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AN ANALYSIS OF A WORK-STUDY PROGRAM OF SPECIAL

EDUCATION-VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

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AN ANALYSIS OF A WORK-STUDY PROGRAM OF SPECIAL

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A generally accepted philosophy of education in
the American democracy today is that of providing for all
children and youth an education which challenges their
potential. A review of the literature indicated that
educational objectives have been developed for students
of all ranges of mental ability. The research of Baller,[1]
Charles,[2] and Hegge[3] and many others provided data which
suggested that the mentally retarded could become useful
members of society both socially and vocationally.

An assumption exists among most professional

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[1]Warren Baller, "A Study of the Present Social
Status of Adults Who When They Were in Elementary School
Were Classified as Mental Deficient," Genetic Psychology
Monograph, XVII (June, 1966).

[2]Don O. Charles, "Ability and Accomplishments of
Persons Earlier Judged Mentally Deficient," Genetic Psy-
chology Monograph, XLVII (February, 1953).

[3]Thorlief Hegge, "Occupational Status of Higher
Grade Defectives in the Present Emergency," American
Journal of Mental Deficiency, IL (1944), pp. 86-98.

educators that good schools everywhere must develop educational programs for students who fall into all ranges of mental ability, aptitude and interest. Any attempt to implement this goal must therefore include effective efforts to develop and make available, programs which are especially designed for mentally handicapped pupils. One of the most difficult and necessary responsibilities which must be discharged in meeting the educational needs of the educable mentally retarded, hereafter referred to as E.M.R., is in the area of vocational education. This means the identification and development of programs which meet the needs of the E.M.R. students.

One of the earliest attempts to identify vocational goals for mentally handicapped students was by Bird[1] in 1922, who suggested that boys with low I.Q.'s turned out better work than brighter boys. Coudery,[2] also in 1922, did a study of 578 Whittier State school boys, ages 12-19, assigned to 22 different trades, in which he concluded that persons of limited mental abilities operated more efficiently than those of higher intelligence, provided supervision is given. The earlier

[1]V. A. Bird, "A Study in the Correlation of General Intelligence and Progress in Learning Machine Shop Work as Related to the Problem of Educational Guidance," Industrial Education Magazine, 24 (1922), pp. 67-69.

[2]K. M. Cowdery, "Measures of General Intelligence as Indices of Success in Trade Learning," Journal of Applied Psychology, 6 (1922), pp. 311-330.

studies failed to distinguish between the various classi-
fications of skills but did provide an assumption that
the lack of mental capacity provided a person with a
manual ability. This theory has been used by the lay
public for a number of years as justification for pro-
viding vocational education for the non-academic student.
This theory has been disproved and has not been generally
accepted by psychologists, educators, and researchers for
the past thirty years.

Education for mentally retarded students showed an
unusual growth since World War II. The programs and cur-
riculum have assumed new dimensions, as parent pressure
groups insisted upon effective exploration into goals and
objectives which were meaningful. The objective of pro-
viding a work-study orientated curriculum was proposed by
two respected educators, Kirk and Johnson, who stated,
"They should learn to participate in work for the purpose
of earning their own living; i.e., they should develop occu-
pational competence through efficient vocational guidance
and training as a part of their school experience."[1]

A report of the United States Congressional Com-
mittee studying juvenile delinquency drew this conclusion:
"Lack of opportunity for paid work is an important cause

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[1]Samuel Kirk and G. O. Johnson, Educating the
Retarded Child (Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co.,
1951), p. 118.

of juvenile delinquency, partly because denial of a chance

to earn money puts an adolescent in a childlike status

and does not permit him to progress smoothly toward adult-

hood."[1] Programs of work-study provided the student with

a status position in his environment which was not pro-

vided in his formal special education program. In a recent

publication Havighurst[2] indicated that the educable men-

tally handicapped student can make a fairly good adjustment

in adolescence and adulthood if he can find simple work.

Two basic power groups, political and parental,

have demanded quality programs for the educable mentally

retarded student. These interacting groups worked inside

and outside of governmental agencies to create new pro-

grams which would provide a sound base for the educable

mentally retarded of high school age. The statutes of

most states have required that all students remain in high

school until the age limit without regard to limiting

mental and physical factors. The responsibility for

training all handicapped students including the mentally

retarded, was a factor in providing new programs in the

early 1960's in the state and nation.

[1]United States 86th Congress (1960), Report on
Juvenile Delinquency (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government
Printing Office, p. 27.

[2]R. J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Heugarten,
Society and Education (Boston, Mass.: Allyn-Bacon, 1967),
p. 336.

A limited number of secondary schools had effected
changes in the basic instruction of educable mentally
retarded students when they received support from govern-
mental agencies and parents of the handicapped. The basic
structure of the work-study and/or cooperative program was
being conceptualized in many secondary schools as reported
by Ebersole,[1] Gehrke,[2] Muller, and Lewis.[3] The literature
and research reported basic concepts in support of the
work-study program and a descriptive analysis of the con-
tent of the programs.

One of the early programs in Oklahoma was conducted
by three agencies as a cooperative effort between (1) Okla-
homa Vocational Rehabilitation Division, the Oklahoma City
Public Schools and the Oklahoma State Department of Educa-
tion, Special Education Division. Special Education
Classes for the E.M.R. had been conducted in very few
secondary schools prior to the pilot program initiated by
the three collaborating agencies in March, 1961. Central
High School was selected as the project school because of

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[1]Ladean Embry-Ebersole, "A Study of the Curriculum
and Environments and Initial Rehabilitation Processes for
Mentally Retarded Young Adults" (Unpublished Ed.D. Dis-
sertation University of Alabama, 1965).

[2]A. W. Gehuke, "How the State Helps Retarded Stu-
dents," Minnesota Journal of Education, 46 (June, 1966),
pp. 35-36.

[3]Virginia Muller and Mark Lewis, "A Work Program
for the Mentally Retarded Students," Journal of Secondary
Education, 41 (February, 1966), pp. 75-79.

three unique factors: economic deprivation of a high per-
centage of the student body, a racially integrated staff
and student body, and the large number of handicapped
students. The project was also designed to alleviate some
of the conservative administrative procedures prevalent in
each agency, which prevented constructive interaction.

The three year project was a cooperative program
which provided techniques and ideas for planning a con-
structive curriculum to be used in the high schools through-
out the state of Oklahoma. The research design was "action
research," which is common in many programs financed by
governmental agencies, and no formal research design was
developed as an element in establishing the project. A
few basic facts were provided in the report of the Research
and Demonstration Project:[1]

> A study, made at the time, revealed that 28% of the
> eighth grade special education students did not
> enroll in the ninth grade of Central Secondary School.
> The same study revealed a 56% loss of students from
> the eighth to the tenth grades.

The Project

The purpose of the project was to focus intensive
rehabilitation and educational services on a group of
mentally retarded students to demonstrate the effectiveness

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[1]"Final Report of a Research and Demonstration
Project by the Oklahoma Vocational Rehabilitation Service
and the Oklahoma City Public Schools" (Vocational Rehabili-
tation Research Grant No. RD-771, July, 1964), p. 3.

of these services in providing job placement opportunities.

Planning for the implementation of the special project

was done jointly by three agencies: Central High School,

Oklahoma Vocational Rehabilitation Services, and the

Oklahoma State Department of Special Education.

The project plan was designed for three years

(1961-1964), with a preliminary pilot study to be con-

ducted during the months of March, April and May of 1961.

The project plan had three basic responsibilities:

(a) Basic curriculum revision toward realistic occu-
    pational and sociological goals.

(b) Intensive staffing procedures to support project
    personnel, as they identified with the students.

(c) Administrative adjustments to implement the proj-
    ect into a workable unit.

All E.M.R. students in the upper three grades

(10-11-12) of the high school were placed in the project

after its initiation in September 1961. A project student

was qualified by an individual intelligence quotient of

50-75 and/or on the recommendation of the school psycholo-

gist. The vocational rehabilitation counselor assigned

to the project as technical project director assumed case

service responsibility. The involvement of all personnel

in the project who had either administrative, counseling

or teaching responsibilities provided a "team" approach

which formed the basis for communication in the program.

The assignments of teacher-coordinators were made

after careful consideration of many factors related to

students. Their basic assignment was divided into two
broad areas: (1) Teaching a revised curriculum based on
new socio/occupational goals and (2) Direct involvement
in job placement, supervision and coordination of home
environment. The vocational rehabilitation counselor
assumed responsibility for: (1) Intake evaluation,
(2) Planning for additional services, i.e., medical,
physical, mental, and specialized training, and (3) Plan-
ning with other members of project team. These individual
members of the team were supplemented in the various
planning groups by the regular school counselor, director
of the materials' center and other personnel from the
three supporting major agencies.

The students assigned to the project responded to
the innovations and gained a new status in the eyes of
their fellow students, as project personnel began processing
the objectives and goals. Basic limitations of the E.M.R.
interacted to create these problems: (1) The service
jobs, which basically were the jobs available, were of
short duration, and (2) The vocational objectives had not
been clearly defined in the goals of the project. The
concept of "job conditioning" was accepted as a term which
defined the objectives of the formalized training and
created a realistic vocational goal for the project.

The vocational rehabilitation counselor maintained
extensive records for each E.M.R. student as he progressed

through the training program and services provided by the
cooperating agencies.

Need for the Study

Increasing numbers of work-study programs for high
school mentally retarded students are being conceptualized
and implemented in the secondary schools of the nation
without formalized evaluation efforts. The effectiveness
or ineffectiveness of these programs should be evaluated
in relation to a selected group of variables affecting
success for these handicapped students.

Statement of Problem

The problem of this study was to analyze the char-
acteristics and evaluate the effectiveness of the work-
study program of Special Education-Vocational Rehabilitation
as conceptualized and operated at Oklahoma City Central
High School.

Hypotheses

HO_1 There were no significant differences in the
socio/occupational scores made by a group of
E.M.R.s who have completed an experimental
work-study school program and a group who
participated in a regular special education
program when race was statistically controlled.

HO_2 There were no significant differences in the
socio/occupational scores made by a group of
E.M.R.s who have completed an experimental
work-study program and a group who failed to
complete the program when race was statistically
controlled.

HO$_3$ There were no significant differences in the socio/occupational scores made by a group of E.M.R.s who failed to complete an experimental work-study program and a group who participated in a regular special education program when race was statistically controlled.

Limitations of Problem

1. Methodology of the study was circumscribed around the limitations of students in the original project for the experimental groups and students within the same socio-economic geographical area in the control group.

2. Sampling procedure was limited to the availability of subjects.

3. The ninety subjects in the study were male, socio-economically deprived and identified by state statutes as special education students.

4. The research design was ex post facto which is less scientific than a true experimental design. Kerlinger comments that "despite its weakness, much ex post facto research must be done in psychology, sociology, and education simply because many research problems in the social sciences and education do not lend themselves to experimental inquiry."[1]

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[1] Fred N. Kerlinger, _Foundations of Behavioral Research_ (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965).

Methodology

The basic design of this study was an analysis
of variance experiment of unequal cell frequencies to
determine significant differences between three groups:
one control and two experimental. The students in the
control group had participated in regular special educa-
tion classes at Oklahoma City Douglas and Capitol Hill
high schools, were never enrolled at Central High School
and had not participated in the special project. A
second group was formed of students who enrolled in the
special Central High School project but dropped out before
completing a significant part of the project. The third
group was composed of students who completed the entire
project culminating in a high school diploma. Each group
included thirty students.

The initial selection and assignment of students
was made by the Special Education Division of the State
Department of Education as recommended by the Oklahoma
City Public School's psychologist. The recommendations
were made on the basis of a state law which required that
students assigned to special education classes must score
between 50 and 75 on an individually administered intel-
ligence instrument. All subjects in the study were previ-
ously assigned to special education classes in the Oklahoma
City Public School.

Selection of an instrument was complicated by the uniqueness of the students who until the last twenty years were not generally accepted in the public schools. The preparation of appropriate tools in securing data required detailed validation both for content and subjects. The development of "The Texas Screening Battery for Subnormals" by Dr. Peck et al. at the University of Texas produced a validated questionnaire instrument which, in their judgment, "is the most valid set of instruments adapted or developed for this purpose to date."[1] Johnson in his study suggested "that the interview is considered better in the exploratory stages as a research problem and is superior for research in cases where the respondent has limited mental and reading ability."[2]

An analysis was made of the instrument which secured information relative to the evaluation of after training success. The data in the instrument had been validated for personal, socio-civic and vocational success. The t-test was used to make individual comparison of differences relative to drop-outs and graduates, no training and drop-outs and no training and graduates. A mean deviation of each group was compiled to determine

[1]J. R. Peck et al., The Texas Screening Battery for Subnormals (Austin, Texas: H.E.W. Publications, 1964).

[2]Carl Otto Johnson, Questionnaires and Interviews (Hontuerkargaton 78, Stockholm-Sweden, Almquist and Niksell, 1957), pp. 25-26.

significant differences between races using the F and t-tests.

Two trained teacher-coordinators in the Central High School Project administered the questionnaire instrument from rolls provided by the Vocational Rehabilitation Counselor assigned to the project. A balance was maintained by the counselors as they interviewed equal numbers within groups and equal numbers of Negroes and Caucasians.

Organization for the Study

This chapter presented the initial exploration into materials related to the study. A research design was selected based upon the data that were acquired from the interview-questionnaire, as the instrument approximated the purposes of the study. In Chapter II the literature was reviewed as it related itself to curriculum and work-study programs for the high school mentally retarded student. An analysis was made of the special programming and other significant changes in school procedures adopted for the project in Chapter III.

The remainder of the study concerned itself with research procedures including the method of acquiring data, selection of the instrument and the research design which was described in Chapter IV. Analysis of the data was made in Chapter V which included a determination of significance of the three nul hypotheses. The summary

chapter included the findings of the study which provided

a base for making conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Most of the literature in the area of work-study
has, for many years, related to normal students in feder-
ally sponsored Distributive Education and Occupational
programs. The emerging concern for the E.M.R. gave
impetus to experimentation by the public schools in the
field of work study type programs. The involvement of
controlled experimentation, however, has been disappointing
in the field of work-study as it relates to the adjustment
of the E.M.R. into vocational aspirations. A review of
the literature should prove contributive.

Identification

Students were identified for many years at an
early age as mentally retarded on bases of conditions which
are now considered highly questionable. Ruess,[1] in his
study, indicated that a high status group lost some of its
relative superiority when given a "culture-fair" test as

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[1]Aubrey L. Ruess, "Some Cultural and Personality
Aspects of Mental Retardation," _American Journal of Mental
Deficiency_, October, 1952.

compared to the conventional present-day intelligence tests. K. Ellis[1] indicated that most currently used intelligence tests are so constructed and administered that scores on them are influenced by the cultural backgrounds of the students taking the test. Pasamanick and Knoblock[2] presented a new concept which indicated that except for a few quite rare hereditary defects resulting in mental deficiency, at conception, individuals are quite alike and become different consequent to their experience. Maslow[3] pointed out that individuals cannot be healthier, than in the culture in which they grow and live, and made the proposition that all men would be superior if it were not for the social and cultural thwarting to which they are subjected in their childhood.

A cooperative work study program[4] in Orange, New Jersey reported descriptive data on 300 E.M.R. students included in the Experimental and Control groups and found the mean I.Q. to be 70.5 and the Social Maturity Quotient

[1]K. Ellis, "Some Implications for School Practice of the Chicago Bias in Intelligence Tests," Harvard Educational Review XXIII (1953), 284-97.

[2]Benjamin Pasamanick and Hilda Knobloch, Understanding the Problem of the Disadvantaged Learner (San Francisco, Calif.: Chandler Publishing Company, 1966).

[3]Abraham H. Maslow, Motivation and Personality (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1954), p. 352.

[4]Frances Geteles et al., Cooperative Vocational Pattern for In-School Mentally Retarded Youth, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Project No. RD-1189.

on the Vineland Scale to be 85.3. This indicated a level

of social competence higher than is usually found in normal

retarded populations. Of importance was the racial and

ethnic background which included 82% Negro, 5% Puerto

Rican and 13% Caucasian. The report indicated a concern for

the "labels" attached to the mentally retarded and the

subsequential behavior of the individual after the diag-

nosis is made. Two significant statements were:

1. The statement that someone is retarded implies not only that his current functioning is below aver- age, but also that his capabilities are inherently limited--i.e., not only that he has not learned, but that he is largely incapable of future learning. Thus, an effort may be made to help him improve his functioning, but this would be done in terms of limited, and perhaps limiting goals. However, for the person who has not learned, although he has the potential capability, this lowered level of aspiration may have negative effects, and may in essence not be helpful.

2. The statement that a person is retarded implies that his difficulty is primarily intellectual in nature, so that remedial efforts will concentrate their attention on learning. The learning problem may be in reality secondary to cultural or other major problems.

Based on these statements the report suggested that revi-

sion of existing diagnostic procedures is needed so that

a person is not merely given a label, but rather is pro-

vided a realistic diagnosis. The report further implied

that an attempt should be made to define the nature of the

problem and consequently to structure the preferred direc-

tion of remediation attempts.

Work-Study Programs

The literature contained a number of articles in periodicals which related directly to the vocational opportunities for the E.M.R. in work-study programs. Several programs were initiated through the efforts of state vocational rehabilitation agencies and, *as a part of their process,* follow up reports were developed similar to the Milwaukee, Wisconsin project.[1] This report analysed a program which was similar in purpose to many of the school programs that were initiated during this period.

The Jewish Vocational Service, a civic group, met with special education groups from both local and state levels to plan a program of work adjustment for the mentally retarded. A determination was made that the school system had the basic responsibility to provide an adequate work experience type program which would be beneficial for retarded adolescents whose prognosis for vocational productivity was minimal. A grant was secured from the Vocational Rehabilitation Division of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare for a demonstration project to provide work-study experiences for the high school students of Milwaukee.

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[1] An Evaluation Study and Demonstration Work Experience for the Mentally Retarded during their Last Year in Public School (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: The Jewish Vocational Service and the Vocational Rehabilitation Service, Project 404, 1964).

The program provided physical and mental services from the state vocational rehabilitation agency for each student. Personnel in the program were selected and provided in-service training as a direct contribution by the grant. A program was planned which included an intensive orientation for the students as they related to their work experiences. Parents were involved in the planning of a work experience through direct counseling techniques which resulted in longer tenure on jobs for the student. Students who had extreme difficulty in adjustment were able to receive a longer period of orientation in a workshop atmosphere which was staffed by supervisors who were industrially orientated. Traditional materials were adjusted in the class room to a realistic work world curriculum.

The Milwaukee report indicated that:

1. A specialized work training program emphasizing the work habits, work attitudes, adjustment patterns and positive values of work can make mentally retarded individuals employable;

2. A sheltered workshop is an effective resource for placement and/or a long term adjustment program;

3. The mentally retarded can be placed in productive employment;

4. Sub-contract work offers an adequate activity for training in work habits, attitudes, and other adjustment patterns;

5. A follow-up relationship to maintain adjustment on the job and/or to assist in finding a new job is a definite need.

Mentally retarded youth in Texas have participated in similar programs for a number of years. Strickland[1] conducted a survey of 533 students to determine the types of jobs to which E.M.R.'s were assigned during the school year 1962-63. The survey was completed by 436 of the youths for a 81.8% return and provided the information found in Table 1. The results indicated that there was little limitation of opportunity for job training for retarded youth as far as type of jobs was concerned; however, most students were assigned to one or two specific jobs in the field.

