Osborne, Barnes Newcome, But he also showed the beauty of simplicity and nobility in William Dobbin, in Ethel Newcome, in Madame de Florac, in Warrington and in Colonel Newcome. When he saw Pretence masking as Reality, "he never blinked at the truth, or spared himself, but neither did he blind himself as to the real characters of the people in question when once he had

discovered them." (1) His purpose in many of his books seems to have been as he wrote to his mother about "Vanity Fair": "What I want, is to make a set of people living without God in the world (only that is a cant phrase) greedy, pompous men, perfectly self-satisfied for the most part, and at ease about their superior value." (2)

Thackeray said about his characters to Elwin: "I have no idea where it all comes from. I have never seen the persons I describe nor heard the conversations I put down. I am often astonished myself to read it after I have got it on paper." (3) He described his truthfulness in depicting life as it is in a lecture: "I cannot help telling the truth as I view it and describing what I see. To describe it otherwise than ^{that} it seems to me would be falsehood in that calling in which it has pleased heaven to call me, treason to that conscience which says that men are weak, that truth must be told, that pardon must be prayed for and that love reigns supreme over all." (4)

Thackeray took his writing seriously and seemed to feel the responsibility of the writer's profession. In a letter dated May 15, 1850, he gave the essence of his purpose; "I want, too, to say in my way that love and truth are the greatest of

(1) Biographical Introduction to "Yellowplush Papers" p. XLIII.

(2) Biographical Introduction to "Vanity Fair" p. XLI.

(3) Biographical Introduction to "The Newcome's" p. LII.

(4) Lecture, "Charity and Humor"

heaven's commandments and blessings to us; that the best of us, the many especially who pride themselves on their virtue most, are wretchedly weak, vain, and selfish; and at least to preach such a charity, as a commonsense of our shame and unworthiness might inspire to us poor people.

"I hope men of my profession do no harm who talk this doctrine out of doors, to people in drawing-rooms, and in the world." (1)

Thus Thackeray in his desire to make the sojourners in Vanity Fair, 'see the folly of their ways', unpacks his box of puppets, so like the audience, makes them act and grimace. Then when the show is over he says "Come children, let us shut up the box and the puppets, for the play is played out." (2)

Charlotte Bronte in her preface to "Jane Eyre" , realized the value of Thackeray's work as a teacher to his generation when she wrote:

"There is a man in our own days (3) whose words are not framed to tickle delicate ears, who, to my thinking comes before the great ones of society, much as the son of Imlah (4) came before the throne kings of Judah and Israel, and who speaks truth as deep, with a power as prophet-like and as vital, a mien as dauntless, and as

- (1) Biographical Introduction to "The Newcomes", p. LII.
- (2) "Vanity Fair" Chapter LXVII.
- (3) "Vanity Fair" written Jan. 1847-July 1848, Preface to "Jane Eyre" written Dec. 21st, 1847.
- (4) Kings I, XXII. 8.

daring. Is the satirist of "Vanity Fair" admired in high places? I cannot tell; but I think if some of those amongst whom he hurled the Greek fire of his sarcasm, and over whom he flashes the levin-brand of his denunciation were to take his warnings in time, they or their seed might yet escape a fatal Ramoth-Gilead." (1)

(1) Chronicles, II, XVIII. 7.

Chapter I.

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THACKERAY'S LONDON.

The London of to-day has changed materially from the city depicted in Thackeray's four novels: "Vanity Fair", "Pendennis", "The Newcomes" and "The Book of Snobs". That time lies between the years 1810-1840; i.e. during George the Fourth's time as Regent and King, through William the Fourth's and through the earliest years of Queen Victoria. Then the population of the City proper was 123,000, with the environs 1,646,000. (1) To-day the City population has dwindled to 13,706, but that of greater London is 7,500,000. (2)

In 1837 the City environs covered nine square miles; to-day it is six hundred and ninety-nine square miles. (3) Then it was so small that it was possible to get into the country in a quarter of an hour. North of Gray's Inn there was open country - there was plenty of room everywhere - there were even gardens north of the Strand. (4)

A map of the times (1837) showed the City to be like an octopus stretching its tentacles in all directions, but particularly to the north and west. Then there were two distinct

(1) "London 1837-1897" - Lawrence

(2) "Whittaker's Almanac" 1925, p. 92.

(3) "London Guide Book" p. 2, Ward Lock Co.

(4) "London in the Eighteenth Century", p. 79
Sir Walter Besant.

Londons; viz. the London expanding from the centre and having as its boundaries Vauxhall Bridge to Sloan Square, north to Marylebone Road, City Road, then south to Shadwell Basin. South of the river there was St. Olaves and Southwark. (1) The "City" was given over to trade and commerce, and each of its six divisions was noted for its special employment. The other London was that, rural in character, which was gradually being absorbed; viz. the parishes of Chelsea, Fulham, Hammersmith, Chiswick and Kensington on the west; Paddington, St. Marylebone, Hampstead, St. Pancras and Islington on the north; Clapham, Wandsworth and Battersea on the south.

It is difficult for us to realize that in the first quarter of the century, North Kensington was in grass, and Brompton was still covered with fruit and market garden nurseries. From these districts came the fruit and vegetable supplies for London. Here the gardener would load his carts at sunset to be dispatched during the night. In the strawberry season, hundreds of women were employed to carry the fruit to market on their heads. The thought of these strawberry carriers in 1837, emphasizes for us the rapid change in the city life.

Thackeray's novels are concerned only with two or three localities; viz. the "City" devoted to trade and commerce; the west end, the district from the Temple to Knightsbridge, where were the royal palaces and the residences of the nobility; and

(1) "London 1837-1897" Lawrence Gomme.

the northern division extending to the recently developed district of Pentonville where were the residences of the middle class. To be sure Thackeray mentions Clapham and Denmark Hill, south of the river, but these do not enter very often into his novels.

By the "City" is meant "the square mile from the Tower to Temple Bar". (1) This was the chief port of the kingdom. Here lived the merchants, many of whom were amassing large fortunes and losing them about the time of Napoleon's 'Coup d' etat'. Here were located the banks, at this time individual concerns, not joint stock companies. Thackeray located the Hobson Newcome Company, a banking concern, in Threadneedle Street. Other business streets were Lombard, Cornhill, Prince's.

There were many shops, but the businesses were moving westward. Ludgate Hill used to be the famous locality, especially for silks and Brussell's Lace. In other streets were famous jewellers, notably Rendell and Brydges, Fenimore Cooper, a visitor in London in 1831 called this firm "the first jewellers and goldsmiths in the world". He remarked on the affluence of these London silversmiths, whose windows were piled with silver, gilt, gold and silver vessels. (2) We remember that Thackeray mentions in "Vanity Fair" the diamonds that were bought for Mrs. Rawden

(1) "London 1837-1897", p. 2.

(2) Really Mr. Hamlet, a well-known London silversmith of Cranbourne Alley.

Crawly at Mr. Polonius' in Coventry Street. (1)

The tourist of to-day reads over the shops, names that stood for well known firms of the early nineteenth century: e.g. Swan & Edgar, now located in Piccadilly Circus, Roger & Hitchcock in Regent Street.

To the Londoner of 1837, markets were quite a feature. There was Smithfield, a little north of Holburn Viaduct and near the Charterhouse School. Here livestock was sold in an open space covered with hurdles. Colonel Newcome is spoken of as walking "across the muddy pavement of Smithfield, on his way back to the old School (the Charterhouse) where his son was, a way which he had trodden many a time in his own early days." (2) There were other markets; e.g. Covent Garden famous for vegetables, one in Lincoln's Inn Fields, one near Oxford Circus and one beyond Berkeley Square, but these do not enter into Thackeray's novels.

Even in 1837 there were many hotels and inns. The fashionable hotels were along Regent, St. James, Dover, Piccadilly and in Cavendish Square. Colonel Newcome on his return from India stayed at 'Nerot's Hotel' in Clifford Street, "not two hundred yards from Bond Street". 'Nerot's' is supposed to be the Clifford Coffee House, once standing at the corner of

(1) "Really Mr. Hamlet, a well-known London silversmith of Cranbourne Alley." Thackeray's Dictionary, p. 208.

(2) "The Newcomes" Chap. VII.

Bond Street. (1)

There were many commercial and mail coach inns; e.g. "The Bull and Mouth", in St. Martin's - le - Grand; the "Saracen's Head", Snow Hill; the "White Horse" in Fetter Lane. Gomme remarks in his book on London (2) that one of the most picturesque sights of the period was that afforded by the daily departure of the mail coaches. They started every night about eight o'clock from the post office."

We can imagine Arthur Pendennis taking his place in the Chatteris Coach which left the "Bull and Mouth" in Piccadilly. There is another picture of him on his return to London getting out at the "Gloster Coffee House" when he saw Harry Foker prancing down Arlington Street behind an enormous cab-horse.

Let us proceed westward into the real Thackeray part - into Piccadilly. "It is a typical London street of the better class and yet of an older type. The houses are of every size, every style of architecture, Apsley House, the Rothschild Mansion and the like are fit abodes for great nobles. There are luxuriously fitted club houses". (3) The street signifies at every turn, wealth beyond the dreams of avarice, birth distinction and high breeding. How plainly the gigantic private residences, gigantic although the ground on which they stand is so precious that it might well seem paved with gold, show forth these things you feel you are in the spacious middle

(1) "The London of Thackeray", p. 132.

(2) "London 1837-1897", p. 30.

(3) "London by Great Writers, p. 312.

of social London, in that part of it that means Town." (1) One writer describes Piccadilly as "a common walk of mankind. There are hints of smart life, suggestions of gay life, whisperings of shady life, lurkings of smart life, flashes of sporting life, glimpses of club life - life that sounds the ignominy of the gutter or proclaims the glory of the coronet." (2)

Piccadilly is one of the finest and most attractive thoroughfares. "It is said to derive its name from the 'Pickadils', or ruffs worn in the early Stuart period. Commencing at Piccadilly Circus, it extends westward for nearly a mile to Hyde Park Corner, and is continued to Knightsbridge, Kensington High Street and Kensington Road to Hammersmith." (3)

Along this street in early Victorian age, men walked arm in arm.

"The Court Guide" for 1811 gives as residents of the district: the Duke of Wellington, Dowager Countess of Jersey, Lord Egmont, the Duke of Grafton, Duke of Queensbury, "Old Q" the Countess of Guildford". (4) How these names recall the fashionable London of the Regency! I do not recall any of the Thackerayan characters in Piccadilly, but they lived in the neighborhood. Here he domiciled his fashionable society in Mayfair - "for which the visitor may look in vain in the directory, for it has no parochial or other official recognition, but

(1) "London by Great Writers" p. 314.

(2) "Dear Old Piccadilly", Canadian Magazine, Vol. 38, pp. 101-109.

(3) "London" - Guide Book - Ward Lock. p. 115.

(4) "Piccadilly to Pall Mall" - Ralph Nevill.

but it is bounded on the north by Oxford Street, on the east by Bond, on the south by Piccadilly and on the west by Park Lane." (1) Here live the 'blue blooded' society, into whose exclusive circle few can enter who have no pedigree. "It is a severely aristocratic locality, the mansions remain in the same families generation after generation. Outwardly there is little to indicate the wealth and fashion of its inhabitants, and it lacks the magnificence of Belgravia", (2) the district diagonally south west across Green Park.

In this west and south west part of the City are the parks, the squares and the fashionable residential quarter. Here lived and still live, those who were engaged in spending money - the aristocracy who came up to London for three or four months in the year, but who cared little about the quarter in which they lived, and whose life was quite apart from that of the town. Here too were the wealthy merchants who were aspiring to enter society.

In this West End are three famous parks: Green, St. James, and Hyde. In Thackeray's childhood these were not the carefully kept spaces of to-day. Green Park, with Buckingham Palace in the rear, was only a long field dotted with trees. Cows grazed there, and if the weather was fine children played there on the uneven ground. In "Pendennis" there is a picture of the Major and his nephew sauntering through Green Park, where "many poor children were disporting themselves

(1) "London Guide" p. 122.

(2) "The Thackeray Country" p. 104 - Lewis Melville.

happily, errand boys were playing at toss penny, black sheep were grazing in the sunshine, an actor was learning his part on a bench, nursery maids and their charges sauntered here and there and several couple were walking in leisurely fashion." (1) The Guide Book tells us that Hyde Park has an area of three hundred and sixty-one acresPrior to the Dissolution the park formed part of the Manor of Hyde. "Henry the VIII, converted it into a deer park, and under the Stuarts it was used for horse-racing. Succeeding monarchs caused improvements to be made, but it is to Queen Caroline that we owe its most attractive feature the ^{Serpentine} ~~Serpentine~~, an artificial sheet of water..... Entering from Hyde Park Corner, we have on the left the well known Rotten Row, a corruption of route du roi, a course of a mile and a half reserved for riders. The Drive adjoining is thronged on fine afternoons in the season with the motors and carriages of the aristocracy." (2) "As it is to-day so during the earlier years of the present reign.... Hyde Park was the social parade ground.....Then as now, its human panorama was the representative reflection of the social conditions not less than of the typical personages of the era.....When society scarcely exceeded the dimensions of a family party". (3)

The Row is still the fashionable drive for the

- (1) "Pendennis" chap. 37.
- (2) "London Guide Book" p. 124, Ward Lock.
- (3) "Social Transformations of the Victorian Age"
p. 1, Escott.

ladies and gentlemen of Tyburnia."If it be in the season, and about one p.m. we shall see a sight unequalled in any country; the whole thronged with fair women and well dressed men mounted on horses such as can be matched no-where else. After luncheon it is deserted, but if we go there early enough, we shall find it fairly full of those who are riding solely for exercise' sake."(1)

Pierce Egan gives a graphic description of the gay life to be seen in Hyde Park in the days of the Regency. "Our horses will soon be ready, and we shall then start off for what I term the Show-Shop of the Metropolis - Hyde Park; which is in my opinion one of the most delightful scenes in the world..... It is in this Park, Jerry, that the Prince may be seen dressed as plain as the most humble individual in the kingdom; the Tradesman more stylish in his apparel than his Lordship; and the shopman with as fine clothes on his person as a Duke."

Then there follows a description of the Row: "The long lines of splendid equippages, rattling along passing and repassing each other, under the guidance of charioteers of the highest blood and pedigree. The prime "bits of blood" from the choicest studs in the kingdom prancing about as proud as peacocks and almost unmanageable to their dashing riders. The "Goldfinches" of the day trying to excel each other in point of coachmanship turning their vehicles rapidly - almost to the eighteenth part of an inch, and each priding himself in having obtained the character for displaying the most elegant "set-out". (2)

(1) "London described by Great Writers" p296 } Esther Singleton

(2) "Life in London" pp 189-190 . (Pierce Egan)

But in these early days, the Park was in an uncultivated condition, for Fenimore Cooper records in his book that " a gravel pit was open in Hyde Park, that is a blot upon its verdure ".(1)

In addition to the parks, there were many squares, a feature distinguishing London from other cities. Many of these were being formed in the early part of the century. Fenimore Cooper, an interested observer, remarked frequently on the number of squares and classified them thus: " Russell Square, Bedford and Bloomsbury (2) are occupied by professional and mercantile people. Those of Cavendish, St. James, Grosvenor, Portman, Berkeley and Manchester (3) by people of condition ". (4) Thackeray's use of these localities in his novels coincides with Cooper's classification. The American Novelist was evidently impressed with the verdure of London For he wrote: " The West End is so interspersed with parks and the enclosures of squares, that aided by high culture and sheltered positions, vegetation comes forward earlier".(5) Again: " As the town stretches along the parks and contains so many squares, it is possible to ride or drive two or three miles from a residence to Westminster Hall without losing sight of verdure". He mentions too, that " the banks of the Thames are

(1) " Gleanings from Europe " vol.111 p.57 Fenimore Cooper.

(2) North of Oxford St. in the British Museum district.

(3) In the West End; Mayfair and the vicinity of Hyde Park

(4) " Gleanings from Europe " Fenimore Cooper.

(5) Ibid p.3.

quite pretty above Chelsea and that the River flows through fields. "

This West End was being developed in the Regent's time. "Belgrave was not formed until 1825. Before then, the houses of Grosvenor Place had an uninterrupted view over the Five Fields (to-day represented by Belgrave Square and its tributary thoroughfares) to Sloane Square Chelsea Creek was open water to be later absorbed by the railway. Buckingham Palace had not yet swallowed up in its stone and stucco embrace the picturesque red brick Buckingham House, at this period known as The Queen's Palace. Stafford House had not yet taken the place of Queen Caroline's Library, and Carlton House still stood where Carlton House Terrace is to-day, and the National Gallery whose pillars came from the Regent's Palace, had not arisen on the sight of the King's Mews." (1)

These West End squares were more picturesque "when chariots of state jingled past its pell-mell palaces, and sedan chairs with a running footman, bearing a flambeau by night, held powdered and scented gods and goddesses high above the filth of the pavement." (2)

Hanover Square is famous for St. George's church of fashionable marriages, and for its memories of Haydn, Liszt and Mendelssohn. Berkely Square and Belgrave are renowned for their aristo-

(1) "The London of Thackeray". p. 82. E. Beresford Chancellor.

(2) "Among the Squares and Circuses".
"Wonderful London". No.14. W.R. Litterton.

cratic inhabitants. However, as Gilbert says:

" Hearts just as pure and fair
May beat in Belgrave Square
As in the lowly air
Of Seven Dials.

In some of these old squares, e.g. in St. James and in Portman there are still the iron link-holders on the railings in front of the houses -- a reminder of the times before gas (1) was used for lighting the street. (2)

Thackeray mentions these squares, as well as Russell, and the squares of the Bloomsbury quarter North of Oxford.

Russell Square, a "quadrate", had not been formed very long, for it was only in 1801 that it was laid out and was not completed until 1804. With the exception of Lincoln's Inn Fields, it is the largest square in London, and its commodious and well-built houses were such as commended themselves to prosperous merchants and members of the Stock Exchange. During Mr. Sedly's residence here Sir Thomas Laurence was living at No. 65, and Amelia, looking from her windows, may often have seen carriages driving up and depositing their fair burden at the door of the then fashionable painter. " (3)

Near this district is Mechlenburgh Square, where is situated the Foundling Hospital, erected in 1739 by a sea captain,

(1) Gas used in

(2) "London 1837-1897" - p. 137. Laurence Gomme.

(3) "The London of Thackeray". p. 84. E. Beresford Chancellor.

Thomas Cram, for the protection of unknown waifs. Connected with the hospital is the Foundling Church where twice on Sundays " the boys and girls sit in graduated sizes on each side of the big organ given by Handel; the girls in white mob caps, tuckers and aprons, and the boys in red sashes. " (1) Here the Osborne family worshipped, and it was here that Samuel Titmarsh used to bring his young wife to hear the singing.

There are numerous other squares that should be mentioned, but space forbids.

Theckeray lived through the period of Nash's transformations - the time when because of his use of stucco, the West End was called " The Shining Town of Nash ".

In order to connect Carlton House, the home of the Regent, with Pall Mall, Nash opened up Regent Street - the quadrant had a colonnade all round to give the shops the appearance of an arcade. About this time (2) Regent's Park was laid out, where the zoo became the attraction, as well as the flower gardens and driveway.

Sir Walter Besant says (3) there were no public buildings in the West End, but the National Gallery built in 1824 and the remodelling of the old Montague House in 1821 for the British Museum. A little later, in 1837, the New London Bridge was built. New streets were being converted from old Markets; e.g. Fleet Market was made into Farringden Street. These new streets were becoming

(1) "Vanity Fair".

(2) 1812 - Regent's Park laid out.

(3) "London" Vol. IV. Sir Walter Besant.

wider, and the newer houses were being stuccoed and modelled after the Grecian style. Some people speak of the London of this period as ' ^{Stuccovia} ~~Stucco~~ Via '.

Bayswater Road and the old Lyburn district were being converted into fashionable residential quarters.

Other improvements were the changing of waste lands into squares, e.g., Belgrave; the taking down of the brick wall around Hyde Park, and the remodelling of the Parks. Carlton House was pulled down in 1827, but Thackeray remembered, as a little boy of six, peeping through the colonnade and seeing the guards pacing before the gates of the palace.

In "Vanity Fair" there are two quick views of this West End District. The first is from the top of the coach that takes Becky Sharp from Sir Pitt Crawley's town house in Great Gaunt Street (1) to Queen's Crawley. The route of the coach is described thus; " How the carriage at length drove away - now, threading the dark lanes of Aldersgate, Avon, clattering by the Blue Cupola of St. Paul's, jingling rapidly by the Strangers' entry of Fleet Market, which, with Exeter Change, has now departed to the world of Shadows - how they passed the White Bear in Piccadilly, and saw the dew rising up from the Market Gardens of Knightsbridge - how Turnham - green, Brentford, Bayshot were passed - need not be told here. " (2) There is another route Westward from Slaughter's Coffee House in Charterhouse district to Fulham Road. " The carriage drove on,

(1) Probably Hill Street.

(2) "Vanity Fair". Chap. 7.

taking the road down Piccadilly, where Apsley House and St. George's Hospital wore red jackets still; where there were oil lamps; where Achilles was not yet born; nor the Pimlico Arch raised; nor the hideous equestrian monster which pervades it and the neighborhood;- and so they drove down by Brompton to a certain chapel near the Fulham Road there. " (1)

So the city was changing in the early years of the last century. The American Ambassador (2) Richard Rush remarked on the change in his book of Memoirs:

" I went to England again on a short visit in 1829. An interval of but four years had elapsed; yet I was amazed at the increase of London. The Regent's Park, which when I first knew the West End of the town, disclosed nothing but lawns and fields, was now a city; you saw long rows of lofty buildings, and a population of 50-60,000 souls. Another city hardly smaller seemed to have sprung up in the neighborhood of St. Pancras' Church, and the London University. Belgrave Square in an opposite region broke upon me like a surprise. "

(1) Ibid Chapter XXIII

(2) Ambassador to England 1817 - 1825.

Chapter II.

THE HISTORICAL SETTING OF THACKERAY'S NOVELS

The four novels under discussion present ^{to} the reader a picture of the times of the Regency, of George IV, and of his brother William IV. They present this far off world of our Grand-fathers with its sepulchral Sundays of bleak christianity, of hideous houses, antimacassars, blood-letting, of debtors, jails, genteel drunkenness and dandyism - which was for all that, spacious and full of glorious possibilities for genius such as Thackeray's. Thackeray was not only the showman but also the moral expositor of this period. " His works are an elegant microcosm of the time. Like softly tinted figures in old engravings, we see this passing show and rout, (all ladies and gentlemen), strutting and ambling before the polished spectacles of their creator ". (1) The figures in the foreground of the picture are distinct, their actions evident, their pastimes are clear; but the figures in the background, those who toil for the day's bread, are only indicated - their interests and pursuits are of minor importance. All Thackeray's characters have little other background than their local setting. World events are only faintly limned.

Thackeray passed his boyhood, youth, and manhood in London. Consequently he lived through the dissolute time of George IV; through the bitterness aroused by the Catholic Emancipation Bill of 1829, and

(1) " The Thackeray Centenary " - The American Reviews of
Reviews.

through all the angry demonstrations for the Reform bill of 1832 . During these years men like Owen ,(1) Bentham , (2) William Cobbett, (3) were working for social betterment, but of their efforts no mention is made Thackeray's novels . He seems to follow consistently , with the exception of his historical novels , the line laid down in his lecture on "George the First " ; viz. " Our business is pleasure, and the town, and the coffee house and the theatre, and the Mall" .

His great contemporary , Lord Beaconsfield (4) put political issues in the foreground of his books , and used eminent London personages for some of his principal characters. Thackeray made use of the same set, viz. the third Duke of Hertford, John Wilson Theodore Hook and Tom Hill. With both writers the social aspect of these men is emphasized but in Beaconsfield's books is emphasized as well their political status . (4)

Thackeray attained his majority in 1832 - the year of the Reform Bill. His daughter, Lady Ritchie says of him : " he was never a keen politician. Pictures and plays form a much larger share

- (1) Robt. Owen - " father of factory laws " - reformed his cotton mills-made town a happy factory town.
- (2) Bentham (1748-1832 - advocated " greatest happiness for the greatest number
- (3) William Cobbett - turned working men from machine - breaking to agitate for reform.
- (4) "Conningsby", published 1844 by Beaconsfield, "Vanity Fair " 1847 and "Pendennis " 1850 by Thackeray introduce the same men , but the interpretation of their characters is different.

of his early interests than either politics or law cases. Only he sympathized warmly with his friends and companions, and never hesitated to utter his sympathies, his instructive previsions and criticisms". (1) It is rather "the echoes, the commonsense, the daily sounds and sights of the early thirties, that seem to reach one, as looks these letters and note-books when even the early Victorian times were not, and William the IV was King, when the heroes who had fought for England and her very existence were resting on their laurels and turning their swords in to scythes", (2)

History tells us that the Waterloo period was one of great depression, with the ending of the war, prices dropped; the manufacturers who had been holding their goods for higher prices, had their goods on their hands, not only because of the little demand in their own country, but because other nations were developing their own trade. Furthermore the close of the war meant the disbanding of a large number of soldiers and sailors, while officers were greatly reduced in their pensions. It is said that many clubs of the new model were invented by officers retired on half pay after the peace, who regretted the loss of mess dinners. To supply their place the "United Service Club" was opened in 1819. (3) The "Oriental" opened in 1824, by Sir John Malcom, was designed to provide the Indian Officers with a central interest.

(1) Biographical Introduction to "The Memoirs of Mr. Yellowplush. pXXIII .

(2) Ibid p. XXIII.

(3) Social England - p. 97.

Thackeray frequently introduces soldiers into his story-many of them Anglo-Indians. At this time Lord Hastings (1) was enlarging the boundaries of England in India. The Anglo-Indian atmosphere is reflected by Colonel Newcome in the "Newcomes", by gallant Major Dobbin in "Vanity Fair, and by the over-dressed Jos. Sedley. The latter may be said to represent that type of returned Britisher - the 'Nabob' class who were so ridiculed because of their love for bright clothing, their ridiculous pretensions and their uncouth manners.

Naturally a writer would remember the aspects of his own boyhood more distinctly than he would the events in far-off India or those in the Kingdom outside of his own town. This may be the explanation of Thackeray's dim political or national background. The London of his day was small and lay within the quadrilateral of "Edgware Road with Park Lane on the west; Marylebone Road to the north, the docks on the east and the new Kent Road on the south". (2) John Nash was changing the streets, clearing out the old ones, opening new e.g. Regent Street; remodelling the parks, and plastering the mellow reds and rich browns with stucco, to such an extent that people referred derisively to the newer sections as "Stuccovia". Thackeray emphasizes the newness of this fashionable West End by giving us the Snobographer's description:

(1) 1814-1827 - "Groundwork of British History p. 518, Warner and Marten.

(2) John Nash 1752-1835-English Architect; remodelled many streets and buildings during the time of the Regent and George IV.

"I pace my beloved Baker Street, I walk in Harley Street, (where every other house has a hatchment), Wimpole Street, that is as cheerful as the Catacombs - a dingy mausoleum of the genteel: - I rove around Regent's Park, where the plaster is patching off the house walls; I thread the doubtful zigzags of Mayfair, where Mrs. Kitty Lorimer's brougham may be seen drawn up next door to old Lady Lollipop's belozenged family coach; I roam through Belgravia, that pale and polite district where all the inhabitants look prim and correct, and the mansions are painted with a faint whity-brown, I lose myself in the new squares and terraces of the brilliant brand-new Bayswater - and - Tyburn - Junction Line". (1)

Thackeray speaks definitely of his coming to London in his (lecture on "George the Third"); "When I first saw England, she was in mourning for the young Princess Charlotte (2), the hope of the Empire. I came from India as a child, and our ship touched at an island on the way, where my black servant took me a long walk over rocks and hills until we reached a garden, where we saw a man walking. "That is he" said the black man, that is Buonaparte, he eats three sheep every day, and all the little children, he can lay his hands on". As a child Thackeray remembered Carlton House, the abode of the Prince Regent. This was located south of Regent Street, and divided from Pall Mall by a row of pillars. The building was pulled down in

(1) "The Book of Snobs" chap. 6.