Numerically, the majority of grants provided by H.E.W. through local vocational rehabilitation agencies have indicated positive results. However, the report from Orange, New Jersey[2] raised some real questions concerning the basic design of the cooperative programs. Based on pre and post testing for both the experimental and control groups using chi-square to assess significance, the hypothesis of measurable gains in the school-workshop rehabilitation program was not supported. The second hypothesis, that the special project would result in more

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[1]Conwell G. Strickland, "Job Training Placement for Retarded Youth," Exceptional Child, XXXI (Oct., 1964), 83-86.

[2]Frances Geteles et al., A Cooperative Vocational Pattern for In-School Mentally Retarded Youth, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Project No. RD-1189.

TABLE 1

JOB CLASSIFICATION FOR 436 MENTALLY RETARDED STUDENTS
ASSIGNED TO COOPERATIVE WORK-STUDY
PROGRAMS IN TEXAS

Occupation	%	No.	Top Frequency	No.
HOTEL AND RESTAURANT	20.87	91	Bus Boy	49
			Dishwasher	13
RETAIL TRADE	16.29	71	Grocery Stock % Sk.	41
			Florist Helper	11
AUTO SERVICE	12.62	55	Service Station Helper	26
			Mechanic Helper	16
PERSONAL SERVICE	9.40	41	Beauty Op. Trainee	22
			Barber Trainee	8
DOMESTIC SERVICE	4.82	31	Janitors	17
			Maid-General	12
MEDICAL SERVICE	4.82	21	Hospital-General	16
			Pract. Nurse	2
CONSTRUCTION	4.36	19	Carpenter Helper	3
			General Helpers	3
FURNITURE	2.98	13	Furn. Refin. Appr.	4
			Upholster Helper	6
AGRICULTURE	2.52	11	Farm--General	6
CLEANING, LAUNDRY	2.92	10	Cleaning Helpers	5
			Laundry Helpers	5
MISCELLANEOUS	16.11	73	Leather Worker	11
			Unskilled	7
			Routeman Helper	7
	100%	436		

favorable post-project vocational adjustment, was only

partially supported by research results. This report had

the sophistication of a formal research procedure which

may have resulted in negative responses as compared to

other reports which suggested that their basic research

plan was "action research." This final report made the

recommendation that the present program be discontinued

since, despite the fact that some positive results were

obtained, the program did not sufficiently meet the needs

of the population served.

The report of the Minneapolis Public Schools[1]

recorded a four year study which served over 500 retarded

students in its demonstration project. In addition, it

located and interviewed some 400 former special class stu-

dents who left school in the three years immediately before

the project began. The program contained work laboratories

where work readiness was established for each student,

special teachers who worked with materials developed in a

realistic, vocationally related curriculum and a staff of

work counselors. The project had research workers and

psychologists assigned to the staff for evaluative and

survey research. The staff interviewed 385 former stu-

dents whose Binet Scale scores averaged 76 with a mean

[1]Evelyn Deno et al., Retarded Youth: Their School-
Rehabilitation Needs, Department of Health, Education and
Welfare, Project No. RD-681.

reading level of fourth grade. The drop-out level of these former students was 65%. Less than half had been clients of the local vocational rehabilitation agency. The report suggested that only 23% of these students could be rated as successful when multiple considerations were considered.

By the end of the project, 603 students had received some degree of service from the demonstration unit. Of the 603 students, 34 were in the project, 244 had been returned to school and the remaining 325 were out of school. The 325 out of school cases who had been served by the project represented 122 students who were in competitive employment. The project reported that they had 52% employment rate after eliminating students in sheltered workshops, housewives and the military. This indicated a gain over the 23% employment rate found in the students who had previously left school.

The report made some general statements which paralleled the reports of the other grants: (1) Jobs were generally available to the E.M.R. student and/or counselor, (2) Long term supporting services and follow-up are necessary to a successful placement, (3) The retarded high school graduate was successful in job placement, and (4) The special education curriculum should be developed around the student it serves.

A program developed by a local district without

the advantage of a federal grant was represented by

Salinas Union High School District as reported by Muller

and Lewis.[1] Experiences necessary for adjustment to work

experiences were provided by the following methods and

resources:

1. Class discussions   7. Application blanks

2. Field trips   8. Training courses

3. Job notebooks   9. Aptitude tests

4. Tests   10. Study guides

5. Self study   11. Employment posters

6. Community study   12. Actual work

A student was placed on his first job for a short period

of time to alleviate fears and provide a supportive struc-

ture for him as he encountered his first work experience.

The program, as reported, had been successful over a three

year period with over fifty job offers by the community.

Forty-four pupils had work training assignments with all

but a few receiving "satisfactory" or better rating.

Fifty percent of the pupils had two or more placements.

Work Success Predictions

Most studies suggested that the placement of the

mentally retarded high school student on a job was a top

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[1]Virginia Muller and Mark Lewis, "A Work Program
for the Mentally Retarded Students," *Journal of Secondary
Education*, IVI, 75-80, Feb., 1966.

priority objective. Appell, Williams and Fishell[1] in

their study attempted to answer these questions:

1. What are some of the variables which differen-
   tiate retardates who remain employed six months
   or more from those who failed in employment?

2. Does descriptive information derived from case
   histories and other available records discrim-
   inate between success and failure?

The WAIS IQ's ranged from 48 to 85 with a mean of

67 for the 41 retardates in the study whose mean age was

23.3. All the retardates had been in training in the Work

Training Center in Rochester, New York. Success and fail-

ures were compared on the following variables: (1) days

in the WTC, (2) days at work, (3) age, (4) IQ, (5) achieve-

ment in reading and arithmetic and (6) assembly scores of

Purdue Pegboard.

Conclusions reached by this study indicated that

the most effective device for selecting those who will be

a success from a training situation was a panel composed

of professionals and workshop personnel. Of the variables

investigated, "days in the WTC" and "days at work" differ-

entiated the study groups. There were no significant

differences between the groups on the variables, age,

intelligence, achievement scores or fingertip dexterity.

It was concluded that a majority of retardates, even though

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[1]Melville J. Appell, Clarence M. Williams and
Kenneth N. Fishell, "Factors in Job Holding Ability,"
Vocational Guidance Quarterly, XIII (Winter, 64-65), 127-30.

carefully prepared and seemingly eligible for competitive employment, found employment generally in the service occupations.

Gambaro and Schell[1] attempted to answer the question: Can a dependable cutting score be derived on the Porteus Maze test that will separate those individuals who will later be hired from those who will not?

The study included 71 adolescents, 25 girls and 46 boys, between 16 and 19 years of age from the Lansing Special Education Department for whom complete and usable test information was available. The students were in work-training programs of three high schools and had obtained a WISC, WAIS, or Stanford-Binet IQ score between 50 and 90 with a two year lag in their achievement scores. Two instruments were used in the study: 1. Porteuse Maze Test (PMT), and 2. Rating Scale of Personal Effectiveness. The Porteuse test was administered to all the students who had been divided into two groups: 1. Cutting Score (CS), who were in the work training program during the first year it was fully instituted and 2. Replication Samples (R), who were in the program during its second year. The RSPE was filled out on each student by both his teacher and employer;

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[1]Salvatore Gambaro and Robert E. Schell, "Prediction of the Employability of Students in a Special Education Work-Training Program Using the Porteus Maze Test and a Rating Scale of Personal Effectiveness," XXVI (Winter, 1966), 1021-29.

however, only the teacher's ratings were scored for use
in data analysis. Employers were asked to respond to
employability of each of the students. Sex and age were
disregarded in all analyses as the researchers used the
Fisher probability tests to determine cutting scores.
Tables 2 and 3 were developed to show the comparison of
the groups.

Results of the investigation indicated that 79%
of the students studied were correctly placed. It was
possible to determine who among the 31 students in the R
sample eventually got hired and who did not. Of the 12
students classified as not employable, none was hired by
his respective employer. Of the 19 students classified
as employable, 18 were hired later by their respective
employer. The researchers suggested in their discussion
that although 30 per cent of those who would be considered
hirable were screened out by using both scales, this loss
might be more than offset by the savings that would accrue
from screening out all (100 per cent) of those who pre-
sumably would not be hired.

Manual skill and dexterity were considered to be
of particular importance for the academically retarded
since most experts recognized that the greatest oppor-
tunities were found in occupations which require manual

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF SCORE POSITION AND EMPLOYER'S
JUDGMENT FOR CS STUDENTS

| | | | Judgment of Employer | |
Part	Test	Score[a] Position	Employable	Not Employable
A	PMT	Plus	26	8
		Minus	5	6
B	RSPE	Plus	27	1
		Minus	4	8
C	PMT-RSPE	Plus-Plus	22	0
		Minus-Minus	0	5
		Plus-Minus	4	3
		Minus-Plus	5	1

TABLE 3

COMPARISON OF SCORE POSITION AND EMPLOYER'S
JUDGMENT FOR R SUBJECTS

| | | | Judgment of Employer | |
Part	Test	Score[a] Position	Employable	Not Employable
A	PMT	Plus	15	4
		Minus	4	8
B	RSPE	Plus	16	0
		Minus	3	12
C	PMT-RSPE	Plus-Plus	13	0
		Minus-Minus	1	8
		Plus-Minus	4	3
		Minus-Plus	5	1

[a]Plus indicates above the cutting score, minus below.

skills. Tobias and Gorelick,[1] in developing this concept,
found that manipulative skills are related to intelli-
gence. They found that the WAIS is significantly corre-
lated to the Purdue Pegboard with the assembly score
correlating higher than the insertion score (Full scale
.67, Performance .73, Verbal .43) in 73 retarded subjects.

An attempt was made by Barrett, Relos and Eisele[2]
to explore the possible reason for vocational success when
two intellectually equal groups of retardates, one voca-
tionally successful, the other failing, were studied by a
comparable means. The two groups were relatively equated
as to I.Q., age, educational background and size of group
(58 and 57). The determination of success as a criterion
was made by supervisors' ratings, good counselor ratings
and retention of a job for thirty days or longer in a com-
bined weighted formula. The successful group obtained a
mean I.Q. of 64.72 with an intelligence range of 37 to 79.
The unsuccessful group achieved a mean I.Q., of 64 with a
range from 30 to 79. The investigation was performed in
four stages using an oral presentation of twenty items

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[1]J. Tobias and J. Gorelick, "The Porteuse Maze
Test and the Appraisal of Retarded Adults," American
Journal of Mental Deficiency, LXVI, 1962, 600-606.

[2]Albert M. Barrett, Ruth Relos and Jack Eisele,
"Vocational Success and Attitudes of Mentally Retarded
Toward Work and Money," American Journal of Mental Defi-
ciency, LXX (July, 1965), 102-107.

developed from two studies previously validated by Kolstoe[1]
and Cohen.[2]

The important findings in this study suggested
that (1) the ability to render a more abstract judgment
on a relative level may be a factor in predicting success
for the mentally retarded and (2) I.Q. alone may not
reflect the true nature of the total mental ability of the
retarded. The ability to think abstractly may provide the
key to unlocking future predictive doors in finding voca-
tionally successful retardates.

Summary

Generally, the literature which related to the
high school mentally retarded student in a work-study pro-
gram was relatively new and lacked the sophistication char-
acterizing formal research. The identification of the
retardate and the inner meaning of the accepted tools which
"label" an individual was questioned. Emerging methods
of evaluation were sought in all reports, papers and
research in a realistic determination of the individuals'
ability, response to programing, placement in an occupation,
and social adjustment to life.

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[1]O. P. Kolstoe, "The Employment Evaluation and
Training Program," American Journal of Mental Deficiency,
LXV (1960), 17-31.

[2]J. Cohen, "An Analysis of Vocational Failures of
Mental Retardates Placed in the Community After a Period
of Institutionalization," American Journal of Mental Defi-
ciency, LXV (1960), 371-375.

CHAPTER III

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the
original project designed to effect change in the program
at Central High School for the E.M.R. students.

Processing of the Student

The E.M.R. students were processed into the project
after spending a number of years in special education
classes of the Oklahoma City Public Schools. The voca-
tional rehabilitation counselor and school counselor began
compiling a file on the students during the year that pre-
ceded entrance into the tenth grade or the first year of
the project. The teacher-coordinators studied the files
in the pre school weeks and began the process of planning
training programs for each student. The majority of tenth
grade students were placed in classes for a total school
program, or six class hours. The tenth year was primarily
designated as diagnosis and pre-vocational training. The
teacher coordinator and vocational rehabilitation counselor
began a series of staff and home visit conferences to
orient the student to the project. After considerable

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staffing for training, psychological adjustment and occupational placement a determination was made to start the student's work experience training which usually began in the 11th level or 2nd year of the project. The usual follow-up procedures were used during the period of adjustment to job experiences. Students who worked were required to participate a minimum of two clock hours per day in a formal school program. Students usually participated for a year in a pre-vocational training procedure and two years in a work-study programming with complete flexibility in formal school hours and work.

The Curriculum

At the time the project was conceptualized in Central High School, the Oklahoma City secondary school in its special education classes had a traditional curriculum which had little motivational drive for the "borderline" student. A descriptive analysis was made of the changes in curriculum, staff involvement, and community relations within the Central High School district. A study was made of the experimental curriculum with the commonly adopted curriculum, the involvement of the staff and the direct contacts made by the school with the student's home and occupational opportunities.

The State Department of Education provided, through the Curriculum Commission, state curriculum guides

which were outlines developed by classroom teachers of the various disciplines taught in the secondary schools. These guides had been prepared without regard to the various levels of achievement and ability and represented, generally, guides for the "normal" student, leaving the discrimination of levels to the classroom teacher's judgment. Textbooks were selected by the state textbook commission without regard to either levels and/or content as it related directly to students' achievement levels.

The very nature of these guides provided a great challenge for the classroom teacher, as he attempted to relate to the E.M.R. The perceptive educator recognized the need for materials which were usable on a student's actual achievement level and had relevance for his total educational development. New insights available to the educator through the research and experiences of writers in the field of the exceptional child and the disadvantaged student referred to the void of quality materials in this area.

Shostak suggested that schools should provide systematic "trial-run" work experiences in a range of actual employment situations. The principal goal here was to expose students to varied job situations rather than to

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[1]Arthur B. Shostak and William Gomberg, New Perspectives on Poverty (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), p. 67.

give actual training for a particular job. The combination of these two concepts became a realistic experience for the students who for various reasons had not been able to identify with the world in which they lived. Students in this project were given new materials in their classrooms which were directly identified with the work world which they entered on a part time bases as a portion of their school experience.

The curriculum ceased to be a "watered-down" version of previously conceived courses of study and became a realistically based program which had meaning for the student as he related to his world. The traditional course titles were changed from English to Communicative Skills; Math to Computational Skills; Biology to Life Science and a variety of appropriate titles as the curriculum attempted to provide rich experiences for the E.M.R. student. The teacher-coordinators working on school time for the purpose of curriculum planning, with other members of the team, began what has been a continuum of revision. This resulted in realistic programing, in the judgment of many professionals associated with the program. The educational experiences were related to lifelike situations as much as possible extending beyond the normal school learning concepts into the occupational, social and home environments.

The language arts program was centered around the

basic skills of communication: reading, listening, writing,

thinking and speaking. Computational skills were presented

in the form of experiences which were basic to the students'

life in planning a budget, buying, understanding of earnings

and withholding, measurements, advertising and economics.

The area of social studies was concerned with the students'

realistic involvement as a citizen using the everyday tools

of newspapers, magazines, and visitations to community

resources. In the life science area, students were exposed

to a study of the human body, life cycle, good health

habits, mental health and various other units associated

with the development and growth of the individual.

The development of units continued and extended to

the years following the project. One of the teacher

coordinators, who later transferred to the Oklahoma State

Department of Education, developed with a state wide com-

mittee a curriculum guide,[1] which included some of the

original units of the project. The guide was evolved with

suggested units for all major subject areas which were

associated with the mentally retarded high school student.

Table 4 shows the suggested units of study included in

this guide. The teacher coordinator was encouraged to

deviate as learning experiences were developed in the

classroom. The levels were developed to provide sequential

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[1] Oklahoma Curriculum Guide for Teachers Coordinators
of Educable Mentally Handicapped Students (Oklahoma State
Department of Education, 1966).

TABLE 4

UNIT GUIDES FOR EDUCABLE MENTALLY HANDICAPPED STUDENTS AS
DEVELOPED BY THE OKLAHOMA STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Unit No.	Communicative Skills	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12
1	Effective Speaking	X		
2	Listening	X		
3	Parliamentary Procedure			X
4	Group Discussion		X	
5	Appropriate Language		X	
6	Introductions	X		
7	Interviews	X		
8	Telephone	X		
9	Directions		X	
10	Reading Skills	X		
11	Reading for Meaning		X	
12	Reading for Vocations			X
13	Reading for Pleasure			X
14	Newspaper	X		
15	Effective Writing	X		
16	Letter Writing			X
	Computational Skills	10	11	12
43	Basic Math	X		
44	Making Change	X		
45	Measurement	X		
46	Personal Budget		X	
47	Wages	X		
48	Social Security			X
49	Banking		X	
50	Buying		X	
51	Interest		X	
52	Taxes			X
	Life Science	10	11	12
17	Human Body	X		
18	Life Cycle		X	
19	Good Health	X		
20	Mental Health			X
21	Safety	X		
22	First Aid		X	
23	Disease			X
24	Drug Addiction		X	

TABLE 4--Continued

Unit No.	Life Science (cont'd)	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12
25	Alcohol		X	
26	Hospitals			X
27	Insurance			X
28	Funerals			X
29	The Family	X		
30	Child Care		X	
31	Kitchen and Food		X	
32	You and Your Room	X		
34	Your Friendships		X	
35	You and Education	X		
36	Driver's Education	X		
37	Selecting Clothes		X	
38	Family Mending	X		
39	Grooming	X		
40	Dating	X		
41	Party Etiquette			X
42	Engagement and Marriage			X

	Social Studies and Vocations			
53	American History	X		
54	Current Events	X		
55	Citizenship	X		
56	Prejudice		X	
57	Voting			X
58	Politics		X	
59	Law and Courts			X
60	War		X	
61	Atomic Attack			X
62	Transportation	X		
63	Community Resources	X		
64	Conservation		X	
65	Leisure Time			X
66	Responsibility		X	
67	Job	X		
68	Vocational Rehabilitation	X		
69	Application Blanks	X		
70	Work Record	X		
71	References	X		
72	You and your Job	X		
73	Work Attitude		X	
74	Employer's Needs		X	

classroom experiences as the supervised work experiences progressed. The curriculum developers were not concerned with college entrance requirements but were centering their efforts around the provision of challenging experiences for these mentally retarded students. The State Department of Education approved for the mentally handicapped student in the 10, 11 and 12 levels a specialized program which met numerically the number of units required of all students for high school graduation. The proposed classroom programing attempted to meet the individual needs of the E.M.R. for the first time on a state-wide basis. The program of the special project provided students with a work oriented experience in the classroom which served the following purposes:

1. Provided an initial orientation to a work experience.

2. Developed increased vocational concepts and understanding.

3. Provided personal adjustment training in the areas of work attitudes and habits, hygiene, grooming, adjustment to peers and employers, accepting job supervision and improving work tolerance to an acceptable level.