(2) Died Nov. 6th, 1817.

1827.

From 1817-1863, Thackeray lived practically all his life in London. He lived through all the agitation of the Reform Bill, of the Chartist uprisings, the political excitement of the Repeal of the Corn Laws, and through the Crimean War, But of these external events there is little reference. He was much more interested in man and his reactions to those around him. During these years great changes were taking place in the life of the time. In 1817 "there were no telephones, (1) nor telegraphs, (2) nor railways, (3) above or below ground. There were no electric lights, nor motor busses, nor elevators, nor department stores, nor penny post. In 1841 "The London Times" was first printed by steam; in 1822 St. James Park was first lighted by gas, 1836 the Greenwich Railway opened Georgian London is no more; it is a long way back to the Georges."

Stage coaches were the means of getting from one part of the country to another. Thackeray's daughter remembers her father's description of a bitter journey in winter time when he drove from the Charter House to Larkbore - in Devonshire upon the top of the snowy Exeter Coach.

These were the days of the dandies; those fashionable young men who took such a profound interest in their clothes,

- (1) Invented by Graham Bell, 1876.
- (2) Made a function of the State, 1870.
- (3) London and Birmingham first long line, 1833.

and who spent their time at such fashionable clubs as White's Brooks, or who danced at Almack's. Of an afternoon they would gather in the big club windows in St. James Street, or ride in the Row. The leaders of these were Count D 'Orsay and Beau Brummell, the friend of the Regent's. The dandies decreed after the Waterloo period, that men should wear their hair rather long and freely oiled. This brought in 'the anti-macassar' to protect drawingroom chairs.

Cossack trousers of white duck were beginning to supersede the tight fitting elastic cloth. With the white trousers, was worn a blue coat with a high velvet collar: The coats were blue, claret, buff or brown - generally of bright colors and of rich velvets, or silks. Jewellery was very conspicuous. Jos. Sedley with his brilliant waistcoats was a type, slightly exaggerated. Here is a picture of Jos. about 1812 or 1813. "He was a very stout puffy man, in buckskins and Hessian boots, with several immense neckcloths, that rose almost to his nose, with a red striped waistcoat and an apple green coat with steel buttons almost as large as crown pieces ('it was the morning costume of a dandy or blood in those days)" (1)

~~There~~ is another picture of a dandy, namely Pendennis, at the Epsom races. "There he stood with a black crape to his white hat and jet buttons in his shirt front; and a pink in his coat,with the tightest lavender-coloured gloves sewn with black; and the smallest of canes. (2)

(1) "Vanity Fair", chap. III.

(2) "Pendennis", chap. LXXV.

While the dandies were disporting themselves at the clubs or at Almack's, the more democratic set were enjoying themselves at the Coal Hole, at Evans, at the Cyder Cellars or other night clubs. "These haunts were appropriate to their entertainment. They were commonly long rooms along the first floor of public houses, and while the chairman smiled blandly at the end of a long table and flourished a pretentious cigar, his customers supped or sipped their brandy and water. For many years there were no regular singers, 'visitors' obliged." One singer was Ross, famous for his song of 'Sam Hall' to be sung at ^{two} 2 A. M. While the men seemed to find their pleasure at the clubs and taverns, the women, if they aspired to move in society, after their daily drive in the park, spent their time in visiting and doing fancy work. In 1833 Bazaars were the new social excitement. (1) This developed the 'passion' for fancy work, as well as made for greater sociability, for everybody talked to everybody as at a masquerade.

The dress of the women up to 1815 had been the long clinging skirts. After that time, the skirts were becoming short, wide and over trimmed. The characteristic garment was the pelisse, something like a long cape. At first women wore the smallest of bonnets, but by 1827 they were as big as umbrellas. By 1837 "the favourite form was a wide skirt lined with stiff muslin, Vivid and inharmonious colors were

(1) "Social England" - H. D. Trail.

fashionable. A well dressed lady is described as wearing a blue satin robe, black and violet mantelet lined with blue satin and trimmed with black lace and an emerald green hat trimmed with blond and roses as well as ribbon and feathers."(1)

This description reminds us of Mrs. Bungay in "Pendennis" who wore on one occasion 'a gorgeous shot silk dress, which flamed with red and purple; a yellow shawl, and red flowers inside her bonnet, and a bright blue parasol'. (2)

In the world of the elite, Lady Blessington's Salons were the meeting place of the wits and of the dandies. She was a literary woman, as well as a charming hostess - and gathered about her such men as Wellington, Disraeli, Lander, Liszt, Dickens, Thackeray.

These early years saw the rise of the middle class, who while pretending to be democratic were striving to enter charmed portals of society. Thackeray was much amused at the struggles of these ambitious climbers and portrayed them and their pretences in such characters as Barnes Newcome, Maria Newcome, Blanche Amory and Major Pendennis.

Hyde Park was the social parade ground. Here were to be found ladies driving in their fashionable landaus, the dandies in their tilburys or curricles. Not everyone could enter in Hyde Park; the middle and lower classes were excluded at the fashionable hours. In Thackeray's Novels there

(1) "Social England" H. D. Trail, p. 234.

(2) "Pendennis" XXXIII chap.

are constant references to ladies driving in the park. "Mrs. Clive Newcome had a neat close carriage for evenings, and a splendid barouche to drive in the park. It was pleasant to see this equipage at four o'clock driving up to Bay's, (1) with Rosey most gorgeously attired reclining within; and to behold the stately grace of the old gentleman, and the bow he made before he entered her carriage. Then they would drive round the park; round and round; and the old Generals and the old Colonels and old fogies and their ladies and daughters, would nod and smile out of their carriages as they crossed each other upon this charming career of pleasure!" (2) Then in "Vanity Fair" there is a picture of little George Osborne riding in Hyde Park with Martin the coachman behind him.

Thus it is by these little vignettes that Thackeray brings before us a picture of the England of the 1820's and 1830's.

It is in this London that Thackeray places his characters, letting his puppets show the life of the times. He gives them many of his experiences and his thoughts, and makes the childhood of many of his men characters coincide with his own.

"The Newcomes" is definitely located in time in the first quarter of the nineteenth century for Pendennis the supposed narrator of the book, speaks of Clive's being brought as a child after the Christmas vacation of 182- to the Grey

(1) White's - a fashionable club in St. James.

(2) "Book of Snobs" chap. 2.

Friars School. This was the Charterhouse in Smithfield, to which as a child Thackeray himself went. "My father, "writes his daughter, in her introduction to "The Newcomes" (1) "went to Grey Friars in January 1822; little Clive Newcome must have been sent there about 1826." In the book Clive becomes an artist, marries and struggles against poverty; and after some years regains happiness.

Here and there throughout the book there are chance references to dates, e.g. Colonel Newcome evidently returning^{ed} to England in the thirties, for he made the acquaintance of his sister-in-law in 183- 'a stout lady, with fair hair and a fine bonnet and pelisse'.

Then again there is the account of an election. From the context, the reader might imagine this to be the time of the Reform Bill of 1832. Sir Barnes Newcome went down to Newcome, his supposedly ancestral seat, to run for Parliament. There he was opposed by his honourable old uncle, the Colonel, who believed in the House of Commons, in fair play, in decency of living and for giving every ~~man~~^{MAN} who could read or write the vote. By the terms of the bill, (2) "the franchise in the counties, was extended to copyholders and long lease holders of lands worth £10 a year.....But it is reckoned that under the bill only one person out of every twenty two of the whole population had a vote."

(1) Biographical Edition, p. XXII.

(2) "The Groundwork of British History", p. 611.

From these references it would seem that the period of "The Newcomes" is between ~~from~~ 1828- and some time in the thirties. Thackeray is not perfectly consistent in his time; for during the election Colonel Newcome refers to himself as an officer, bearing Her Majesty's commission. Of course the election may not have been that of 1832; or the writer may have been using a writer's privilege with regard to time.

"Pendennis" which is said to be 'a blurred reflection of the author', begins evidently in the reign of George IV or William IV, for Major Pendennis is described on the opening page as wearing "linen so spotless that Mr. Brummel himself asked the name of his laundress, and would probably have employed her, had not misfortunes compelled that great man to leave the country. Beau Brummel as we remember had to leave England in 1835 because of Debt. The the Major's costume fixes the period for he wore "a checked morning cravat, a buff waistcoat, which bore the name of his sovereign on the buttons."

Pen's experiences were Thackeray's and were chronologically the same. He, too, was sent to the Charterhouse School, where he evidently had the same hated teacher Dr. Russell. We remember that when Major Bendennis arrived, the learned Doctor was delivering invectives on the idleness and stupidity of young Arthur, prophesying the awful disgrace attached to the parents of such a boy. This sounds like young Thackeray's own report, where he likens Dr. Russell to 'a lion giving a mighty roar'.

Pen's life in journalism and the friends he met at the

taverns have been identified with the "Fraserians", e.g. Maginn and the men who wrote for "Fraser's" established in 1830.

Then again there is mention of the railways.(1)
Young Pendennis is represented as fuming and fretting "until the arrival of the evening train to London". Again we read of Pen's writing to his uncle that he has sold three of his fields at Fair Oaks to the Railroad Company at a great figure. This may refer to the wave of speculation which was beginning.

The setting of "Vanity Fair" is earlier by a decade than that of the other books. It begins thus: "while the present century was in its teens". The world of events is introduced only so far as it affects the characters. At the Sedley dinner table, the talk is of "war and glory, and Bony, and Lord Wellington and the last Gazette."

Old Sedley's failure may be attributed to the depression beginning to set in after the long struggle with Napoleon. Waterloo is introduced as a background for the characters, and the brilliant life led at Brussels. Apart from these there are references to the 'hideous military frogged coat and cocked hat' of the officers. In the background we are conscious of stirring events in India. We know that Lord Hastings in the years 1814-1823 was enlarging the boundaries of British India, but all the reader knows of this is from Dobbin's Periodical furloughs and Jos. return in affluence. Of the agitation for the Reform Bill there is only the merest reference. "As all idea of a peerage was lost, Sir Pitt and his family resided in

(1) Liverpool and Manchester about 1824
London and Birmingham 1833

"Social England"

the country.

Of the doings of the king and court, of the unhappy estrangements of George III from his sons, there is only the mere suggestion. In "Vanity Fair" comparison is made of the attitude of Lord Steyne's son to his father with that of the 'Crown Prince in opposition to the crown or hankering after it'.

In "The Book of Snobs" Thackeray deliberately begins; "Long since at the commencement of the reign of her present gracious Majesty, it chanced 'on fair summer evening', as Mr. James would say, that three or four young gentlemen were drinking a cup of wine after dinner at the hostelry called the "King's Arms" kept by Mistress Anderson in the Royal Village of Kensington". Thus again the time is definitely stated. In this book there is a miniature picture clear and vivid of the class of people Thackeray describes; those 'well-fed opulent folk' who live in the West End, and who frequent the Clubs and the Parks. "

"At six o'clock in the full season when the world is in St. James's Street, and the carriages are cutting in and out among the cabs on the Strand, and the tufted dandies are showing their listless faces out of White's; and you see respectable grey-headed gentlemen waggling their heads to each other, through the plate glass windows of Arthur's; and the red-coats wish to be Briarean, so as to hold all the gentlemen's horses; and that wonderful red-coated royal porter is sunning himself before Marlborough House; at the noon of London time,

you see a light yellow carriage with black horses, and a coachman in a light floss silk wig, and two footmen in powder and white and yellow liveries." (1) By such word pictures of the appearances of the streets and people Thackeray brings before the readers of succeeding generations the days that were.

Thackeray has produced a great and solid performance in literature. "He conveys with much force the sense of a past which is indeed far away, but which yet is,- not only was - alive. His method is rather that of an accurate humorous old family solicitor who takes snuff and moralizes. We get a highly persuasive picture of the social fabric of the course of the generations, and of the hard forgotten facts in which living passions may still be rooted. He is of those who seek to present men, women and children as they really are, in clear daylight and without chromatic fringes." (2)

(1) "Book of Snobs" chap. XXXIV.

(2) "A Survey of English Literature" Vol. II, chap. V (10/12)

Chapter III.

THE REFLECTION OF LONDON IN THACKERAY'S NOVELS.

Thackeray well knew the value of local color for creating an interesting atmosphere to his books. For this posterity owes him a debt of gratitude, for his writings preserve to us the London of the early nineteenth century.

"London was always shining in his inner eyes. He loved London and no man was better acquainted with it, but his London had its limits. It was the London of the man about town; not that of the antiquarian, or of the topographer, for he knew little of the northern suburbs; the Thames was his southern boundary. Probably he never ventured into the East End. His town stretched from Holland Park in the west to Clerkenwell in the east; and it embraced the royal borough of Kensington; the aristocratic region of Mayfair, the Clubland of St. James's, the Strand, the Temple, Covent Garden, and the unfashionable district of Bloomsbury. The districts in which he lived, the inns of the court in which he had chambers; the Bohemian haunts he frequented, the clubs to which he belonged all are impressed into his service, even as were the experiences of his life and the people he knew. Lady Ritchie has related that walking beside her, he would point out the houses in which he imagined the creatures of his brain to have lived; e.g. the Osborne's

House in Russell Square, Colonel Newcome's in Fitz Roy Square, or Becky Sharp's at 201 Curzon Street." (1) Let us examine at length this clearly defined literary chart and illustrate from the writer's novels these land marks. We shall also try to correlate Thackeray's homes with the localities he used for his books.

As a child of six he was sent to Dr. Turner's School in Chiswick Mall, south and west of Hyde Park. Here he was so thoroughly miserable that he tried to run away but being frightened by the great Hammersmith Road and not knowing where to go, he ran back again, with no one being the wiser. His daughter Lady Ritchie seems to think that this school was the same building that he describes for Miss Pinkerton's Academy - really Walpole House identified by its great iron gates, This house was once the home of Charles II's favorite Barbara Ferrers, later that of Horace Walpole, and is now ~~by~~ Mr. Herbert Beerbohm Tree the famous actor. (2) The picture in "Vanity Fair" of the two girls Amelia Sedley, and Becky Sharp, leaving Miss Pinkerton's Academy, is the first scene in the book. Then amid the grief of the little orphan, Laura Martin, and the hysterical "Joops" of Miss Swartz, the parlor boarder, 'Sambo' of the bandy legs slammed the door of the coach on his young mistress, and mounted up 'behind the fat horses and the blazing

(1) "Thackeray's London" by Lewis Melville, in "The Century Magazine", 1911, Vol. LXXXII.

(2) "The Thackeray County" p. 30.

harness'. Just as the carriage drove away, Becky threw back Johnson's dictionary with the words, "So much for the dictionary, thank God, I'm out of Chiswick."

Thackeray, after Dr. Turner's School in Chiswick Mall, went to the Charterhouse in January 1822, situated in the Smithfield district. Centuries before, the market had been the jousting-ground for the knights and squires. The name 'Giltspur' a street leading to Smithfield recalls the shining paraphernalia of chivalry. The Charterhouse, a corruption of Chartreux was originally a Carthusian monastery founded in 1371 by Sir Walter de Manny "a very gentil and parfyte knyghte", who came with Queen Philippa. After the dissolution of the monasteries, it passed into the possession of various noble men. When it was called "Howard House", Elizabeth visited its owner. (1) Various Howards owned the estate, but its last noble owner requiring money sold it in 1611 to Sir Thomas Sutton, a wealthy commoner of philanthropic nature. He made a provision in his will that there should be founded a hospital for eighty impoverished "gentlemen by descent, and in poverty," and a school for forty boys. For over three hundred years, (2) the curfew bell has been rung each night at nine, the number of strokes corresponding with the number of resident brethren. (3) The hospital has now, because of financial depreciation, only sixty poor brothers, and the school was removed to Godalming in 1872. (3)

(1) August 6, 1568.

(2) The tercentenary of Sutton's death was commemorated Dec. 12, 1912. "London" Guide Book, Ward Lock Co. p. 214.

(3) "Unnoticed London" 151 et seq. E. Montizambert.

In "Vanity Fair", there is a description of the school. "It had been a Cistercian convent in old days, when the Smithfield, which is contiguous to it was a tournament ground. Obstinate heretics used to be brought thither for burning hard by. Henry VIII, the Defender of the Faith, seized upon the Monastery, and hanged and tortured some of the monks who could not accommodate themselves to the pace of his reform. Finally a great merchant bought the house and land adjoining, in which with the help of other wealthy endowments of land and money, he established a famous foundation for old men and children. An extra school grew round the old almost monastic foundation which subsists still with its middle-age costume and usages, and all Cistercians pray that it may flourish." (1)

Many have been the famous men who as boys attended the school. Addison and Steele were pupils here, and in the six years 1822-1828 such men as Thackeray, Leech, George Stovin, Venables and John Murray. It is interesting to read the names of the pupils attending in 1825: "Edmund Law Lushington is captain of the school. In the first form are more Lushingtons, Richard and George Venables, John Murray and Martin Farquhar Tupper. In the second form come the names of Ralph Bernal
Afterwards Bernal Osborne, Francis Beaumont and John Steward Horner. There are other familiar names; e.g. Timmins and Clive. W. M. Thackeray's own place is in the third form, with James

(1) "Vanity Fair" chap. LIII.

Reynold Young, Henry George Liddell is in the fourth. Lower in the school came such names as George Shakespeare, Richmond Shakespeare, and finally in the twelfth among the youngest in the school are John Leech and Alfred Montgomery." (1)

This was the school to which Thackeray sent many of his characters, e.g. Pendennis, Clive Philip and little Rawden Crawley, and wove into their experiences, many of his own escapades.

The best descriptions of the place are in "The Newcomes". On Colonel Newcome's return from India, he visited Grey Friars, his own boyhood school, to see his son. "The Colonel and his son walked the playground together, that gravelly plot, as destitute of herbage as the Arabian desert but nevertheless in the language of the place called the green. They walked the green, and paced the cloisters, and Clive shows his father his own name of 'Thomas Newcome' carved upon one of the arches forty years ago". (2) In the next chapter there is an external view of the school. "There was Cistercian Street (3) (Charterhouse) and the Red Cow of his youth; there was the quaint old Grey Friars Square (4) with its blackened trees, and gardens, surrounded by ancient houses of the build

(1) "Biographical Introduction to "Pendennis", p. XV.

(2) "The Newcomes", chap. VI.

(3) Charterhouse Street.

(4) Charterhouse Square.

of the last century, now slumbering like pensioners in the sunshine. "Under the archway of the hospital he could look at the old Gothic building, and a black gowned pensioner or two crawling over the quiet square, or passing from one dark arch to another. The boarding-houses of the school were situated in the square, hard by the more ancient buildings of the hospital. A great noise of shouting, crying, clapping forms and cupboards, treble voices, bass voices poured out of the school boy's windows: their life, bustle and gaiety contrasted strangely with the quiet of those old men, creeping along in their black gowns under the ancient arches yonder, whose struggle of life was over, whose hope and noise and bustle had sunk into that grey calm. There was Thomas Newcome arrived at the middle of life, standing between the shouting boys and the tottering seniors, and in a situation to moralize on both." (1) In chapter seventy-five there is a clear yet beautiful description of the old school - particularly of the chapel: ↗

"The death-day of the founder of the place is still kept solemnly by Cistercians. In their chapel, where assemble the boys of the school, and the fourscore old men of the Hospital, the founder's tomb stands a huge edifice, emblazoned with heraldic decorations and clumsy carved allegories. There is an old Hall, a beautiful specimen of the architecture of James's time - an old Hall? Many old halls, old staircases, old passages, old chambers decorated with old portraits, walking in the midst of which we walk, as it were in the early

(1) "The Newcomes" - chap. VII.

seventeenth century. To others than Cistercians, Grey Friars is a dreary place possibly. Nevertheless, the pupils educated there love to revisit it; and the oldest of us grow young again for an hour or two as we come back to those scenes of childhood.

"The custom of the school is, that on the 12th of December, the Founder's Day, the head gown-boy shall recite a Latin oration in praise "Fundatoris Nostri", and upon other subjects; and a goodly company of old Cistercians is generally brought together to attend this oration, after which we go to chapel and hear a sermon, after which we adjourn to a great dinner, where old condisciples meet, old toasts are given and speeches made; Before marching from the oration - all to chapel, the stewards of the day's dinner, according to old fashioned rite, have wands put into their hands, walk to church at the head of the procession, and sit there in places of honour. The boys are already in their seats with smug fresh faces, and shining white collars: The old black-gowned pensioners are on their benches, the chapel is lighted, and Founder's Tomb with its grotesque carvings, monsters, heraldries, darkles and shines with the most wonderful shadows and lights. There he lies, Fundator Noster, in his ruff and gown, awaiting the great Examination Day. We oldsters, be we ever so old, become boys again as we look at that familiar old tomb, and think how the seats are altered since we were here, and how the doctor - not the present doctor, the doctor of our time (Dr. Russell) used to sit yonder, and his awful eye used to frighten us shuddering boys, on whom it lightedYonder

sit forty cherry-cheeked boys thinking about home and holidays to-morrow. Yonder sit some threescore old gentlemen pensioners of the Hospital, listening to the prayers and psalms. You hear them coughing feebly in the twilight, - the old reverend blackgowns". (1)

Thackeray himself was present at the Founder's Day service, December 12th, 1863, two weeks before he died. "He was there, in his usual back seat in the quaint old chapel", an eye-witness has recorded. "He went there to the oration in the Governor's room, and as he walked up to the orator with his contribution, was received with such hearty applause as only Carthusians can give to one who has immortalized their school. At the banquet afterwards he sat by the side of his old friend and artist-associate in "Punch", John Leech, and in a humorous speech proposed as a toast, the noble foundation which he had adorned by his literary fame, and made popular in his works. (2)Divine service took place at four o'clock, in the quaint old chapel, and the appearance of the brethren in their black gowns, of the old stained glass and carving in the chapel, of the tomb of Sutton, could hardly fail to give a peculiar and interesting character to the service. Prayers were said by the Rev. J. J. Halcombe, the Reader of the House. There was only the usual parochial chanting of the "Nunc Dimittis", the familiar Commemoration Day psalms CXXII and C,

(1). "The Newcomes", chap. LXXV.

(2) Visitors are admitted to services, week days, 9.30 and 6.; Sundays 8 and 11, "London Guide" - Ward

were sung after the third collect, and before the service; and before the General Thanksgiving the old prayer was offered up expressive of thankfulness to God for the bounty of Thomas Sutton, and of hope that all who enjoy it might make a right use of it. The sermon was preached ~~was~~ by the Rev. Henry Earle Tweed, in which he desired the congregation to pray generally for all public schools and colleges, and particularly for the welfare of the House founded by Thomas Sutton for the support of age and the education of youth." (1)

Thackeray's books have made the Charterhouse, called in his books: 'Slaughter House', Grey Friars and White Friars, famous, and in return, the old school has as one of its proudest monuments, the tablet to

"Gulielmo Makepeace Thackeray
Carthusiani Carthusiano!"

Thackeray left the school in 1828. He proceeded to Cambridge, where he made some life long friendships, notably with Edward Fitzgerald, the Tennysons, Brookfield Monckton Milnes, John Allen and Kinglake. Here he did not distinguish himself, and left without taking a degree to travel in Europe. His experiences in Weimar he translated into his novels, notably the Pumpernickel scenes of Vanity Fair.

On his return to England, he determined to study law and read for a while with Mr. Toprell, a well known Conveyancer of the Temple. This pleader lived at No. 1 Hare Court, and Thackeray had his chambers at No. 2 Brick Court

(1) Quoted from "The Thackeray Country" pp. 40-41, Lewis Melville.

where Goldsmith had lived. He felt that his duty was to enter a profession; in a letter to his mother from Germany, 1831, he says: "I am nearly twenty years old. At that time my father had been for five years engaged on his profession. I am fully aware how difficult and disagreeable my task must be for the first four years, but I have an end in view, and an independence to gain." (1) By the autumn of that year he was established as a student in the Temple. He wrote to his stepfather in December 1831: "I go pretty regularly to my pleader's, and sit with him till past five; then I come and read and dine till about nine or past, when I am glad enough to go out for an hour and look at the world". (2)

These are the years that he sees most of his friends: Edward Fitzgerald, Charles and Arthur Buller, John and Henry Kemple, Alfred and Frederick Tennyson and John Allen are often mentioned in his letters. These young men seemed to meet and play together sitting over their brandy and water, discussing as young folks will, men, books and problems of the world. These were the days when he revelled in living, taking in the theatres, walking through Kensington Gardens, visiting the various clubs and inns, and taking an interest in the agitation for the Reform Bill.- He was a thoroughly eager and alert young man. Thackeray did not stay long with Mr. Toprell. In May of 1832, he wrote "This lawyer's preparatory education is

(1) Introductions to "Yellowplush Papers", p. XVII.

(2) Introductions to "Yellowplush Papers", p. XVII.

certainly one of the most cold-blooded prejudiced pieces of invention that ever a man was slave to.....A fellow should properly do and think of nothing else than LAW.....Here are hot weather and green trees again, dear mother, but the sun won't shine in Toprell's chambers, and the high stools don't blossom and bring forth buds. O Matutini rores aurae que salubres! I do so long for fresh air and fresh butter, only it isn't romantic. (1)

His liberty soon came. On July 18, 1832, he wrote "Here is the day for which I have been panting so long". He was now of age and his own master.

Before showing how Thackeray used the Temple background, I should like to quote from a "London Guide book: "The Temple is one of the most interesting places in London. Between busy Fleet Street and the broad embankment are a venerable church, Gothic halls, piles of stately buildings, dull old quadrangles, spacious lawns, trees and flower gardens and a shady nook where plays a little fountain in the midst of rockeries and flowers. The Temple has the flavor of a university town, mingled with associations of old crusading times and the literary history of the eighteenth century.....

"In 1185 the Knights Templars, that remarkable Order which so successfully combined the priestly and military characters, removed from Holborn to the banks of the Thames, and built the famous church. Almost two centuries later

(1) Introduction "The Memoirs of Mr. C. J. Yellowplush" Centenary edition, pp. XXXI - II.

the rival Order of St. John of Jerusalem - the Hospitallers - became possessors of the property, and in 1346 leased it to the doctors and students of the law who have ever since with characteristic tenacity retained it.....The heraldic device of the Inner Temple is a winged horse (Pegasus) that of the Middle Temple, the holy land, (Agnus Dei).

"It is very restful to stroll for a while through the various courts and quadrangles with their interesting associations. It was in Fountain Court that Ruth Pinck of Dickens' "Martin Chuzzlewit" was accustomed to meet her brother Tom, "with the best little laugh upon her face that ever played in opposition to the fountain and beat it all to nothing"Of the host of eminent names, legal and otherwise, associated with the Temple, may be mentioned Raleigh, Pym, Ireton, Beaumont, Wycherly, Banks, Sheridan, Moore and Cowper. Dr. Johnson had rooms in the Inner Temple; and Charles Lamb was born in Crown Office Row." (1) Thackeray knew this part well for he had chambers first at No. 2 Brick Court and later in Crown Office Row. In "Pendennis" particularly he gives this atmosphere. Arthur Pendennis sent a note to his uncle, the worthy Major advising him of his residence in Lamb Court, Temple. 'Lamb Court, Temple:- where was it?' At last at about twelve o'clock in the day, the Major found his way to the dingy portal and through dark alleys and archways of dismal courts until he arrived at Lamb Court. If it was dark in

(1) "London" Guide Book, p. 184, Ward Lock.

Pall Mall, what was it in Lamb Court? Candles were burning in many of the rooms there.....It would be impossible to conceive a place more dismal, and the Major shuddered to think that any one should select such a residence....."The feeble and filthy oil lamps, with which the staircases of the Upper Temple were lighted of nights, were of course not illuminating the stairs by day, and Major Pendennis, having read with difficulty his nephew's name under Mr. Warrington's on the wall of No. 6 found still greater difficulty in climbing the abominable black stairs, up the banisters of which, which contributed their damp exudations to his gloves, he groped painfully until he came to the third story. A candle was in the passage of one of the two sets of rooms; the doors were open, and the names of Mr. Warrington and Mr. A. Pendennis were very clearly visible to the Major as he went in." (1)

"Those Venerable Inns (Pump Court and Fountain Court) which have the Lamb and the Flag and the Winged Horse for their ensigns, have attractions for persons who inherit them, and a share of rough comforts and freedom, which men always remember with pleasure,The man of letters can't help but love the place which has been inhabited by so many of his brethren, or people by their creations as real to us at this day as the authors whose children they were - and Sir Roger de Coverley walking in the Temple Garden, and discoursing with Mr. Spectator about the beauties in hoops

(1) "Pendennis" chap. XXIX.

and patches who are sauntering over the grass, is just as lively a figure to me as old Samuel Johnson rolling through the fog with the Scotch gentleman at his heels on their to Dr. Goldsmith's chambers in Brick Court; or Harry Fielding, with inked ruffles and a wet towel about his head, dashing off articles at midnight for the "Convent Garden" Journal while the printer's boy is asleep in the passage.

There is a description of the Temple Gardens that is particularly beautiful in "Pendennis",

"Fashion has long deserted the green and pretty Temple Gardens, in which Shakespeare makes York and Lancaster to pluck the innocent white and red roses which became the badges of their bloody wars,.....Only antiquarians and amateurs care to look at the gardens with much interest, and fancy good Sir Roger de Coverley de Coverley and Mr. Spectator with his short face pacing up and down the road, or dear Oliver Goldsmith in the summer house perhaps meditating on the next "citizen of the world".

"On the Sunday evening, the Temple is commonly calm. The chambers are for the most part vacant; the great lawyers are giving grand dinners at their houses in the Belgravian or Tyburnian districts. Pendennis who had dined alone at a tavern in the neighborhood of the Temple, took a fancy as he was returning home to his chambers, to take a little walk in the gardens, and enjoy the fresh evening air, and the sight of the shining Thames.....The evening was

delightfully bright and calm; the sky was cloudless, the chimneys on the opposite bank were smoking; the wharfs and the warehouses looked rosy in the sunshine and as clean as if they, too, had washed for the holiday, the bells of the multitudinous City churches were ringing to evening prayers - such peaceful Sabbath evening as this, Pen may have remembered in his early days as he paced with his arm around his mother's waist on the terrace before the lawn at home". (1)

It was in the neighborhood of the Temple that Pen carried on his harmless flirtation with the Portress's daughter, Fanny Bolton. "She has a good voice and a pretty face and figure for the stage; and she prepares the rooms and makes the beds and breakfasts for Messrs. Costigan and Bows, in return for which the latter instructs her in music and singing." The Boltons live in Shepherd's Inn "somewhere behind the black gables and smutty chimney stacks of Wych Street, Holywell Street, Chancery Lane. It is approached by curious passages and ambiguous smoky alleys, on which the sun has forgotten to shine.....In a mangy little grass plot in the centre rises up the statue of Shepherd, defended by iron railings from the assault of boys. The Hall of the Inn on which the founder's Arms are painted, occupies one side of the square, the tall and ancient Chambers are carried round other two sides, and over the central archway which leads into Oldcastle Street, and so into the great London thoroughfare." (2)

(1) "Pendennis" chap. XXXIX.

(2) "Pendennis" chap. XLII.

On the third floor lived Captain Costigan, the glorious Fotheringay's father, and Mr. Bows. Here too lived Colonel Altamont and Captain the Chevalier Edward Strong. Where was Shepherd's Inn? (1) Beresford Chancellor believes it to be Lyon's Inn, Wych Street, which had been purchased for law purposes. Lewis Melville, (2) says that Miss G. E. Mitton, an authority on London topography does not believe that Thackeray meant any particular inn. If any, Clement's Inn, because of a statue that used to be in the centre of Clement quad.

From his chambers in Middle Temple, Pendennis used to sally forth to the various inns and theatres, just as did Thackeray with his friends, Tom Taylor, Fitzgerald or Dr. Magim. In his diary there are constant references of dining at Somerset Coffee House, at "Bedford", in Covent Gardens or the King's Head in Fenchurch or Poultry. Then there are references to Covent Garden Theatre to see the "Barber of Seville" (April 2nd, 1832) or Macready in the "Merchant of London".

It will be remembered that Pen used to go "to a hundred queer London haunts" such as the "Fox-under-the-Hill" of the "Fielding's Head", famous for its midnight entertainments. These London coffee houses, will be described in another chapter, as well as the theatre district.

Pendennis, like Thackeray, found himself forced to write for his living. His faithful friend, Warrington, promised

(1) "The London of Thackeray" - E. Beresford Chancellor, p. 125.

(2) "The Thackeray Country" - Lewis Melville, p. 71.

to introduce him to the eminent publisher, Mr. Bungay, formerly of Bacon (1) and Bungay (2). His premises were in "Paternoster Row, a narrow lane behind the north side of St. Paul's church yard, and known the world over in connection with the book trade.....Paternoster Row has several excellent retail and "second-hand" shops and still retains its supremacy as the distributing centre of the trade." (3) Warrington left Pendennis to wait in the street, while he went into the shop. "Pen looked at all the Windows of all the shops; and the strange variety of literature which they exhibit..... Scarce an opinion but has its expositor and its place of exhibition in this peaceful old Paternoster Row, under the toll of the bells of St. Paul." (4)

In connection with his writing for the papers, Pen went to visit Capt. Shandon, (5) who though the editor of Bungay's new journal "The Pall Mall Gazette" (6), was living in

- (1) Perhaps Richard Bentley.
- (2) Colburn the Publisher.
- (3) "London" - a guide book, p. 208, Ward Lock.
- (4) "Pendennis" - chap. XXXI.
- (5) Dr. Wm. Maginn, a versatile improvident Irishman,
"Dictionary of National Biography.
- (6) An imaginery paper.

Fleet Prison. About the corner of Fleet Street and Farringdon
"on a site ^{PARTLY} ~~partly~~ occupied now by the Memorial Hall stood for
many generations the infamous Fleet Prison, for debtors, ren-
dered immortal by Dickens as the scene of the incarceration
of Mr. Pickwick". (1)

Here Pen made his acquaintance with the versatile
Irishman, Captain Shandon. "Pen had never seen this side of
(Fleet Prison for debtors) London life, and walked with no
small interest in at the grim gate of that dismal edifice.
They went through the anti-room, where the officers and janitors
of the place were seated, and passing in at the wicket, entered
the prison. The noise and the crowd, the life and the shouting,
the shabby bustle of the place struck and excited Pen.....
Pen felt as if he were choked in the place, and as if the door
being locked upon him would never let him out". (2) In
connection with the Fleet Prison was Sloman's Spunging (3)
house which stood opposite Lord Eldon's house at 2 Cursitor
Lane,- a by-street of Chancery Lane. Here Rawdon Crawley
was taken the night of Becky's triumph at my Lord Steyne's.

London

Let us leave this part of business/and explore the
residential parts.

After Thackeray's study in the studios of Paris
and his marriage to Miss Isabella Creagh Shawe, he returned

- (1) "London" - a Guide Book, p. 189, Ward Lock.
- (2) "Pendennis" chap. XXXI.
- (3) "A house kept by a Bailiff or Sheriff's officer,
formerly in regular use as a preliminary con-
finement for debtors". ^A New English Dictionary.

to London in 1837. At first he lived with the Carmichael-Smyths at their house 18 Albion Street, Hyde Park, close to the Marble Arch, once the old ^{TVEBURN} ~~by~~ ~~Coram~~ - where public executions took place. (1) From Albion Street, Thackeray and his wife moved to 13 Great Coram Street in the Bloomsbury district. Near by are Russell Square, the Foundling Hospital built by Captain Thomas Coram, and the British Museum.

Lady Ritchie has very happy memories of this street. "I liked the world extremely at that age; the house seemed to me a splendid house, upstairs and downstairs and there were organs constantly playing outside. From the old scraps and notes remaining, I can realize the life he led of which the sunny picture is still before my eyes."..... "Alfred Tennyson used to come there, the Kembles and Mr. Martin, and Edward Fitzgerald (of "Omar Khayyam" fame) stayed there more than once.....The Allens (Archdeacon Allen) lived opposite us". (2)

It was here in 1839 that Thackeray lost a little child. "He has spoken of this time himself in "The Great Haggarty Diamond", Chapter XII.

In this Russell Square lived several members of Major Carmichael-Smyth's family, and it is in this street that Thackeray locates the Sedleys and Osbornes. It was in this Bloomsbury district that young Georgey Osborne went to

(1) "London" Guide Book, p. 140, Ward Lock.

(2) Introduction to "Great Haggarty Diamond" p. XV.

his tutor Rev. Lawrence Veal of Hart Street, who "prepared young noblemen for the universities, the senate and the learned professions".

There is a picture of Amelia years after she had left Russell Square coming back and looking from one of the open windows of the Osborne home, "over the trees of Russell Square, to the old house in which she had been born, and where she had passed so many happy days of sacred youth".

Foundling Church, where the Osborne's used to worship was not far off. Here old Osborne erected a monument on the wall: "Sacred to the memory of George Osborne Junior, Esq., late a Captain in His Majesty's - th regiment of foot, who fell on the 18th of June 1815, aged 28 years, while fighting for his King and country in the glorious victory of Waterloo. 'Dulce et decorum pro patria mori'" (1)

There is a lovely picture of Amelia associated with Russell Square and the Foundling Church: "One Sunday Amelia happened to be walking in Russell Square, when all the bells of the Sabbath were ringing and George and his aunt came out to go to church.....All the bells of the Sabbath were ringing, and she followed them until she came to the Foundling Church into which she went. There she sat in a place whence she could see the head of the boy under his father's tomb stone. Many hundred fresh children's voices rose up there and sang hymns to the Father Beneficent, and little George's soul thrilled with delight at the burst of

(1) "Vanity Fair" - chap. XXXV.

glorious psalmody. His mother could not see him for a while, through the mist that dimmed her eyes." (1)

In Great Russell Street was Montague House, opened in 1759 as the British Museum, but in 1823 - 1847 (2) the new building was erected of Ionic structure. Thackeray admired 'that Catholic dome in Bloomsbury under which our million volumes are housed. What peace, what love, what truth, what beauty, what happiness for all what generous kindness for you and me are here spread out'. (3)

Walking West on Keppel Street from Russell Square we come to Tottenham Court Road. Along this road north is Fitzroy Square, now a depressed neighborhood once the centre of artists' quarters. It was in Fitzroy Square that Colonel Newcome and James Binnie rented a vast but melancholy house with great black passages, a large black stone staircase, a cracked conservatory, and a dilapidated bathroom."

"In those days (Circa 1820) the north side of the square was not built, its completion took place five years later, but the south and east sides had been erected by the Adam brothers during 1790-4. It was at this time and for years after an artistic centre. Eastlake and Ross, the Miniature painter all lived at one time in Fitzroy Square."

The Colonel's house has been identified as No.37 because of the large stone urn over the doorway.

(1) "Vanity Fair". Chap. LIII.

(2) "London" - Guide book. p. 146 - Ward Lock.

(3) "Nil Nisi Bonum".

"The house is vast but, it must be owned, melancholy. Not long since it was a ladies' school in an unprosperous condition. The scar left by Madame Latour's brass-plate may still be seen on the tall black door, cheerfully ornamented, in the style of the end of the last century, with a funeral urn in the centre of the entry, and garlands, and the skulls of rams at each corner." Thackeray gives the fictitious Number 120 but the 'funeral urn' is at No.37.

We know of Thackeray's decided talent for drawing. Indeed he illustrated many of his books, and contributed to "Punch". I suppose it is the artistic side of his nature that he has depicted in Clive Newcome. Of his hero, he says "his great 'forte' decidedly lay in drawing. He sketched the horses, he sketched the dogs, all the servants, from the blear-eyed boot-boy to the rosy-cheeked lass, Mrs. Kean's niece, whom that virtuous housekeeper was always calling to come downstairs."

At No.37 Fitzroy Square Clive Newcome and his artist friends to the amazement of the Colonel discussed, in the critical way of youth the artists and literary men of the day. " They assaulted this Academician and that; laughed at Mr. Haydon, or sneered at Mr. Eastlake, or the contrary; deified Mr. Turner on one side of the table and on the other scorned him as a madman.

But what was all this rapture about a snuffy-brown picture called Titian; this delight in three flabby

nymphs by Rubens and so forth? As for the vaunted antique and the Elgin marbles (1) - it might be that that battered torso was a miracle and that broken-nosed bust a perfect beauty." (2)

London in the thirties was beginning to encourage art. Living and working at this time were such men as Lawrence (3) and Raeburn (4) famous portrait painters; Haydn (5) famous for his historical pictures; such geniuses as Turner (6) 'the supreme master of all the splendour and magic of the heavens'; John Constable (7) for his work in water colors; Sir Edwin Landseer (8) for his unrivalled pictures of animals; Sir Charles

(1) Elgin Marbles - sculptures brought from the Parthenon, Athens, to the British Museum 1816, at the instigation of Thomas Bruce, seventh Earl of Elgin (1766-1841). The removal of the sculptures was greatly criticised.

(2) "The Newcomes". Chap. XIX.

(3) Lawrence 1769 - 1830.

(4) Raeburn 1756 - 1827.

(5) Haydn 1786 - 1846.

(6) Turner 1775 - 1851.

(7) Constable 1776 - 1837.

(8) Landseer 1802 - 1873.

Eastlake (1) elected President of the Royal Academy in 1850; Daniel Maclise (2) noted for his frescoes and such pictures as the "Play Scene in 'Hamlet'."

"These were still the days when art and artists had not migrated from the gloomy studios of unfashionable Bloomsbury to the gleaming palaces of modish Kensington." (3) Because men such as those just mentioned were doing great things and were being knighted, artists began to be recognized.

Of the comfortable Anglo-Indian district of which 'Moira Place is the centre', I can find no trace in any of the guide books or on any of the maps. Thackeray describes it thus:

"Minto Square, Great Clive Street, Warren Street, Hastings Street, Ochterbury Place, Plassy Square, Assaye Terrace ('Gardens' was a felicitous word not applied to stucco houses with asphalt terraces in front, so early as 1827) - who does not know these respectable abodes of the retired Indian aristocracy, and the quarter which Mr. Wenham calls the Black Hole, in a word? Jos.'s position in life was not grand enough to entitle him to a house in Moira Place, where none can live but retired members of the Council, and partners of Indian firms" (4)

From the names of the places called after the East Indian Officers or after battles (fairly recent in 1827);

(1) Eastlake 1793 - 1865

(3) "Social Transformations of the Victorian Age." - p.351-
Escott.

(2) Maclise 1806 - 1870

(4) "Vanity Fair". chap. LXVII.

and from the mention of "stucco", one would locate the district in the new part, North of Oxford towards Marleybone Road.

In 1840, after the terrible malady of his wife, Thackeray left Great Coram Street and went to live in Jermyn Street. Here he worked with unremitting toil to earn money for his family. This street is in Clubland - near to Thackeray's haunts where he learned to know men so intimately and got the news of the West End. At this time he was writing for "Fraser's", "The Pictorial Times" and "Punch".

A little later he moved to 88 St. James's Street, the very heart of Clubland. "No part of London has suffered so little change of atmosphere as St. James's Street and its immediate neighborhood. No area in London has memories more interesting than this, and it is still one of the main arteries of fashion." (1) Here are the clubs, many of which have evolved from the chocolate houses. In this street lived Samuel Rogers at 42 St. James - the scene of famous breakfast parties. Some of his guests used to be Byron, Moore, Sir Walter Scott, Sydney Smith, Disraeli the Younger, Macaulay. (2)

Clubland is that part of London bordered on the North by Piccadilly, on the East by Regent St., on the South

(1) "The Thackeray Country". p. 95 - Lewis Melville.

(2) "The Thackeray Country". p. 96 - Lewis Melville.

by the Mall, on the West by St. James's Street. Here are located Thackeray's own clubs; the "Reform" and the "Athenaeum". In St. James's Street are to be found Brooks', Boodle's, White's. In the year 1848 there were twenty-three clubs outside of the "City". (1) Today there are many times that number.

Thackeray makes use of these clubs as a background for some of his dandies. We remember Major Pendennis used to station himself in the great window at Bays' Club (2) in St. James St. At the hour in the afternoon when a passer-by would see a half-score respectable old bucks similarly recreating themselves. At the time of the Prince Regent, these old fellows occupied the same window and were some of the greatest dandies in this empire". (3) To this same club belonged Colonel Newcome and his foppish nephew Barnes.

Regent Club (4) in St. James' was Rawden Crawley's from whence he sent a card challenging Lord Steyne to a duel. Here, too, there is mention made of the "old bucks and habitue's, who ordinarily stand gaping and grinning out of the great front window of the Club".

(1) "Recollections". Vol. II. p. 1. Edmund Yates.

(2) Probably White's.

(3) "Pendennis". chap. XXXVI.

(4) Probably Brooks's. "Thack. Dictionary". p. 219.

Pendennis joined the "Polyanthus" Club for which he had to pay a membership of 'exactly one-third of his hundred pounds'. Joining a club was the initial step, if one desired to mingle with society.

In "The Book of Snobs", there are a great many clubs mentioned, e.g., "the Union Jack"; the "Sash and Marlin Spike" - Military Clubs; the "True Blue", the "No -Surrender", the "Buff and Blue" - political clubs; the "Brummel" and the "Regent" - dandy clubs. These are fictitious names, but are introduced as a background for the habitues; the "Pall Mall Butterflies" who are in all of Thackeray's books.

"Thackeray as the novelist of the upper classes of society, housed many of his characters in the exclusive area bounded by Bond St. on the East, Oxford St. on the North, Park Lane on the West, and Piccadilly on the South." (1). This district is known as Mayfair and "is a severely aristocratic locality. It houses more famous names to the acre than, perhaps, any other spot in the world". A list of Thackeray's characters that lived here would read like a directory. The mention of a few must suffice. In Park Lane lived Sir Barnes Newcome". (2).

(1) "The Thackeray Country". p. 104. Lewis Melville.

(2) "The Thackeray Country". p. 104. Lewis Melville.

"Once a year Lady Anne Newcome opened her salons for a concert and a ball, at both of which the whole street was crowded with carriages, and all the great world and some of the small were present". (1). Mrs. Hobson Newcome, too, had her parties but Bryanstone Square could not forget the superiority of Park Lane.

In this district Miss Crawley had her well-appointed house. Major Pendennis in his neat quarters in Bury Street, was a visitor in exclusive Mayfair. In Walpole (2) Street, Fred Bayham, J.J. Ridley, Miss Cann and the Rev. Charles Honeyman occupied the same house. The reverend gentleman was the incumbent of Lady Whittlesea's Chapel - where fashionable people attended.

Honeyman, with his affectations and mannerisms is said to be modelled on a well-known and popular preacher. (3). Miss Cann's house, where Honeyman lived, was hard by the "Running Footman", (4) public house, where other "gentlemen's gentlemen have their club". Here is a description of the street:

- (1) "The Newcomes". chap. V.
- (2) Perhaps Market St. - "The London of Thackeray".
p. 130. Beresford Chancellor.
- (3) "The Thackeray Country". p. 105. Lewis Melville.
- (4) In Charles St., Berkeley Square, Mayfair,
"Club Life of London". p. 452. Timbs.

"The reader who has passed through Walpole St.(1) knows the discomfortable architecture of all save the great houses built in Queen Anne's and George the First's time; and while some of the neighbouring streets, to wit, Great Craggs' St., Bolingbroke St., and others, contain mansions fairly coped with stone, with little obelisks before the door, and great extinguishers wherein the torches of the nobility's running footmen were put out a hundred and thirty or forty years ago; - houses which still remain abodes of the quality, and where you shall see a hundred carriages gather of a public night; - Walpole Street has quite faded away into lodgings, private hotels, doctors' houses and the like".

Lady Kew resided in Queen Street, Mayfair, and past her door on his way to the Park the love-sick Clive used to ride attired in splendid raiment.

Several of the characters in "Vanity Fair" lived in ~~Mayfair~~. Sir Pitt Crawley lived in Gaunt St. "Among the most respected of the names beginning in "C", which the "Court Guide" contained in the year 18 - was that of Crawley, Sir Pitt, (2) Baronet, Great Gaunt Street and Queen's Crawley, Hants". (3).

To this house drove Miss Rebecca Sharpe, the new governess to Sir Pitt's family. "Then having passed through

(1) "Vanity Fair". chap. XI.

(2) Probably Lord Rolle.

(3) "Vanity Fair". chap. VII.

Gaunt Square into Great Gaunt Street, the carriage at length stopped at a tall gloomy house between two other gloomy houses, each with a hatchment over the middle drawing-room window, as is the custom of houses in Great Gaunt Street (1) in which gloomy locality death seems to reign perpetual. The shutters of the first floor windows of Sir Pitt's mansion were closed - those of the dining room were partially opened and the blinds neatly covered up in old newspapers". (2).

Years afterwards, Becky Sharpe, now Mrs. Rawdon Crawley, rented from poor Raggles "the residence at No.201 Curzon Street (3) , Mayfair, lately the residence of the Honourable Frederick Deuceace, gone abroad, with its rich and appropriate furniture by the first makers". (4). Here the Rawdon Crawleys lived fashionably "on nothing a year", generously giving their patronage to all of Miss Crawley's tradesmen and purveyors as chose to serve them.

(1) Gaunt Street - supposed to be Hill Street running into Berkeley Square."Thackeray Country". p. 107. Lewis Melville.

(2) "Vanity Fair". chap. VII.

(3) Thought to be on the South side of the Street, near the western end, and only a few doors farther East in which Lord Beaconsfield died at No. 19. The number of the Crawleys house is 39. "The London of Thackeray". p. 95. E. Beresford Chancellor.

(4) "Vanity Fair". chap. XXXVII.

One of the gentlemen callers at Mrs. Crawley's was the rich old roue, Lord Steyne, a seeker after pleasure. "The candles lighted up Lord Steyne's shining bald head which was fringed with red hair. He had been dining with royal personages, and wore his garter and ribbon". (1)

This most Honourable, George Gustavus, Marquis of Steyne, Earl of Gaunt etc., lived in Gaunt Square (2), noted for its plane trees. "Nearly every house in Berkeley Square has a past or present association of interest, the past being especially recalled by the quaint iron-work and the torch extinguishers in front of the door". At No. 17 lived Rowton, Philanthropist, and secretary to "Dizzy". At No. 11 Horace Walpole died in 1797; at No. 45 Clive committed suicide in 1774 (3). "Here the trees are ancient, their branches spreading away close to the ground. The grass seems extra rich and green, as though long laid down. Of a sunny day there is a most picturesque effect from the shade cast on the grass by the branches. We seem to be straying in some old park, and there is a tranquil retired air." (4)

"All the world knows that Lord Steyne's town palace stands in Gaunt Square, out of which Great Gaunt Street

(1) "Vanity Fair"-chap.-XXXVII.

(2) Gaunt Square - probably Berkeley Square -
"The Thackeray Country". p. 107. Lewis Melville.

(3) "London" - Guide Book . p. 118. Ward Lock.

(4) "London by Great Writers". p. 302.

leads Peering over the railings and through the black trees into the gardens of the Square, you see a few miserable governesses with wan-faced pupils wandering round and round it, and round the dreary grass-plot, in the centre of which rises the statue of Lord Gaunt who fought at Minden in a three-cornered wig. Gaunt House occupies three sides of the Square. The remaining three sides are composed of mansions that have passed away into dowagerism, - tall, dark houses with window-frames of stone or picked' out of a lighter red. Little light seems to be behind those lean, comfortless casements now; and hospitality seems to have passed away from those doors as much as the loud lacqueys and link-boys of old times, who used to put out their torches in the blank iron extinguishers that still flank the lamps over the steps.....The Square has a dreary look - nor is my Lord Steyne's palace less dreary. All I have ever seen of it is the vast wall in front, with the rustic columns at the great gate, through which an old porter peers with a fat and gloomy red face - and over the wall the garret and bedroom windows, and the great chimneys, out of which there seldom comes any smoke now." (1) The dreary palace still stands in Berkeley Square - but it is not called Gaunt House. (2). Some people think it to be Lansdowne House in Berkeley Square. Others

(1) "Vanity Fair". Chap. XLVII.

(2) "Thackeray's London". p; 107. Lewis Melville.

take it to be Hertford House (1) in Manchester Square, which ns,
belonged to the Hertford family, but which is now the Wallace
Collection." Lord Steyne's delineation tallies with that of
Francis Charles, third Marquis, who enjoyed the dubious fame
of Thackeray's "Vanity Fair". He was so intimate a friend of
the Regent's that the latter used to visit Steyne frequently.
"The Prince and Perdita have been in and out of that door" on
their private visits.

Mrs. Rawdon Crawley's house, 201 Curzon Street, was
convenient for the Marquis to visit. The most dramatic part of
the book occurs on the memorable night when Lord Steyne writh-
ing under Rawdon Crawley's maddened attack, leaves the house
forever.

In "Pendennis" there is an attractive view of May- d
fair, from Lady Clavering's house evidently at the corner of
Hyde Park and Green Park.

"It was quite daylight yet when the ladies reached
the upper apartments from the flower-embroidered balconies of
which they could command a view of the two Parks, of the poor
couples and children still sauntering in the one (2), and of
the equipages of ladies and horses of dandies passing through
the arch of the other. (3)

(1) "London" Guide Book. p. 118. Ward Lock.

(2) Green Park.

(3) Hyde Park - at that time open only to the gentry.

The sun had not set behind the elms of Kensington Gardens, and was still gilding the statue erected by the ladies of England in honour of His Grace the Duke of Wellington.....The horses and carriages of the nobility and gentry passed by, conveying them to Belgravian toilets; the policeman with clamping feet, patrolled up and down before the Mansion: the shades of evening began to fall: the gasman came and lighted the lamps before Sir Francis' door. From within, you beheld a vision of a calm summer evening, and the wall of St. James's Park, and the sky above, in which a star or two was just beginning to twinkle". (1)

In Thackeray's novels there are numerous references to the Parks particularly to Hyde and St. James'. The usual afternoon drive was that adjoining Rotten Row which was reserved for riders. Colonel Newcome with his pretty niece, Ethel, often went riding in the Row. Rawdon Crawley used to bring his little boy to ride on the little black Shetland pony. Becky's carriage frequently rattled off to the Park where she would chatter and laugh with a score of young dandies lounging by the Serpentine. (2) In the London season, "along the Serpentine trailed thousands of carriages: squadrons of dandy horsemen trampled over Rotten Row". (3) South of Hyde Park was Knightsbridge Road. Long ago two knights of a band, quarrelled and fought on the bridge which spanned the stream

(1) "Pendennis" - chap. XXXVIII.

(2) An artificial sheet of water.