4. Created an experience impact with the student in the classroom which provided a bridge between school and work.

Team Approach

A concept was developed from the inception of the project centered around the total involvement of personnel.

The principal of Central High School was requested by the school administration to become involved with personnel of the State Vocational Rehabilitation Agency for the purpose of programming for mentally retarded high school students.

A team composed of three persons from vocational rehabilitation met with the principal, a counselor and a consultant in special education from the administrative offices of the Oklahoma City Public Schools. This team after adequate discussion arrived at basic decisions affecting the project. An interesting organizational aspect was the absence of an administrator as the principal and director, who was a vocational rehabilitation counselor, involved themselves in all team efforts. The major team efforts centered around two major responsibilities: 1. curriculum development, 2. staffing.

The team met on a regular basis both during and after school time with open meetings for every person associated with the project, including staff members in administration and guidance. The teacher-coordinators, who carried responsibilities in the classroom, home visitation, job placement and follow-up were always present for the team meetings. A school counselor, the principal, and the vocational rehabilitation counselor were members of the team at 80% level of attendance. The curriculum team was supplemented by the regular attendance of the school's materials' center director whose responsibility

was to provide and develop new materials appropriate to
the newly developed concepts. The staffing team was
supplemented by the school psychologist whose major respon-
sibility was to develop new concepts of understanding and
group dynamics including the personal involvement of team
members.

Staffing

The formalization of basic concepts into a program
which would demonstrate basic democratic values was one of
the concerns of the initial planning group. The informal
research that members presented, indicated that planning
should involve both staff personnel and students in a
relatively new concept, "group counseling." These involve-
ments strengthened the personnel of the project by pro-
viding direct in-service procedures when they became mem-
bers of "group counseling."

The staffing group was open to all professional
personnel including administrators, counselors, a teacher
coordinator, a vocational rehabilitation counselor and a
special education consultant. The group leader was the
school psychologist who served as the catalyst, encouraging
staff members to frankly verbalize their reactions to the
ongoing program. Initially the group felt the necessity
of communication as its primary function but later broadened
its conceptualization to include a reciprocal process which

required the open examination of all feelings. The
resultant change in the behavioral attitudes of staff
members was later reflected in their working procedures.

Structure of the staffing group was flexible and
changed several times during the project years. The school
counselor was asked to prepare a case history of students,
who had been referred by a teacher coordinator, with a
problem which had reached the critical stage. These
problems were reconstructed by the teacher coordinator as
a part of the case history presented by the counselor.
The problems were not necessarily behavioral in structure
but included a broad range of concerns from the intro-
verted to the extroverted personality. The group inter-
acted on causation and possible solutions for the staffed
student. Individual members of the group often became
personally involved in possible causation of the problem
which proved to be extremely "threatening" to some members
of the group.

The school psychologist, who basically had the
confidence of the group, was able to demonstrate the tech-
niques of group counseling using staffing procedures. The
change in group structure included the removal of the
principal, who had supported the total process by request
of the group. Each member of the group learned to accept
the role of a group member on an equal basis without
reference to status position and/or title. Attendance at

staffings, although voluntary, was extremely high with
excellent participation by each staff member.

The staffing of the students became secondary as
the positive resulting behavior of the staff member became
productive in relating to students. Glasser and Iverson,[1]
who had been developing techniques with delinquent groups
believe that large group counseling techniques could be
related to problems of any natural group such as a school
classroom. These basic techniques were used by the teacher-
coordinators in the classroom to resolve problems inherent
in students from distressed areas, who had been identified
as E.M.R.s. The teachers who had been involved directly
in counseling, were now asked to use these techniques in
a classroom. Difficulties were many in this process as
teachers encouraged leadership to emerge from the group.
The de-centralization of authority in the classroom was
necessary and meaningful to students as they sought
answers to personal problems; however, it would have been
negated by a return to formal counseling techniques.

Glasser and Iverson,[2] whose manual appeared, after
some of the basic techniques suggested by them had been
used in the project, made these statements which are sig-
nificant tools used in resolving students problems.

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[1]William Glasser and Norman Iverson, Large Group
Counseling (Los Angeles: Reality Press, 1966).

[2]Ibid., 72.

Teachers need to have a dual role, both as educational
leaders and also as discussion leaders. Leading mean-
ingful discussions about their school participation
is a basic and important role. We will never solve
the problems of children on a one-to-one basis with
school counselors. We will never solve problems
through punishment, which separates the child from
his peers and from the rest of the class. We must use
the classroom as a natural social setting through
which the child can learn to fulfill his needs; to
gain self worth, respect, and even to gain love for
what he can do that both he and the class feels is
worthwhile.

Occupational Experiences

One of the major considerations in the initial

planning of the project was the assimilation of a realistic

work activity into the total educational experience of the

E.M.R. student. The process of training for a specific

job was conceived to be proper planning as the older con-

cept of on-the-job and/or apprentice experiences was

explored. In the early conceptualization of work training,

the teacher-coordinator and vocational rehabilitation

counselor attempted to develop those concepts of employment

with some minor success. In the realistic evaluation of

the E.M.R. they found that they did not have the base for

substantive work. The resultant consequence was the fail-

ure of the students to maintain themselves on jobs. As a

direct result of this confrontation with reality, the pro-

ject team started an adjustment in concept and direction.

The adoption of a new objective concept "job conditioning"

was determined by the project team as realistically correct

in their planning. As a result of this concept the team

began to work with attitudes, personal traits, simple

technical tools of employment, and social concepts which

were at the base of the students inability to maintain a

job.

The teacher-coordinators determined that most jobs

available to the E.M.R. students were service jobs in

which the employer would do the simple basic training but

needed assistance in the periphery traits of the job. A

majority of the research substantiated this concept as

exemplified by the Milwaukee[1] study which stated:

> A specialized work training program emphasizing the
> work habits, work attitudes, adjustment patterns and
> positive values of work can make mentally retarded
> individuals employable.

The classroom became the major source of assimila-

tion for the experiences of the students, both positive

and negative, as they began to relate themselves to their

work. Problems, which students began to feel as obstacles

to their successful employment, were related either to the

class or to the teacher-coordinator for possible solutions.

The teacher-coordinator within the dictates of both good

judgment and proper employer relationships sometimes

attempted serious abridgement of communications between

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[1]An Evaluation Study and Demonstration Work Experi-
ence for the Mentally Retarded During their Last Year in
Public Schools, United States Department of Health, Educa-
tion and Welfare (Project 404), Milwaukee, Wisconsin,
p. 49.

the students and their supervisors. Problems occurring
between the students and their work peer groups were used
in the classroom for realistic teaching situations which
resulted in solutions of problems.

The vocational rehabilitation counselor and teacher-
coordinators worked as a team to provide work experiences
for the students in the project and determined what sup-
portive training was needed in individual cases. Financial
arrangements were made with individual agencies to do
specific training. Goodwill Industries trained several
students in their sheltered workshop setting thus providing
the bridge between employment in the labor market and the
classroom when an individual student lacked the confidence
for employability. Private employers were contacted in
some cases to employ students for a period of adjustment
and were reimbursed by vocational rehabilitation for
training students. The training was basically for a short
period and usually resulted in full time employment for
the student trainee.

Tables 5 and 6 provide a summary according to the
final report[1] of the project of jobs held and an employer's
evaluation of 59 students reported by the vocational

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[1]A Coordinated Program of Rehabilitation Services
Leading to Permanent Job Placement for Disabled High School
Students (Washington, D.C.: Vocational Division of Depart-
ment of Health, Education and Welfare Grant No. RD-771,
July, 1964).

TABLE 5

JOBS HELD BY MENTALLY RETARDED REHABILITANTS AS REPORTED IN
FINAL REPORT FOR 59 STUDENTS WHOSE CASES WERE CLOSED

Job Titles	No.	Job Titles	No.
Baker's Assistant	3	Maid	2
Beautician	1	Maintenance Man	2
Bellman	1	Meat Wrapper	1
Brick Mason Assistant	1	Mechanic's Assist.	2
Bus Boy	5	Nurses Aide	1
Concession Clerk	1	Roughneck	1
Constructive Laborer	1	Sales Clerk	3
Delivery Boy	1	Salesman	1
Dishwasher	1	Trash Man	1
Fry Cook	1	Unpaid Family Worker	4
Grocery Clerk	1	Upholsterer	1
Home Maker	14	Waitress	6

TABLE 6

EMPLOYERS' EVALUATIONS OF STUDENTS REPORTED AS REHABILITATED
IN FINAL REPORT FOR 63 STUDENTS WHOSE CASES WERE CLOSED

Trait	Poor	Average	Above Average	Excellent
Gets along well with others	1	20	15	2
Dependable		23	15	3
Punctual	1	22	12	3
Grooming for the job*	2	23	12	
Able to accept criticism	4	25	8	1
Shows initiative	5	20	10	3
Has respect for authority	1	24	11	2
Manual dexterity*	1	25	11	
Ability to adjust to change and pressure*	4	24	9	
Toleration for distraction*	5	24	8	
Ability to work independently	1	17	20	
Cheerfulness	2	24	11	1

*Traits not evaluated on every client.

rehabilitation counselor as rehabilitated with the case "closed." The report indicated the mean weekly earnings were $42.00 for those students. An evaluation of employers was completed for 38 students; 12 had moved away but at last report were working; 5 were married and not working and the remaining 8 could not be located, of the original 63 closures studied.

A counselor was assigned as a full time staff person to the project with normal resources available to him to provide complete services to all students in the project. Vocational Rehabilitation normally provided services of counseling, diagnosis, physical restoration, training and maintenance for its clients in the rehabilitative process. The Oklahoma City Public Schools provided training through its special education services with a few exceptional cases of supplemental training which permitted vocational rehabilitation to concentrate its services in the other areas. The identification of students for the program was primarily the responsibility of the school; however, some assistance for psychological services for students with emotional problems was provided from vocational rehabilitation resources.

The total approach was the "team concept" for the vocational rehabilitation counselor who participated in all phases of the project providing services and other resources when the needs of students were not met with

available resources. A study[1] was made of the total cost
of services provided for 191 rehabilitants. These monies
expended were $11,674 or an overall average of $133.00 per
student. Tables 7 and 8 show the breakdown of these costs
into services and type of disability.

In the project years, an arrangement was made with
the Oklahoma City Public Schools to provide extra services
through the personnel assigned to the project on an extra
time basis. These staff members were asked to assume some
responsibility after the normal school hours to supplement
the program in its formative stages of development. The
finances for these services were provided as a part of a
grant from Vocational Rehabilitation which supplemented the
salaries of the teacher coordinators, psychologists, mate-
rials center personnel and a school counselor.

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[1]Ibid.

TABLE 7

SERVICES PURCHASED FOR 87 MENTALLY RETARDED REHABILITANTS

Services	Number Receiving	Per Cent of Total Number
Diagnosis	87	100
Surgery and Treatment	11	13
Prosthetic Treatment	15	17
Hospitalization	2	2
Training and Materials	46	52
Maintenance and Transportation	24	27
Tools, Equipment, and License	6	7

TABLE 8

SERVICES PURCHASED FOR 87 MENTALLY RETARDED
REHABILITANTS WITH A PRIMARY DISABILITY

Services	Mentally Retarded		Other	
	Number Receiving	Per Cent Receiving	Number Receiving	Per Cent Receiving
Diagnosis	58	98	29	100
Surgery and Treatment	5	8	6	21
Prosthetic Appliances	8	14	7	24
Hospitalization			2	7
Training and Materials	28	47	18	62
Maintenance and Transportation	15	25	9	31
Tools, Equipment, and License	1	2	5	17

*This group includes students whose mental retardation was classified as the secondary disability.

CHAPTER IV

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this chapter is to present:
(1) The basic plan for this dissertation; (2) A description of data collection; (3) A description of the instrument; and (4) A discussion of statistical procedures.

Basic Plan

The basic plan was to obtain data on ninety subjects in three groups, one control and two experimental, in order to investigate and attempt to determine whether they differ with respect to socio/occupational adjustment. Each group contained thirty persons who, within the availability of sample, were randomized. The experimental groups consisted of Central High School students who had: (1) participated in the program, failed to complete the total offerings and dropped out of school, and (2) completed the full three year program and received a "high school diploma." The control group consisted of students in high schools with identical socio-economic backgrounds who participated in regular special education programs. The criterion for the selection was done on

the basis of these variables: (1) Identified as E.M.R.'s
by use of individual test scores and validated by the
State Department of Education, (2) male, (3) home environ-
ment deprived, (4) attended classes in a special educa-
tion class of the Oklahoma City Public Schools, (5) chron-
ological ages of students between 18 and 23 and (6) ratio
of Negro and Caucasian students were the same in all groups.

The design for the study was neither truly experi-
mental nor quasi-experimental but can be more properly
defined as ex post facto design where the experimental
and control groups were compared on post test success
data. The danger of a theoretically less scientific
than a true experimental design is sometimes necessary
and desirable in the attempted solutions of educational
problems where control has not been established. Ker-
linger[1] in warning of the danger of improper interpreta-
tion of this type research points out its value:

> Even if we would avoid ex post facto research, we
> cannot. It can even be said that ex post facto
> research is more important than experimental research.
> This is, of course, not a methodological observation.
> It means, rather, that the most important social, sci-
> entific and educational research problems do not lend
> themselves to experimentation, although many of them
> do lend themselves to controlled inquiry of the ex
> post facto design. If a tally of sound and impor-
> tant studies in psychology, sociology, and education
> were made, it is likely that ex post facto studies
> would outnumber and outrank experimental studies.

[1]Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral
Research (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.,
1965), p. 22.

Data Collection

The determination of subjects used by the study was controlled largely by the availability of former students for interview. A list was compiled from the files of the vocational rehabilitation counselor for all students who had been in the Central High School project. A similar list was obtained from the Special Education Division of the Oklahoma State Department of Education for students who had been in regular programs of special education at Douglas and Capitol Hill High Schools at the same chronological time.

An objective in this experimental design was to ensure that the results were attributed within the limits of error to the treatment variable. Situations arise in which variables are uncontrolled because of practical limitations associated with a study. The normal random procedures for selection of subjects fit this condition. A statistical, rather than an experimental method was used to control and adjust for the effects of this variable, and permitted, thereby, a valid evaluation of the outcome of the experiment. The students in the study were selected basically upon the teacher-coordinator's ability to locate the students for the control group and random sampling procedures were used based on available subjects in the two experimental groups. The basic design for the subjects in the study was determined to be 30

students for each group with a ratio of 18 Negro students and 12 Caucasian students. The ratio of Negro to Caucasian students conformed to the composition of the experimental group.

The Instrument

The Questionnaire administered by the teacher-coordinator in this study was constructed to evaluate after-training success for young adult male retardates. The authors of The Texas Screening Battery for Subnormals headed by Dr. J. R. Peck[1] indicated that these tests were not the ultimate in test construction; however, they believed at the time of their development (1964) that they were the most valid set of instruments adapted or developed for evaluation in this area. For the purpose of this study, it was determined that the instrument met the conditions circumscribed in the determination of differences between groups.

The test battery was standardized and validated on 125 young adult retardates, ages 18 through 26, IQ's 50 to 75. The random sample was comprised of 25 mentally retarded youths drawn from each of the following groups: (1) Graduates of Marbridge Foundation, (2) Graduates of State School Habilitation Classes, (3) Graduates of the

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[1]J. R. Peck, Will Beth Stephens and D. K. Fooshee, The Texas Screening Battery for Subnormals (Austin, Texas, 1804 Raleigh, 1964).

South Texas Habilitation Center's vocational training program, (4) Graduates of special education classes of public high schools in Texas communities and (5) a control group the members of which had received no vocational training through programs for the mentally retarded.

An agreement was determined by a panel of experts on three aspects of success--personal, sociocivic and vocational and their respective interrelated aspects. The variables included in the criterion were determined by the pooling of judgments by the panel who were all experts in the field of mental retardation. The variables were incorporated into questionnaires for use in structured interviews with (1) the subject, (2) the subject's parents, and (3) the subject's job supervisor. The interviewer entered on a five point scale, ratings on the 60 items covered in the structured interview. Data were collected on 20 numerical or continuous variables. Subject's criterion scores were determined independently of his scores on the predictor instruments.

As in the predictor variables the frequency distribution of each point scale and continuous variable was analyzed. The continuous variables were then transformed to stanine values, a method which served to standardize scores. The distribution of both the point scale and the linearly transformed variables were

normalized by means of the T-scale of Guilford.[1] These

descriptive statistics for criterion variables of the

items used in the questionnaire of this study are con-

tained in Table 9. Through Pearson Product-Moment cor-

relation techniques, relationships were determined between

the T-scores for the 125 subjects on the 78 point scale

and continuous predictor variables and T-scores on the

80 point scale and continuous criterion variables. Both

dichotomous predictor and dichotomus criterion variables

were included in the study. The point-biserial correla-

tion techniques of guilford was used to determine the

relationship between the dichotomous variables, T-scores

and the criterion variables. The concurrent validity of

variables comprised of scores or subscores was evaluated

by determining the relationship of scores derived from

the predictor variables to scores on measures of concur-

rent criterion performance. Data concerning construct

validity were organized by factor analysis. Loading a

measure had on a predictor factor indicated the degree

to which that instrument participated in defining the

construct or factor.

Sixteen instruments plus interview schedules

designed to gain the information selected by the panel

of experts were used in the process of validating the

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[1]J. P. Guilford, Fundamental Statistics in Psy-
chology and Education (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956).

TABLE 9

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS
OF CRITERION VARIABLES

Criterion Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Critical Skewness	Ratio for Kurtosis
1. Residence	1.97	0.83	6.43	8.10
4. Spare Time Activities	3.93	0.54	-3.05	5.26
7. Music Enjoyment	4.59	0.54	-6.64	4.25
11. Law Conformity	3.96	1.28	-4.18	-1.48
12. Driver's License	2.82	1.40	3.29	-2.58
15. Improved Financial State	3.39	1.46	-1.56	-3.05
16. Purchases Own Clothes	4.02	1.45	-5.53	-0.16
20. Job Expectancy	2.72	1.48	1.01	-3.03
21. Regard for Supervisor	4.22	0.84	-7.23	8.41
22. Compatible Employees	4.36	0.86	-7.72	7.50
24. Realistic Goals	3.84	1.04	-3.73	0.46
25. Job in Training Area	2.44	1.35	2.38	-2.17
26. Advancement Possibility	2.54	1.18	0.75	-2.08
38. Finances from Parents	3.26	1.64	-0.50	-3.87
40. Parents Regard as Mature	3.89	1.10	-3.80	-0.25

battery of instruments including the questionnaire used

in this study, Questionnaire for Subject Form 2. The

instruments, used to screen the retardates in the study,

were posited as being measures of intellectual, percep-

tual-motor, family status and personality characteristics.

The questionnaire contained 44 items which included

five point scales, questions which required numerical

answers, enumeration response items, simple yes, no

responses and judgement responses. The questionnaire has

no cumulative score and lends itself to individual item

analysis of the criterion variables. The instrument's

authors[1] emphasized that "the instruments were not pre-

dictor instruments, i.e., not instruments for use in

evaluating subsequent personal, socio-civic and voca-

tional success."

The basic purpose of the instrument was to evalu-

ate either on-the-job training or after training success

as a criterion and not as a predictor, which lent itself

to the study. The investigation into significant dif-

ferences to be found between groups which had been

exposed to a special training effort as opposed to no

training effort required items which were validated.