(3) "Pendennis" - chap. XXXVI.

of Westbourne. Both fell in the combat, and the place was ever after called Knightsbridge "in remembrance of their fatal feud." (1) To-day the Barracks is situated on this road, and it is a business section. In the days of "Vanity Fair" there were market gardens. Old Mr. Sedley liked to take his little grandson to see the "red-coats.....and introduced him to many sergeants and others with Waterloo medals on their breasts".

Thackeray knew this district south of Hyde Park, very intimately. It was in this district after a lapse of seven years that he again made his home. He rented an establishment in Young Street. One day laughingly, he remarked to his Secretary: "I'll have a flagstaff put over the coping of the wall, and I'll hoist a standard when I'm at home". Here he wrote "Vanity Fair", "Pendennis" and "Esmond". Some years after, while passing the house, he exclaimed about "Vanity Fair" to an American friend: "Down on your knees, you rogue, for here 'Vanity Fair' was penned, and I will go down with you, for I have a high opinion of that little production myself."

Thackeray lived subsequently in Onslow Place, until he built his fine red mansion at No. 2 Palace Green.

Leaving Kensington, and proceeding further west and south we come to Fulham, Amelia's home after her father's crash. The Sedleys moved from their comfortable Russell Square house to "a wonderful small cottage in a street leading from the Fulham Road - St. Adelaid Villas, Anna-Maria Road, West-

(1) "Quoted from Unnoticed London" - p. 25,
E. Montizambert.

where the houses looked like babyhouses; where the people looking out of the first floor windows, must infallibly as you think sit with their feet in the parlours; where the shrubs in the little gardens in front bloom with a perennial display of little children's pinafores, little red sox, caps etc. (Polyandria Polygynia): whence you hear the sound of jingling spinnets and women singing.....Whither of evenings you see City Clerks padding wearily." (1) It was in these Brompton Lanes that Major Dobbin after an absence of nearly ten years, saw Amelia entering at "the little portal in Kensington Garden wall".

Reference should be made to the Clapham district south of the Thames. Here lived Sophia Alethea Hobson, 'heiress to the pious and childless Zechariah Hobson'. Clapham was the centre of a religious movement and Thackeray represents Sophia Alethea, later Thomas Newcomes' stepmother, being profoundly interested in "awakening the benighted Hottentot to a sense of truth; in converting Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Papists, and guiding the washerwoman in the right way".

Her uncle Zechariah Hobson is supposed by some critics to be Macaulay's father, whose name was Zechariah, who lived in Clapham, and who was interested in religion, and one of the leaders of the anti-slavery party.

"Mrs. Thomas Newcome's (2) Mansion was long the resort of the most favored amongst the religious world. "The most eloquent expounders, the most gifted missionaries, the most interesting converts from foreign islands were to be found at

(1) "Vanity Fair" XVII.

(2) Nee Sophia Alethea Hobson.

her sumptuous tables spread with the produce of her magnificent gardens". As a child, Thomas was transported to this 'serious paradise' surrounded by lawns, gardens, pineries, graperies, aviaries and luxuries of all kinds.

"This paradise, five miles from the Standard at Cornhill, was separated from the outer world by a thick hedge of tall trees, and an ivy-covered Porter's gate, through which those who travelled to London on the top of the Clapham coach could only get a glimpse of the bliss within". (1)

In this district at Denmark Hill lived Dobbin's family, here they had a fine house, and gardens where peaches grew, and a hot-house where were "fine grapes in abundance".

As a summary of the Thackeray Land, William Sharpe's quotation is adequate:

"The Pole centre of Thackeray-land is that Guest-room in the Reform Club in Pall Mall, where the famous portrait of Lawrence still cheers and dignifies. The Thackerayan home country is London - that London bounded by St. Pauls on the East, by Pimlico on the South: the London whose heart is Pall Mall, whose chief arteries are Piccadilly and St. James's Street, and all that mysterious entity of the West End from Jermyn Street - to the 'beyond Gadira' of those Metropolitan Pillars of Hercules - ^{TYBURN} ~~Byburn~~ Gate and Knightsbridge. Above all Thackeray's London consists of Belgravia as Vanity Fair Avenue."

In absence Thackeray ever longed to return; never wished

(1) "The Newcomes" - chap. II.

to live beyond the frontiers of St. James's Street on the East,
of Kensington on the West". (1)

(1) "The Literary Geography" p. 87. Wm. Sharpe.

Chapter IV.

THE REFLECTION OF SOCIAL LIFE IN THACKERAY'S NOVELS.

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, life in London, except for the aristocracy, was strenuous for most people. The City merchants were absorbed in their business, and usually lived over the premises. "In the West End lived the aristocracy who yearly came up to their residences in the Capital, but who took no interest in its affairs". (1) There was a distinct line of cleavage between the West End and the "City". "In private life, the merchants never aspired to associate with the aristocracy.....There was an unbridged gulf between the moneyed plebeian and the aristocrat who danced at Almacks, played at White's, and commanded his troop in the Life Guards. A city man's ambition was to be a director of the East India Company or of the Bank of England, a member of the Court of Alderman or perhaps Lord Mayor. His sons could not be admitted to embassies or obtain commissions in crack regiments, nor oust landed gentry from the soil." (2)

During the Napoleonic wars, some of the merchants massed great wealth, and began to build fine houses in the new Western and Northern districts of the town. The Sedleys

(1) "London 1837-1897" - p. 16, Laurence Gomme.

(2) "The Merry Past", p. 206, Ralph Nevill.

built a fine house in Russell Square, (1) away from the scene of business and Sir Brian Newcome had a large mansion in Park Lane, Mayfair.

aristocrats

Furthermore, impoverished/were marrying their daughters to wealthy merchants. These marriages tended to break down class distinctions, but the process was slow, for the noblemen looked with condescen^{sion}/ on the members of their class, who they considered lost caste by associating with trade. In Thackeray's books there are several examples of these marriages, e.g. that of Lady Ann, daughter of the Duchess of Kew, to Brian Newcome; Lady Clara Pulleyn to Barnes Newcome, or Lady Agnes, daughter of Lord Rosherville to Foker the wealthy brewer.

The struggles of the business class to enter society; the fine airs of the nobility, and the superiority of successful tradespeople towards those who were still climbing provided Thackeray with infinite material for his books. George Hudson, 'the railway king' is an example of one who had risen from plebeian rank. Through the mania for railway speculation, he became exceedingly wealthy. He associated with the most elite, and no other vehicle attracted more attention in Hyde Park than "did the ^{GORGEOUS} ~~georgous~~ chariot containing the happy man, with drab colored wiry hair, who had not only made a fortune himself, but had been the cause of

(1) Russell Square, made 1801-1804, "The London of Thackeray", p. 84.

others rolling in wealth scarcely less than his own". (1) Hudson's dinner table, and Mrs. Hudson's reception rooms were graced habitually by such great men as the Duke of Wellington, the Duke of Cambridge and occasionally by other princes of the blood.

Thackeray, however, seldom refers to those who got rich through railway speculation. There is a casual reference to it in "Pendennis" where the hero has a chance of selling part of his estate to a railway company. Still, on the whole, the following remark is true of the times 1810-1837: "Society commenced to take a frenzied interest in City Concerns. West End Clubs began to deal with nothing but stocks, shares and 'swindlers'. They gathered in groups to discuss African mines, brewery companies, soap concerns, railway companies doomed to disaster. Thousands of worthless undertakings were launched upon the market". (2)

We get evidences of the latter remark in the Independent West Diddlesex (3) Company and in the failure of the Bundelcund Banking Company. (4) This last reference may be an illusion to the period of over-speculation, about 1825, when a number of joint stock companies were formed, many of them by dishonest persons.....Bubble Companies burst, credit contracted, every

(1) "Social Transformations of the Victorian Age, p. 6. Escott.

(2) "Piccadilly to Pall Mall", Ralph Nevill.

(3) "Great Haggarty Diamond".

(4) "The Newcomes".

one began to call in money. (1) Speaking generally, however, "the period of 1815 - 1832" (the time of many of Thackeray's novels) was a period of distinct though slow progress." (2)

Because of this financial progress, there was that persistent striving on the part of middle class people, to be admitted to the same social standing as the aristocracy. Fenimore Cooper, the American Novelist, (3) visiting in England in 1831, remarked on London's Society: "A looker-on here has described the social condition of England to be that of a crowd ascending a ladder in which every one is tugging at the skirts of the person above, while he puts his foot on the neck of him beneath". (4)

Cooper goes on to say, "I know a Lord by his knock, as one would know Velluti by his touch. A peer shall knock louder than a commoner." (5) He then gives advice to a commoner to beware of too much state especially of cockades and canes. "Not only every man, woman and child seems to have his or her place in England, but every coach, every cane, every wig." (6)

(1) "Social England", p. 90-91. H. D. Trail.

(2) "Social England", p. 94, H. D. Trail.

(3) "1789 - 1851".

(4) "Gleanings from Europe", Fenimore Cooper, p. 82.

(5) "Gleanings from Europe", Fenimore Cooper, p. 83.

(6) "Gleanings from Europe", Fenimore Cooper, p. 127.

The passing of the Reform Bill in 1832 sounded the knell of the landed aristocracy. Then (1) "the middle class entered into the Promised Land, and took their share of the Government." Yet despite their equal franchise, the middle class, although not admitting the claim still considered the aristocracy superior, and hence were willing to submit to the contemptuous tolerance of the Lord. "The Whig Nobility considered themselves divinely appointed to rule the country and to dictate to the sovereign.....The county families held themselves aloof from the town; and barely tolerated the professional class: the clergy, barristers and medical men." (2)

Is it any wonder then that Thackeray with his clear eyes, was amused by the pettiness of people, and that he with his ready pencil and clever pen delineated the "Snobs of England?"

We see signs of this caste system in "Pendennis" in the attitude taken to Dr. Pendennis or to the Rev. Smirke. As a consequence of these social strata, supposed to have been broken by the implied equality of the Reform Bill, "there was a fierce fight to get into society". (3) A decade after the Reform Bill, the "Walls of Good Society began to quake at the trumpet sound of Wealth".

(1) "Social Life In England" - 1750-1850, chap, VII.
Jackson.

(2) "Social Life In England" - 1750-1850, Jackson.

(3) "Social Life In England" - 1750-1850, p. 284,
Jackson.

In the study of this early nineteenth century, one finds a great many outstanding people. G. K. Chesterton states the same thing about the London of the period: "This is the difficulty of the town: that personality is so compressed and packed into it that we cannot realize its presence."

The influence of George IV as Regent or as king and of William the IV was negligible in comparison with that of other great people. As their court life was not a thing to be approved of, society got its tone from the great hostesses and the beaux who frequented their salons. (2) "Exclusiveness was still the golden rule of society in London. The test of membership of the fashionable world was a ticket of admission to Almack's. The London patronesses who held the keys of this seventh heaven were known to be inflexible. Admission to the opera also was by ticket, requiring the voucher of a lady patroness". (3)

"The most successful "salons" were those of (4) Lady Blessington, and of Lady Holland."

Lady Blessington had been a beautiful and fascinating girl, but her youth had been most unhappy. As the wife of the Earl of Blessington, she had travelled and mingled with many people, among whom was Byron. After her husband's death, she and her son-in-law, Count D'Orsay, gathered about them

(1) "Literary London".

(2) "Social England" - Trail, p. 97.

(3) "Social England" - H. D. Trail, p. 99.

(4) Born Ireland 1789- died. 1849.

at Seamore Place and later at Gore House, Kensington, a host of all the brilliant and learned in London. Here were to be found poets, novelists, musicians, actors, publishers and journalists. Such men - for the prudish women of that day did not approve of her - as Milnes, Dickens, Wellington, Disraeli, Buliver Lytton, Thackeray, Walter Savage Landor, Macready, Macaulay, Liszt, Haydn attended her salons. Haydn was right when he said "Everybody goes to Lady Blessington's. While most of the London women of her day are lost in oblivion "the most gorgeous Lady Blessington" is remembered, not only for her own literary contributions, (1) but for the eminent men who were her friends.

In her household lived Count Alfred D'Orsay, the husband of her stepdaughter. He was a fascinating young Frenchman (2) who came to London in 1821. He was born to be admired. "No brighter youth danced in satin breeches at Almack's; none gayer gave delicious suppers in the lamp-lit bowers of Vauxhall Gardens. Tall, vigorous, bright-eyed and winsome, generous to extravagance, and sweet natured, he was the very beau ideal of a leader of fashion." (3)

D'Orsay was generally harassed by want of money, but as Lord Lamington said, who admired his proud reserve, "his great quality of self command enabled him to bear his own burden without inflicting the history of his sorrows on

- (1) Lady Blessington (1789-1849) was editor of "The Book of Beauty", the "Keepsake", and "Flowers of Loveliness", as well as for her "Conversations with Lord Bryon".
- (2) 1801-1853.
- (3) Quoted from J. Fitzgerald Molloy's Book "The Most Gorgeous Lady Blessington" in "Dandies & Men of Letters" Leon H. Vincient.

others." (1)

D'Orsay must have been a very honourable type of man, or that discerning expert in character - Thomas Carlyle, would not have praised and admired him.

The financial affairs of Lady Blessington and D'Orsay came to a crisis in 1849, when they were declared insolvent. An auction sale of furniture and costly jewels was held in "Gore House". (2), Thackeray's anger was aroused by the twenty thousand people who for three days prior to the sale came to see the house. "Gore House is full of snobs looking at the furniture." His sympathy was reported to the Countess by her butler. "M. Thackeray est venu aussi. Il avait les larmes aux yeux en partant. C'es peut - etre la seule personne que j'ai vu réellement affectee' a votre depart."

(3) Lady Holland's "omnium - gatherums" were more cosmopolitan and more political in tone. Between 1799-1840, there was scarcely an Englishman of any distinction in politics, science or literature who had not been a guest at "Holland House!" (4) With her, lived the beautiful Marie Fox, about whose identity there was so much mystery.

John Van Buren, son of the President of the United States was visiting in London at this time. He wrote of these

- (1) "Dandies and Men of Letters" - Leon H. Vincent.
- (2) The Home of Lady Blessington.
- (3) "The Thackeray Country" - p. 140, Lewis Melville.
- (4) "Social England" - p. 99, H. D. Trail.

great London Salons and of people he met. He visited Lady Holland, Crabb Robinson and attended the Duke of Wellington's Ball given in Apsley House in honour of the Coronation. "The Duke of Wellington is decidedly the first person in England, the Queen not excepted." (1) He noticed at the Palace, Apsley House, was filled with rich pictures and furnished magnificently. He was amused to find the rooms crowded with busts of "le petit caporal".

Of all the dandies of the salons, none, was so famous as (2) 'Beau Brummel', the friend of George the Fourth, and the masculine aristocrat of society. He lived at No. 4 Chesterfield Street, Mayfair. His menage was small but perfect. He loved costly furniture, fine china, handsome table ornaments and had 'an old maid's' passion for buhl. All his life he had been the friend of the great e.g. The Duchess of York, Duchess of Devonshire, Lady Hester Stanhope.

(3) "He was the best dressed man in London. Simplicity and unobtrusive elegance were his ideals. To attract notice by conspicuousness in dress was, in his opinion, the most mortifying experience a man could have..... He used to say "no perfume but very fine linen, plenty of it, and country washing". (4) He appeared in 1832 at an evening party,

(1) "John Van Buren in England"- Scribner's Magazine
Vol. 40, 1906.

(2) 1778-1833- "Dandies and Men of Letters" p. 370.
Leon H. Vincent.

(3) 1778-1833- "Dandies and Men of Letters" p. 18,
Leon H. Vincent.

(4) Ibid.

in a blue coat with velvet collar, black trousers and boots. His white neck cloth was perfect. A plain gold ring, a massive chain (only a few links visible) and consular buttons, opera hat and gloves carried in the hand."

A dandy in the Regency passed his time at the dressing table, the club, the theatre, the opera, at assemblies at Almack's, and his week ends at country houses." (1)

Brummell was arrested for debt in 1835, and after his release went to live in France. Here he gradually declined until his last days. During his imbecility, he used to light candles for phantom receptions, and have phantom guests announced.

The Beau Brummell type of man amused and fascinated Thackeray 'who dearly loved a dandy'. "He liked to describe their dress and habits, to laugh at their petty affectations and monstrous vanities.e.g. Major Pendennis, Harry Foker, the Honourable Percy Popjoy and Captain Sumph."

It is to be remembered, however, that while "the age had its imbecile Georges, its silly fops and its foolish beaux, men like Nash, Brummell and Sheffington, yet it produced great spirits: Sheridan, Collingwood, Disraeli, Gladstone, the witty Moncton Milnes and Napoleon the third".

One of the notable personalities of the age a 'beau', yet a worker, was Samuel Rogers, (2) the 'banker-poet', and connoisseur of art. He was a man of "perpetual youth and untiring nature." many a man whp misunderstood his real

(1) "Dandies and Men of Letters", p. 24.

(2) 1763 - 1855.

nature because of his bitter words, laughed at his love for beauty and harmony.

His house at 22 St. James's Place was the scene of many famous breakfasts. Here he gathered his friends among whom were Lord John Russell, Luttrell, Thomas More, Crabb Robinson, Thackeray and Ruskin. Rogers himself was no mean poet. Among his writings may be mentioned "The Pleasures of Memory" and "Italy". "He was emphatically the poet of taste. His writings while full of allusion and finished description, lack passion and inspiration; they are rather the reflections and memory pictures of a man of high culture and refinement expressed in polished verse." (1)

Thackeray moved in the same society as did these men. He used to dine at the tables of the great and his companionship was sought by such men as the Duke of Devonshire, Sir Robert Peel, or Lord Lansdowne. From society of such eminence, he was able to select his aristocratic heroes and heroines. He well knew from observation and experience the fierce ^{struggle of} the wealthy middle class was making to enter these exclusive circles.

In "Vanity Fair" Thackeray shows the veneration of a purse-proud City Merchant - Mr. Osborne for the society of Mayfair. Osborne was a 'humbly-born' man who had risen to wealth. He liked his son to mingle with the aristocrats, while at the same time he would reprimand him for his extra-

(1). "Dictionary of English Literature" , p. 320.

vagance.

"The old gentleman pronounced these names (Lord Tarquin, Capt. Crawley of the Guards, etc.) with the greatest gusto. Whenever he met a great man he grovelled before him, and my-lorded him as only a free-born Briton can do. He came home and looked out his history in the "Peerage"; he introduced his name into his daily conversation.....He fell down prostrate and basked in him as a Neapolitan beggar does in the sun." (1)

We know that he was ambitious, ^{he said to} for his son "Why shouldn't you marry higher than a stockbroker's daughter, George - that's what I want to know?" Then there is the vulgar haggling over his daughter Maria's wedding to Frederick Bullock, Esq. To be sure young Bullock belonged to the (2) firm of "Hulker and Bullock, a high family of the City aristocracy, and connected with the snobs of the West End. It was something for the old man to be able to say, 'my son, sir, of the house of Hulker, Bullock and Co., sir, my daughter's cousin, Lady Mary Mangs, sir, daughter of the Right Honourable the Earl of Castlemouldy'. In his imagination he saw his house peopled by the 'nobs'. So he forgave young Bullock, and consented that the marriage should take place."

The old man's disappointment and spleen at his daughter's snobbishness to her family was expressed thus: (3)

(1) "Vanity Fair", chap. XIII.

(2) "Vanity Fair", chap. XLII.

(3) "Vanity Fair", chap. XLII.

"So she invites her father and sister to a second day's dinner (if those sides or 'ontrys', as she calls 'em, weren't served yesterday, I'm d---d), and to meet City folks and littery men, and keeps the Earls and the Ladies, and the Honourables to herself? Honourables? Damn Honourables! I am a plain British merchant, I am: and could buy the beggarly hounds over and over, Lords, indeed! - Why, at one of her "swarreys" I saw one of 'em speak to a damn fiddler - a feller I despise".

Thus Mr. Osborne raged at the barriers to society.

Becky Sharp, is one of the type, who by means of the dismal precocity of poverty, instead of raging, deliberately planned to scale the walls of Vanity Fair. To help her to climb she made use of everyone she met and cast that one aside as soon as his usefulness was gone. She flattered the Sedleys, until she met Sir Pitt Crawley. She entertained the rich Miss Crawley, so that she became her favorite companion. When she found herself moving in aristocratic society, even as a menial, she patronized the gentle Amelia, and George Osborne. It is fascinating to watch the rise of the little upstart until she reached the height of her ambition - presentation at Court. She had no scruples of any sort, no gratitude, except a patronizing pity for Amelia, when she awakened her from the illusion of her husband's fidelity. It is a lesson in subtlety to watch her manoeuvres, her schemes, her poses to gain her end; e.g. her charming behaviour to Lady Jane who, Becky intended should present her at Court the following year. After seven

years' climb of the social barriers, Becky surveyed with great satisfaction her ascent from her original humble position:

"I have passed beyond it, because I have brains, and almost all the rest of the world are fools. I could not go back and consort with those people now, whom I used to meet in my father's studio. Lords come to my door with stars and garters instead of poor artists with screws of tobacco in their pockets. I have a gentleman for my husband, and an Earl's daughter for my sister, in the very house where I was little better than a servant a few years ago. But am I much better to do in the world than I was when I was a poor painter's daughter, and wheedled the grocer around the corner for sugar and tea ?

"it may, perhaps, have struck her that to 'have been honest and humble, to have done her duty and to have marched straightforward on her way, would have brought her as near happiness as that path by which she was striving to attain it." (1)

There are other examples of foolish striving to attain a stall in Vanity Fair, but we see from all their experiences that:

"Each ounce of dross costs its ounce of gold,
For a cap and bells our lives we pay
Bubbles we buy with a whole soul's tasking" (2)

Such are the prices in Vanity Fair.

(1) "Vanity Fair" - chap. XII.

(2) "The Vision of Sir Iarnfall" - James Russell Lowell.

There is the same sort of struggle going on in "The Newcomes" - the struggle of men and women ready to sacrifice all for wealth or social advancement. Thackeray saw characters that might have been noble, warped by ignoble ambitions, till his heart was hot within him, and he poured out his pent-up indignation, scourging the pettiness, meanesses and vices of society, not as a misanthrope who loves to expose human degradation and misery, but as the truest philanthropist, who resents the diseases and deformities that ruins men's souls, recognizing sin to be, not a part of man's nature but a disease from without." (1)

Let us consider now some of the deluded bidders in Vanity Fair. The character of mercantile people trying to get a footing in West End society is well shown in the Newcome Brothers, Hobson and Sir Brian. They paid little attention to their stepbrother's little boy until the father's name was mentioned in general orders. When Lord H. a late Governor General of India spoke to them about their most distinguished relative, they excelled themselves in their interest in the boy Clive. (2) "If he had been really a young Duke.....I am sure Mrs. Newcome would have written a letter that night to her Grace the Duchess Dowager his Mamma, full of praise of the dear child etc."

The contrast between 'simple unobtrusive worth' and vulgar pretension is well shown when Sir Brian remarks to his

(1) "Thackeray's Studies" - A. J. Romney.

(2) "The Newcomes" - chap. V.

brother, the Colonel, on the latter's saying he was going to see a humble relation "You are going down to look at the cradle of our race. I believe the Newcomes were there before the Conqueror. It was but a village in our grandfather's time, and it is an immense flourishing town now, for which I hope to get - I expect to get - a charter". Barnes, the essence of snobbery who carefully veils his business acumen behind a languid air, is a West End dandy, always arrayed in the very height of fashion.

"Towards the City, whither he wended his way, whatever had been the ball or the dissipation of the night before, young Barnes Newcome might be seen walking every morning resolutely and swiftly with his neat umbrella. As he passed Charing Cross on his way westwards, his little boots trailed slowly over the pavement, his head hung languid (bending lower still, and smiling with faded sweetness as he doffed his hat and saluted a passing carriage) his umbrella trailed after him. Not a dandy on all the Pall Mall pavement seemed to have less to do than he !" (1)

This little fop belongs to the exclusive Bays's (really White's) and for that honour is content to be sneered at, and snubbed by titled men. The conversation of all the Newcomes except Lady Anne's and the Colonel's is filled with allusions to Lady this or Lord that.

(1) "The Newcomes" - chap. VII.

Another form of snobbishness or affectation is that of Hobson Newcome's wife Maria. She has not the entree to the inner circles and hence assumes the pose of virtue and intellectuality. She likes to display her French in which she makes flagrant errors in pronunciation and grammar. She is always giving innuendos against the good-natured Lady Anne because she is related to the aristocracy.

"My maxim is, that genius is an illustration, and merit is better than any pedigree. You have heard of Professor Bodgers ? Count Poski, Doctor McGuffog ? ...Mr. Shalcomy, the great Irish patriot.....These and some more have been good enough to promise me a visit tonight. A stranger coming to London could scarcely have a better opportunity of seeing some of our great illustrations of science and literature. And you will meet our own family - not Sir Brian's, who - who have other society and amusements - but mine. I hope Mr. Newcome and myself will never forget them!" (1)

The line of demarcation between the ultra fashionable sections of the city was as definitely fixed then as it is today. This super-snob remarked on her nephew Barnes's arrival - "What, Barnes, is it possible that you do me the honour to come all the way from Mayfair to Marylebone. I thought you young men of fashion never crossed Oxford Street". (2)

Maria's pretensions are more unbearable than the

(1)"The Newcomes" - chap. VII.

(2) "The Newcomes" - chap VIII.

cold hauteur and unsympathetic frankness of the real aristocracy. This very thing was remarked on by Fenimore Cooper in 1831: "As one descends in the social scale, I think the English get to be much the most artificial people I know", (1) and again he remarks, (and his remarks seem to fit the case of such parvunes as the Newcomes). "There is a secondary and an imitative class of whom I can believe any absurdity of this nature, for they caricature usage, breeding, forms and even principles". (2)

Thackeray puts in a thrust at marriages for money. At this time daughters of impoverished noblemen were frequently wedded to wealthy business men. His heroine Ethel remarks to her worldly old grandmother Lady Kew at the Water-Colour Exhibitions; "I think, Grandmamma, "Ethel said, we young ladies in the world, when we are exhibiting, ought to have little green tickets pinned on our backs with 'sold' written on them; it would prevent trouble and any future haggling, you know. Then at the end of the season the owner would come to carry us home." (3)

Such marriages were common. Thackeray describes such in that of Barnes Newcome and Clara Pulleyn, and then shows the disastrous results of loveless marriages.

From Thackeray's pictures "we get a highly persuasive

(1) "Gleanings from Europe" - J. Fenimore Cooper.

(2) "Gleanings from Europe" - J. Fenimore Cooper, p. 162.

(3) "The Newcomes" - chap. XXVIII.

picture of the social fabric, of the course of the generation and of the hard forgotten facts in which living passions may still be rooted, (1) for he is more of a 'mine' than any other great English author; a great catcher of styles and accents". (2)

In "Pendennis" there are two kinds of snobs - the one whose happiness depends on his acquaintanceship with the haut ton, and the other - the one who parades as a creature of false imagination. An example of the first is Major Arthur Pendennis, a member of the exclusive Clubs.

"The Novel" opens with a description of the redoubtable old Major.

"At a quarter past ten the Major invariably made his appearance in the best blacked boots in all London, with a checked morning cravat that never was rumped until dinner time, a buff waistcoat which bore the crown of his sovereign on his buttons, and linen so spotless that Mr. Brummell himself asked of the name of his laundressPendennis's coat, his white gloves, his whiskers, his very cane were perfect of their kind as specimens of the costume of a military man "en retraite". His nose was of the Wellington pattern. His hands and wrist bands were beautifully long and white. On the latter he wore handsome gold buttons given him by his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and on ^{the} other more than one elegant ring, the chief and largest of them being emblazoned with the famous arms of Pendennis". (3)

- (1) "A Survey of English Literature" - Oliver Elton p. 233.
- (2) "A Survey of English Literature" - Oliver Elton p. 254.
- (3) "Pendennis" chap. I.

As he had only his pension, and as he loved the good things of life, and to mix with society, he remained unmarried. He used to say "as a bachelor, nobody cares how poor I am. I have the happiness to live with people who are so highly placed in the world, that a few hundreds or thousands a year more or less can make no difference in the estimation in which they are pleased to hold me". (1) Thus safe in his worldly-wisdom, he mingled with the world of the West End.

"It did the old fellow's heart good to see his name in the 'Morning Post' amongst the list of the distinguished company which the Marquis of Steyne was entertaining at his country house at Stillbrook. He was a very useful and pleasant personage in a country house. He entertained the young men with queer little anecdotes and "grivoises" stories on their shooting parties, or in their smoking-room where they laughed at him and with him. He was obsequious with the ladies of a morning, in the rooms dedicated to them." (2)

To show the social prominence of the Major, there is a description of him walking across Green Park, with his nephew Arthur. "The Major pointed out a dozen great men in their brief transit through St. James's Street, and got bows from a Duke at a crossing, a Bishop on a cob, and a Cabinet Minister with an umbrella. The Duke gave the elder Pendennis a finger of a pipe-clayed glove to shake, which the Major embraced with great veneration; and all Peris blood tingled,

(1) "Pendennis" - chap.II.

(2) Ibid " LVI.

as he found himself in actual communication, as it were, with this famous man (for Pen had possession of the Major's (1) left arm).....and he wished all Grey Friars School, all Oxbridge University, all Paternoster Row and the Temple, and Laura and his mother at Fair Oaks, could be standing on each side of the street to see the meeting between him and his uncle and the most famous duke in Christendom". (2) Such snobbishness found full development in an age when the upper classes were content to idle.

The (3) Bungays, are other examples of extreme vulgar adoration of aristocratic people. They gave great dinners in Paternoster Row, where they expended everything bountifully except entertainment and where Mrs. Bungay was resplendent in her red satin and bird of paradise.

These people in spite of their ignorant pronunciation and admiration for society, were in reality very kind-hearted, people, but mingled their generosity with shrewdness.

Other reference might be made to the 'horsey' Foker and his liking for eccentric dress and young men's fads. He used to rejoice in smoking at a time when tobacco was considered bad manners. He is typical of a young man not really bad rejoicing in his newly found freedom.

- (1) Refers to old custom of walking arm in arm in West End. "Piccadilly to Pall Mall" - Ralph Nevill
- (2) "Pendennis" - chap. XXXVI.
- (3) Colburn a well-known Publisher.

Then there is Blanche Amory, poetess of "Mes Larmes". Further mention will be made of her and her shams. Thackeray may be making a sly criticism at the crowd of dilettanti at this time who were writing sentimental twaddle. We know that he used to be angry with the artists and authors who contributed to the "Keepsake", He made fun of their songs of "Water Lily", chilly stilly shivering beside a streamlet, plighted, blighted, love-benighted, "lost affection recollection".....and namby pamby verses." (1)

His views on the struggling of the deluded snobs of his set were well expressed in "The Book of Snobs", written before he wrote his longer novels. He naively escapes the finger of scorn when he adds "by one of themselves". The novels referred to, seem like illustrations of his earlier works.

The word "snob" is peculiar. No one knows its origin, It is one of those words that was in use at the University to distinguish the townsmen from the gowmsmen. Thackeray attempted to define it thus: "He who meanly admires mean things". But he is inconsistent in his application of the word. He is quite right however when he says : "We cannot say what it is, any more than we can define wit, or humour or humbug but we know what it is." It is a word that contains its full expression in its sound. Webster's

(1) "William Makepeace Thackeray" - p. 165, Vol. I
Lewis Melville.

Dictionary defines it thus:

"Snob - (E. dialect - snob, snob a cobbler, a shoemaker's apprentice, a term of contempt for a tailor). One who places a false and over-estimate on material possessions and fashionable standing, especially such a one who modifies his mental or outward attitude towards persons or matters because of wealth, station etc., or lack of them."

Thackeray's use of the word seems to indicate the idea of Webster's definition. At the time "The Book of Snobs" was written (1) "the wave of revolution was gathering force and volume. Democracy was popular. There were thousands of Britons eager to see the folly and vulgarity of the great world exposed, and they took the same delight in "The Book of Snobs" as our democrats of today take in the go'ssip of 'society papers'. (2) "The Book of Snobs", indeed may truly be said to have seriously improved the public opinion of the age, and to have given a death-blow to many odious forms of sycophaney and affectation which passed unrebuked in England fifty years ago." (3)

In spite of Thackeray's novel snobbishness is still one of the characteristics of people striving to attain a place beyond their qualifications. As he himself says: "First the World was made: then as a matter of

(1) 1846.

(2) "Thackeray" - p. 80, Whibley.

(3) "Studies in Early Victorian Literature"
Frederick Harrison.

course, Snobs; they existed for years and years..... But presently.....the people became darkly aware that there was such a vice. Not above five-and-twenty years since, a name, (1) an expressive name arose to designate that vice. That name has spread over England like railroads, subsequently" (2)

Probably from his keen observation of those around him, Thackeray like Addison really saw the necessity of gently satirizing his confreres, so that they might be won 'to the useful and the good'. He writes thus:

"I have long gone about with a conviction on my mind that I had a work to do - a Work, if you like, with a great W; a purpose to fulfil, a chasm to leap into, like Curtius, horse and foot; a Great Social Evil to Discover and to Remedy. That Conviction has pursued for years. It has Dogged me in the busy Street; Seated itself by Me in The Lonely Study; Jogged my Elbow as it Lifted the Wine Cup at The Festive Board; Pursued me through the Maze of Rotten Row....."I have an eye....for a Snob. If the Truthful is the Beautiful, it is Beautiful to Study even the Snobbish; to track Snobs through history, as certain little dogs in Hampshire hunt out truffles; to sink shafts in society and come upon rich veins of Snob-ore. Snobbish-

(1) Probably a reference to DeQuincey's use of the word in 1822 in "The Opium Eater". It may also refer to the term used at Cambridge. "Thackeray" footnote on p. 81. Whibley.

(2) "The Book of Snobs" - p. 3.

ness is like 'Death' "beating with equal foot at poor men's doors and kicking at the gates of Emperors." It is a great mistake to judge of Snobs lightly and to think they exist among the lower classes merely. An immense percentage of Snobs, I believe is to be found in every rank of this mortal life. You must not judge hastily or vulgarly of Snobs: to do so shows that you are yourself a Snob. I myself have been taken for one." (1)

Thackeray humourously puts the moral of his story thus: The moral is this - "Society having ordained certain conditions, men are bound to obey the laws of society and conform to its harmless orders." Then he proceeds to attack acts of gross injustice e.g. the rich rewards of men who win government favors, and whose sons at nineteen are captains and lieutenants and colonels over 'hoary-headed old lieutenants spending thirty years at drill.' He inveighs against all hypocrisy, false adulation of rich and titled.

"Thus most invectively he pierceth through
The body of the county city, court
Yea, and of this our life." (2)

Like Jacques, he intends "to cleanse the foul body of the infected world",

If they will patiently receive his medicine." (3)

He concludes "The Book of Snobs" by saying "The National Mind is awakened to The Subject of Snobs. The word Snob has taken a place in our honest English vocabulary.

(1) "The Book of Snobs" - p. 3.

(2) "As You Like It" - II, 7, 11, 59-61.

We can't define it perhapsbut we know what it is."

There is the 'Snob test' to be applied to see if our friends are tainted with the blight. The test is: "How does he treat a great man - how regard a small one? How does he comport himself in the presence of His Grace the Duke? And how in that of Smith the tradesman". (1)

More in earnest than in jest he gives a summary thus: "I loathe 'haut ton' intelligence. I believe such words as 'Fashionable', 'Exclusive', 'Aristocratic', and the like to be wicked, unchristian epithets, that ought to be banished from honest vocabularies. A court system that sends men of genius to the second table, I hold to be as snobbish system. A society that sets up to be polite, and ignores Arts and Letters I hold to be a Snobbish society. You who despise your neighbour are a Snob; you, who forget your own friends, meanly to follow after those of a higher degree, are a Snob; you who are ashamed of your poverty, and blush for your calling are a Snob; as are you who boast of your pedigree, or are proud of your wealth." (2)

"The Snob Papers" were published in "Punch" which began "as a radical and a democratic paper, a resolute champion of the poor". Thackeray's last sentences summarize the object of the paper: (3) "To laugh at such is "Mr. Punch's" business. May he laugh honestly, hit no foul

(1) "The Book of Snobs" - p. 222.

(2) "The Book of Snobs" - p. 225.

(3) "The Book of Snobs" - p. 225.

blow, and tell the truth when at his very broadest grin - never forgetting that if Fun is good, Truth is still better, and Love the best of all."

While Thackeray writes scathingly if humourously of his world, "he was far too close a watcher to think that its last word is snobbery. He teaches us that across all the divisions of society cuts the deeper one - that of 'gentleman'." (1) Who of us that has studied Colonel Newcome or George Washington would deny the statement ?

The people of Thackeray's novel never seem to have to work for their existence. As one writer puts it: (2) "His people are preoccupied with those streams of Pactolus which flowed from human labor applied to steam-power. No one ever does anything useful except Crawley of Queen's Crawley who breeds pigs."

One of Thackeray's friends, Sir Theodore Martin expressed the serious recognition of his place in literature, and his work as a critic of society: "He is the only satirist who mingles loving kindness with his sarcasm, and charity and humility with his gravest rebuke." (3)

(1) "A Survey of English Literature", Vol. II, Chap. XXII, Oliver Elton.

(2) "Between the Old Worlds and the New", Mr. P. Willcocks, p. 103.

(3) Biographical Introduction to "Denis Duval", p. XXXIV, Lady Ritchie.

Another friend of Thackeray's Lord Houghton expressed the same idea in the following lines:

"O gentle Censor of our age,
Prime master of our ampler tongue,
Whose word of wit and generour page,
Were never wroth except with wrong." (1)

(1) Biographical Introduction to "Denis Duval" - p. XXXIV.
Lady Ritchie.

Chapter V.

CLUBS AND TAVERNS OF THACKERAY'S NOVELS.

Thackeray once said that in order to write about people, he had to mingle with them. No man ever put his theory more consistently into practice. His friends were legion and belonged to social literary and club circles. Because of his many points of contact, and because of his actual experience, "No artist was ever more absolutely the mind and voice of his age" than the 'gentle censor' who satirized the foibles of society, but who at the same time was so quick to recognize honest worth.

Club life was very popular with London society men, probably because of the congenial society, the comfort, and that the club was a centre of masculine activities. "Every member is master without any of the trouble of a master; he can come when he pleases, and stay away when he pleases, without anything going wrong; he has the command of regular servants without having to pay or manage them; he can have whatever meal or refreshment he wants, at all hours and served up as in his own house. He orders just what he pleases, having no interest to think of but his own.

In short, it is impossible to suppose a greater degree of liberty in living." (1)

After the break-up of Thackeray's home, he depended on the clubs. He belonged to several: the Garrick, Reform, Athenaeum, and several minor clubs. The Garrick was his favorite, and the one he joined as a young man (2) with his friend Fitz Gerald. "The club was instituted at No. 35 King Street for the purpose of bringing together the patrons of the drama and its professors, and also for offering men a rendez-vous." (3) There are pictures here of Garrick in his role of Macbeth, as well as many of his personal belongings. It was in this club that Thackeray dined for the last time away from home.

Many well-known Londoners belonged to this club e.g. Theodore Hook and Tom Hill, who happened to know everything that was going forward in all circles - mercantile, political, fashionable, literary or theatrical. He reminds one of Major Pendennis. According to Whibley (4) he is the prototype

- (1) "Club Life in London" - p. 208, John Timbs.
- (2) He addressed his letters from there in 1833; the club was formed in 1831.
- (3) "Club Life in London" - p. 219.
- (4) "Thackeray" - Whibley, p. 152.

of Mr. Archer, who knew everybody in London; i.e. in society, and who according to himself 'taught the old king English'.

Thackeray in one of his speeches delivered at the Garrick expressed his affection for that institution: "We do not call it the Garrick among ourselves, we say 'G', reserving the rest of the sacred dissyllable.....Stories we have told and laughed at for a quarter of a century, the pert young jackanapes will not laugh, vote us slow. Slow - we slow! - we who have sat by the chair of Stephen Price, the great American Manager; we slow who have listened to Theodore Hook and to Inglesby and to Charles Mathews the elder, and to James Smith of 'Rejected Addresses'. I can remember James as witty and gouty as Congreve, alighting from his old grey horse, and coming to his Club corner and telling us tales of old times; he remembered when he was a boy how he wore a thunder and lightening coat and saw Marie Antoinette in the gardens of Versailles, Marie Antoinette whom Burke saw, Burke who knew Garrick and Johnson, who knew Pope, who had seen Dryden; shaking that kindly old gouty hand of James Smith, we walk quite back into the old times, and Garrick knew Fielding, and was painted by Hogarth who might find a not unworthy successor in the G. of our day." (1)

Some one has spoken of the Guest Room in the Reform Club in Pall Mall as being the 'pole-centre' of 'Thackeray-land'

(1) Introduction to "Miscellanies" - p. XX.

The Reform was established by the Liberal members of the Two Houses of Parliament to aid in the carrying of the Reform Bill 1830-32. The Club was at first located in Whitehall district, but in 1837 moved to Pall Mall. The building was designed 'to surpass all others in size and magnificence'. It was noted for its pure Italian architecture, the simplicity and unity of the design. Thackeray's picture hangs in the Stranger's Room.

"The cuisine of the club of these early days was famous, for it was under the direction of M. Alexis Soyer. (1) His banquets on the occasion of the Queen's Coronation, to Ibrahim Pacha, July 3, 1846 were the talk of the fashionable world, for particularly in the latter dinner the menu was carried out in Egyptian terms e.g. 'la creme d'Egypte and a l' Ibrahim Pacha'.

Thackeray knew well the dainties of this chef. "There is an amusing legend related of his going into the coffee-room of the Reform Club one afternoon and seeing on the menu of the day 'beans and bacon'. He immediately wrote a note declining an invitation to dine with some eminent personage that day, because he had just met a very old friend whom he had not seen for years. Then he sat down to dine satisfactorily off his beloved dish." (2) The writer goes on to say

(1) Thackeray portrayed Soyer in "Pendennis" as M. Mirobolant.

(2) "The Thackeray Country" - pp. 114-115.

"the club is endeared to us.....because he once sat in these chairs, dined at these tables, chatted in these rooms, and with his wise far-seeing eyes surveyed the world from these same windows."

Thackeray's other Club was the Athenaeum founded in 1824, but in 1827 moved to Pall Mall, where a building was erected on a portion of the courtyard of old Carlton House. "The architecture is Grecian, with a frieze exactly copied from the Panathenaic procession". (1) Its library is the best club Library in London. The membership is about twelve hundred,.....amongst whom are eminent persons of the peerage, commoners, men of the learned profession as well as those distinguished men who do not belong to any class. Some of its eminent members were Sir Walter Scott, Samuel Rogers, Sir Thomas Lawrence and Theodore Hook famous for his 'bon mot'. Such men as these made clubs popular.

It was at this club that Thackeray and Dickens made up the quarrel that arose over Edmund Yates. "They met on the steps of the Athenaeum a few days before the Christmas of 1863. They passed each other; then Thackeray turned back and with outstretched hand went up to Dickens and said that he could no longer bear to be on any but the old terms of friendship." (2).

(1) "Club Life in London" - p. 206, John Timbs.

(2) "The Thackeray Country". p. 206, Melville.

The quarrel had arisen five years previously over an article written by Edmund Yates for "Town Talk". The writer showed poor judgment in his very personal account of Thackeray's appearance, career and manner. Thackeray resented being made the subject of an article and wrote the Garrick Club, that a fellow member had abused Club privileges in dealing with the personality of its members. Yates retorted that Thackeray had done the same sort of thing in his "Book of Snobs", where he had caricatured Bulwer Lytton, Dr. Lardner; in "Pendennis" especially, Thackeray had drawn a life-like picture of a Mr. Andrew Arcedeckne, (1) who used to embarrass him. This obnoxious person he called Foker;(2) and evidently described his characteristics very accurately:

Dickens had sided with Yates in the quarrel; indeed Thackeray believed him to have abetted him in writing the article. Three days after the reconciliation with Dickens, Thackeray was dead. (3)

Thackeray's daughter wrote of his interest in his club: "My father's club was so much a part of his daily life, that it seemed at last to be part of his home.....He went to the Athenaeum to the end, and worked there at his favorite table, and met the familiar faces that he liked to see, and the friendly

(1) Often called "Phoca" - a seal, by members of the Garrick.

(2) Arcedeckne was frequently called "Phoca" by his friends.

(3) December 24th, 1863.

silences as well as the friendly greetings of his old associates." (1)

Thackeray belonged to several minor clubs among them to "Our Club", founded by Douglas Jerrold of "Punch" in 1844. Here he met such men as Douglas Jerrold, Shirley Brooks, Peter Cunningham. He loved the perpetual banter and brilliant repartee, and the friendly joking, perhaps similar to the merriment of the 'Mermaid'.

"What things have we seen

Done at the "Mermaid".

Mr. Jefferson the historian of "Our Club" has left us an intimate picture of Thackeray. "I cannot conceive him to have ever been seen to a greater advantage than when he was sitting with a party of his congenial comrades at "Our Club", gossiping tenderly about dead authors, artists and actors, and in the kindest spirit about living notabilities. It was very pleasant to watch the white-haired veteran, and also to hear him (though at best he sang indifferently) whilst he trotted forth his favorite ballads "Little Billie" and "Father Martin Luther". Better still it was to regard the radiant gratification of his face whilst Horace Mayhew sang "The Mahogany Tree" perhaps the finest and most soul-stirring of Thackeray's social songs." (2)

(1) Introduction to the "Roundabout Papers",
Lady Ritchie, p. XXVI.

(2) "Thackeray's London" - p. 120, Lewis Melville.

One verse of "The Mahogany Tree" seems to keep the spirit of the club.

"Here let us sport,
Boys, as we sit;
Laughter and wit
Flashing so free
Life is but short -
When we are gone,
Let them sing on
Round the old Tree." (1)

There are too many clubs to dwell on any but such as are reflected in Thackeray's Life and Novels.

The oldest and yet the most fashionable was Almack's, later Brooke's in Pall Mall and Whites. Almack's the original Brookes' was established in Pall Mall in 1764 by twenty-seven noblemen and gentlemen and called after the proprietor Macall. The latter inverted his name and 'Almack's' became established as the most exclusive place in London. Its rules were very strict, e.g. "Almack's shall sell no wine in bottles that the club approves of, out of the house; any member of this society that shall become a candidate for any other club (Old White's excepted) shall be ipso facto excluded and his name struck out of the book." (2)

Play ran high. Here the Macaronis the 'curled darlings' of the day spent their time. They used to turn their coats inside outwards for luck,and to guard their eyes from the light, and to prevent their hair falling

(1) "The Mahogany Tree" - quoted from "Book of Ballads" - W. M. Thackeray.

(2) "Club Life in London" - p. 71, John Timbs.

into their eyes, they wore high-crowned straw hats with broad brims adorned with lace and ribbons." (1)

This club was taken over by Brooke's, a wine merchant and money lender. The new proprietor moved to St. James's Street. Among its celebrities were Burke, Garrick, Hume, Walpole, Gibbons, The Duke of Queensbury, "Old C" who with his fixed eye, and cadaverous face watched the flow of human tide passed his bow window in Pall Mall. Even George the Fourth, when he was Prince of Wales, used to come among the card players. Charles Fox was one of the most noted gamblers. "Young men used to lose ten, fifteen or twenty-thousand pounds in an evening." (2)

After selling out to Brooke's, Macall or 'Almack' had built in King Street, St. James, (3) a suite of Assembly Rooms, called sometimes "Almack's", sometimes "Willis" after its succeeding proprietor. The subscription was ten guineas for which the member got a ball and supper once a week for twelve weeks. Walpole writes "it is a club of both sexes". The most fashionable of London women were its arbitrators; to be admitted to Almack's was to be admitted to London Society - even the Duke of Wellington was turned away for not being dressed in the prescribed manner. Thus when we read

(1) "Club Life in London", p. 71, John Timbs.

(2) "London by Great Writers" - p. 329, Esther Singleton.

(3) "Club Life in London" - p. 74, John Timbs.

of Becky's having received at her salon the great Lady Fitz-Willis, that great patron saint of Almack's, we know that her social standing was assured. "From an old grudge to Lady Steyne, the great and famous leader of fashion, the Countess of Fitz-Willis (of the King Street family) chose to acknowledge Mrs. Rawdon Crawley." (1)

White's, originally White's Chocolate House, was another of the famous and fashionable clubs. It was situated in St. James Street and was principally a gaming club. "It was a great supper house, and play before and after supper, was carried on to a late hour.....At White's the least difference of opinion invariably ended in a bet."

The club has given magnificent entertainments; e.g. on June 20, 1814, it gave a magnificent ball to the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia and the allied sovereigns then in England, the cost was nearly ten thousand pounds.

There is frequent mention in books of the bow window at White's. This was built in 1811. Then the old members had their own special armchairs in the window; these no young man ever dared to take. From these windows no member "ever deigned to acknowledge the passers-by, nor to raise one's hat to a lady on the street." (2) This was the time when men wore their hats in the coffee room.

Thackeray frequently refers to this club in his

(1) "Vanity Fair" - chap. II.

(2) "Piccadilly to Pall Mall" - Nevill.

novels e.g. in (1) "The Book of Snobs" Goldmore is seen "reading the evening papers in the bow window of the club." Then in "Pendennis" there is a picture of Major Pendennis "stationed in the great window of Bays's Club in St. James Street at the hour in the afternoon when you see a half score of respectable old bucks similarly recreating themselves.....In the time of the Prince Regent, these old fellows occupied the same window and were some of the greatest dandies in the empire." (2) There are other references to White's and the 'bay window' but I think the examples cited are sufficient.

The Carlton Club and the Oriental are mentioned in the novel. The Carlton Club was formed by the Duke of Wellington in 1831. It has been remodelled several times since then. Its members are conservatives of every hue. This club is mentioned in "The Newcomes". We remember that Colonel Newcome was an Anglo-Indian and that his club was in Hanover Square. This can be no other than the "Oriental", formed in 1824 by Sir. John Malcolm, to meet the needs of those men who had spent a good part of their lives in India and who felt strange in conventional England. From a description of it in the "New Monthly Magazine" in 1840 it must have been rather a dreary place:

"The Oriental in Hanover Square outdoes even Arthur's for quietude.....From the outside, it looks like a prison -

(1) "Book of Snobs" - chap. 34.

(2) "Pendennis" - chap. 37.

enter it, it looks like a hospital, in which a smell of curry powder pervades the 'wards' - wards filled with venerable patients dressed in nankeen shorts, yellow stockings and gaiters, and faces to match.....It is the region of calico shirts, returned writers and guinea pigs grown into boars.....Such is the 'nabobry' into which Harley Street, Wimpole Street and Gloucester Place; daily empty their precious stores of bilious humanity." (1)

It was in this sober haunt that Colonel Newcome sought comfort from the various misunderstandings with his relatives.

Thackery gives us a good picture of the Clubland of St. James; "Heavyside, a large officer of the household troops, old Sir Thomas de Boots, and Horace Foggy, whom everyone knows, are in the window of the Bays's yawning as widely as that window itself. Horses, under the charge of men in red jackets, are pacing up and down St. James's Street. Cabmen on the stand are regaling with beer. Gentlemen with grooms behind them pass towards the park. Great dowager's barouches roll along, emblazoned with coronets, and driven by coachmen in silvery wigs. Wistful provincials gaze in at the clubs. Foreigners chatter and show their teeth, and look at the ladies in the carriages, and smoke and spit refreshingly round about. Policeman X slouches along the pavement. It is five o'clock, the noon in Pall Mall."

(1) "Club Life in London" - p. 203-4, John Timbs.

Apart from the clubs and their fashionable members, Thackeray gives us many a picture of the social rollicking life of the supper - and - singing taverns. These he must have learned to know when he was a student of the Middle Temple (1831-1833), and later in the years after his wife's sickness. The three most famous were Evans, the Coal Hole and the Cyder Cellars. The most celebrated was Evans's noted for chops and potatoes, as well as for entertainment, at the western corner of the Covent Garden Piazza. It was a great resort of men about town and was famous for its songs which were often ribald. The concert hall was small and low-pitched. Its reputation for music was known all over town. Two well-known comic entertainers were Crowell and Sharpe. Another favorite entertainer "Paddy Green" succeeded Evans' as proprietor. Here Thackeray, a constant visitor, used to meet such men as Douglas Jerrold, Albert and Arthur Smith, George Sala, the Mayhews and a crowd of other men celebrated in journalistic or theatrical circles. Even the "bucks" from the West End came here to share the convivial fun.

Most people think Evans was the "Cave of Harmony" in "The Newcomes" to which Clive and his father came one evening. Penderennis the supposed narrator gives the account;

"We became hungry at twelve o'clock at night and had a desire for Welsh rabbits and good old glee-singing. We enjoyed such intimacy with Mr. Hoskin (1) that he never failed

(1) Hoskin - William Rhodes or John Green.

to greet us with a kind nod.....We knew the three admirable glee -singers and many a time they partook of brandy and water at our expense. One night Colonel Newcome, with a lean brown face and long black moustachios, dressed in very loose clothes, came in to see the wits, accompanied by his son Clive: The landlord was told of their presence so that the songs were carefully selected. "A lady's school might have come in, and but for the smell of the cigars and brandy - and-water have taken no harm by what happened." The Colonel was delighted especially when Nadab (1) the improvisatore, began to take off some of the company. The Colonel, then volunteered a song which the audience applauded. At that moment in came drunken Captain Costigan, and began to sing one of the most outrageous of songs. "Silence!" the Colonel roared. Others called "Go on, Costigan!". "Go on!" cries the Colonel in his high voice, "Does any gentleman say 'Go on' ? Does any man who has a wife and sisters, or children at home, say 'Go on' to such disgusting ribaldry as this ? Do you dare, Sir, to call yourself a gentleman, and to say you hold the King's commission, and to sit down among christians and men of honour and defile the ears of young boys, with this wicked balderdash ?" (2)

Similar to Evans, and kept by William Rhodes was "The Cyder Cellars". Its motto was "Honor erit huic pomo" (3). This was a strange place upon the south side of Maiden-lane,

(1) Nadab - really Mr. Sloman.

(2) "The Newcomes" - chap. II.

(3) "Honor shall be given to the Apple".

next to the Adelphi and was a cellar with rude and rough fittings. "Porson the Greek Professor used to come and babble Greek in his cups. A thirsty soul was Porson. A three-bottle man on sober days: at other times there was no limit to the quantity." (1) Maginn the witty but bibulous editor of "Fraser's" came regularly. Frequent visitors were: Charles Dickens, Disraeli, Thackeray, and Napoleon III. "This place was a favorite haunt of young men, and much in vogue for devilled kidneys, oysters, welsh rarebits, cigars, glasses of brandy and for singing." (2)

There was an entertainer here - Ross the singer, who used to appear in ragged clothes with a battered old hat, a face stained and grimed to represent a chimney sweep. His song used to be "Sam Hall" and was the talk of the town.

My name it is Sam Hall,
Chimney - Sweep,
Chimney - Sweep;
My name it is Sam Hall,
Chimney - Sweep.
My Name it is Sam Hall:
I've robbed both great and small;
And now I pays for all;
Damn your eyes." (3)

In "Pendennis", this Ross is represented by Mr. Hodgen.