The validation met criterion requirements: (1) Scores

were compared to selective criteria, (2) Comparison was

made to other measures, (3) Items were logically compared

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[1]Ibid., p. 6.

to intended measure, and (4) Items were experimentally
tested. The criterion items had predictive, concurrent,
content and construct validity.

The instrument was studied and a research design
was developed which included fifteen, 5 point scale
items, used to make a statistical study of difference of
the groups with all other items in the study used to
make comparative evaluations. The use of the 5 point scale
items was selected as the data for statistical treatment
because of its useableness and the required judgement by
the interviewer in the interpretation of the value placed
in the response.

The fifteen 5 point scale items were highly
selected in that they included 71 of the 78 predictor
items in validation procedures. Appendix E was developed
to include the fifteen criterion items used in the study
and the significant correlations with predictor items
developed and validated by use of other instruments.

Statistical Procedure

The experimental design of the study was a
factorial ANOVA experiment of unequal cell frequencies.
The determination to use this design was made on the
basis of the availability of subjects subsequent to the
securing of data, and the advantage gained by use of the
observed F ratio to test for variations in the sets.
The observations within cells will be of the same

magnitude using a 2 by 3 factorial experiment in analyzing unweighted means.

	b_1 Graduates	b_2 Drop-outs	b_3 Control
a_1 Negro	n_18	n_18	n_18
a_2 Caucasian	n_12	n_12	n_12

Unequal n's within the cells were placed in the same order for computational purposes by use of a harmonic mean.[1] The $\bar{n}_h$ (harmonic mean) was computed by this formula.

$$\bar{n}_h = \frac{6 \ (\text{number of cells})}{1/18 + 1/18 + 1/18 + 1/12 + 1/12 + 1/12}$$

In the computation of main effects and interactions each cell had $\bar{n}_h$ observations.

Three steps were involved in the evaluation of the data into a workable analysis: (1) Computation of the S.D. from raw scores, (2) Computation of the F-ratio, and (3) Computation of the t-ratio analysis of variance.

Computation of the S.D.'s (Standard Deviation) for each of the cell groups determined the variability within and among the distributed scores. This procedure provided the assurance that the study could produce differences among the groups. The standard deviations among the paired group (graduates, drop-outs, control) were

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[1] B. J. Winer, *Statistical Principles in Experimental Design* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), p. 223.

assumed to have significant relationships by sight examination and indicated that further investigation was feasible.

The computation of the F ratio, in the analysis of variance, provided a statistical method that analyzed the independent and interactive effects of independent variables on a dependent variable. A significant F ratio indicated that there were no chance variations among means in the lists of sets. The variances from within the sets were approximately equal if the assumption was made that an accurate estimation of total population was present. The absence of a significant difference from an F ratio would have raised suspicion on significant differences between specific comparisons; thereby, raising the question of the score representing only a chance probability. The F ratio, therefore, determined the rejection or acceptance of the null hypotheses. The two independent variance estimates were estimates of the same population if the null hypotheses were accepted. If the two independent variance estimates were significantly different, then the null hypotheses were rejected and the experimental design permitted investigation of specific hypotheses by use of the t ratio.

A significant F indicated that there were no chance variations among the means in the list of sets. It was not known which ones were significantly different.

It was determined, however, that they could not arise from a homogeneous sample. The t test assumed the equality of variances in the populations from which samples were drawn and attempted to reflect the differences between the control and experimental groups of the study. These differences were determined by ratios between sample means in determining the errors in sampling.

Statistical procedures used in the study answered two primary questions: (1) The question of statistical significance of differences in the socio/occupational adjustment of the E.M.R.s between two experimental groups and one control group and (2) the question of significance of differences between races as they related to the socio/occupational adjustments of the three groups of Educable Mentally Retarded former students.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF DATA

The study was primarily concerned with determin-
ing if the socio/occupational adjustments were signifi-
cantly different for students who had completed a
specially designed high school work-study program as
compared to those completing a regular special education
program. The measures of socio/occupational adjustment
contained in 15 items of the validated Texas Screening
Battery for Subnormals[1] consisted of the scores made by
the subjects responses to questions of the interviewers.
The dependent variables were the races (Caucasian and
Negro) which were structured into the research design.

A secondary concern of the study involved deter-
mining if the training had greater significance for the
Negro or Caucasian students. Research findings indicated
some concern for students of minority races who were
classified as mentally retarded on the basis of tests
which were of questionable validity.

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[1]J. R. Peck, et al., The Texas Screening Battery
for Subnormals (Austin, Texas: H. E. W. Publications,
1964).

Composition of the Study Sample

Ninety former students of the Oklahoma City Public Schools, who by normal classification procedures had been identified as E.M.R. students, comprised the sample of the study. Questionnaire for Subject (on success)-Form 2[1] from a battery developed by Peck, Stevens and Fooshee was administered during a six week period between March 1, 1968 through April 15, 1968. The sample consisted of 54 Negro and 36 Caucasian E.M.R. former students whose I.Q.'s ranged between 50 and 78.

The overall average E.M.R.'s age in the study was 20.3 years. The range of ages was 18 years 5 months to 23 years 5 months. The mean age of the Negro E.M.R.s was 19 years 11 months and 20 years 3 months for the Caucasian sample. The mean I.Q. for the total sample was 70.6 with a mean I.Q. for the Negro group of 71.03 and 70.17 for the Caucasian group. Individual ages and I.Q.'s are reported in Table 10 for the total study population.

The control group which included students of the same socio/economic background included 3 students from the Caucasian sample and 10 from the Negro who completed a high school program. By design, the drop-out experimental group consisted of those students who failed to graduate from high school. The graduate experimental group consisted of all high school finishers. The total number of high school graduates was 43 of the total sample

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[1]Ibid.

TABLE 10

INDIVIDUAL I.Q. AND CHRONOLOGICAL AGE FOR NINETY E.M.R.
FORMER STUDENTS BY RACE

	CONTROL				DROP-OUT				GRADUATES			
	Negro		Caucasian		Negro		Caucasian		Negro		Caucasian	
	IQ	Age	IQ	Age	IQ	Age	IQ	Age	IQ	Age	IQ	Age
1.	72	20.0	77	19-6	71	18-6	72	18-6	61	18-9	50	18-11
2.	72	19-7	71	20-8	74	18-5	74	18-7	73	19	64	19-6
3.	65	21-1	76	20-2	70	18-8	64	19-2	75	19-9	77	20-3
4.	78	19-8	76	20-9	70	18-2	73	19-2	75	19-9	77	20-3
5.	78	19-11	72	20-8	67	18-11	77	19-9	74	19-8	67	20-5
6.	73	19-11	75	20-3	72	19-10	74	20	74	20-1	77	20-3
7.	75	19-11	72	21-3	73	19-5	76	20-5	69	20-3	65	21
8.	76	18-3	54	21-3	78	19-6	67	20	66	21-5	72	21-3
9.	68	19-2	72	21-3	62	19-7	54	20-6	70	20-3	71	21
10.	67	18-10	70	21-10	27	20-1	78	20	71	21-2	73	21-6
11.	77	19-8	70	21-10	71	20-6	65	21	71	21-1	66	22-4
12.	78	20-8	75	22-3	67	20-11	78	22-3	78	21-6	62	22-2
13.	75	19-5			78	20			74	22-6		
14.	58	20-1			71	21			66	22-6		
15.	63	20-6			75	21-7			78	22-5		
16.	64	21-3			76	22-6			65	22		
17.	62	20-5			78	22-7			72	22-5		
18.	66	20-1			74	22-5			76	23-5		
Mean:	70.3	19-11	71.6	20-11	71.3	19-1	71	19-11	71.5	20-11	67.9	20-8

	Mean I.Q.		Mean Age	
Negro	71.03		19 years	11 months
Caucasian	70.17		20 years	6 months
Total	70.6		20 years	3 months
Range	50-78		18 years 5 months to	
			23 years 5 months	

of 90, who were in the graduate and control groups. In
the two groups., drop-out and control, there was a total
of 47 E.M.R.s who failed to complete high school.

The 15 five-point scales included in the statis-
tical study were developed on a continuum from (1) to (5)
with the higher scored items representing the positive
concept and the lower scores the negative concept of
socio/occupational adjustment. The maximum possible score
was 90 for each of the E.M.R.s included in the study.
The scores ranged from 32 to 71 with a mean of 54.04.
Table 11 shows the mean scores of the sub groups along
with the mean scores of the three study groups.

TABLE 11

SOCIO/OCCUPATIONAL MEAN SCORES FOR STUDY
GROUPS AND SUBGROUPS

Group	N	Graduates	Drop-out	Control	Total
Caucasian	36	63.72	45.94	59.33	56.33
Negro	54	56.42	47.67	51.17	51.75
Total	90	60.07	46.80	35.25	54.04

Testing the Hypotheses

Analysis of variance was the statistical pro-
cedure used to test the hypotheses. This statistical
design was chosen because it yields variation of group
means from the total or grand mean of all groups as well
as the average variability of the scores within each

group. This provided the possibility of using inter-
action into the analysis.

Significance of the differences was tested by use
of the F test.

For computational purposes the data was cast in
terms of a 2 by 3 factorial experiment with unequal cell
frequencies. The primary purpose of this design was to
provide an observation of the factorial effects as well
as the experimental error. This design assumed that the
factorial effects as well as the experimental error were
additive to the purposes of the study.

Table 12 shows the analysis of variance data per-
taining to the socio/occupational scores as they relate
to the dependent variables of race.

TABLE 12

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR UNEQUAL NORMS BETWEEN RACE,
EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS AND INTERACTION OF BOTH FACTORS

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Race	452.76	1	452.76	6.48**	.01
Experimental Groups	2614.69	2	1307.34	18.72**	.01
Race by Experimental Groups	416.59	2	208.30	2.98	NS
Within Cell	5867.81	84	69.85		

**Significant at the .01 level.

When comparing the data it was found that two

F values were significant when consulting the F table for

significance. These were both the independent variables

and the dependent variables. When both variables were

computed for interaction, significance was not found at

either the .05 or .01 level; however, the score was approach-

ing significance. The computational design for the data

found in Table 12 is found in Appendix B. Uneven n's

within the sub groups was neutralized by a formula for a

harmonic mean suggested by Winer[1] which is computed in

Appendix C.

On the basis of the F scores significance was

found between the races (Negro and Caucasian) and the

experimental groups (graduates, drop-outs and control).

Since the data analysis revealed significant variations

in the independent scores of the experimental group, the

data was further analyzed to determine the direction of

the relationship.

The use of the t test for significance of differ-

ences between scores was used to determine this direction.

Table 13 gives an analysis of the computational determi-

nates of the t score.

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[1]B. J. Winer, Statistical Principles in Experi-
mental Design (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962, pp. 222-224.

TABLE 13

DATA USED IN COMPUTATION TO DETERMINE SIGNIFICANCE ON
THE t TEST BETWEEN EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS

	N	X	$\overline{X^2}$	x^2	$\overline{X}$
Control	30	1824	111838	938.80	60.80
Drop-out	30	1399	67960	2719.97	46.63
Graduates	30	1682	96687	2382.87	56.06

The computation for determining significant differences between the experimental groups using the t test is shown in Appendix D.

The Hypotheses

The study contained three null hypotheses:

1. HO_1 There were no significant differences in the socio/occupational scores made by a group of E.M.R.s who have completed a work study school program and a group who participated in a regular school program when race was statistically controlled.

An examination of the data revealed that there was significance between races and between groups on the F test; consequently, HO_1 was rejected and an additional analysis was made by the t test. On the basis of statistical evaluation, significance, (t) was found to be 2.43 at the .05 level.

2. HO_2 There were no significant differences in socio/occupational scores made by a group of E.M.R.s who completed an experimental work-study school program and a group who failed to complete the program when race was statistically controlled.

An examination of the data showed that there was significant difference between races and between groups on the F test. HO_2 was rejected and analysis was made on the t test. On the basis of the statistical evaluation a t score of 6.91 at the .01 level was established as significant.

3. HO_3 There were no significant differences in the socio/occupational scores made by a group of E.M.R.s who failed to complete an experimental work-study program and a group who participated in a regular school program when race was statistically controlled.

An examination of the data indicated that there was significance between races and between groups on the F test. HO_3 was therefore rejected and an analysis was made by the t test. On the basis of the evaluation of the computation a t score of 3.89 was established with an .01 level of significance.

On the basis of an analysis of the statistical data, all three null hypotheses were rejected. A significant difference was found on the socio/occupational scores in which Negroes scored higher than Caucasians, and students who completed the experimental programs (graduates) scored higher than the control group. The control group in turn scored significantly higher on their scores than the dropout group.

Related Sample Analysis

As a portion of the interviewing process associated with the study a number of items in the questionnaire were not subjected to formal statistical analysis. Some of these items were important to the total evaluation of the groups within the study. Table 14 shows the work continuity of the three groups involved in the study and Table 15 compares the number of hours that students were employed. The questionnaire also contained items which provided some information on the types of employment that mentally retarded work students performed as reported in Table 16.

TABLE 14

MEAN OF MONTHS ON JOB AS REPORTED BY 90 MENTALLY
RETARDED STUDENTS OF OKLAHOMA CITY PUBLIC
SCHOOLS BY RACE AND RESEARCH GROUP

	Control		Drop-outs		Graduates	
	Negro	Caucasian	Negro	Caucasian	Negro	Caucasian
Mean	7.8	6.5	7.2	8.9	20.18	9.15
N	18	12	18	12	18	12

TABLE 15

MEAN HOURS OF EMPLOYMENT PER WEEK OF WORKING STUDENTS
BY 90 MENTALLY RETARDED STUDENTS OF THE OKLAHOMA
CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS BY RACE AND RESEARCH GROUP

	Control		Drop-outs		Graduates	
	Negro	Cau- casian	Negro	Cau- casian	Negro	Cau- casian
Mean	41.2	27.67	21.33	24.46	37.00	32.67
Number Employed	15	8	8	6	15	9
Unemployed	3	4	10	6	3	3
N	18	12	18	12	18	12

TABLE 16

TYPES OF EMPLOYMENT BY RACE AND RESEARCH GROUP AS
REPORTED BY 90 MENTALLY RETARDED FORMER STUDENTS
OF OKLAHOMA CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Type of Employment	Control		Drop-outs		Graduates	
	Negro	Cau- casian	Negro	Cau- casian	Negro	Cau- casian
Skilled	3	0	1	0	2	0
Semi-skilled	5	0	4	1	12	4
Unskilled	9	10	12	10	4	7
No Response	1	2	1	1	0	1
N	18	12	18	12	18	12

The number of months between the time that students
completed their school either as a drop-out or as a graduate
had some interesting implications. The Negro student who
graduated and/or completed his training in the control
group found work almost 2½ months earlier than the trained
student from the experimental group. The reverse of this
process was indicated by the Caucasian student in the con-
trol group who took three months longer to find employment
than the experimentally trained white student. Table 17
also shows that drop-outs find employment in a shorter
span of time than any other group with the exception of
the experimentally trained Caucasian student. The impli-
cation of this data is that students may drop out because
a job is readily available; however, the type of employment
may be menial.

TABLE 17

MEAN OF MONTHS BETWEEN TRAINING AND/OR SCHOOL TER-
MINATION AS REPORTED BY 90 MENTALLY RETARDED
STUDENTS OF THE OKLAHOMA CITY PUBLIC
SCHOOLS BY RACE AND RESEARCH GROUP

	Control		Drop-outs		Graduates	
	Negro	Caucasian	Negro	Caucasian	Negro	Caucasian
Mean	1.11	3.55	.91	.80	3.78	0
N	18	12	18	12	18	12

An important function of any training program for
the mentally retarded is teaching financial responsibility.
Informal data (Table 18) secured by the questionnaire indi-
cated the amount of savings and debts, annual earnings and
credit buying.

TABLE 18

MEAN FINANCIAL FACTORS BY GROUPS FOR 90 MENTALLY RETARDED
STUDENTS AS REPORTED ON AN INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

	Control		Drop-out		Graduate	
	Negro	Cau-casian	Negro	Cau-casian	Negro	Cau-casian
Savings	95.89	27.67	34.44	14.17	118.06	300.42
Debts	80.56	93.75	142.77	133.83	352.11	56.25
Worth	+15.33	-66.08	-108.33	-119.66	-234.05	+244.17
Annual Earn-ings	22.2.46	1674.45	1636.37	1554.54	3338.33	2011.33

Church membership was reported by 79% of the total
group with 90% in the control group, 77% among the drop-
outs and with only 70% membership among the graduates. The
question on voting had little significance because of the
limited number of legal voters. The response to the ques-
tion concerning hours per week spent in civic organiza-
tions was not significant because of the lack of responses.
Participation was indicated by seven of the possible ninety
participants in the study for an average of two and
ane-half hours per week. There were 20 married students

in the study and one engagement. Six students in the con-
trol group, seven in the drop-out, and seven among the
graduate were married. One interesting aspect of this
particular item was that there were no married students
among the Caucasian graduates while the greatest number of
married students by sub groups was the Negro graduate
group with seven.

Two items on the questionnaire, which were unusual,
concerned the happiness of the E.M.R. former student.
Tables 19 and 20 report the five items which gave the
greatest happiness and the five items which gave the
next greatest happiness.

TABLE 19

RELATIONSHIPS WHICH GAVE THE GREATEST HAPPINESS AS
REPORTED BY 90 E.M.R. FORMER STUDENTS BY GROUPS

	Control		Drop-out		Graduate	
	Negro	Cau-casian	Negro	Cau-casian	Negro	Cau-casian
Work	5	0	4	5	5	7
Spare Time	4	4	5	2	5	4
Family	6	7	6	4	4	0
Close friends	3	1	3	0	4	1
Civic activity	0	0	0	1	0	0

TABLE 20

RELATIONSHIPS WHICH GAVE THE NEXT TO THE GREATEST
HAPPINESS AS REPORTED BY 90 E.M.R.
FORMER STUDENTS BY GROUPS

	Control		Drop-out		Graduate	
	Negro	Cau-casian	Negro	Cau-casian	Negro	Cau-casian
Work	0	0	2	3	2	1
Spare time	3	4	4	3	9	5
Family	7	1	4	2	3	3
Close friends	7	6	8	3	3	3
Civic activity	1	1	0	0	1	0

A number of variables of leisure activities were
reported in the interview-questionnaire by the E.M.R.s
involved in the study as shown in Table 21.

TABLE 21

MEAN VARIABLES OF LEISURE AS REPORTED BY 90 E.M.R. FORMER STUDENTS BY GROUPS AND RACE

	Control		Drop-out		Graduates	
	Negro	Caucasian	Negro	Caucasian	Negro	Caucasian
Spare time Activities 3 highest	1 T.V. 2 Sports 3 Mechanics	T.V. Dance Cars	Pool T.V. Cars	Riding Car T.V. Pool	T.V. Party Pool	T.V. Riding Car Cards
Hrs. per week watching T.V.	15.62	17.55	20.62	23.33	14.00	18.60
Movies per month	3.17	4.54	2.31	4.79	2.97	4.42
Hours monthly outdoor activity	31.12	17.00	15.00	16.54	13.05	18.42
Hours weekly Reading	4.16	6.62	5.62	4.23	6.13	6.20
Number of Close Friends	4.30	4.00	4.67	2.63	4.93	2.83

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CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY

The problem of this study was to analyze the characteristics and evaluate the effectiveness of the work-study program of Special Education-Vocational Rehabilitation as conceptualized at Oklahoma City Central High School.

Secondary schools in the process of changing their programs to meet the demand of a rapidly changing social and economic patterns in our society have developed new approaches to educational programming which may be contributive or may have questionable worth. This study was an attempt to determine the value of a new concept of adjustment to an occupation from a formal school setting for the educable mentally retarded high school student. Perceptive educators have realized the importance of testing new developmental programs as they related to the socio/occupational adjustments of students into the complexities of life. The additional responsibility of providing realistic programming for the handicapped student, who has unusual learning problems, has required intensive planning and understanding.

The necessity for evaluating learning concepts by pre-test and post-test techniques when practical and possible is generally conceded. This investigation provided the researcher with post-test data which precluded most research designs except ex post facto. The instrument used in the study concerned itself with the adjustment of the E.M.R. to social and occupational adjustments. The determination of differences between groups who had participated in a new specially designed program of work-study as compared to those students who were assigned to a regular program provided an indication of the realistic gains. Programming in the formal classroom and/or structured supervised work program was measured by normal marking procedures and an indication of the progress was reported. Evaluation of progress made by the students after a time lapse and by a formulized research procedure was assumed to be more meaningful because of the highly structured supervisory roles of personnel who worked with the E.M.R.s in the project.

The instrument used in the study provided data which were used in a formal and an informal statistical procedure on items which were validated by 78 criterion items of a panel of experts. These items had relevances to the period of the study and to the former students who were interviewed by trained teacher-coordinators.

An analysis of the former students' adjustment to

the socio/occupational conditions in the community, after

a period of semi independence/ provided the basis for a

realistic evaluation of the project. The study attempted

to collect data on one work-study program, analyze the

findings and make suggestions which could be productive

in developing programs for the educable mentally retarded

high school student.

Findings

Hypotheses tested were:

HO_1 There were no significant differences in the socio/occupational scores made by a group of E.M.R.s who have completed an experimental work-study school program and a group who participated in a regular special education program when race was statistically controlled.

HO_2 There were no significant differences in the socio/occupational scores made by a group of E.M.R.s who have completed an experimental work-study program and a group who failed to complete the program when race was statistically controlled.

HO_3 There were no significant differences in the socio/occupational scores made by a group of E.M.R.s who failed to complete an experimental work-study program and a group who participated in a regular special education program when race was statistically controlled.

The null hypotheses were rejected in HO_1, HO_2

and HO_3 and these findings were determined, based within

the limitations of the study. The graduate group, those

students who participated in the total experimental pro-

gram and graduating from high school scored significantly

higher on their socio/occupational adjustment than either

the control and/or drop-out group. The control group

scored significantly higher than the drop-out group. These

findings would indicate that the experimental program was

significantly effective over the control and/or the drop-

out group and provides a basis of support for the continu-

ation of the specially designed project.

The informal findings of the questionnaire inter-

view instrument were not tested for variance; however, the

means were compared by tables. The basic information of

chronological age and the assessment of I.Q.s were within

the range of the validating group of the questionnaire-

interview instrument. The Negro former students were

younger than the Caucasian students in the study; however,

they had a significantly higher mean score on their socio/

occupational responses. The Negroes had a .86 point

spread over the intellectual assessments of the Caucasians.

The findings of the study indicated that the

Negroes in the experimental group of graduates had a

longer tenure on the job. Mean hours per week on a job

in the graduate group was higher than all other groups

with the exception of the Negro in the control group.

The graduate group had a proportionally higher trained

population as it related to skills necessary to achieve

success.

The graduate group had a greater amount of savings;

however, the members of this group borrowed more money.

The graduates' earnings were higher than the control group

who produced more income than the drop-out group. Credit buying was slightly higher for the graduate group over the control group with the drop-out group using this device less than the other groups.

Membership in a church was less for the graduates than the control or drop-out group. Work gave the greatest happiness to the graduate group. The drop-outs indicated that work and spare time both gave them the greatest happiness while the control group reported family and spare time as their choices. The drop-out group spent more time in leisure activities with the exception of reading which was the control and graduates' choice.

Conclusions

Based upon the findings of the study, these conclusions were made:

1. The work-study programming for E.M.R. students at Central High School was effective as it related positively to socio/occupational adjustment.

2. Regular special education programs had a positive effect on the socio/occupational adjustment of the E.M.R. student without regard to experimental programming.

3. The research supports the thesis that scores made on individual I.Q. tests by Negro students do not represent the same ability range as the Caucasian students, resulting in superior adjustments because of realistic

(not measured) higher innate ability.

4. This study showed that contributive programs for the E.M.R. students have a greater opportunity for development as a result of the active collaboration between a secondary school, a state department of education and a vocational rehabilitation agency.

5. Contributive programs in secondary education are more likely to be developed when accreditation standards imposed by state education agencies are modified to permit innovative programs which meet the needs of special groups of students.

Recommendations

1. Specifically designed work-study programs for the high school E.M.R. should be continued until research and/or other programs are found to improve on the present plan at Central High School.

2. This study reinforces the concept that students in a regular program of special education will gain significant socio/occupational skills. It is highly recommended that students remain in regular special education classes over dropping out of school.

3. The pattern for research should be carefully explored before new programs are implemented. Concepts and training procedures should be tested by formalized procedures which include pre-test and post-test data.

4. The development of instruments that measure students with learning problems in a fair and unbiased manner is extremely critical for the psychometrist and class room teacher, particularly as it relates to the evaluation of the minority and disadvantaged students.

5. Secondary schools of sufficient size should develop programs for E.M.R. students similar to those operating at Central High School.

6. Accreditation standards should have greater flexibility to allow secondary schools an opportunity to provide innovative programming.

7. Consideration should be given to the development of comparable programs for other below average students.

8. Programs which concentrate on occupational conditioning/general education should be financed partially through subsidized educational programs.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE-INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT USED IN SECURING
DATA FROM NINETY FORMER E.M.R. STUDENTS OF THE
OKLAHOMA CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

1. Residence: own home (5)___; rent (4)___; apartment
   (3)___; (2)___; half-way house (1)___

2. How many places have you lived in the past three
   years? (other than this present residence)_____

3. What kinds of things do you do in your spare time?

   List_____

   _____

4. Very desirable (5)___; desirable (4)___; not totally
   desirable (3)___; undesirable (2)___; alone___

5. With whom? peers___; relatives___; younger frineds___;
   older friends___; parents___; alone___

6. Hours spent per week watching TV _____

7. Do you like music? very much (5)___; some (4)___;
   indifferent (3)___; dislikes (2)___; great dislike
   (1)___

8. How many hours a month do you take part in outdoor
   recreation?_____
   List in hours _____

9. How many times a month do you go to the movies?_____

10. Number of hours spent weekly reading _____

    What? _____

11. Law conformity: nature of offense _____

    None (5)___; very minor (4) ___; minor (3)___;

    serious (2)___; very serious (1)___

12. Driver's license: unrestricted (5)___; restricted
    (4)___; is training for one (3)___; desire one (2)___;
    (realizes should not) no desire (1)___

13. Amount of savings _____ 14. Amount of indebtedness
    _____

15. Are you better off (financially) than you were two
    years ago? much better (5)___; better (4)___; very
    little better (3)___; about the same (2)___; not as
    good (1)___

16. Do you pay for your own clothes and personal items:
    financially responsible for purchases (5)___;
    usually responsible (4)___; frequently requires fi-
    nincial aid (3)___; often requires financial aid
    (2)___; very often requires financial aid (1)___

17. How many do you call close friends? _____

18. Do you include friends in the things you do other
    than work? always___; most of the time___; part of
    the time___; seldom___; almost never___

19. How did you get your first job? self___; employment
    agency___; vocational rehabilitation___; counselor___;
    friends or relatives___

20. How many years do you expect to be working on this
    job?_____ rest of my life (5)___; ten or fifteen
    years (4)___; a few years (3)___; a year (2)___;
    few mcnths (1)___

21. How does your supervisor treat you? work with you
    (5)___; help you (4)___; ignore you (3)___; exploit
    (2)___; unfair (1)___

22. Is it easy to get along with the people with whom you
    work? always (5)___; most of the time (4)___; part of
    the time (3)___; seldom (2)___; almost never (1)___

23. What type of job did you plan to do _____

24. Are your chances for advancing to a better job?
    very good (5)___; good (4)___; average (3)___; rather
    poor (2)___; poor (1)___

25. Is your job in the type of work you were trained to
    do? exactly (5)___; same general area (4)___; somewhat
    different (3)___; little training in this area
    (2)___; no training in this area (1)___

26. Employed: 11 of past 12 months (5)___; 5 to 10 months
    of past year (4)___; unemployed 7 of past 12 months
    (3)___; unemployed but actively seeking employment
    (2)___; resistant to employment (1)___

27. Length of time between completion of job training (or left school) and employment_____(mo-yrs)

28. Positions held: (start with most recent job): give dates and reasons for job termination

(1) Company_____ Began_____

   Job_____ Ended_____
   Hours worked
   per week_____ Total_____
   Reason for
   Leaving_____ Wage_____

(2) Company_____ Began_____

   Job_____ Ended_____
   Hours worked
   per week_____ Total_____
   Reason for
   Leaving_____ Wage_____

(3) Company_____ Began_____

   Job_____ Ended_____
   Hours worked
   per week_____ Total_____
   Reason for
   Leaving_____ Wage_____

(4) Company_____ Began_____

   Job_____ Ended_____
   Hours worked
   per week_____ Total_____
   Reason for
   Leaving_____ Wage_____

(5) Company_____ Began_____

   Job_____ Ended_____
   Hours worked
   per week_____ Total_____
   Reason for
   Leaving_____ Wage_____

(6) Company_____ Began_____

   Job_____ Ended_____
   Hours worked
   per week_____ Total_____
   Reason for
   Leaving_____ Wage_____

29. Present number of hours employed per week _____

30. Type of employment: skilled___; semi skilled___; unskilled___

31. Job tenure rate $\dfrac{\text{work years}}{\text{number of jobs held}}$

32. Annual earnings: _____

33. Church membership or preference _____

34. How many hours a week do you spend in meetings of clubs, lodges, unions, and other organizations? _____

35. Do you vote? always (5)___; regularly (4)___; usually (3)___; sometimes (2)___; never (1)___

36. How many days a month are you with your parents? ____

37. How many hours a day do you work with your parents?

   _____

38. Do you depend on your parents for financial support: no financial support (5)___; infrequent monetary gifts (4)___; spending money only (3)___; partial financial support (2)___; total financial support (1)___

39. Do you do credit buying? yes___; no___

40. Do your parents treat you like a child? mature and independent (5)___; make some suggestions (4)___; many suggestions (3)___; constantly making suggestions (2)___; dictate what to do (1)___

41. Which of the following give you the greatest happiness? work___; spare time___; family___; close friends ___; civic activities___

42. What gives you the next greatest happiness? work___; spare time___; family___; close friends___; civic activities___

43. Marital status: married___; engaged___; single___; separated___; divorced___

44. Do you and your wife like to do things together? Practically all___; 1/2___; almost none___; what_____

APPENDIX B

COMPUTATION FOR THE F RATIO BETWEEN GROUPS, RACE AND INTERACTION

Cell Means —	B_1 Graduate	B_2 Drop-out	B_3 Control	Total
A_1 Negro	63.72	45.94	59.33	168.99
A_2 Caucasian	56.42	47.67	51.17	155.26
	120.14	93.61		324.25

$$1. \quad = \quad G^2 / pq \quad = (324.25)^2/6 \quad\quad = 17523.01$$

$$2. \quad = \sum x^2$$

$$3. \quad = (\sum A_j^2)/q \quad = (168.99)^2 + (155.26)^2/3 \quad = 17554.43$$

$$4. \quad = (\sum B_j^2)/p \quad = (120.14)^2 + (93.61)^2 + (110.50)^2/2 = 17704.46$$

$$5. \quad = \sum (\overline{AB}ij)^2 \quad = (63.72)^2 + (45.94)^2 + (59.33)^2 +$$
$$(56.42)^2 + (47.67)^2 + (51.17)^2 \quad = 17764.79$$

$$\overline{n}_h \quad = \quad 14.41$$

$$SS_A \quad = \overline{n}_h \quad = \quad [(3) - (1)] \quad\quad = \quad 452.76$$

$$SS_B \quad = \overline{n}_h \quad = \quad [(4) - (1)] \quad\quad = \quad 2614.69$$

$$SS_{AB} \quad = \overline{n}_h \quad = \quad [(5) - (3) - (4) + (1)] = \quad 416.59$$

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p
A (Race)	452.76	1	452.76	6.48**	<.01
B (Group)	2614.69	2	1307.34	18.72**	<.01
AB (Race) x (Group)	416.59	2	208.30	2.98	N.S.
Within Cell	5867.81	84	69.85		

APPENDIX C

COMPUTATION OF HARMONIC n FOR UNEQUAL CELLS OF 2 x 3 ANOVA TABLE

		B_1 Graduate	B_2 Drop-out	B_3 Control
Negro A_1	n_{ij}	18	18	18
	$\sum x$	1147	827	1068
	$\sum x^2$	73661	39485	64612
	ss_{ij}	571.61	1488.94	1244.00
Caucasian A_2	n_{ij}	12	12	12
	$\sum x$	677	572	614
	$\sum x^2$	38177	28475	32075
	ss_{ij}	694.92	1209.67	658.67

$$\bar{n}_h = \frac{6}{(1/18)+(1/18)+(1/18)+(1/12)+(1/12)+(1/12)} = \frac{6}{0.4164}$$

$$\bar{n}_h = 14.41$$

$$SS_{W.cell} = \begin{array}{l} 571.61+1488.94+1244.00+ \\ 694.92+1209.67+658.67 \end{array} = 5867.81$$

APPENDIX D

COMPUTATION FOR SIGNIFICANCE USING THE t TEST BETWEEN
THE CONTROL, DROP-OUT AND GRADUATE GROUPS

		N	X	$\lessgtr x^2$	$\lessgtr x^2$
B_1	Graduate	30	1824	111838	938.80
B_2	Drop-out	30	1399	67960	2719.97
B_3	Control	30	1682	96687	2382.87

$$\frac{\overline{X}_1 - \overline{X}_2}{\sqrt{\dfrac{x_1^2 + x_2^2}{N(N-1)}}} = \underline{t}$$

$X_{B1} \neq X_{B2}$ i ; $t = 6.91$**

$X_{B1} \neq X_{B3}$ i ; $t = 2.43$ *

$X_{B3} \neq X_{B2}$ i ; $t = 3.89$ *

---

* .05 level of significance

** .01 level of significance
w/ 58 degrees of freedom

APPENDIX E

SIGNIFICANT CORRELATIONS OF T-SCORES FOR ITEMS USED TO
DETERMINE CRITERION SUCCESS VARIABLES RELATED TO
THE STUDY WITH T-SCORES FOR PREDICTOR VARIABLES

SIGNIFICANT CORRELATIONS[a] OF T-SCORES FOR ITEMS USED TO DETERMINE CRITERION SUCCESS
VARIABLES RELATED TO STUDY WITH T-SCORES FOR PREDICTOR VARIABLES

PREDICTOR VARIABLES	Residence	Spare Time Activity	Music Enjoyment	Law Conformity	Driver's License	Improved Finances	Purchase Own Clothes	Job Expectancy	Regard Supervisor	Compatible Employees	Realistic Goals	Job in Training Area	Advancement Possibility	Finances from Parent	Parents Regard-Mature
1. Mental Health		23					28		20			-18			
2. Physical Health							25				21				
3. Freq. of Medication		19													
4. Enjoyed School							-19								
5. Reason Left Home		23						26					24		
6. Optimum Performance		19					34			-20				29	26
7. Emotional Stability		23				21			19	20					23
8. Cheerfulness		26					26								
9. Adaptability			18												
10. Stability of Family	31	29		41	32		-26							-34	-19
11. Perceptual Awareness		18	18							20	22			26	
12. Definite Convictions													25	23	18
13. Recognizes Limitation								24			22				
14. Written Communication								-25							
15. Self Esteem		23	20							30			19		

(CONTINUED)

PREDICTOR VARIABLES

Predictor Variables	Parents Regard-Mature	Finances from Parent	Advancement Possibility	Job in Training Area	Realistic Goals	Compatible Employees	Regard Supervisor	Job Expectancy	Purchase Own Clothes	Improved Finances	Driver's License	Law Conformity	Music Enjoyment	Spare Time Activity	Residence
16. Responsibility	30	40	26		27		23	28	34	24		20		20	
17. Psychosexual Integration	29	20			18				21		24	19		27	18
18. Grooming														20	
19. Dominant	26	20	18						29	28					
20. Sociability											24				
21. Affectionate, kind															
22. Positive Re Father												29		20	
23. Positive Re Mother							21					29		31	
24. Positive Re Men				18			32					22			
25. Positive Re Women							18					25		22	
26. Positive Re Children															23
27. Cooperative	20				23		20					19		22	
28. Persistent	25	27					20	20				22		25	
29. Strives for Success	29		22		21		20	19	28	19				27	
30. Handles Failure well					20							26			
31. Self Directing	34	42	31		29		20	41	37	33		20		28	
32. Motivated/Difficulty								19						24	