"The bass singer had made an immense hit with his song "The Body Snatcher" and the town rushed to listen to him.

- (1) "The Thackeray Country" - p. 128.
- (2) "Memories of London in the Forties", David Masson in Blackwoods 1908. Vol. 183.
- (3) Quoted from "Life of William Makepeace Thackeray", p. 20, Vol. I, Lewis Melville.

A curtain drew aside and Mr. Hodgen appeared in the character of the snatcher, sitting on a coffin, with a flask of gin before him, with a spade and candle stuck in a skull. The song was sung with a really admirable terrific humour. The singer's voice went down so low that its grumbles rumbled into the hearer's awe-stricken soul; and in the chorus he clamped with his spade, and gave a demoniac 'Ha, Ha', which caused the very glasses to quiver on the table as with terror." (1)

In "Pendennis" we get a picture of the inmates of this tavern - called in the book the "Back Kitchen". "Healthy country tradesmen and farmers, in London for their business came and recreated themselves with the jolly singing and suppers of the Back Kitchen; Squads of young apprentices and assistants, the shutters being closed over the scene of their labors, came hither; rakish young medical students, gallant dashing, what is called "loudly" dressed, and (must it be owned?) rather dirty,- were here smoking and drinking, and vociferously applauding the songs; - young university bucks were to be found here, too, with that indescribable genteel simper which is only learned at the knees of the Alma Mater;- and handsome young guardsmen, and florid bucks from the St. James' Street Clubs:- Nay, senators, English and Irish - and

(1) "Pendennis" - chap. 50

even members of the House of Peers."

No authority seems to take this for the model of the "Cave of Harmony" but to me it seems more appropriate than either the Evans or the "Coal Hole".

The "Coal Hole" (1) one of the earliest night ^{and} taverns for singing, owned by John Rhodæ's brother of the keeper of the Cyder Cellars, was off the Strand, in Fountain Court, upon the site of a coal yard. "Thackeray used to drop in here about midnight for a Welsh rare-bit, and would often stay to listen to the glee-singing."

Pen. used to behold with interest the coalheaving company assembled at the Fox - under- the Hill.

In "The Newcomes" there is mention of another convivial place the "Haunt". There is little clue to its situation other than it is in "an old old street in Soho". This was Clive's favorite. "It's Wednesday night you know, when all the boys go." Here were to be found "cheery old Tom, grave Royal Academicians, rising gay Associates, writers of other journals besides the Pall Mall Gazette; a barrister may be, whose name will be famous some day; a hewer of marble perhaps; a surgeon whose patients have not come yet; and one or two men about town who like this queer assembly better than haunts much more splendid.....They talk of literature, or politics, or pictures or plays; socially batter one another

(1) Yates thinks the Coal Hole the original of the "Cave of Harmony" in "The Newcomes", "Recollections" p. 166, Yates.

over their cheap cups; sing brave songs sometimes when they are especially jolly.....

"You might pass the 'Haunt' in the day time and not know it in the least." (1)

Thackeray gives us a picture of this corner of Clubland: "Around us are magnificent halls and palaces frequented by such a multitude of men as not even the Roman Forum assembled together. Yonder are the Martium (2) and the Palladium (3). Next to the Palladium is the elegant Viatorium, (4) which Barry gracefully stole from Rome. By its side is the massive Reformatorium, (5) and the - the Ultratorium (6) rears its granite columns beyond. Extending down the street palace after palace rises magnificent, and under their lofty roofs, warriors and lawyers, merchants and nobles, scholars and seamen, the wealthy, the poor, the busy, the idle assemble. Into the halls built down this little street and its neighborhood the principal men of all

- (1) "The Newcomes" - chap. XXV, p. 322.
- (2) Martium - United Service Club (War).
- (3) Palladium - Athenaeum, (Pallas)
- (4) Viatorium - Travellers, (Via-way)
- (5) Reformatorium - Reform (Reform)
- (6) Ultratorium - Carlton (Ultra - beyond Superior)

Note how the names are derived.

London came to hear or impart the news; and the affairs of the state or private individuals, the quarrels of empires or of authors, the movements of the court, or the splendid vagaries of fashion.....nay the last betting for the horse-races, or the advent of a dancer at the theatre - all that men do is discussed in these Pall Mallagorae where we of London daily assemble." (1)

There are many more taverns mentioned in Thackeray's novels, but the three mentioned are sufficient.

A paragraph from "Philip" gives a fine summary of the care-free happy hours spent at the supper-and-singing taverns:

Bohemia is.....a pleasant land, not fenced with drab stucco, like Tyburnia or Belgravia; not guarded by a huge standing army of footmen; not echoing with noble charriots; not replete with polite chintz drawing-rooms and neat tea tables; a land over which hangs an endless fog, occasioned by much tobacco; a land of chambers; billiard-rooms; supper-rooms, oysters; a land of song; a land where soda-water flows freely in the morning; a land of tin-dish covers from taverns, and frothing porter;.....a land where men call each other by their Christian names; where most are poor, where almost all are young, and where if a few oldsters do enter, it is because they have preserved....their youthful spirits, and the delightful capacity to be idle.

(1) Roundabout Papers, p. 334.

I have lost my way to Bohemia now, but it is certain that Prague is the most picturesque city in the world." Most people would agree with Pendennis when he said: "I like a sanded floor in Carnoby Market, better than a chalked one in Mayfair."

Another haunt for the man about town was Tattersalls - "the "London Horse Auction Mart near Hyde Park Corner and founded by Richard Tattersalls in 1766. This was the rendez-vous for the sporting and betting men. The Prince of Wales often visited the proprietor and became joint proprietor with him of the Morning Post." This horse market was a rendez-vous for the "bucks", but Thackeray has introduced it very little into the books we are considering.

Other pleasure haunts were the pleasure gardens around town. The most famous in Thackeray's time was Vauxhall on the south bank of the Thames. These were laid out at the time of the Restoration and for nearly two centuries had a gay existence. They were known until 1785 as 'Spring Garden'. There is a description in "England's Gazetter" which gives us a good account:

(1) "This is the place where are those Spring Gardens laid out in so grand a taste, that they are frequented in the three summer months by most of the nobility and gentry.....and are often honoured with some of the royal

family, who are here entertained with the sweet song of numbers of nightingales, in concert with the best band of music in England. There are fine pavilions, shady groves, and most delightful walks illuminated by above a thousand lamps so disposed that they all take fire together, almost as quick as lightning and dart in such a sudden blaze as is perfectly surprising."....."In the centre of the area, where the walks terminate, is erected the temple for the musicians, which is encompassed all around with handsome seats decorated with pleasant paintings, on subjects most happily adapted to the season, place and company."

Now let us turn to Thackeray's description in "Vanity Fair", where the four young people set out one night about 1814: "The hundred thousand extra lamps, which were always lighted; the fiddlers in cocked hats, who played ravishing melodies under the gilded cockle-shell in the midst of the gardens; the singers both of comic and sentimental ballads who charmed the ears there; the country dances, formed by bouncing cockneys and cockneyesses, and executed amidst jumping, thumping and laughter; the signal which announced that Madame Saqui (1) was about to mount sky-ward on a slack-rope ascending to the stars; the hermit that always sat in the illuminated hermitage; the dark walks so favorable to the interviews of young lovers; the pots of

(1) An Anachronism - Mme Saqui did not appear there until 1816. London of Thackeray, p. 86.

stout handed about by the people in the shabby old liveries; and the twinkling boxes in which the happy feasters made-believe to eat slices of almost invisible ham." (1) All these details can fill in for us the canvas.

Then there is a picture of young Arthur Pendennis of 'a shining Friday night in autumn' crossing the water to regale himself with the fireworks and other amusements of Vauxhall. He had unexpected pleasure in little Fanny Bolton's company, and after the displays, lobster salad and rock punch. (2)

"The Gardens were closed in 1859. A church, St. Peter's, and a labyrinth of streets covered the area once sacred to the votaries of pleasure." (3)

Besides being a member of the clubs, and one of the merry company at the supper-and-singing taverns, Thackeray loved to visit the theatre. In some of his novels the play and its attendants are frequently mentioned, but in the four that are being discussed, there is only incidental mention of the "London Stage". The first part of "Pendennis" deals with the acting of Miss Fotheringale (4) in Chatteris, but there is little said of her career in the City. Of the other contemporary actors Edmund Kean, Charles Macready, Helen Faucit, etc. the references are so slight that, there

(1) "Vanity Fair" - chap VI.

(2)

(3) "Thackeray's London" - p. 123.

(4) Supposed to be Miss O'Neil, later, Lady Becker.

is no necessity for further details.

From the pictures given by Thackeray of the taverns and clubs, posterity is able to visualize some of the popular diversions of the eighteen-thirties, even though the haunts have disappeared.

THACKERAY'S CHARACTERS AND THEIR ORIGINALS

IN THE NOVELS:

"VANITY FAIR", "THE NEWCOMES", "PENDENNIS" AND "THE BOOK OF SNOBS"

- - - - -

"VANITY FAIR"

<u>Character</u>	<u>Original</u>
Sir Pitt Crawley	Lord Rolle - a staunch Tory.
Major William Dobbin	Archdeacon John Allen.
Moss	Sloman - proprietor of a 'Spunging House'.
George Osborne	George Osborne (name only) a young Musician in Paris.
Mr. Polonius	Mr. Hamlet, a fashionable jeweller.
Amelia Sedley	Thackeray's Mother) Mrs. Brookfield) Thackeray's Wife)
Jos. Sedley	Mathew Nute - An Anglo Indian of vulgar pretensions.
Lady Southdown	Lady Caroline de Burgh a woman of religious zeal.
Marquis of Steyne	Third Marquis of Hertford.
Becky Sharp	A Companion to a rich woman or a lady who once visited Thackeray.
Mr. Wagg	Theodore Hook - society man.
Mr. Wenham	John Wilson Croker - friend of Lord Steyne; writer and society man.

"THE NEWCOMES"

F. B. Bayham	William Proctor Bolland - an eccentric man.
Marquis of Farintosh	Marquis of Bath - fop and dandy.
Prof. Gandish	Henry Sass, - an artist.
Martha Honeyman	Miss Becker - Thackeray's aunt.
Charles Honeyman	Rev. Alexander Keith - notorious preacher of Curzon Chapel.
Zechariah Hobson	Zachary Macaulay - interested in anti-slave trade.
Hoskins	John Rhodes, landlord of the "Coal Hole".
Countess of New	Lady Langford.
Rummun Loll	Rajah Rammohun Roy.
Nadab	Charles Sloman - entertainer at the "Cyder Cellars".
Ethel Newcome	Miss Sally Baxter - society girl in New York.
Col. Thos. Newcome	Major Carmichael-Smyth - Thackeray's step-father) Captain Light, an old soldier) in the Charterhouse.)
Andrew Smee	Sir Martin Archer Shee, President of the Royal Academy, 1850.
Mark Wilder	Mark Beresford White - a singer.

"PENDENNIS"

Blanche Amory	Miss Gore - A lively affected girl of Thackeray's acquaintance.
Tom Archer	Tom Hill - an associate with exclusive society - and a writer.
Mr. Bacon) Mr. Bungay)	Richard Bentley ?) Rival Henry Colburn) Publishers.

Laura Bell	Mary Graham - Thackeray's cousin Laura Smith (Name only.)
Clarence Bulbut	Moncton Milnes (Lord Houghton) traveller and literary man.
Lord Colchicum	Lord Lonsdale - a dandy.
Mr. Dophin	Alfred Bunn - London Theatre Manager.
Henry Foker	Andrew Arcedeckne - dandy - an eccentric member of the "Garrick Club".
Miss Fotheringay	Eliza O'Neil - London actress.
Dr. Goodenough	Dr. Elliotson - a doctor.
Mr. Hodgen	Ross - entertainer at "Cyder Cellars".
Lady Violet Lebas	Lady Blessington (?) Society lady and editor of "The Keepsake".
Mrs. Hodge - Podgon	Mrs. Husdon (?) wife of great 'Railroad King'.
M. Alcide Mirobolant	(M. Alexis Soyer - famous London chef.
The noblemen on staff of the "Pall Mall Gazette"	Lords William and Henry Lennox.
Dr. Portman	Dr. Cornish - rector of Ottery St. Mary.
Helen Pendennis	Thackeray's Mother - Mrs. Carm- ichael-Smyth.
Arthur Pendennis	Thackeray,) Charles Lamb Kenny)
Capt. Charles Shandon	Dr. William Maginn - brilliant Irishman, Author of "Noctes Ambrosianae".
Captain Sumph	Capt. Thomas Medwin - distantly connected with Byron.
Dr. Swishtails	Dr. Russell - Head Master of the Charhouse School.
Captain Tiptoff	Capt. Granby Calcroft - society man.

Mr. Wagg

Theodore Hook - society man and
writer.

Wenham

John Wilson Croker - friend of
Lord Hertford.

George Warrington

Edward Fitz Gerald - George Stovin)
Venables, Tom Taylor.)

"BOOK OF SNOBS"

Baron of Bradwardine

Sir Walter Scott.

Crump

Whewell - a tutor at Cambridge.

Capt. Shindy

Mr. Stephen Price.

Chapter VI.

REFLECTION OF ORIGINAL PERSONALITIES IN "VANITY FAIR"

When accused of using real people for the characters of his novels, Thackeray said that he never consciously copied any one whom he knew. Evidently, the men of his own circle believed the contrary, for he was refused membership in the "Traveller's" Club, on the grounds that he might caricature some of its members. We must remember that Thackeray once remarked that "I have no brains above my eyes." Whilst not literally true, yet the saying emphasizes Thackeray's quick and accurate sight. Added to that he had the discerning mind that penetrated to the quick of a man's personality. His particular faculty for noting the vagaries of the people whom he met, together with his ready artist's pencil, and his sense of humour certainly were excellent means for transferring, unconsciously to himself, but vividly to others, unusual personalities.

Let us now consider the personalities of "Vanity Fair". Smart society does indeed provide the showman with many puppets.

We shall consider first - Miss Pinkerton who kept the young ladies' Academy in Chiswick Mall. Lady Ritchie remarks "whether Miss Pinkerton was, or was not, own

sister to the great Doctor at the head of the boarding school on Chiswick Mall.....(1) remains to be proved. There is certainly a very strong likeness between those two Majestic beings, whose dignity and whose Johnsonian language marked an epoch in education." (2) We remember Miss Pinkerton's tremendous dignity even to her own sister whom she called "Miss Jemima". "The Miss Pinkerton was a majestic lady, the Semiramis of Hammersmith, the friend of Dr. Johnson."Indeed the Lexicographer's name was always on the lips of this majestic woman." (3) It was her custom to present each young lady who left seminary with a dictionary. Her firm and haughty character was especially evidenced in her treatment of Becky Sharp, "Biting her lips and throwing up her venerable and Roman-nosed head, (on the top of which figured a large and solemn turban), She said, 'Miss, I wish you a good morning'." This is sufficient to give a picture of a lady who figures little in the novel.

The two young ladies the famous 'little Becky puppet' and the 'Amelia Doll' - who attended Miss Pinkerton's school - may or may not have been real. Like many another writer, Thackeray would take the appearance or character of several people, and apply them to the one; e.g. in Amelia

- (1) One of the Private Schools where Thackeray as a little boy was very unhappy.
- (2) Biographical Introduction to "Vanity Fair", p. XV.
- (3) "Vanity Fair" - chap. I.

Sedley, he took the name (1) "Amelia" from his grandmother Webb. Her appearance is evidently imaginary; "Her nose was rather short than otherwise, and her cheeks a great deal too round and red for a heroine; but her face blushed with rosy health, and her lips with the freshest of smiles, and she had a pair of eyes which sparkled with the brightest and honestest good-humour, except indeed when they filled with tears, and that was a great deal too often: for the silly thing would cry over a dead canary bird, or over a mouse or.... over the end of a novel were it ever so stupid." (2) The description does not tally with the appearance with either Thackeray's mother who was exceedingly tall, nor with Mrs. Brookfield, his friend, who was also of a good height, fair and rosy with large and lustrous eyes neither blue nor grey. (3) Perhaps the picture is that of his 'poor little wife', Isabella Creagh Shaw.

It is not Amelia's appearance that we remember, but her kind heart and blind devotion to her Lothario of a husband. She provoked the reader with her foolish clinging to a memory, and her unwitting selfishness towards the good old mother.

She slightly resembles Thackeray's mother, Mrs. Carmichael Smyth, in her affection for the fatherless little boy, for like Amelia, Mrs. Carmichael Smyth had been left a

(1) Thackeray's Dictionary, p. 240.

(2) "Vanity Fair" - chap. I.

(3) "Mrs. Brookfield and her Circle", p. 37.
Charles and Frances Brookfield.

widow when Clive was a little boy of five (1) and had lavished on 'Billy Boy' a great love. There the likeness ends, for she married her second husband after a few years, whereas Amelia foolish in her illusion of George's love, made poor Dobbin wait fifteen years.

In the novel Dobbin is introduced as being the quietest, the clumsiest, and as it seemed the dullest of all Dr. Swishtail's young gentlemen. The boys called him "Heigh-ho Dobbin, Gee-ho Dobbin", and made him the butt of their jokes partly because of his father's grocery business but chiefly because of his shy awkward nature. We remember how he won the respect of the boys, when he thrashed the school bully. All his life long, Dobbin showed his championship of the weak, his modesty, his patient endurance of Amelia's indifference. People of Thackeray's set saw his character - particularly his diffidence, his hatred of injustice and his reverence for the good in Thackeray's friend, Archdeacon Allen, who was his neighbour in Great Coram Street. Thackeray once said of him: "I never knew a man who feared man less and God more". Lady Ritchie says; "The pictures of Dobbin in his later life have certainly a great resemblance to one of my father's oldest friends and companions at college. This was Archdeacon Allen, a Commander in an army where there are no Waterloos, no decisive victories and treaties of peace.....'Any one who knew the Archdeacon, his son-in-law

(1) Thackeray's father died 1816, when Thackeray was five.

writes, 'and who has studied "Vanity Fair" will recognize his portrait, 'Mutas Mutandis', in the simple-minded chivalrous Major Dobbin'. He has been described thus: 'Allen's most conspicuous singularity grew out of his indignation against wrong.' (1)

"He had very long legs, a yellow face, anda slight lisp, which was rather ridiculous. But his thoughts were just, his brains fairly good, his life was honest and pure, and his heart warm and humble. He certainly had very large hands and feet which the two George Osbornes used to caricature and laugh at." (2)

With regard to these characters, Thackeray said to his mother; "Of course you are quite right about 'Vanity Fair' and Amelia being selfish. My object was not to make a perfect character, or anything like it. Don't you see how odious all the people are in the book (with the exception of Dobbin) behind all of which there is a dark moral, I hope".(3)

'George Osborne', Amelia's husband has no prototype, other than the name of a young musician whom Thackeray knew in Paris, but apart from the name there is nothing of the personality. For the George Osborne of the novel, the reader can have slight admiration. "George had an air at once swaggering and melancholy, languid and fierce.....His voice was rich

- (1) Introduction to "Vanity Fair", p. XXXIV.
- (2) "Vanity Fair", chap. LXII.
- (3) Introduction to "Vanity Fair", p. XLIV.

and deep. He would say it was a warm evening, or ask his partner to an ice, with a tone as sad and confidential as if he were breaking her mother's death to her, or prelude a declaration of love. He trampled over all the young bucks of his father's circle, and was the hero among those third rate men. Some few sneered at him and hated him." (1) We cannot help despising his selfish snobbish nature that was delighted with a bow from a lord. A lady once remarked to Thackeray, "I like your novel exceedingly; the characters are so natural, all but the baronet, and he surely is overdrawn; it is impossible to find such coarseness in real life." The artist laughed. "That character is the only exact portrait in the whole book. He is a Country Squire and a Member of Parliament, miserly, vulgar and ignorant." As Thackeray was a Whig - it is not impossible that he was satirizing in Sir Pitt one of the landed aristocracy.

We remember that Becky who had never seen a Baronet began to picture in her own mind what a Baronet must be'. She was soon to find out when "the door was opened by a man in drab breeches and gaiters, with a dirty old coat, a foul old neck-cloth lashed round his bristly neck, a shining bald head, a leering red face, a pair of twinkling grey eyes and a mouth perpetually on the grin."....(2) In a word the whole baronetage, peerage, commonage of England, did not contain a more cunning, mean, selfish, foolish disreputable old man.....

(1) "Vanity Fair" - chap. XXI.

(2) "Vanity Fair" - chap. VII.

Here was a man who could not spell, and did not care to read - who had the habits and cunning of a boor:.....and yet he had rank, and honours, and power somehow: and was a dignitary of the land and a pillar of the state. He was high sheriff, and rode in a golden coach. Great ministers and statemens courted him; and in Vanity Fair he had a higher place than the most brilliant genius or spotless virtue." (1)

It is supposed (2) that Lord Rollo (1750-1842) of Stevenstone, Devonshire a 'choleric hard-bitten Tory' and a staunch adherent of Pitt, was the original of Sir Pitt. He held coarse ^{common} ~~commonsense~~ sense views; was an active country magistrate and a good landlord.

The minor charasters, Moss, keeper of the spunging house in Cursitor Street, and Polonius the fashionable London Jeweller, where Becky had her diamonds to wear to Court have been identified as Sloman, (3) Jewish proprietor of the Spunging house in Cursitor Street and Hamlet, (4) the well-known Silversmith of Cranbourne Alley.

We remember that on the conclusion of Lord Steyne's party, some one touched Rawdon Crawley on the shoulder "beg your pardon, Colonel, I wish to speak to you most particular....

(1) "Vanity Fair" - chap. IX.

(2) "Thackeray Dictionary" - p. 66 - Mudge and Sears.

(3) "Thackeray Dictionary" - p. 66

(4) "Thackeray Dictionary" - p. 177.

only a small thing," whispered Mr. Moss, of Cursitor Street, Chancery Lane, and assistant officer to the Sheriff of Middlesex - "one hundred and thirty six, six and eight pence at the suit of Mr. Nathan". A spunging house was no unusual experience in the life of "regular tip-top swells, down from the clubs and West End." (1) In those days, people who could not pay their bills were frequent visitors at such places as Mr. Sloman's spunging house.

One of the most unmistakable examples of picturing well known characters, was that of Lord Steyne, the wicked old nobleman, who amused by Becky's clever wiles, sponsored her entree into society. We have a very clear picture of him as he passes his time in Madame Crawley's drawing room in Curzon Street: "The candles lighted up Lord Steyne's shining bald head, which was fringed with red hair. He had thick bushy eyebrows, with little twinkling bloodshot eyes, surrounded by a thousand wrinkles. His jaw was underhung, and when he laughed, two white buck-teeth protruded themselves and glistened savagely in the midst of the grin.....He wore his garter and ribbon..... A short man was his Lordship, broad-chested and bow-legged but proud of the fineness of his foot and ankle, and always caressing his garter-knee."

He had been the friend of the Regent. He was notorious for his daring and success at play; so keen a player was he that he was able to sit up two days and two nights with

(1) "Vanity Fair" - chap. LIII.

Mr. F. -- at hazard. He had won money of the most august personages of the realm; some said he had won his Marquisate at the gaming table." (1)

Elsewhere I have described Lord Steyne's home in Gaunt Square. We know that the Prince and Perdita had a private entrance into very delightful apartments, one fitted up all in ivory and white satin; another in ebony and black; and a certain other - "a little private kitchen; in which every saucepan was silver and all the spits were gold".... It was there that Steyne and one other feasted on roasted partridges, the night Steyne won a hundred thousand from a great person at ombre." (2)

This great Marquis of Steyne was a tyrant in his own house, at war with his own sons and bullying his women. All the time he was haunted by the fear of insanity, - "The mark of fate and doom was on the threshold, - the tall old threshold surmounted by coronets and carved heraldry." "So there was splendour and wealth but no great happiness behind the tall carved portals of Gaunt House with its smoky coronets and ciphers." (3) Such was the character whom people of the day thought was Francis Marquis of Hertford, intimate friend of George IV, and the most brilliant at the Regent Court.

(1) "Vanity Fair" - chap. XXXVII.

(2) "Vanity Fair" - chap. XL.

(3) "Vanity Fair" - chap. XLVII.

He had been gifted with executive ability, intelligence, and he could more than hold his own with his peers whether at cards or play. "unfortunately the love of pleasure dominated his intellect.....after the passing of the Reform Bill, he renounced politics and took a dislike to England,(1) and like Steyne he went to Italy." There he frittered his time; probably the ancestral curse was the cause of his later ~~san-~~ility. Wellington said of him: (2) "Had Hertford lived in London, instead of frittering his time in Paris, he might have become Prime Minister."

Posterity should be grateful to him for his unrivalled collection (3) of pictures and furniture - porcelain, miniatures, etc., which have been presented to the Nation. His old home in Manchester Square was bought and reconstructed. In this museum among the paintings are those of "Perdita"; Lady Blessington, George IV.

One of Lord Steyne's satellites was Mr. Wagg, the celebrated wit, and a led captain and trencherman of my Lord Steyne and "his Lordship's vizier and chief confidential servant (with a seat in parliament and at the dinner table)!" (4) He was one of those ubiquitous people whom one met in all

(1) Whibley, p. 113.

(2) Gronow's "Reminiscences" - Vol. II, p. 323.

(3)

(4) "Vanity Fair" - chap. II.

circles. "He liked to make his entree into a drawingroom with a laugh, and when he went away at night to leave a joke exploding behind him." (1)

Mr. Wagg has been identified as Theodore Hook (1788-1841), (2) a novelist and miscellaneous writer, endowed with social qualities, such as wit and a most unusual faculty for improvising music or poetry. He had a hard time to manage his finances and was often in the debtor's prison.

If Wagg was one of my Lord Steyne's confidential men, Wenham was the other. Thackeray has represented him in "Vanity Fair" and in "Pendennis" as being suave, sly and deferential, a 'staunch old True Blue Tory', and 'disposed to hate all parvenus'. Wenham's prototype was John Wilson Croker (1780-1851), (3) Lord Hertford's friend, business manager and aide-de-camp. He was an ardent Tory. Probably this was one reason why Thackeray caricatured him. Croker had his faults for he was impatient of contradiction and to strangers harsh and overbearing. To many people he appeared too fond of aristocratic society, but on the other hand he did a thousand kindly acts. He was really a clever man, for he was a keen political writer and one of the founders of the "Quarterly Review". (4)

(1) "Pendennis" - chap. XXXIV.

(2) "Dictionary^{of}/National Biography" - Vol. XXVII.

(3) "Dictionary of National Biography" - Vol. XIII.

(4) "Thackeray" - p. 115 et seq. Whibley.

It is improbable that he was as petty and servile as Thackeray depicts him for he was the friend of the Duke of Wellington. His friendship for Hertford was disinterested, and even though he was secretary of the Admiralty for twenty years, he managed the Marquis' estate for nothing. He was a visitor at all the great houses. This wide acquaintance with the men of the first quarter of the century is recorded in his Reminiscences.

Disraeli like Thackeray evidently smiled at the pretensions of Croker and Hook, for he has put the former into "Coningsby". Their type must have been particularly obnoxious to Thackeray and Disraeli, for the Dictionary of National Biography makes them to be very worthy and desirable members of society.