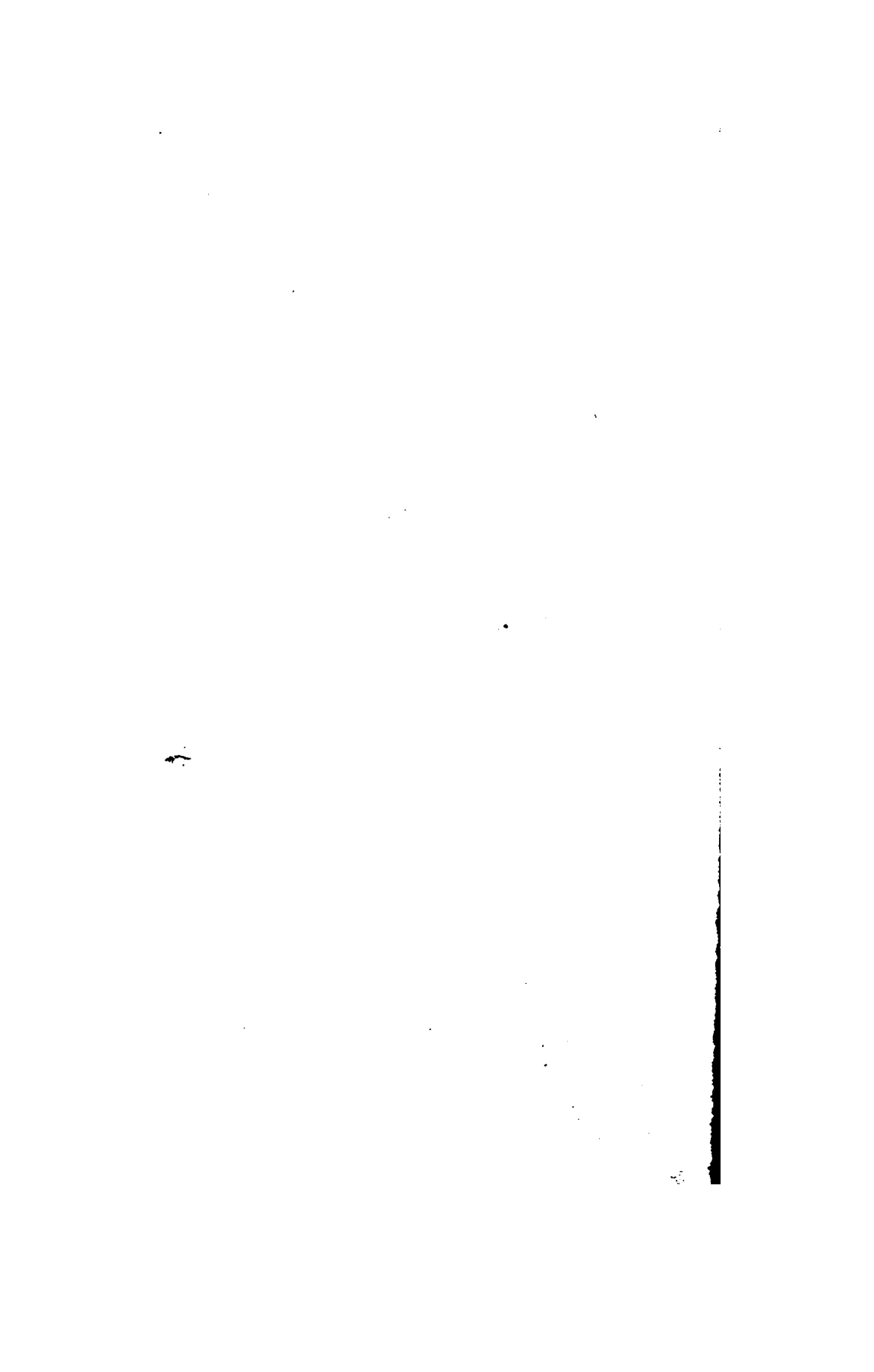| PREDICTOR VARIABLES	Residence	Spare Time Activity	Music Enjoyment	Law Conformity	Driver's License	Improved Finances	Purchase Own Clothes	Job Expectancy	Regard Supervisor	Compatible Employees	Realistic Goals	Job in Training Area	Advancement Possibility	Finances from Parent	Parents Regard-Mature
33. Responds Readily									26						
34. Maximum Performance						32	37	27	23		24			40	26
35. Amoral Character	-20	-21		-32		-19			-19						
36. Expedient Character															
37. Conforming Character		32		44					19						
38. Conscientious Character									27			19	19	20	19
39. Altruistic Character		23					20	23					23	23	
40. Integrated Personality		28		29			19		18	20					25
41. Enjoyment of Life							26								19
42. General Happiness												23			
43. Degree of Contentment		23							21						
44. Age		-18		-20		22	25	19							
45. Past Places Lives														18	
46. Weight					18									33	
47. Height															
48. Illness and Accidents															

PREDICTOR VARIABLES	Residence	Spare Time Activity	Music Enjoyment	Law Conformity	Driver's License	Improved Finances	Purchase Own Clothes	Job Expectancy	Regard Supervisor	Compatible Employees	Realistic Goals	Job in Training Area	Advancement Possibility	Finances from Parent	Parents Regard Mature
49. Parents Regard Mature															23
50. Years Job Training	-23				19			19							
51. Age Left Home							18	23						24	22
52. Number Handicaps							-22							-22	
53. I.Q.					20			-20							
54. Lack of Anxiety											18			24	
55. Truthfulness												-23			
56. Rank of Attention															26
57. Applies Reasoning															
58. Reaction Time															
59. Psychomotor Speed												-22			
60. Verbal Facility		18			18	-18	-21								
61. Unhappiness						-18	-18	-20		-30					
62. Creative Fluency				-20	21										
63. Creative Flexibility					20										
64. Creative Frequency		20													
65. Practical Creativity											-19		19		

PREDICTOR VARIABLES	Residence	Spare Time Activity	Music Enjoyment	Law Conformity	Driver's License	Improved Finances	Purchase Own Clothes	Job Expectancy	Regard Supervisor	Compatible Employees	Realistic Goals	Job in Training Area	Advancement Possibility	Finances from Parent	Parents Regard-Mature
66. Creative Elaboration							-22								
67. Drawman Mental Health															
68. Parent's Activity							-31								
69. Index of Social Class				-26			36				26			32	18
70. Family Dynamics															
71. Attitude Job and Employer						31	22	27	26						
72. Intevsonal Development						24		19	32					27	
73. Need Achievement		23				37	30	27	30					22	
74. Self - Concept							19	20	28					35	24
75. Self - Direction							42			-24				46	40
76. Occupational Maturity						31	28					18	22	29	25
77. Communicative Maturity															
78. Social Maturity							23						-21	27	27

[a].18 Sig. at .05;   .23 Sig. at .01.

Thackeray, according to Ford, sins greater than all: "And

I imagine that the greatest literary crime ever committed

was Thackeray's sudden, apologetic incursion of himself into

his matchless account of the manoevres of Becky Sharp on

Waterloo day in Brussels. The greatest crime that anyone

perhaps ever committed!"(85) Most of the fault-finders

seem to agree that the narrating persona's insufficiencies

are due to his own or Thackeray's deceitfulness, or even

worse, carelessness, or worst of all, incompetence.

"Thackeray lies, cheats, dissembles, suppresses information,"

says D. H. Stewart, but he goes on to explain that there is

a valid reason for the deceit--the deceitfulness of the

world Thackeray is dealing with:

> He gives us a world that reflects honestly the real
> world--which certainly deceives us quite as often,
> quite as blatantly. A better wisdom than that which
> condemns his contradictions would express gratitude
> to Thackeray for making it difficult after reading
> Vanity Fair to deceive oneself into believing he was
> ever quite undeceived. We are hoaxed and defrauded
> again and again by the showman in his belled cap, yet
> we assume he believes in truth and strives to reveal
> it to us, so we listen intently, accept the reality
> before us, keep faith, but can never finally close our
> ears to the intolerable clack and squeak of the mari-
> onettes. A wretched, bitter, futile game indeed.[3]

A. E. Dyson seems much more courteous to the novel in his

explanation of its deceit: "Vanity Fair is surely one of

the world's most devious novels, devious in its character-

ization, its irony, its explicit moralizing, its exuberance,

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[3]D. H. Stewart, "Vanity Fair: Life in the Void,"
College English, XXV(1963-1964), 211.

its tone. Few novels demand more continuing alertness from the reader."[4] The deviousness, he continues, however, offers "intellectual and moral stimulation" that belies the superficial evidence that "artifice and contrivance are all." Dyson too rests the ambivalence of the novel primarily in the "puppet-master's" hands, yet he suggests, as I do, that the motive force may be not deviousness or even ambivalence but instead a realistic complexity: "Vanity Fair turns out to be a novel where the puppet-master is, after all, bound by the iron discipline of his own greatness. The characters come alive, and their creator cannot blacken or praise them superficially without his readers detecting and resenting the lie; they come alive in the real world of human morality, where every complexity of sensitive response must be allowed for, whether the creator fully approves of such complexity or not"(13). Sister M. Corona Sharp suggests that one of the narrator's most unpleasant deceits is his mockery of the reader by posing as moralist and then deriding morality. The reader "receives his share of mockery along with fictive characters and false standards. It is assumed that he is sentimental . . .; a bit obtuse; and, above all, respectable. All the mock moralizing is done for his benefit. . . . Several comic

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[4]A. E. Dyson, "Vanity Fair: An Irony Against Heroes," Critical Quarterly, VI(1964), 12.

warnings are uttered on his behalf. . . . He is taken by the
lapel when the narrator wants to stress the obvious."[5] The
point is well taken although just as easily the narrator
could be addressing readers who may be sentimental or falsely
sentimental instead of the entire audience of the novel.

Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and Ennis articulate the
popular "carelessness" theory in criticizing the narrator's
persona--he just seems to have happened. Ennis believes
that Thackeray had no over-riding philosophy in mind when
he wrote the novel: "Beyond what is implied in each of
the three titles: 'Vanity Fair,' 'A Novel Without a Hero,'
and 'Pen and Pencil Sketches of English Society,' plus the
concept of himself as puppetmaster, Thackeray had no such
philosophy."[6] The narrator, then, could represent nothing
important. Because of the ease with which the narrator
preaches, Quiller-Couch agrees that the second half, at
least, of Vanity Fair seems planless: "I dare to say that
this gift of loose informal, preaching was Thackeray's bane
as a novelist. The ease with which it came to him, and the
public's readiness to accept it, just tempted him to slouch
along. Esmond and the first half of Vanity Fair excepted,
he never seems (to me at least) to have planned out a nov-

_____

[5]Sister M. Corona Sharp, "Sympathetic Mockery: A
Study of the Narrator's Character in Vanity Fair," Journal
of English Literary History, XXIX, 331-332.

[6]Ennis, p. 137.

el."[7]

The "incompetence" theory has traditionally had a wide
following. The supposed imcompetence is both moral and tech-
nical. Russell Frazer uses Shelley's explanation, in the
Preface to Prometheus Unbound, of the character of Milton's
Satan to account for one's reaction to Vanity Fair: "/Sa-
tan/ engenders in the mind a pernicious casuistry which
leads us to weigh his faults with his wrongs, and to excuse
the former because the latter exceed all measure."[8] And it
is the narrator, of course, who is primarily responsible
for the casuistry which pervades the book beyond that of the
individual characters:

> Although his conversance with his characters has been
> thorough and close, it has made him not unnaturally
> partisan. He will "Step down from the platform" to
> trounce whatever villany he descries (lest a suspi-
> cious reader fail to see where he stands) or, it may
> be, to laugh in that same reader's sleeve. But if
> Thackeray, like his master Fielding, is to take upon
> himself the role of a Chorus, he must speak with fixed
> purpose from a single point of view. It will not do to
> deride a fool's piety one moment and to applaud it
> sententiously the next. Yet this is precisely what is
> done. . . . This is to have it both ways, to speak, not
> consciously, impartially, but uneasily, irresolutely,
> for two points of view, each opposed to the other. It
> is a flaw in Thackeray's handling of character. And
> the flaw persists. (137-138)

Trollope early recognized what has continued to be criti-
cized as an important technical "incompetence": "I am in-

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[7]Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, Charles Dickens and Other
Victorians (New York, 1925), p. 146.

[8]Russell A. Frazer, "Pernicious Casuistry: A Study
of Character in Vanity Fair," Nineteenth-Century Fiction,
XII, 144.

clined to think that his most besetting sin in style--the

little earmark by which he is most conspicuous--is a certain

affected familiarity. He indulges too frequently in little

confidences with individual readers, in which pretended

allusions to himself are frequent. 'What would you do? what

would you say now, if you were in such a position?' he

asks."[9] In the short works, the technique was successful,

Trollope continues, but in the novels it lacked dignity:

> In the short contributions to periodicals on which he
> tried his 'prentice hand, such addresses and conver-
> sations were natural and efficacious; but in a larger
> work of fiction they cause an absence of that dignity
> to which even a novel may aspire. You feel that each
> morsel as you read it is a detached bit, and that it
> has all been written in detachments. The book is robbed
> of its integrity by a certain good-humoured geniality
> of language, which causes the reader to be almost too
> much at home with his author. There is a saying that
> familiarity breeds contempt, and I have been sometimes
> inclined to think that our author has sometimes failed
> to stand up for himself with sufficiency of "personal
> deportment." (198)

J. T. Y. Greig states the problem in more modern terms--

annotation versus embodied comment:

> It is always dangerous for a novelist to annotate his
> fiction in this way, since the annotations often shatter
> the illusion on which everything hangs. The reader's
> "willing suspension of disbelief for the moment" is
> interrupted, and if the process is often repeated, may
> never be resumed. Nothing is more likely to remind the
> reader that what he is getting from the printed page is
> only fiction, than frequent disembodied comments by the
> author.
>   The embodied comment is quite another matter. It
> is integral. It subtly but unobtrusively controls the

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[9]Trollope, pp. 197-198.

reader's responses. It helps to "manipulate the con-
tents of the reader's mind," to borrow Vernon Lee's
phrase. At its best, it becomes so completely fused
with other elements in the author's style that the reader
is not consciously aware of it as comment. Outstanding
examples of this fusion are to be found in the later
novels of Henry James. . . . The result is that "motive
and action and significance" are immersed in a consist-
ent medium "through which they are interpreted." Con-
trasting with this is the disembodied comment often used
by Thackeray, which, instead of illuminating and inter-
preting, blurs and befogs.[10]

One problem about the narrator of <u>Vanity Fair</u> is that

he could genuinely be said to be guilty on all three counts

--deceitfulness, carelessness, incompetence. To choose a

single example only, he says, within the scope of a page,

that "this plot being arranged, the <u>hypocritical</u> Dobbin

saluted Mrs. George Osborne quite gaily"(230), that "in

her little day of triumph, and not knowing him intimately

as yet, she made light of <u>honest</u> William," and that "/Cap-

tain Dobbin/ was so <u>honest</u>, that /Becky's/ arts and cajol-

eries did not affect him." One of the two assertions about

Dobbin has to be untrue. The contradiction could, to be

sure, be the result of a narrator so careless that he forgot

a scant half-page later what he had said Dobbin to be. Or

the narrator could be so incompetent that he did not know

what he had just said. In any case, the contradiction is

there, whatever its source, and the contradictions remain

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[10]J. T. Y. Greig, "Thackeray, a Novelist by Accident,"
in <u>From Jane Austen to Joseph Conrad: Essays Collected in
Memory of James T. Hillhouse</u>, eds. Robert C. Rathburn and
Martin Steinmann, Jr. (Minneapolis, 1958), pp. 73-74.

a sticky problem for the reader of <u>Vanity Fair</u>.

What sort of character, then, does the narrator of
<u>Vanity Fair</u> have? Since all information and emotion in the
novel are funneled through his mind and sensibilities, his
character is absolutely critical to any reading of the novel.
What, if anything, may be said in his favor? Is he totally
unreliable? How, if at all, is he reliable? There is even
contradiction about <u>who</u> he is. The difficulties must all
be dealt with before one can devise any sort of orientation
by which to criticize the novel.

The self of the narrator is five-fold--he is a writer-
historian-novelist who creates and manipulates his material;
he is a moralist who delivers small homilies on the expe-
rience he finds in front of him; he is Clown, the eternal
jester; he is a memoirist who tells instead of creating;
and fusing all four, he is Master of Ceremonies to a great
show he calls "human nature." He is not one persona but
five, in a melange resembling the marbled page of <u>Tristram
Shandy</u>. It should be made clear, however, that these five
roles are not five separate individualities but instead
five aspects of <u>one</u> personality, who is able to see himself
privately as playing a certain role when it is necessary
or to play equally well a public role expected of him. The
roles are, in addition, not necessarily insular, for the
narrator may play one or several roles in the course of a
page; they may even be concurrent. This symphonic orches-

trating of personae is undoubtedly the most complex and the
most experimental in the course of the Victorian novel.
Only "In Memoriam" equals it in Victorian poetry.

The persona of The Writer is the most pervasive one
of the five. The narrator is by turns "the present writer,"
"the novelist," "the present historian," "the present
chronicler," and dramatist, each modification of the generic
term representing a sub-role he is called upon to play.
From the first installment to the last, The Writer maintains
a firm, voluble grip on the development of plot and char-
acters, and educates his readers in the best manner of
Fielding. He introduces "this little world of history"
in chunky expository passages after the first dramatized
scenes of Miss Pinkerton's academy, and concludes this
"outset of our acquaintance" with a significant reaction to
the contrasting descriptions of Miss Swartz and Amelia:
"All which detail, I have no doubt, JONES, who reads this
book at his Club, will pronounce to be excessively foolish,
trivial, twaddling, and ultra-sentimental. Yes; I can see
Jones at this minute (rather flushed with his joint of mut-
ton and half-pint of wine), taking out his pencil and
scoring under the words 'foolish, twaddling,' &c., and adding
to them his own remark of 'quite true.' Well, he is a lofty
man of genius, and admires the great and heroic in life and
novels; and so had better take warning and go elsewhere"(15).
Ironically, the point of view of Jones the club man exposes

the "excessively foolish, trivial, twaddling, and ultra-sen-
timental" as insufficient and ridiculous, and that very same
trivial ultra-sentimentalism exposes Jones's admiration
for "the great and heroic in life and novels" as equally
overblown and unrealistic. The Writer makes it immediately
clear (the former, ironically, and the latter, overtly) that
neither of the two popular late-Romantic approaches to the
novel is going to suffice for Vanity Fair. A terse, much
more sharply ironic leave-taking ends The Writer's role
in the last installment:

> The vessel is in port. ⁄The Colonel⁄ has got the prize
> he has been trying for all his life. The bird has come
> in at last. There it is with its head on his shoulder,
> billing and cooing close up to his heart, with soft
> outstretched fluttering wings. This is what he has
> asked for every day and hour for eighteen years. This
> is what he pined after. Here it is--the summit, the
> end--the last page of the third volume. Good-bye,
> Colonel--God bless you, honest William!--Farewell, dear
> Amelia--Grow green again, tender little parasite, round
> the rugged old oak to which you cling! (660-661)

Between beginning and end, The Writer roams casually
in and out of the novel, appearing when he is needed during
transitions and veil-drawings, disappearing when he has
completed his temporary task. He appears relatively rarely
as The Writer but instead more often as his alter-egos,
depending on the exigencies of the explanation to come.
Explaining the sub-roles, however, involves Thackeray's con-
cept of genres, a shadowy concept, in twentieth-century
terms, at best. The most shadowy term is the one used most
often of all--The Historian. In addition to his introduc-

tory statement, the narrator says that "Our history is destined in this chapter to go backwards and forwards in a very irresolute manner seemingly"(234) and that the ordering out of the Guards by the Duke of Wellington "was entitled to the pas over all minor occurrences whereof this history is composed"(236). In a passage after George Osborne is killed at Brussels, "history" and "chronicle" seem to be equated: "The kind reader must please to remember . . . that there are a number of persons living peaceably in England who have to do with the history at present in hand, and must come in for their share of the chronicle"(316). The Historian is able to document experiences with both the illustrious-- "Of the other illustrious persons whom Becky had the honour to encounter on this her first presentation to the grand world, it does not become the present historian to say much"(471)--and the lowly--"The Muse, whoever she be, who presides over this Comic History, must now descend from the genteel heights in which she has been soaring, and have the goodness to drop down upon the lowly roof of John Sedley at Brompton, and describe what events are taking place there" (475). (It is interesting to note that this time it is called "this Comic History." The narrator seems to be further limiting the generic field of the novel.) The narrator refuses to write the history of Old Sedley after his wife's death--"We are not going to write the history; it would be too dreary and stupid. I can see Vanity Fair yawning over

it <u>d'avance</u> (549), and he laments having no exciting events

to enliven Amelia's "solitary imprisonment" after she turned

over her son to the Osbornes: "I know that the account of

this kind of solitary imprisonment is insufferably tedious,

unless there is some cheerful or humorous incident to en-

liven it,-- a tender gaoler, for instance, or a waggish

commandant of the fortress, or a mouse to come out and play

about Latude's beard and whiskers, or a subterranean passage

under the castle, dug by Trenk with his nails and a tooth-

pick: the historian has no such enlivening incident to

relate in the narrative of Amelia's captivity"(553). Fi-

nally, the narrator says very bluntly "This history has been

written to very little purpose if the reader has not per-

ceived that the Major was a spooney"(641). The narrator

seems to use the terms "history" or "the historian" when

there is a slight connotation of pastness, when he is re-

ferring to all which has happened in the narrative to a

certain point (all the events are now, therefore, past),

or when he is talking about an actual event in the past

(the ordering out of the Guards, for example). But the

principal denotative meaning for the terms seems to have

reference simply to the historian as storyteller, perhaps

as storyteller of events he wishes to make clear are now

closed experience. The narrator, at any rate, does not

seem to be trying to make much case for his narrative's be-

ing literal history, even though he does attempt, when he

can to point out its realism. Because The Historian equates
himself with both the chronicler--"those . . . who have to
do with the history at present in hand, and must come in for
their share of the chronicle"(316)--and the romancer--just
as the historian must go backward and forward "so in the
conduct of a tale, the romancer is obliged to exercise this
most partial sort of justice"(236), the narrator is probably
making no fine generic distinctions when he calls himself
historian. The Historian as alter-ego of The Writer appears
when time touches the manipulative storyteller and he must
begin, end, bypass a digression, or make final comment on
the narrative in part or in whole.