Thackeray has represented in the Dowager Countess of Southdown the type of woman who has two pet hobbies - health and religion. "At her own home, both at Southdown, and at Trottermore Castle, this tall and awful missionary of the truth rode about the country in ~~haz~~ barouche with outriders, launched packets of tracts among the cottagers and tenants, and would order Gaffer Jones to be converted, as she would order Goody Hicks to take a James's powder without appeal, resistance or benefit of clergy." She it was who sent "A Voice from the Flames". "A Trumpet Warning to Jericho" and the "Fleashpots Broken" to Miss Matilda Crawley. (1) Her prototype is said to be Lady Caroline de Burgh - a woman
(1) "Vanity Fair" - chap. XXXIII.

of severe evangelical piety, combined with a belief in patent medicines." (1)

The last character in "Vanity Fair" for whom we can find the original is that of that arch-social climber - Becky Sharp. No one ever more persistently tried to scale the walls of society, than did this little "parvenu" - daughter of a French dancer and an impecunious artist. Becky realized that as she had no one to help her along, therefore she must depend on herself for her own advancement. When she was first introduced as a school girl, small and slight in person; pale, sandy-haired and with green eyes habitually cast down,she looked like a child, but she had the dismal precocity of poverty. Many a dun had she talked to and turned away from her father's door; many a tradesman had she coaxed and wheedled into good humor and into the granting of one meal more.....She had never been a girl she said; she had been a woman since she was eight years old." (2)

She had been bred up in a school, where money or position had counted. Consequently, although as she said of herself, "I am a thousand times cleverer and more charming than that creature for all her wealth. I am as well-bred as the Earl's granddaughter, for all her fine pedigree." Yet it was perfectly true every one passed her by.

Because of this she deliberately planned every move to further her way into society. She began her man-

(1) "Social Life in England" - chap. VII. Jackson.

(2) "Vanity Fair" - chap. II.

œuvres in the Sedley family when she coquetted with the pompous Jos. (1) because she thought him rich. Later when she had advanced a step higher in society by becoming a governess to Sir Pitt Crawley's family, she despised the kindly Sedleys and remarked: "I shall be amongst gentle folks and not with vulgar city people."

So she continued through life, using every one she met who might help her ascend. She was fascinating and clever, and could assume any role suitable for her ends. Of gratitude she had no vestige. Position was the game she played for - and at the end of seven or eight years - she was presented at court whither she went in white shawl and magnificent brocaded dress, and sparkling diamonds. It mattered little to Becky how she attained her means, what people she reduced to beggary, e.g. Raggles and Briggs; how she broke her husband's heart nor the estrangement from her little boy. She posed to the end of her days, for whatever part demanded by the moment. At the last she feigns strict propriety, busy-ing herself in works of charity, but ignored by all those whom she had mistreated.

This heroine of "Vanity Fair" is one of the most skilfully drawn characters in literature, and represents a type with whom most of us have had dealings. Was she, how-

(1) Supposed to be a Mathew Nute, who had had a bourgeois education; had been to India, and who came to swagger in London. "Robt. Señcourt" in "Thackeray and his Anglo-Indians" - "The Living Age" 1923, Vol. 318 p. 72.

ever, a definite person ? Lady Ritchie writes:

(1) " One morning a hansom drove up to the door, and out of it emerged a most dazzling little lady dressed in black, who greeted my father with great affection and brilliancy, and who departing presently, gave him a large bunch of fresh violets. This was the only time I ever saw the fascinating little person who was by many supposed to be the original of Becky; my father only laughed when people asked him, but he never quite owned to it. He always said that he never ~~consciously~~ ^{CONSCIOUSLY} copied anybody. It was, of course, impossible that suggestions should not come to him. " (2)

The characters outlined above are those who are supposed to be modelled on real types. Thackeray with his artist's eye, and quick understanding of human foibles, would naturally delineate people of marked personality. As a frequenter of exclusive circles of high society and of Bohemia, he had unusual opportunities. Of the characters in the "Newcomes" fourteen are taken from real life.

Col. Newcome is one of the best known characters in the literary portrait gallery. He was a distinguished Indian officer who had come to London. Sensible and kindly, and clean-minded, he is amazed at the pretensions of London society. His

(1) Introduction to "Vanity Fair". p. 30.

(2) Lewis Melville thinks that "the inimitable Becky was drawn from the companion of a wealthy and selfish old lady who lived in the neighbourhood of Kensington Square." William Makepeace Thackeray. Page 318. Lewis Melville.

boyhood love for Mlle. Leonore de Blois had mellowed with the passing years to a courtly reverence for all women, and his yearning love for his son Clive, made him love all boys. He is first introduced coming into the (1) "Cave of Harmony", a gentleman with a lean brown face and long black moustaches, dressed in very loose clothes, and evidently a stranger to the place. (2) We remember the convivial characters present Mr. Hoskin (3) owner, Mr. Nadab (4) the improvisatore, Mr. Pendennis, Rogers, Hook, Luttrell (5), the most celebrated wits of the day, and the tipsy Costigan. The colonel joined in all the choruses, was charmed with Nadab's surprising impromptu verses.

As a boy Col. Newcome had attended the Charterhouse. When in his old age, the Colonel's quixotic sense of honesty about the failure of the Bundelcund Bank left him penniless, he went to end his days at Thomas Sutton's home. Thackeray pictures him in the chapel. " He wore the black gown of the Pensioneers

(1) Thackeray County. p. 126. Cave of Harmony. Critics are not agreed on which of the three taverns: Evans, Cyder Cellars, Coal Hole.

(2) "The Newcomes". Ch. I.

(3) Mr. Hoskin - Probably Hohn Rhodes of Coal Hole or Wm. Rhodes - Cyder Cellars.

(4) Mr. Nadab - Charles Sloman, " the only English improvisatore", used to sing at the Coal Hole.

(5) Rogers)
Hook) Society men about town.
Luttrell)

of the Hospital of Grey Friars. His Order of the Bath was on his breast. He stood there amongst the poor Brethren. " (1) Some time afterwards "Codd Newcome", in his last sickness, thinking he was a boy again at school, "quickly answered 'adsum' and lo, he whose heart was that of a little child had answered to his name, and stood in the presence of "The Master". (2).

Of the Colonel's "Original" Lady Ritchie writes:

"I never heard my father say that, when he wrote Colonel Newcome, any special person was in his mind, but it was always an understood thing that my step-grandfather (3) had many of Colonel Newcome's characteristics, and there was also a brother of the major's, General Charles Carmichael, who was very like Colonel Newcome in looks." (4)

Canon Irvine, the son of an old friend of Thackeray's, said that he introduced him to a Captain Light at the Charterhouse, an old officer who had served her Majesty and her royal predecessors in an infantry regiment, and had lost his sight from the glare of the rock of Gibraltar. (5) This old "Codd", Thackeray often used to visit. To this day, because of Colonel

(1) "The Newcomes". Chap. LXXXV.

(2) "The Newcomes". Chap. XC.

(3) General Carmichael Smyth - Thackeray's step-father.

(4) Biog. Introduction to "The Newcomes". I.

(5) Biog. Introduction to "The Newcomes". II.

Newcome, visitors go to the Charterhouse and to Captain Light's room.

"The manuscript of "The Newcomes" is now at Charterhouse in the Museum".

Thackeray was present on Founder's Day, Dec. 17, 1863, in his usual back seat in the quaint old chapel with his old friend, John Leech, also an old Carthusian. There as in (1) "The Newcomes" were the brethern in their black gowns, the old stained glass, the carving in the chapel, and the tomb of Thomas Sutton."

Clive's Aunt Honeyman, to whose care the boy was consigned when he arrived from India, is another interesting character, and may be traced to a great aunt of Thackeray's. In the story she is described as "a woman of a thousand virtues, cheerful, frugal, honest, laborious, charitable, good-humoured, truth-telling, devoted to her family, capable of any sacrifices for those she loved; and when she came to have losses of money, Fortune straightway compensated her by many kindnesses, which no income can supply. The good old lady admired the word 'gentlewoman' of all others in the English vocabulary, and made all around her feel that such was her rank. " (2)

Lady Ritchie says regarding this character "The old aunt to whose care my father had been sent from

(1) "Thackeray Country". Chap. II. P. 41. Melville.

(2) "The Newcomes". Chap. IX.

India was, I believe, Miss Martha Honeyman. She used to knit little silk purses to give us, with half-sovereigns shining through the meshes, and she would send us charming letters in her delicate handwriting."

In Mr. Thomas Newcome, the Colonel's step-mother, and in her uncle Zechariah Hobson there are echoes of the religious zeal of the "Clapham sett - comprised of wealthy business men who circled round Rev. John Venn, Rector of Clapham." (1)

Sophia Alethea Newcome, Tom's Step-mother was very wealthy and very religious. "Her mansion at Clapham was long the resort of the most favored amongst the religious world. The most eloquent expounders, the most gifted missionaries, the most interesting converts from foreign islands, were to be found at her sumptuous table, spread with the produce of her magnificent gardens." (2) Some critics believe that this eminently clever business woman, and zealous christian was Mrs. Venn. It is believed that her uncle Zechariah Hobson was Zachary Macaulay, the historian's father, and very much interested in the negroes.

The two artists, Gandish and Smee, are real characters. Thackeray represents the former as the obsequious yet garrulous owner of the Drawing Academy, and as an English historical painter, employed chiefly in English history - hence this masterpiece 'Boadishia'. His motto

- (1) Venn (1725-1797)- a prominent leader of evangelical revival in English Church, "Social England" H.D.Trail.
- (2) "The NEWCOMES" - chap. 2.

was 'hars est celare Hartem'. His loquacity played havoc with his h's. For some years Gandish had had a hard time, but later he became very renowned. Indeed "Mr. Gandish, the unappreciated genius of the palette.....is not a caricature at all of the most serviceable art teacher of that period, whose real name was Sass, and who counted among his pupils John Everett Millar.....Colonel Newcome thought it a condescension to ask the painter of 'Boadishia' to dinner. That artist's later and transformed self would have resented an invitation at such short notice as an impertinence; he would have bluntly excused himself on the plea of being pre-engaged to the Prime Minister, the Heir Apparent, or to Windsor three months ago."(1)

The other artist Smee, was the portrait painter. "With his rings, diamond shirt studs, and red velvet waist coat, there are few more elaborate middle-aged bucks than Andrew Smee."

The well-known portrait painter was always fulsome in his praise of people whom he wished to paint or whom he thought in society,!He would walk five miles to attend an evening party of ever so little a man." Yet this same fawning artist became in 1850- president of the Royal Academy - Sir Martin Archer Smee.

Ethel Newcome the heroine of "The Newcomes" is represented as a beautiful high minded girl who is almost too outspoken and independent for an English girl. She it

(1) "Social Transformations of the Victorian Age" p. 351, Escott. Sass is also Mr. Gaston Phoebus in Lord Beaconsfields's "Lothair".

is who sees through the shams of society and dares to thwart her tyrannous brother or her august old grandmother, Lady Kew. Thackeray's model was a lively American girl - Sally Baxter (1) whom he met in New York society in 1853.

Lord Farintosh, the brainless self-satisfied young dandy, and a suitor for Ethel Newcome, has been identified as the Marquis of Bath. (2) He is represented as retailing all the petty gossip of the drawing rooms, and prefacing his remarks with "really, upon my honour, now". He was very fond of the dandy's sport, driving the stage coach. (3) In this capacity he was very badly snubbed by a lady - an unusual treatment for a man who was considered by society as a great 'catch'.

Of the minor characters I can find little information. The Duchess of Kew is supposed to be Lady Langford. (4)

F. B. Bayham is modelled on William Proctor Bolland, a big heavy handsome man of much peculiar humour. He always spoke of himself as "William". He was the original Fred Bayham in the "Newcomes". (5) Mark Wilder who used to sing

(1) "Thackeray Dictionary" - p. 186.

(2) "Thackeray Dictionary" - p. 87.

(3) "The Merry Past" - p. 128, Ralph Neville. (I have no definite proof that this Marquis of Bath is the one whom Thackeray took for Lord Farintosh).

(4) "Thackeray Dictionary" - p. 146. I can find no information about her.

(5) "Recollections" footnote p. 328, Edmund Yates.

"Garryowen na gloria" at the Haunt is Mark Beresford White.

There is an odd character in "The Newcomes" Rummun Loll, the celebrated Indian merchant, otherwise the chief proprietor of the diamond mines in Golconda, who smoked his hookah after dinner when the ladies were gone. He dressed in turban and shawl and kincob pelisse. His moustache was lacquered, his eyeballs opal, and his face brown and keen.

He was the cause of the failure of the Bundelcund Bank, and Colonel Newcome's poverty. The prototype, with regard to the sensation produced in social circles, of the Indian was Rajah Rammohun Roy.

Charles Honeyman, the bland highly-gifted and incumbent of Lady Whittlesea's Chapel, Denmark Street, Mayfair....(1) was the beloved and popular preacher, the elegant divine to whom Miss Blanche writes sonnets, and whom Miss Beatrice invites to tea; who comes with smiles on his lips, gentle sympathy in his tones, innocent gaiety in his accent who melts, rouses, terrifies in the pulpit, who charms over the tea urn and bland bread and butter; Charles Honeyman has one or two skeleton closets in his lodgings". In time, Honeyman's skeletons were discovered, and he was no longer the ecclesiastical leader of Mayfair.

Honeyman is supposed to be modelled on the behaviour of the Rev. Alexander Keith,(2) of Curzon Chapel, who

(1) "The Newcomes" - chap. IV.

(2) Alexander Keith (died 1758) - Mayfair Parson.

advertised his willingness to celebrate marriages without either banns or licenses. Persons of all ranks resorted to Mayfair Chapel and Keith 'constructed a very bishopric of revenue'. HE was imprisoned for nearly fifteen years. (1)

"Pendennis is in essence an autobiography". (2) Hence we shall find many of Thackeray's friends and acquaintances. Speaking of the book, Thackeray said himself, "yes, it is very like- it is certainly very like me". (3) The career of the hero Arthur Pendennis coincides in almost every respect with that of Thackeray. Lady Ritchie speaks of a visitor who used to come to Kensington....."A rather short, good looking young man, with a fair placid face.....One day after dinner by daylight still, my father pulled out his sketch book and began to make a drawing of his guest. This was a young writer just beginning his career; his name was Charles Lamb Kenny, and we were told that he was to be the hero of the new book "Pendennis", or rather that the hero was to look like Mr. Kenny." (4) From the description of young Pendennis given in chapter three, we see that Lady Ritchie was right in her statement.

"In person he had what his friends would call a dumpy, but his Mamma styled a neat little figure. His hair

(1) "Dictionary of National Biography" Vol. X.

(2) Whibley"Thackeray" - p. 128.

(3) "Biographical Introductions" - "Pendennis" p. XXXVII.

(4) "Biographical Introductions"- "Pendennis" p. XXXVIII.

was of a healthy brown color, which looks like gold in the sunshine, his face was round, rosy, freckled and good natured, his whiskers were decidedly of a reddish hue, in fact without being a beauty, he had such a frank good natured, kindly face, and laughed so merrily at you out of his honest blue eyes that no wonder Mrs. Pendennis thought him the pride of the whole country. Between the ages of sixteen and eighteen he rose from five feet six to five feet eight inches in height, at which altitude he paused". (1) Arthur's mother, Helen Pendennis, is Thackeray's mother.- "Some one very like Helen Pendennis was the mistress of Larkbere, where my father spent his holidays as a boy; and there was a little orphan niece, a cousin called Mary Graham, who also lived in the old house with its seven straight windows and its background of shading trees". (2) There is a word picture of Mrs. Carmichael-Smyth at Larkbere. "When I think of that rather, rough lawn with its homely bed of stocks and wall flowers, I always see your grandmother (Mrs. Carmichael-Smyth) tall, stately and graceful, standing there on a calm summer evening looking with her wide beautiful grey eyes at the sunset." (3)

Laura Bell, Mrs. Pendennis' niece was probably modelled on little Mary Graham, and got her name 'Laura' from (4) a "charming little girl living in Brighton with dark brown

(1) "Pendennis" - chap III.

(2) "Biographical Introduction to Pendennis" - p. XIII.

(3) "Biographical Introduction to Pendennis" - p. XIX.

(4) "Biographical Introduction to Pendennis" - p. XXXVII.

hair; I have often heard the story how she came running into the room and said her name was Laura, and how my father then and there made her godmother to his new heroine. She was the youngest of the three daughters of Horace Smith". There the similitude of the two characters ceases. The real Laura "died still young, still dark-eyed, gay and charming." The girl in the story, lived to develop "Pendennis" best nature, and to be the sympathetic friend of many of the author's creations.

We remember Miss Fotheringay, the beautiful actress at Chatteris, about whom young Pendennis was so infatuated. (1) "She was the tallest of women, and at her then age of six-and-twenty - for six-and-twenty she was though she vowed she was only nineteen- in the prime and fulness of her beauty. Her forehead was vast, and her black hair waved over it with a natural ripple, and was confined in shining and voluminous braids at the back of a neck, such as you can see on the shoulders of the Louvre Venus.....Her eyes when she lifted them up to gaze at you, and e're she dropped their purple deep-fringed lids, shone with tenderness and mystery unfathomable.....But it was her hand and arm that this magnificent creature most excelled in, and somehow you could never see her but through themIt was

(1) "Biographical Introduction" - p. XXXVII.
"Pendennis"

with these arms and hands that she beckoned, repelled, entertained, embraced her admirers". (1)

We remember the visit to the Chatteris Theatre of the eminent Mr. Dolphin, (2) owner of the Museum Theatre in London, and the respectful admirer of Lord Steyne. It was at Lord Steyne's instigation that he brought the divine Fotheringay and her disreputable father, Capt. Costigan, to London. There the actress captured the London theatre goers, achieved a great reputation and finally married Sir Charles Mirabel, a beau.

'The Fotheringay' is supposed to have as her original a Miss Eliza O'Neill, (3) later Lady Becker. Miss O'Neill was an eminent Shakespearean actress, and a successor of Mrs. Siddons (4) in tragedy. Lady Eliza Becker (1791-1872) - actress, daughter of an Irish actor, played in Drogheda and Dublin, Ireland. Later scored a success at Covent Garden 1814 - "hailed as a younger and better Mrs. Siddons". (5)

(1) "Pendennis" - chap IV.

(2) Mr. Dolphin was the well-known theatrical manager, Alfred Bunn. "Thackeray" Vol. I, 46 - Melville.

(3) Lady Becker - formerly Eliza O'Neill, the actress who in 1819 married William Becker, M.P. for Mallow, afterwards knighted on William IV's Coronation. "Thackeray" - Melville, Vol. I, p. 46.

(4) "New History of the English Stage" - Vol. II, p. 368.

(5) "Dictionary of National Biography" Vol. II, p. 74.

Blanche Amory, (christened 'Betsy' but how unromantic) the poetess, was very affected. In her dear little book, "Mes Larmes", bound in blue velvet with a gilt lock, she wrote "elegies over her dead hopes, and dirges over her early frost-nipt buds of affection", In appearance "Blanche" "was fair and like a sylph. She had fair hair with green reflections in it. But she had dark eyebrows. She had long black eyelashes which veiled beautiful brown eyes. She had such a slim waist that it was a wonder to behold; and such slim little feet that you would have thought the grass would hardly bend under them. Her lips were the color of pink rosebuds, and her voice trembled limpidly over a set of the sweetest little pearly teeth ever seen. She showed them very often for they were very pretty." (1)

The girl, behind the scenes, was a shrewish virago - sneering at her mother, the unpretentious Lady Clavering. She cared for little else than to pose as a misunderstood genius. "She was not able to carry out emotion to the full; but had a sham enthusiasm, a sham hatred, a sham taste, a sham grief, each of which flared and shone very vehemently for an instant but subsided and gave place to the next sham emotion." (2)

This tender Muse, so expert in the analysis of the emotions, has been identified with a Miss Gore, about whom Thackeray in a letter to his friend, Mrs. Brookfield,

(1) "Pendennis" - chap. XXII.

(2) "Pendennis" - chap. LXXXIII.

wrote.

"At the train whom do you think I found ? Miss G. - - who says she is Blanche Amory, and I think she is Blanche Amory, amiable at times, amusing, clever and depraved. We talked and persiflated all the way to London, and the idea of her will help me to a good chapter, in which I will make Pendennis and Blanche play at being in love, such as two blase London people might act and half deceive themselves that they were in earnest". (1)

Dr. Portman kindly Rector of Clavering, St. Mary, who was concerned over Arthur Pendennis' infatuation for the Fotheringay was Dr. Cornish, vicar of Ottery,(2) St. Mary, eleven miles from Exeter. Here Thackeray's step-father, Major Carmichael-Smyth, lived about the year 1825, et seq.

"Pendennis" is so autobiographical in parts that most readers, acquainted with the social history of the forties of the last century, endeavour to trace the 'originals';It must be borne in mind however that Thackeray never wilfully copied anybody; he was, as George Augustus Sala put it, 'only gently and skilfully assimilative and combinative in his characters, which passed through the alembic of his study and observation'. This is particularly true of the remaining characters, with the exception of Captain Costigan-even though he is probably 'an assimilative and combinative'

(1) Letters - 1847-1855, p. 49.

(2) Thackeray Dictionary - p. 209.

creation formed from Thackeray's acquaintance with Irish people. (1)

Let us consider first the 'society' group - Henry Foker - Andrew Arcedeckne; Lord Colchicum - Lord Lonsdale; Clarence Bulbul - Lord Houghton. Henry Foker was the grandson of a brewer and an earl. He was a sport, a show-off, and liked to be on terms of familiarity with all the sports and inmates of taverns - "as the London coaches drove up, Mr. Foker flung the coffee room windows open, and called the guards and coachmen by their christian names, asking about their respective families and imitating with great liveliness the tooting of the horns". (2) When Pen met him in Chatteris on 'his grand black tandem with scarlet wheels' he had 'a bulldog between his legs, and in his scarlet shawl neckcloth was a pin resembling another bulldog in gold."

This gay and confident man of the world, had a sorry fall when he fell prey to the wiles of the fair Blanche. Underneath his swaggering airs, he was an honourable man in his love for the girl who played with him and cheated him for two years. Happy! O Heavens! She don't know - she can't know how fond I am of her, and - who am I? A poor little beggar, and she takes me up and says she'll try and l - - l love me.....I tell you I'll love

(1) "Wm. Makepeace Thackeray" - Lewis Melville, p. 43.

(2) "Pendennis" - chap. III.

everybody who loves her." (1)

This "Harry Foker is a lifelike portrait of Mr. Andrew Arcedechne who belonged to the Garrick Club at the same time as Thackeray. He was noted for his eccentricities, which furnished amusement to all his fellow members. On the appearance of 'Pendennis', the portrait was at once recognized." (2) He was called 'Merry Andrew' and sometimes "Phoca" (Foker). "He (3) was small in stature, eccentric in mode of dressing, drove mail coaches as an amateur, loved fighting dogs, game-cocks, and the prize ring, and had a large estate in Norfolk." This same young Arcedeckne knew how to disconcert Thackeray by his odd and teasing remarks. The night after his lecture on "The Humourists" delivered in the fashionable Willis's Rooms, Arcedechne walked up to him: "How are you Thack?" he said buttoning his coat across him in his usual fashion. "I was at your show today at Willis's. What a lot of swells you have there - yes ! But I thought it was dull - devilish dull ! I'll tell you what it is, Thack - you want a piano ! " (4)

Another member of society whom Thackeray caricatured in "Pendennis" was Lord Colchicum, one of the London

(1) "Pendennis" - chap. LXXIII.

(2) Thackeray Dictionary - p. 100.

(3) "Thackeray" - p. 319, Lewis Melville.

(4) "Recollections" Vol. II, p. 16.

'bucks'. "my Lord Colchicum, though stricken in years, bald of head and enfeebled in person, was still indefatigable in the pursuit of ^{ENJOYMENT} ~~employment~~, and it was the venerable Vicount's boast that he could drink as much claret as the youngest member of the society he frequented...He was an enlightened patron of the drama.....And at his villa on the Thames, this pillar of the stage gave sumptuous entertainments to the scores of young men of fashion who very affably consorted with the ladies and gentlemen of the green room." The original of this old 'buck' Lord Colchicum was Lord Lonsdale, who was also the original of Lord Eshdale in Disraeli's "Lancred".

Clarence Bulbul is a good natured caricature of Thackeray's life-long friend Moncton Milnes, traveller and man of the world. In "Pendennis" he is represented as a Treasury Clerk taking his afternoon ride in Rotten Row and comparing its loneliness (when the London season has closed) "to the vastness of the Arabian desert and himself to a Bedouin wending his way through that dusty solitude."

The originals for the Literary group; those men whom Pen met around the supper and singing taverns, were the men whom Thackeray himself had met as a student of the Middle Temple, and as a man of the world.

Pen, like Thackeray, went to study law in the Temple. There he roomed with George Warrington, who by means of kindly satire made the indolent youth support himself by writing while he pursued his studies. Warrington,

for all his ragged old shooting jacket, was perfectly easy and unembarrassed, yet you couldn't but perceive that he was a gentleman. In his queer rooms in the Lamb Court Temple - there was a small library of law books, books of poetry, and of mathematics, of which he was very fond. He had been one of the hardest livers and hardest readers of his time at Oxbridge, where the name of Stunning Warrington was yet famous for beating bargemen, pulling matches, winning prizes, and drinking milk punch." Warrington was supposed to be in law but he preferred to belong to the "Corporation of the Goose-quill." (1)

There is something pathetic in the hopeless of the man for Laura Bell. "He would have given["] his whole life and soul to win that prize which Arthur rejected"...."We are the slaves of destiny. Our lots are shaped for us, and mine is ordained long ago. Come let us have a pipe and put the smell of these flowers out of court. Poor little silent flowers! You'll be dead tomorrow. What business had you to show your red cheeks in this dingy place?" (2)

Several originals have been claimed for Warrington; viz. Taylor, Thackeray's room-mate during his stay in the Middle Temple, George Stovin Venables, a life-long friend from the old Charterhouse days, and Edward Fitz Gerald, his best friend. Lady Ritchie writes thus:

(1) "Pendennis" - chap. XXVII.

(2) "Pendennis" - chap. LIII.

(1) "My father's relations to Edward Fitz-Gerald had, perhaps some resemblance to those of Pendennis and Warrington - although they did not become intimate until after they had left college, and yet my father was not Pendennis any more than the other was Warrington; They were both much more fastidious, critical and imaginative persons. To Warrington, Fitz-Gerald and to my father, indeed, as well, belonged, together with a certain benevolent dictatorship, some shrinking from the stress of life which comes rather from too much sympathy than from indifference. For its quaint humours, its merry quirks, their tastes never failed. Droll fancies and caricatures, in which they both delighted, used to go to Mr. Fitz Gerald.

Edward Fitz Gerald(1809-1883) belonged to an old family of Suffolk. He was fond of literature and yachting was his chief recreation. He was rather eccentric, and a man of intense friendships. He is famous for his translation of "Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam". The picture of the man as given in "Pendennis" corresponds with the account given in the "Dictionary of English Literature", especially with regard to Fitz Gerald's love of yachting and literature. Furthermore Warrington like Fitz Gerald belonged to a good old family.

Warrington took Pen to see Captain Charles Shandon, detained in Newgate for debt. Shandon was the

editor of the new magazine "The Pall Mall Gazette" for which pen was to become a contributor. This Shandon is a thinly disguised picture of Dr. Maginn (1793-1842) the witty but irresponsible writer for "Blackwoods" and the editor of Fraser's - begun by him in 1830. The history of the man is anything but creditable. He was a shiftless Irishman of intemperate habits and in spite of his rollicking genial nature had really little heart/^{even}for the lovely lady who became his wife. His writing was unfair to his political and literary adversaries. More often than not he was in the debtor's prison, and from there he would send out his articles.

Thackeray wrote in his diary of May 2nd, 1832, that he met Dr. Maginn, and that at first he was charmed with him. "Maginn read Homer to me and he made me admire it as I had never done before." (1) "Dr. Maginn's scholarship and kindness and brilliant talk, afterwards the reverse of the medal appears; it is not the king's head any more that we see but the dragon, with its claws and ugly forked tongue. Lockhart's epitaph sums up the spirit of that unsatisfied life: 'Many worse, better few, than ^{BRIGHT}~~worst~~ broken Maginn'".

Thackeray describes him thus: (2) "Nothing ever seemed to disturb the sweetness of his temper; not duns, not misery; not the bottle; not his wife's unhappy

(1) Introduction to "Pendennis" - XXXIX.

(2) "Pendennis" - chap. XXXI.

position, or his children's ruined chances. He was perfectly fond of wife and children after his fashion: He always had the kindest words and smiles for them, and ruined them with the utmost sweetness of temper. He never could refuse himself or any man any enjoyment which his money could purchase, he would share his last guinea with Jack and Tom, and we may be sure he had a score of such retainers. He would sign his name at the back of any man's bill and never pay any debt of his own. He would write on any side and attack himself or another man with equal indifference. He was one of the wittiest, the most amiable and the most incorrigible of Irish men. Nobody could help liking Charley Shandon who saw him once, and those whom he ruined could scarcely be angry with him."

Such was the man whom Pen and Warrington met in the Fleet. "He was sitting on his bed in a torn dressing gown.....scribbling as fast as his rapid pen could write." He was working on a rabidly conservative article for Bungay the rival Publisher, who thought the 'Captain' could write the best smashing article in England. Bungay, then employed Shandon as his Editor for the new aristocratic "Pall Mall Gazette", for though himself, vulgar, and illiterate, he could choose good men for his hacks.

Mr. Bungay the publisher was a shrewd but ill-bred publisher in Paternoster Row. (1) He had formerly been in partnership with Mr. Bacon, but the two had quarrelled

(1) Paternoster Row - publisher's street, north of St. Paul's.

and dissolved partnership. Then they each tried, to outdo the other in getting out new editions or in finding new writers. The quarrel (1) of these two as well as that of their wives, who were sisters, is similar to that of Colburn and Bentley.(2)

These two men had been partners until their quarrel in 1832, after which each struggled to outwit the other in producing unusual publications. If Bentley brought out a new magazine, Colbourn would bring out another. The latter was arranging for the "Joker's Magazine", but did not follow up the idea. Colbourn is represented as being quite vulnerable to stories of sorrow. He rarely finished his sentence, and generally qualified his statement with a 'possibly' or 'perhaps'.

The story of the enmity of Bungay and Bacon reads like that of Colbourn and Bentley.

Under Warrington's aegis, Pen wrote poetry for Mr. Bacon's beautiful gilt volume, just as did Thackeray in his young days contribute poetry. Mr. Bacon's publication was the "Spring Annual" edited by the Lady Violet Lebas and numbering amongst its contributors not only the most eminent, but the most fashionable, poets of our time: "Lord Dodo and the Honourable Percy Popjoy whose chivalrous ballads have obtained him such a reputation - Bedwin Sand's Eastern Ghazuls". "The book was daintily illustrated with pictures of

(1) "Memoirs of Great Men and Women of the Age, S.C.Hall.

(2) 1704-181

reigning beauties." To this magazine, the work of the 'haut ton', our hero Pen contributed "The Church Porch", an actual contribution of Thackeray's.

I have no authority for saying so, but I have the idea that the "Spring Annual" edited by the Lady Violet Lebas and contributed to by the aristocracy, was no other than Lady Blessington's "The Book of Beauty" or "The Keepsake". Perhaps the aristocratic contributors may have been Count Alfred D'Orsay and Samuel Rogers, the banker poet and remembered for "The Pleasures of Memory".

In "Pendennis" there is an account of a dinner party, that Bungay, the Publisher gave to his literary friends. "There was Captain Sumph"(1), an ex-beau still about town and related to literature and the Peerage. He was said to have written a book once, and to have been the friend of Lord Byron. Anecdotes of Byron formed his staple conversation.(2) Mr. Wagg and Mr. Wenham have already been identified respectively as Theodore Hook and Croker. Although the party was made up of so many illustrious guests, yet the conversation was by no means witty. It was, rather, loud and argumentative becoming still more so as the glasses continued to be filled.

Thus we get a picture of men of letters, "and now that you have seen the men of letters, tell me was I far wrong in saying that there are thousands of people in this town

(1) Capt. Medwin of the 24th Light Dragoons who published, 1824, a set of foolish "Conversations with Lord Byron" p. 151. Whibley.

(2) "Pendennis" - chap. XXX.

who don't write books, who are to the full, as clever and intellectual as people who do ?"

No sooner were these chapters of "Pendennis" published than the Press made a protest against the author. He was accused by "The Chronicle" and "The Examiner" for having "condescended to caricature his literary fellow labourers in order to pay court to the non-literary class."

Thackeray replied thus: "Have their talents never been urged as a plea for improvidence and their very faults adduced as a consequence of their genius ? The only moral that I, as a writer, wished to hint at in the description against which you protest, was, that it is the duty of a literary man as well as of every other to practice regularity and sobriety, to love his family and to pay his tradesman. Nor is the picture I have drawn 'a caricature which I condescend to' any more than it is a wilful and insidious design on my part to flatter the non-literary class.....My attempt was to tell the truth, and to tell it not unkindly. I have seen the book-seller whom Bludger robbed of his books. I have carried money, and from a noble brother-man-of letters to some one not unlike Shandon in prison, and have watched the beautiful devotion of his wife in that dreary place. Why are these things not to be described, if they illustrate, as they appear to me to do, that strange and awful struggle which takes place in our hearts and in the world ?"

As it had been Thackeray's delight to visit 'a hundred queer haunts' so was it his hero, Pens, to go abroad after the day's work. He used to go to the 'Back Kitchen' (1) to hear the singing of Mr. Hodgson (2) in "The Body Snatchers". There he met Archer of the 'Long Bow', whose conversation was of the Lords and Dukes who were his intimate friends, and of whom he told the most exaggerated stories. He was supposed to be Tom Hill, of the "Monthly Mirror". He was a little fat florid man with a face like a penny. He had a rare collection of books of which he knew only the titles and their marketable value. He was a merry man whose peculiar faculty was to find what everybody did. His favorite expression was "Pooh, Pooh, Sir don't tell me, I happen to know." (3) Such a character was too great a temptation not to caricature.

In "Pendennis" there is an unusual character, Mirobolant 'the elegant authority on food' and Lady Clavering's tempermental cook. "It was a grand sight to behold him in his dressing gown composing a menu. He always sate down and played the piano for some time before. If interrupted, he remonstrated pathetically. Every great artist, he said, had need of solitude to perfectionate his art".....(4)

(1) Back Kitchen - Cyder Cellars - Thackeray Dictionary.

(2) Ross - famous for the song "Sam Hall".

(3) "Memories of Great Men and Women of the Age" - p. 157, S.C. Hall.

(4) "Pendennis" - chap. XXIV.

His usual favorite costume was a light green frock or paletot, his crimson velvet waistcoat with blue glass buttons, his pantalon Ecossais of a very large and decided check pattern, his orange satin neckcloth, and his jean-boots with tips of shining leather,- these with a gold embroidered cap, and a richly gilt cane formed his usual holiday attire. He is a thinly disguised picture of a famous French chef (1) 'Alexis Soyer, (1809-1851) of the Reform Club, and later proprietor of the famous "Gore House" restaurant. He did good work during the Crimean war, when he revised the victualling of the army. (2)

"Pendennis" is "a blurred reflection of Thackeray's own life". Many of his experiences as well as people whom he met, he has introduced into his novels, and particularly into "Pendennis". The man for whom he had a strong dislike was Dr. Russell, the Headmaster of the Charterhouse School. According to George Stovin Venables, a fellow student with Thackeray, Dr. Russell was "vigorous, unsympathetic and stern, though not severe". (3) Thackeray in his letters seems to fear the Doctor's anger; e.g. "Feb. 15 "I have not been out of the house today; I have got a headache, but don't like to stop out of school, for the Doctor would tell me that it was a disgraceful

(1) "Thackeray Country" - p. 129.

(2) Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. LIII.

(3) Introduction to "Pendennis" - p. XVII, Lady Ritchie.

shuffle, so I think it better to bear the pain" and again on the 14th, "Valentine Day, but I have no Valentine. Dr. Russell has been fierce today, yea, and full of anger. Every day he begins at me 'Thackeray, Thackeray, you are an idle, profligate, shuffling boy.'" Again he describes his 'bete Noir'.

"Doctor Russell has treated me every day with such manifest unkindness and injustice that I can scarcely bear it. It is hard when you are endeavouring to work to find your attempts nipped in the bud. If ever I get a respectable place in my form, he is sure to bring me down again; today there is such a flagrant instance of it that it was the general talk of the school. I wish I could leave him tomorrow."

How we see these sentiments reechoed in "Pendennis" when that unfortunate boy is being rebuked by Dr. Swishtails. "Pendennis, Sir, your idleness is incorrigible and your stupidity beyond example. You are a disgrace to your school and to your family, and I have no doubt will prove so in after life to your country. Miserable trifler! a boy who will not learn his Greek....."at sixteen years of age is guilty not merely of folly, and ignorance, and dulness inconceivable, but of crime, of deadly crime, of filial ingratitude, which I tremble to contemplate. A boy, Sir, who does not learn his Greek play, cheats the parent who spends the money for his education." (1)

(1) "Pendennis" - chap II.

If Dr. Swishtails of Grey Friars was based on a very real person - Dr. Russell of Charterhouse - the equally life-like character of disreputable old Captain Chesterfield Costigan, was fictitious. He was father of Miss Emily Fotheringay and kept careful watch of her reputation. "Poor Cos! he was at once brave and maudlin, humourous and an idiot, always good natured and sometimes almost trustworthy.....His end was in a spunging house, where the sheriff's officer who took him was fond of him." (1) This is the same old re-shocked probate who / ~~was~~ Colonel Newcome in the "Cave of Harmony" with his ribald song.

Many originals of the character have been claimed, but his delineation is just an example of Thackeray's marvellous gift of understanding character. He says himself: "In the novel "Pendennis", written ten years ago, there is an account of a certain Costigan whom I had invented (as I suppose authors invent their personages out of scraps heel-taps, odds and ends of characters). I was smoking in a tavern parlour one night - and this Costigan came into the room alive - the Very Man.....He had the same little coat, the same battered hat, cocked on one eye, the same twinkle in that eye.....Nothing shall convince me that I have not seen that man in the world of spirits." (2)

Pendennis is dedicated to Dr. John Elliotson, 'who would take no other fee but thanks'. He takes the

(1) "Pendennis" - chap. V.

(2) Roundabout Papers - De Finilius.

part of the benevolent doctor in Thackeray's three novels "Pendennis", "Vanity Fair", and "Philip". When Thackeray was very ill during the cholera epidemic of 1849, Dr. Elliotson saved his life but "laughed at the idea of taking a fee from a literary man." Thackeray has perpetuated the physician's kindness and skill in all three novels, where the doctor is represented as 'Dr. Goodenough'.

Let us now examine the characters of "The Book of Snobs" to find their prototypes. In it the 'Snobographer', found ample scope for hitting at peculiarities of well-known types - but strange to say there are fewer characters to identify.

People of the day, 1849, discerned in William Stephen Price (1) Captain Shindy "another sort of club bore. He has been known to throw all the club in an uproar about the quality of his mutton chop.....All the waiters in the club are huddled round the Captain's Mutton Chop.....Poor Mrs. Shindy and the children are meanwhile, in dingy lodgings somewhere, waited upon by a charity girl in patterns."

There is a good-natured 'take-off' on Sir Walter Scott's love of ancient relics. "We have all of us read of the King's voyage to Haggisland, where his presence inspired such a fury of loyalty; and where the most famous man of the country - the Baron of Bradwardine - coming on board

(1) Thackeray Dictionary.

the Royal Yacht and finding a glass (1) out of which Gorgius had drunk, put it into his coat pocket as an inestimable relic, and went ashore in his boat again. But the Baron sat down upon the glass and broke it, and cut his coat tails very much; and the inestimable relic was lost to the world forever." (2)

"Crump (3) is a rich specimen of a university snob. At twenty-five, he invented three new metres and published an edition of an exceedingly improper Greek Comedy.....Crump thinks Saint Boniface is the centre of the world, and his position as President the highest in England."....."When the allied monarchs came down and were made Doctors of the University a breakfast was given at Saint Boniface; on which occasion Crump allowed the Emperor Alexander to walk before him, but took the "pas" himself of the King of Prussia and Prince Blucher".

Crump has been identified as Whewell (4), Master of Trinity when Thackeray went there as student in 1829.

In the paper on "Literary Snobs" there are passing references to the genteel novels, by authors "intimately acquainted with the fashionable world". Such

- (1) Probably George IV - greeted on landing at Leith, 1822, amid a burst of romantic enthusiasm, Social England, p. 104.
- (2) "The Book of Snobs" - chap. II.
- (3) "The Book of Snobs" - chap XIV.
- (4) Whewell (1794-1866) Master of Trinity Cambridge; of humble origin, but remarkable intelligence.

names occur as Lady Buliver, , Lady Londondery, Sir Edward himself, all of whom "write the French language with a luxurious elegance and ease." But as Thackeray says "the fact is, that in the literary profession, There Are No Snobs."

It is not to be wondered at that people were annoyed at Thackeray's caricatures, but many of these old dandies of the early years of the nineteenth century still live in the memories of men because of these very Snob papers.

One critic has said: "Thackeray was the polished gentleman writer who had little knowledge of the lower and darker social worlds and preferred to state his comedies and tragedies in terms of the middle class. He was distinctly the critic and historian of his own time, his own town and his own class.....His works are an elegant microcosm of the time. Like softly tinted figures in old engravings we see this passing show and rout (all ladies and gentlemen) strutting and ambling before the polished spectacles of their Creator." (1)

Every imaginative lover of literature can say with the writer: "Dust may return to dust and ashes to ashes; the souls of the dead may have departed far, , but the ghosts of historic memory linger ever, even after their familiar environment has been taken away and the traces of their every day doings have vanished." (2)

(1) "The Thackeray Centenary" in the "American Review of Reviews" Vol. XLIV, p. 226, 1911.

(2) "London: A Historic and Literary Ghostland,"
Norma B. Carson, Book News, Sept. 1909.

CONCLUSION.

THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THACKERAY'S PURPOSE:

What has been Thackeray's literary legacy to succeeding generations ?

First of all he has made the London of the West End a very definite locality for people who live thousands of miles from the Metropolis. The streets, the parks, and such points of interest as the Temple, and the Charterhouse, have a location which anyone can find. To be sure the city has changed since Thackeray's day, but there are enough landmarks left to permit students to rehabilitate the London of the eighteen-thirties and forties,

"To Thackeray the persons in his story were as much alive as the men and women around him. They lodged in houses which bore numbers on actual streets, and a directory of the characters in the novels would give addresses in various parts of London to which a cabman might drive without a moment's hesitation." (1)

Furthermore, Thackeray has given us delightful pictures that do not fade from the mind; e.g. Pendennis in the Temple Garden on a Sunday evening; the ringing of the chimes of St. Clement's Church, Founder's Day service in the Charterhouse Chapel. Then there are the Waterloo

(1) "Thackeray and our own Times" - Nation July, 1911.

pictures, and the gay life in Brussels before the battle.

Thackeray has made us acquainted with a crowd of characters, some of whom we may recognize in our own circle of acquaintances: Becky Sharp, Maria Newcome, Helen Pendennis, Blanche Amory, Warrington, Major Pendennis, Sir Pitt Crawley. The list might include most of his characters for they stand out as individuals of distinct personalities.

"Ideas are the only facts that last. Other things pass and disappear, but ideas grow and grow in people's hearts, as time goes on and men learn their long lessons, and accept the teachings of life."(1) The ideas of true and false attitudes to life, the paltriness of vulgar show; the enduringness of noble worth, and that, as Thackeray himself said, "love is a higher intellectual exercise than hatred," are the ideas that the discerning reader should have learned from Thackeray's books.

"Sir Edward Burne-Jones wrote in 1856 an essay on 'The Newcomes' for the first number of the 'Oxford and Cambridge Magazine': 'Thackeray was great because he depicted poor human nature as it is, because he studied from life and reproduced life, and was both sorry for it, and proud for it!' (2)

Concerning the teaching of his books, Thackeray wrote: "I think, please God, my books are written by a God-loving man, and the morality - the vanity of successes, etc.

(1) Introduction to "Denis Duval" - p. XXXII, Lady Ritchie.

(2) Biographical Introduction to "Denis Duval" p. XXXIV.

of all but love and goodness - is not that the teaching domini nostri ?" (1)

Thackeray, in the guise of 'his blurred reflection', "Pendennis", had set up a high idea of the writer's responsibility:

"I pray Heaven, I may be honest if I fail or if I succeed. I pray Heaven I may tell the truth as far as I know it; that I mayn't swerve from it through flattery, or interest or personal enmity or party prejudice." (2) Nobly did he keep his resolve.

(1) Biographical Introduction to "The Newcomes" - p. LII, Lady Ritchie.

(2) "Pendennis" - chap. XXXII.

- Tales & Sketches", 2 Vols. London, Hugh Cunningham, 1841.
- 1839 "Little Poisinet" (Later incorporated in "The Paris Sketch Book").
- 1839-40 "Catherine: A Story by Ikey Solomons, Esq., Junior". First printed in "Fraser's Magazine", (May-Aug., Nov., 1839, Jan.-Feb. 1840", first published in book form 1869 by Smith, Elder & Co., London.
- 1840 "The Bedford Row Conspiracy", First printed in "The New Monthly Magazine", Jan., March, April, 1840. In book form first published in "Comic Tales & Sketches", 2 Vols. London; Hugh Cunningham, 1841.
- 1840 "Cox's Diary", First printed in "The Comic Almanac", 1840, under the title "Barber Cox". In book form first published in "Miscellanæes", Vol. 1, London; Bradbury & Evans, 1855.
- 1840 "Paris Sketch Book" (Six stories included; rest of Sketch Book not fiction), 2 Vols. London: John Macrone, 1840.
- 1840 "Shabby Genteel Story". First printed in "Fraser's Magazine", June-Aug., Oct., 1840, first edition in book form by D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1852. In later editions it is usually prefixed to "The Adventures of Philip", to which longer work it serves as

a prologue.

- 1841 "Character Sketches". First printed in "Heads of the People; or Portraits of the English", drawn by Kenny Meadows, London: Robt. Tias, 1841. Captain Rook", however had previously appeared in "The Corsair", 28th Sept., 1839.
- 1841 "History of Samuel Titmarsh and the Great Haggarty Diamond. Edited and Illustrated by Sam's Cousin, Michael Angelo". First printed in "Fraser's Magazine", Sept.-Dec. 1841, in book form, with a slightly abbreviated title, issued by Harper & Brothers, New York, 1848.
- 1841 "Reading a Poem", First printed in "The Britannia, 1 & 8 May, 1841. In book form privately printed at the Chiswick Press, London, 1891.
- 1842 "Sultan Stork"; being the one thousand and second night, by Major G. O'Gahagan, H. E. I. C. S. First printed in "Ainsworth's Magazine", Feb., May, 1842; reprinted in "Sultan Stork" and other stories and sketches; by William Makepeace Thackeray, London; Redway, 1887.
- 1842-43 "Fitz-Boodle Papers". First printed in "Fraser's Magazine", 1842-43, with the general title, "Confessions of Fitz-Boodle", The first and only

complete edition in book form was that published in 1852 by D. Appleton & Co., New York.

- 1843 "Bluebeards Ghost". First printed in "Fraser's Magazine", Oct., 1843. In book form first printed in "Early & Late Papers, Hitherto Uncollected", Boston; Tichner & Fields, 1867.
- 1843 "Men's Wives, by George Fitzboodle", First printed in "Fraser's Magazine", March - June, Aug.-Nov. 1843. First edition in book form by D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1852.
- 1844 "Memoirs of Barry Lyndon, Esq., Written by Himself". First printed in "Fraser's Magazine", Jan. - Sept., Nov. - Dec., 1844, under the title "The Luck of Barry Lyndon", in book form first published in two Vols. by D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1852.
- 1845 "Legend of the Rhine" - published in George Cruikshank's Table-book, June 1845 - Dec., 1845. Published in book form in "Miscellanies: Prose and Verse" 1851.
- 1845 -46 "Diary of C. Jeannes de la Pluche". First printed in "Punch", Nov. 8, 1845, Vol. IX, pp. 207-8 - Feb. 7, 1846. First edition in book form 1846, Wm., Taylor & Co., New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore.

- 1846-47 "The Book of Snobs!" First printed in "Punch"
1846-47, Vols. X-XII; first edition in book
form, London: "Punch" Office, 1848. The original
title was, "The Snobs of England, by One of
Themselves."
- 1847 Mrs. Perkins's Ball, by Mr. M. A. Titmarsh.
First Christmas Book, London; Chapman and Hall,
1847.
- 1848 "Novels by Eminent Hands". First printed in
"Punch", April - Oct., 1847. Issued in book
form except "Grinoline" and the "Stars and Stripes"
in "Punch's Prize Novelists", New York: D. Appleton
and Co., 1853. All were reprinted in Vol. XVI,
of the Smith and Elden Library Edition.
- 1847-48 "Vanity Fair", A Novel Without a Hero. First
issued in twenty numbers. Jan. 1847 - July, 1848.
In book form it was published by Bradbury and Evans,
London, 2 Vols. in 1848.
Time Circa 1814-1830.
- 1847-50 "Sketches and Travels in London". Miscellaneous
papers first printed in "Punch" during the years
1847-1850.
- 1848 Little dinner at Timmins's. First printed in
"Punch" May 27, 1848, June, July 29. First

- 1852 "The History of Henry Esmond, Esq., A Colonel in the Service of Her Majesty Queen Anne. Written by Himself. In three volumes: Smith, Elder and Co., London 1852.
- 1853-55 "The Newcomes: Memoirs of a most Respectable Family. Edited by Arthur Pendennis, Esq.," First issued in monthly numbers, in the familiar yellow covers, Oct. 1853 - Aug. 1855. In book form first published by Bradbury and Evans, London, in 2 Vols. 1854-55.
Time: Main Action, Circa 1835-1845.
- 1855 "The Rose and the Ring", or, The History of Prince Giglio and Prince Bulbo, Sixth Christmas Book, London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1855.
- 1857-59 "The Virginians. A Tale of the Last Century". First printed in twenty-four monthly numbers from Nov. 1857 - Sept. 1859; in book form it was first issued in 2 Vols. by Bradbury and Evans, London, 1858-59.
- 1860 "Lovel the Widower", First issued as a serial in the "Cornhill Magazine", Jan.-June, 1860. First edition in book form by Harper Brothers, New York, 1860.
- 1861-62 "The Adventures of Philip on his Way through the

- World, showing who Robbed him, who Helped him, and who Passed him by. First printed in the "Cornhill Magazine", Jan., 1861 - Aug. 1862; in book forms first published in three Vols., by Smith, Elder and Co., London, 1862.
- 1864 "Dennis Duval" Thackeray's unfinished novel, of which only eight chapters were written at the time of his death. These were printed in the "Cornhill Magazine", March - June 1864; first issued in book form by Harper Bros., New York, 1864.
- 1864 "The History of Dionysius Diddler". First printed in "The Autobiographer Mirror", 20th Feb. - 1st June, 1864. The drawings were originally made about 1838, for the "Whitey Brown Paper Magazine" but not then published.
- 1869 "The Wolves and the Lamb", in dramatic form, written for the stage about 1854. In 1860 the material recasted into "Lovel the Widower". "Wolves and the Lamb" not printed until 1869, when it was concluded in Vol. XXII of the collected works, Library edition.
- 1876 "The Orphan of Pimlico": A Moral Tale of Belgravian Life; by Miss M. T. Wigglesworth,"

"Specimen extracts from the New Novel",
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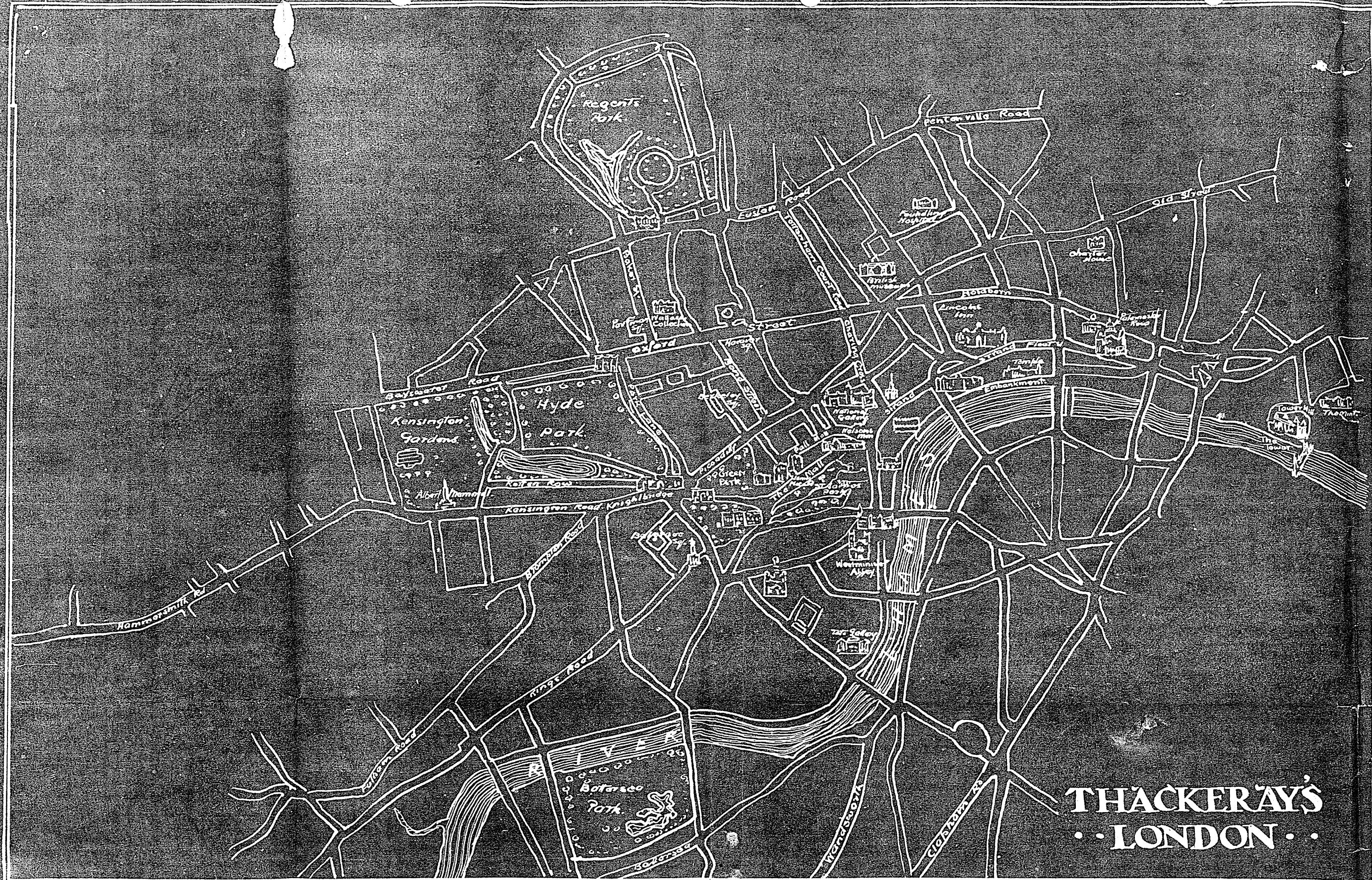
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