The Novelist, who along with the serial reader was
a child "when the great battle was won and lost"(314), seems
to be responsible for educating the reader and for clarifying
relations with him. He reminds the reader four times, to
justify his means or method, that "novelists have the priv-
ilege of knowing everything"(31). He points out that the
omniscient novelist has complete freedom to discuss the con-
sciences of his characters: "If, a few pages back, the pres-
ent writer claimed the privilege of peeping into Miss Amelia
Sedley's bedroom, and understanding with the omniscience of
the novelist all the gentle pains and passions which were
tossing upon that innocent pillow, why should he not declare
himself to be Rebecca's confidante, too, master of her se-
crets, and seal-keeper of that young woman's conscience?"

(318). The chapter on how to live well on nothing a year
includes an interesting conclusion to the discussions of The
Novelist's omniscience. The "I," who dines with Jenkins
"twice or thrice in a season"(350) and wonders how he lives
so well, takes on a new identity: "'I' is here introduced
to personify the world in general--the Mrs. Grundy of each
respected reader's private circle--every one of whom can
point to some families of his acquaintance who live nobody
knows how"(350). Furthermore, "Mrs. Grundy" the Novelist
reveals how he gains his omniscience: "The novelist, it
has been said before, knows everything, and as I am in a
situation to be able to tell the public how Crawley and his
wife lived without any income, may I entreat the public
newspapers which are in the habit of extracting portions of
the various periodical works now published, not to reprint
the following exact narrative and calculations--of which I
ought, as the discoverer (and at some expense, too), to have
the benefit"(351).

The Novelist also educates his reader in novel tech-
niques. He first chastizes those who expect to find the
Silver-Fork type of conversation in Vanity Fair: "There is
no need of giving a special report of the conversation which
now took place between Mr. Sedley and the young lady; for
the conversation, as may be judged from the foregoing spec-
imen, was not especially witty or eloquent; it seldom is in
private societies, or anywhere except in very high-flown and

ingenious novels"(38). Nor is the language of the Romantic
novel any more satisfactory--Amelia was going, after her
renewal of fortune, "where Mary was sure she would never be
so happy as she had been in their humble cot as Miss Clapp
called it in the language of the novels which she loved"
(575). The Novelist once appears after the revelation of
Becky and Rawdon's marriage "as an observer of human nature"
(152) upon marriages. He frustrates any hope of his ending
with a Hookean "general ballet": "If Rawdon Crawley had
been then and there present, instead of being at the club
nervously drinking claret, the pair might have gone down on
their knees before the old spinster, avowed all, and been
forgiven in a twinkling. But that good chance was denied
to the young couple, doubtless in order that this story
might be written, in which numbers of their wonderful
adventures are narrated--adventures which could never have
occurred to them if they had been housed and sheltered under
the comfortable uninteresting forgiveness of Miss Crawley"
(153). He also reminds the reader that "this is a novel
without a hero"(288) to counteract the frequent ironic ref-
erences to heroism and the heroic, and even to "heroines."
In addition, he restricts his place to the domestic saga:
"We do not claim to rank among the military novelists. Our
place is with the non-combatants. When the decks are cleared
for action we go below and wait meekly. We should only be
in the way of the manœvres that the gallant fellows are per-

forming overhead"(282). He later validates his claim to
documenting the unsung unheroic by denying again that he is
a "war-chronicler": "How long had that poor girl been on
her knees! what hours of speechless prayer and bitter pros-
tration had she passed there! The war-chroniclers who write
brilliant stories of fight and triumph scarcely tell us of
these. These are too mean parts of the pageant: and you
don't hear widows' cries or mothers' sobs in the midst of
the shouts and jubilation in the great Chorus of Victory.
And yet when was the time, that such have not cried out:
heart-broken, humble Protestants, unheard in the uproar
of the triumph!"(297)

If The Novelist seems to educate the reader what not
to expect, The Dramatist hints at what the reader _is_ to
expect. His is the most subdued aspect of The Writer's
persona: he exists in isolated sentences instead of para-
graphs. The narrator is quite conscious of his role as
dramatizer, even though he speaks of it rarely. He does,
however, speak of it regularly, as if to settle the matter
once again that the novel deals not with the heroic but with
its opposite, the comic. The narrator four times calls the
mode of his work comedy. First he calls the novel a domes-
tic comedy: "so it is that the French Emperor comes in to
perform a part in this domestic comedy of Vanity Fair which
we are now playing, and which would never have been enacted
without the intervention of this august mute personage"(173).

Juxtaposed against the domestic world of silly women and silly concerns are the glitter of the Napoleonic wars and the heroism, duty, honor, and distinction which George Osborne and Dobbin seek in the continental campaign. Part of the realistic complexity of the novel appears when the narrator reacts both ironically and compassionately to the problems of those who must operate in both realms--the domestic thrown into the heroic and the heroic bound to the domestic by bonds emotional and dutiful. He is not being equivocal: it is a quite realistic position that Amelia's grief at George's leaving, no matter how foolish, is quite real to her, that Dobbin could see her as "the poor child" and yet feel "inexpressible grief" for her(176).

The narrator again utilizes his role as dramatizer when Rebecca and Rawdon visit Aunt Crawley after their marriage and when Rebecca plays off George against General Tufto at the Brussels Opera House. The comment on Aunt Crawley's approaching death is genuinely dramatic: "The last scene of her dismal Vanity Fair comedy was fast approaching; the tawdry lamps were going out one by one; and the dark curtain was almost ready to descend"(246). The dismal comedy of death again displays the stunning paradox which characterizes the narrator. The contrast is more purely ironic in Becky's "performance" at the Opera House: "She bustled, she chattered, she turned and twisted, and smiled upon one, and smirked on another, all in full view

of the jealous opera-glass opposite. And when the time for
the ballet came (in which there was no dancer that went
through her grimaces or performed her comedy of action
better), she skipped back to her own box, leaning on Cap-
tain Dobbin's arm this time"(273). Aunt Crawley's comedy
of life and death is at least honest; Becky's grimacing,
according to "honest old Dobbin" is patently "humbug."
Superficially, she is exposed as a rogue and a fool by
the narrator's description of her ludicrous actions, but
when Dobbin mumbles that "she writhes and twists about
like a snake," her grimacing, twisting, smiling, smirking,
and writhing take on the darker coloring of real evil: she
is, after all, trying to draw George away from Amelia and
goading the General to "lust and fury, rage and hatred."
The Dance of Death threads its way very often through Vanity
Fair. The Dramatist has again earmarked Vanity Fair by the
melancholy and bootless activity which identify it in "Before
the Curtain."

The last reference to the mode of <u>Vanity Fair</u> as com-
edy is once more connected with "Life, Death, and Vanity"--
the soliloquy on the stair landing:

> What a memento of Life, Death, and Vanity it is--that
> arch and stair--if you choose to consider it, and sit
> on the landing, looking up and down the well! The doc-
> tor will come up to us too for the last time there, my
> friend in motley. The nurse will look in at the cur-
> tains, and you take no notice--and then she will fling
> open the windows for a little, and let in the air. Then
> they will pull down all the front blinds of the house
> and live in the back rooms--then they will send for the

lawyer and other men in black, &c.--Your comedy and mine
will have been played then, and we shall be removed, O
how far, from the trumpets, and the shouting, and the
posture-making. (585)

The pace of death's dance has slowed, and the trinity of
the comedy has been clearly defined: over them all--from
Amelia and Becky to Master Tommy sliding on the stair rail
--reigns the olympic triumvirate of Life, Death, and Vanity.

The Dramatist, in addition, has an educational func-
tion similar to The Novelist's, a negative one to channel
the reader's expectations away from the conventions of pop-
ular fiction. Instead of capitalizing on the sentimental
potential of a scene of parting, The Dramatist calls ironic
attention to the triteness of parting "for ever and ever
and ever": "Finally came the parting with Miss Amelia, over
which picture I intend to throw a veil. But after a scene
in which one person was in earnest and the other a perfect
performer--after the tenderest caresses, the most pathetic
tears, the smelling-bottle, and some of the very best
feelings of the heart, had been called into requisition--
Rebecca and Amelia parted, the former vowing to love her
friend for ever and ever and ever"(66). The narrator man-
ages the best of two worlds by the device, exposing its
foolishness for readers like Jones the club man and yet, by
the same suggestion of the scene, providing satisfactory
sentiment for readers so inclined.

Romantic digression and sentimental interest are also

avoided in keeping with the narrator's interest in realistic cleanness of structure (although a great many readers would probably argue that <u>Vanity Fair</u> is hardly cleanly structured):

> It seemed Sir Pitt Crawley, for the dignity of the house and family, had thought right to have about the place as many persons in black as could possibly be assembled. ____ All the men and maids of the house, the old women of the Alms House, whom the elder Sir Pitt had cheated out of a great portion of their due, the parish clerk's family, and the special retainers of both Hall and Rectory were habited in sable; added to these, the undertaker's men, at least a score, with crapes and hat-bands, and who made a goodly show when the great burying show took place--but these are mute personages in our drama; and having nothing to do or say, need occupy a very little space here. (404)

The nameless, faceless mourners seem to hang like silent spectres above the death dance the new Sir Pitt has choreographed. In a very short space the narrator has again peopled the fair with the melancholy. The drama, this time the tragedy, of their lives is ironically underlined by their muteness. The younger Sir Pitt's Vanity Fair is unveiled in "the great burying show," The Dramatist's most deeply paradoxical passage of all.

"Every reader of a sentimental turn (and we desire no other)," says The Dramatist, "must have been pleased with the <u>tableau</u> with which the last act of our little drama concluded; for what can be prettier than an image of Love on his knees before Beauty?"(143) The scene of the elder Sir Pitt's proposal to Becky does indeed seem to parody the conventionalism of popular sentimental drama as well as of popular novels for young lady readers. The narrator seems

to be taking advantage of both the ironic and the meritorious

connotations of the word sentimental to comment on his "tab-

leau" technique. The tableau is certainly ridiculous: the

word genuine has real shock value when Rebecca "wept some

of the most genuine tears that ever fell from her eyes"(142).

Nothing about the tableau is genuine. But the narrator,

well aware of the artificiality and superficiality of the

technique, uses it numberless times, for both comic (the

proposal) and dramatic (George's death) purposes. Obviously,

it indeed pleased the sentimental readers to which Thackeray

knew he had to grind his tune in the streets if he wished

to "be allowed to appear before the public among the first

fiddles."[11] Dickens had proven the efficacy of the sensa-

tional tableau as an ending for a serial installment:

> "That boy will be hung," said the gentleman in the
> white waistcoat. "I know that boy will be hung."
>   Nobody controverted the prophetic gentleman's opin-
> ion. An animated discussion took place. Oliver was
> ordered into instant confinement; and a bill was next
> morning pasted on the outside of the gate, offering a
> reward of five pounds to anybody who would take Oliver
> Twist off the hands of the parish. In.other words,
> five pounds and Oliver Twist were offered to any man
> or woman who wanted an apprentice to any trade, business,
> or calling.[12]

Thackeray's burgeoning interest, however, in using the sym-

bol for fictional purposes resulted in the conventional

tableau's being exposed for its unreality, triteness, and

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[11]Letters, II, 261.

[12]Charles Dickens, Works, ed. Andrew Lang (New York,
1905), III, 16.

shallowness. The <u>tableaux</u> <u>vivants</u> of <u>Vanity Fair</u>, epito-

mized by the charade-tableaus at Lord Steyne's, are heavily

freighted with symbolism and irony, quite comparable to the

dumb shows of Shakespearean and Jacobean drama. In contrast

to the simple sentimental tableau of the child Oliver suf-

fering in prison, the charades of <u>Vanity Fair</u> dramatically

present Becky the opportunist as Clytemnestra the opportun-

istic murderess. The implications of such a tableau are

hardly designed to please "every reader of a sentimental

turn," but it is true that without a sentimental turn, in

addition to the other "turns" the narrator expects of his

reader (satirical and melancholy, to name two), the reader

cannot "step in for half an hour and look at the perform-

ances" in the reflective manner the narrator asks of him.

The Dramatist appears, then, in situations involving dra-

matic, ironic contrasts, and he educates the reader about

how he is to read a new kind of comic fiction both senti-

mental and reflective but not falsely dramatic.

The main task of re-educating the reader--of exposing

artificial conventions--falls to The Writer. He is himself

a rather conventional persona, but, by means of slight

exaggerations of conventional statements, he becomes part

of the comic fabric of the novel. His frequent "poor pen"

speeches bespeak a vanity as great as anybody's, albeit a

charming and amusing vanity. Crablike, he abandons the

reader "just when the story was getting good." The "poor

pen" speeches are his most conspicuous rhetorical character-
istic. First, during the Dobbin-Cuff fight, The Writer
laments "if I had the pen of a Napier, or a Bell's Life, I
should like to describe this combat properly"(49). Soon,
he begins his role as anti-writer: "What were the adven-
tures of Mr. Osborne and Miss Amelia? That is a secret"
(57). The Writer has a habit of resurfacing, after a period
of silence, to say of Amelia's meeting the regiment, for
instance, "all which simplicity and sweetness are quite
impossible to describe in print"(255). Much later, he again
retreats at a critical moment: "What were the circumstances
of the interview between Rebecca Crawley, née Sharp, and her
Imperial Master, it does not become such a feeble and in-
experienced pen as mine to attempt to relate. The dazzled
eyes close before that Magnificent Idea. Loyal respect and
decency tell even the imagination not to look too keenly and
audaciously about the sacred audience-chamber, but to back
away rapidly, silently, and respectfully, making profound
bows out of the August Presence"(463). He gets brassier as
the novel progresses: "For, you see, we have adroitly shut
the door upon the meeting between Jos and the old father,
and the poor little gentle sister inside"(571). Finally,
in the supreme practical joke, The Writer pleads his deco-
rousness. The lengthy passage argues the crucial problem
of realism versus morality in Victorian fiction:

　　We must pass over a part of Mrs. Rebecca Crawley's biog-

raphy with that lightness and delicacy which the world
demands--the moral world, that has, perhaps, no par-
ticular objection to vice, but an insuperable repugnance
to hearing vice called by its proper name. There are
things we do and know perfectly well in Vanity Fair,
though we never speak of them: as the Ahrimanians
worship the devil, but don't mention him: and a polite
public will no more bear to read an authentic descrip-
tion of vice than a truly-refined English or American
female will permit the word breeches to be pronounced
in her chaste hearing. And yet, madam, both are walking
the world before our faces every day, without much
shocking us. If you were to blush every time they went
by, what complexions you would have! It is only when
their naughty names are called out that your modesty
has any occasion to show alarm or sense of outrage, and
it has been the wish of the present writer, all through
this story, deferentially to submit to the fashion at
present prevailing, and only to hint at the existence
of wickedness in a light, easy, and agreeable manner,
so that nobody's fine feelings may be offended. I defy
any one to say that our Becky, who has certainly some
vices, has not been presented to the public in a per-
fectly genteel and inoffensive manner. (617)

He then begins a passage which moves from symbol to myth:

In describing this syren, singing and smiling, coaxing
and cajoling, the author, with modest pride, asks his
readers all round, has he once forgotten the laws of
politeness, and showed the monster's hideous tail above
water? No! Those who like may peep down under waves
that are pretty transparent, and see it writhing and
twirling, diabolically hideous and slimy, flapping
amongst bones, or curling round corpses; but above the
water line, I ask, has not everything been proper,
agreeable, and decorous, and has any the most squeamish
moralist in Vanity Fair a right to cry fie? When, how-
ever, the syren disappears and dives below, down among
the dead men, the water of course grows turbid over
her, and it is labour lost to look into it ever so curi-
ously. They look pretty enough when they sit upon a
rock, twanging their harps and combing their hair, and
sing, and beckon to you to come and hold the looking-
glass; but when they sink into their native element,
depend on it those mermaids are about no good, and we
had best not examine the fiendish marine cannibals,
revelling and feasting on their wretched pickled vic-
tims. And so, when Becky is out of the way, be sure
that she is not particularly well employed, and that
the less that is said about her doings is in fact the

better. (617-618)

The mythic conception of the Victorian artist divided, like

the siren, between the diabolic vision under the transparent

waves and the "proper, agreeable, and decorous" above states

equally well for the novel the divisiveness which shaped the

poetry of Tennyson, Browning, Rosetti, and Arnold.

The Writer has an eye out for both practical and senti-

mental concerns. In matters practical, he recognizes a good

subject when it suggests itself to him: "As our painters

are bent on military subjects just now, I throw out this

as a good subject for the pencil, to illustrate the prin-

ciples of an honest English war"(262). In matters senti-

mental, he regrets both that he has to leave aside the

interests of romance and that in doing so, he must leave

out of his novel that which is potentially romance and leg-

end and history:

> How the young man from Cambridge sulkily put his five
> great coats in front; but was reconciled when little
> Miss Sharp was made to quit the carriage, and mount
> up beside him--when he covered her up in one of his
> Benjamins, and became perfectly good-humoured--how the
> asthmatic gentleman, the prim lady, who declared upon
> her sacred honour she had never travelled in a public
> carriage before, (there is always such a lady in a
> coach,--Alas! was; for the coaches, where are they?),
> and the fat widow with the brandy-bottle, took their
> places inside--how the porter asked them all for money,
> and got sixpence from the gentleman and five greasy
> halfpence from the fat widow--and how the carriage at
> length drove away--now, threading the dark lanes of
> Aldersgate, anon clattering by the Blue Cupola of Paul's,
> jingling rapidly by the strangers' entry of Fleet-Mar-
> ket, which, with Exeter 'Change, has now departed to the
> world of shadows--how they passed the White Bear in
> Picadilly, and saw the dew rising up from the market-gar-

dens of Knightsbridge--how Turnham-green, Brentford, Bagshot, were passed--need not be told here. (73)

He then turns to matters literary:

> But the writer of these pages, who has pursued in for-
> mer days, and in the same bright weather, the same re-
> markable journey, cannot but think of it with a sweet
> and tender regret. Where is the road now, and its merry
> incidents of life? Is there no Chelsea or Greenwich
> for the old honest pimple-nosed coachmen? I wonder
> where are they, those good fellows? Is old Weller alive
> or dead? and the waiters, yea, and the inns at which
> they waited, and the cold rounds of beef inside, and
> the stunted ostler, with his blue nose and clinking
> pail, where is he, and where is his generation? To
> those great geniuses now in petticoats, who shall write
> novels for the beloved reader's children these men and
> things will be as much legend and history as Nineveh,
> or Cœur de Lion, or Jack Sheppard. For them stage-
> coaches will have become romances--a team of four bays
> as fabulous as Bucephalus or Black Bess. Ah, how their
> coats shone, as the stable-men pulled their clothes off,
> and away they went--ah, how their tails shook, as with
> smoking sides at the stage's end they demurely walked
> away into the inn-yard. Alas! we shall never hear the
> horn sing at midnight, or see the pike-gates fly open
> any more. (73)

He is apparently regretfully confining himself to that part

of realism which he feels will not become romance but will

remain, hopefully, universal. He cannot let it go, however,

without an _ubi_ _sunt_ for the truly comic in the eighteenth-

century sense, "the merry incidents of life," as well as for

the vanished and vanishing realistic institutions of that

life.

In February of 1847, concurrently with Installment

2 of _Vanity Fair_ (Chapters 5-7), Thackeray wrote fellow

Punch man Mark Lemon a justification of the last paragraph

of "The Snobs of England":

What I mean applies to my own case & that of all of us

--who set up as Satirical-Moralists--and having such a
vast multitude of readers whom we not only amuse but
teach. And indeed, a solemn prayer to God Almighty was
in my thoughts that we may never forget truth & Justice
and kindness as the great ends of our profession.
There's something of the same strain in Vanity Fair. A
few years ago I should have sneered at the idea of set-
ting up as a teacher at all, and perhaps at this pomp-
ous and pious way of talking about a few papers of jokes
in Punch--but I have got to believe in the business, and
in many other things since then. And our profession
seems to me to be as serious as the Parson's own.[13]

The growing seriousness with which Thackeray viewed his role

as Satirical-Moralist resulted in "something of the same

strain in Vanity Fair." The familiar passage in which the

narrator explains the cover drawing Thackeray himself drew

has rarely, if ever, been considered together with that

portrait:

But my kind reader will please to remember, that
these histories in their gaudy yellow covers have
"Vanity Fair" for a title, and that Vanity Fair is a
very vain, wicked, foolish place, full of all sorts of
humbugs and falsenesses and pretensions. And while the
moralist, who is holding forth on the cover (an accurate
portrait of your humble servant), professes to wear
neither gown nor bands, but only the very same long-
eared livery in which his congregation is arrayed: yet,
look you, one is bound to speak the truth as far as one
knows it, whether one mounts a cap and bells or a
shovel-hat; and a deal of disagreeable matter must come
out in the course of such an undertaking. (80)

The narrator makes it very clear that, although he is a

moralist, he does not wear the gown, bands, and shovel hat

---

[13]Letters, II, 282. The passage he is referring to
is "to laugh at such is Mr. Punch's business. May he laugh
honestly, hit no foul blow, and tell the truth when at his
very broadest grin--never forgetting that if Fun is good,
Truth is still better, and Love best of all"(VI, 460).

of the clergy but instead the "long-eared livery" and cap
and bells of the jester. The cover portrait confirms the
costume (Plate V). Considering Thackeray's career-long
practice of parody, in his drawings as well as his writing,
however, there is a much stronger suggestion. The manner
of the picture suggests the street entertainer on the tub,
but even more it suggests a certain type of street "enter-
tainer"--the mountebank. Numberless eighteenth-century
paintings and drawings portray the stylized scene to which
the cover portrait of <u>Vanity Fair</u> is similar (Plate VI).[14]
The naivete usually ascribed to the narrator's description
of his role diminishes considerably in the comparison:
there is a genuinely ironic tension established between the
two "truth-speaking" roles.

Not surprisingly, The Satirist usually draws his role
and his devices from the long Punch tradition of popular
entertainment. He first appears in the revised Chapter 6
("Vauxhall") in the incidental illustration of the Punch
performer (Plate VII), and then in the two passages which
capture memorably the rhetoric of Punch patter. The first

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[14]It is interesting to note the remarkable composi-
tional similarities between Tiepolo's <u>Carnival Scene</u> and
the wrapper drawing of <u>Vanity Fair</u>. The main figure is,
in terms of form, the very same: he is facing the front in
the latter instead of turned away. In the right background
of both is an arch; in the left, a column is substituted for
the standard in the former. There is also a small similar-
ity in the couple conversing to the immediate right of the
platform.

PLATE V

VANITY FAIR:

PEN AND PENCIL SKETCHES OF ENGLISH SOCIETY.

———•———

BY W. M. THACKERAY,

Author of " The Irish Sketch Book:" "Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo:" of " Jeames's Diary
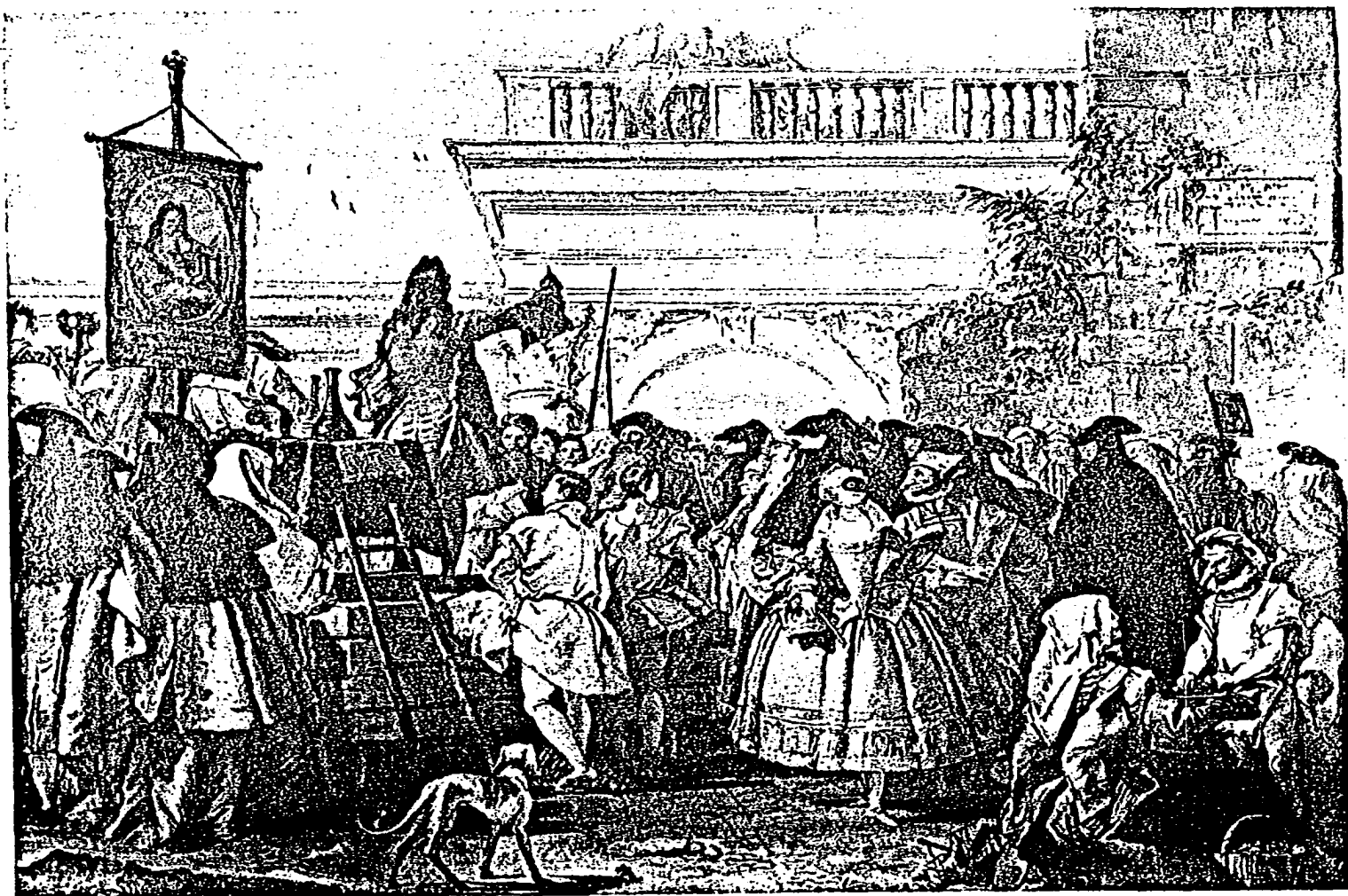and the "Snob Papers" in " Punch :" &c. &c.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED AT THE PUNCH OFFICE, 85, FLEET STREET.

1847.

PLATE VI

PLATE VII

CHAPTER VI.

VAUXHALL.

KNOW that the tune I am piping is a very mild one (although there are some terrific chapters coming presently), and must beg the good-natured reader to remember, that we are only discoursing at present about a stock-broker's family in Russell Square, who are taking walks, or luncheon, or dinner, or talking and making love as people do in common life, and without a single passionate and wonderful incident to mark the progress of their loves. The argument stands thus—Osborne, in love with Amelia, has asked an old friend to dinner and to Vauxhall—Jos Sedley is in love with Rebecca. Will he marry her? That is the great subject now in hand.

We might have treated this subject in the genteel, or in the romantic, or in the facetious manner. Suppose we had laid the scene in Grosvenor Square, with the very same adventures—would not some people have listened? Suppose we had shown how Lord Joseph Sedley fell in love, and the Marquis of Osborne became attached to Lady Amelia, with the full consent of the Duke, her noble father: or instead of the supremely genteel, suppose we had resorted to the entirely low, and described what was going on in Mr. Sedley's kitchen;—how black Sambo was in love with the cook (as indeed he was), and how he fought a battle with the coachman in her behalf; how the knife-boy was caught stealing a cold shoulder of mutton, and Miss Sedley's new *femme de chambre* refused to go to bed without a wax candle; such incidents might be made to provoke much delightful laughter, and be supposed to represent scenes of "life." Or if, on the contrary, we had taken a fancy for the terrible, and made the lover of the new *femme de chambre* a professional burglar, who bursts into the house with his band, slaughters black Sambo at the feet of his master, and carries off Amelia in her night-dress, not

one strongly resembles an "overture" to the second act of

a Punch show:

> I know that the tune I am piping is a very mild one,
> (although there are some terrific chapters coming
> presently,) and must beg the good-natured reader to
> remember, that we are only discoursing at present about
> a stock-broker's family in Russell Square, who are
> taking walks, or luncheon, or dinner, or talking and
> making love as people do in common life, and without
> a single passionate and wonderful incident to mark the
> progress of their lives. The argument stands thus--
> Osborne, in love with Amelia, has asked an old friend
> to dinner and to Vauxhall--Jos Sedley is in love with
> Rebecca. Will he marry her? That is the great subject
> now in hand. (54)

The second one, unfortunately deleted from editions subse-

quent to 1853, is indispensable, for it marks the point at

which a new persona seems to be assumed:

> Thus you see, ladies, how this story _might_ have been
> written, if the author had but a mind; for, to tell the
> truth, he is just as familiar with Newgate as with the
> palaces of our revered aristocracy, and has seen the
> outside of both. But as I don't understand the language
> or manners of the Rookery, nor that polyglot conversa-
> tion which, according to the fashionable novelists, is
> spoken by the leaders of _ton_; we must, if you please,
> preserve our middle course modestly, amidst those scenes
> and personages with which we are most familiar. In a
> word, this chapter about Vauxhall would have been so
> exceeding short but for the above little disquisition,
> that it scarcely would have deserved to be called a
> chapter at all. And yet it is a chapter, and a very
> important one too. Are not there little chapters in
> everybody's life, that seem to be nothing, and yet
> affect all the rest of the history? (674)[15]

---

[15]The passage was shortened and tightened to a passage
which does not show the same persona movement: "But my
readers must hope for no such romance, only a homely story,
and must be content with a chapter about Vauxhall, which is
so short that it scarce deserves to be called a chapter at
all. And yet it is a chapter, and a very important one too.
Are not there little chapters in everybody's life, that seem
to be nothing, and yet affect all the rest of the history?"
(55)

The interesting feature of the second passage is the distinction between "the author," who could tell the story as he liked, and the "I," who doesn't understand fashionable language and manners nor those of Newgate. The distinction, could, no doubt, be argued as a simple careless shift in person (an argument the revision supports), but it seems to me that there is a clear split between the author who can, and does, write a passage of "the genteel rose-water style," and the speaker who says that he must preserve his middle course because he does not understand fashionable language (his own language convinces one of his apology). The second passage seems to be some sort of reverse metamorphosis in which the cocoon of the early Victorian fashionable-criminal-sensational novelist splits, and out steps the Punch-spokesman of the middle class.

If part of the "I" is not "the author," neither is he the characters in his creation. Shortly afterward a second distinction-apologia is made in the section which establishes the Punch-Preacher's identity:

> And, as we bring our characters forward, I will ask leave, as a man and a brother, not only to introduce them, but occasionally to step down from the platform, and talk about them: if they are good and kindly, to love them and shake them by the hand; if they are silly, to laugh at them confidentially in the reader's sleeve: if they are wicked and heartless, to abuse them in the strongest terms which politeness admits of.
>   Otherwise you might fancy it was I who was sneering at the practice of devotion, which Miss Sharp finds so ridiculous; that it was I who laughed good-humouredly at the reeling old Silenus of a baronet--whereas the laughter comes from one who has no reverence except for

> prosperity, and no eye for anything beyond success.
> Such people there are living and flourishing in the
> world--Faithless, Hopeless, Charityless: let us have
> at them, dear friends, with might and main. Some there
> are, and very successful too, mere quacks and fools:
> and it was to combat and expose such as those, no doubt,
> that Laughter was made. (81)

The narrator is very careful to separate himself from the

vices he exposes as well as the good qualities he reveals

in the characters. Unlike the metamorphosis relationship

of "the author" and the "I" in the previous passage, the

separation is so complete that the narrator can come down

off his tub for interaction with those who take part in the

performance he narrates. He is not to be numbered among

the "mere quacks and fools" without faith, hope, and charity;

he sees himself instead as a combatant whose weapon is made

of laughter.

Like a garden-dwarf, the tiny jester in the tail-piece

to this chapter sits peering sadly at the reader through

M. A. Titmarsh's signature spectacles, over a smashed-looking

nose (Plate VIII). One is tempted to believe that this

tail-piece could have been responsible for a century of

misreadings of the narrating persona of Vanity Fair. The

problem that the illustration creates is that, after the

narrator's careful apologia separating himself from the

putative author, who is supposedly separated from the real

author, the real author appears caricatured in the costume

of the narrator. Why this should be is not clear. Perhaps

it is to identify the anonymous Thackeray of the long series

PLATE VIII

VANITY FAIR.

wicked and heartless, to abuse them in the strongest terms which politeness admits of.

Otherwise you might fancy it was I who was sneering at the practice of devotion, which Miss Sharp finds so ridiculous; that it was I who laughed good-humouredly at the reeling old Silenus of a baronet—whereas the laughter comes from one who has no reverence except for prosperity, and no eye for anything beyond success. Such people there are living and flourishing in the world—Faithless, Hopeless, Charityless: let us have at them, dear friends, with might and main. Some there are, and very successful too, mere quacks and fools: and it was to combat and expose such as those, no doubt, that Laughter was made.

of pseudonymous roles with the author of <u>Vanity Fair</u>; per-
haps it is to make clear that the author Thackeray underlies
the narrator; perhaps it is to make clear that the supposed
narrator Thackeray is playing a role. Because it forms the
natural end to the expositional section begun by "as we
bring our characters forward," I prefer the last explanation.
At any rate, the narrator is much more concerned throughout
the novel with proving he is <u>not</u> Thackeray than with hinting
that he <u>is</u> Thackeray. And the illustration, after all,
shows a <u>caricature</u> of Thackeray's face: the caricature is
not the man himself. So the narrator is still twice removed
from the man at the closest. All this is not to deny that
the man Thackeray does indeed underlie the narrator of
<u>Vanity Fair</u>, but the narrator is a professional fool with
a wife named Julia.

Imagery of the professional fool pervades the com-
mentary on the increasing failures of Mr. Sedley's specula-
tions. The narrator regrets the roguery of fortune:

> You and I, my dear reader, may drop into this condition
> one day: for have not many of our friends attained it?
> Our luck may fail: our powers forsake us: our place
> on the boards be taken by better and younger mimes--the
> chance of life roll away and leave us shattered and
> stranded. . . . Well, well--a carriage and three thou-
> sand a-year is not the summit of the reward nor the end
> of God's judgment of men. If quacks prosper as often
> as they go to the wall--if zanies succeed and knaves
> arrive at fortune, and <u>vice versa</u>, sharing ill luck and
> prosperity for all the world like the ablest and most
> honest amongst us--I say, brother, the gifts and pleas-
> ures of Vanity Fair cannot be held of any great account,
> and that it is probable . . . . but we are wandering out
> of the domain of the story. (373-374)

The pursuit of financial reward which the foolish of Vanity Fair as well as the wise cannot escape results in a universal disguise, and everyone--quack, zany, knave, the able, and the honest alike--wears the costume of the fool, as the wrapper drawing shows.

The Punch-Preacher in his role as entertainer has carefully worked toward the charade scenes as the final exposure of the "beings of unearthly splendour, and . . . the enjoyment of an exquisite happiness by us unattainable"(491) in the pursuit of the rewards of Vanity Fair. Interspersed with murder, seasickness, and generally incomprehensible behavior are farce and "innocent" songs from Romantic ballet. The only outcome of such chaos--the charades are finally impossible to understand, but nobody seems to care--is that Becky gains the day. She is described as a "consummate comedian," and for the moment she reigns over the entire troupe of Vanity Fair fools that the narrator has carefully assembled. It is in his role of clown, which he so carefully isolates from both author and characters, that the narrator is able to express the immense folly of the pursuit of the vanities of middle-class life.

The Moralist is the complement of the Clown: "O brother-wearers of motley! Are there not moments when one grows sick of grinning and tumbling, and the jingling of cap and bells?"(180) The narrator seems to be well aware that comedy is not an all-sufficient point of view for human

experience. A unilateral persona was therefore pragmatically

impossible. The Wheel of Fortune in Vanity Fair circles con-

stantly between gaiety and misery. Like the fallen angels

in Paradise Lost, the Fairgoers discover truth by the remem-

brance in their present misery of former glory and happiness:

> Sick-bed homilies and pious relections are, to be sure,
> out of place in mere story-books, and we are not going
> (after the fashion of some novelists of the present day)
> to cajole the public into a sermon, when it is only a
> comedy that the reader pays his money to witness. But,
> without preaching, the truth may surely be borne in
> mind, that the bustle, and triumph, and laughter, and
> gaiety which Vanity Fair exhibits in public, do not
> always pursue the performer into private life, and that
> the most dreary depression of spirits and dismal repent-
> ances sometimes overcome him. Recollections of the best
> ordained banquets will scarcely cheer sick epicures.
> Reminiscences of the most becoming dresses and brilliant
> ball-triumphs will go very little way to console faded
> beauties. Perhaps statesmen, at a particular period of
> existence, are not much gratified at thinking over the
> most triumphant divisions; and the success or the pleas-
> ure of yesterday becomes of very small account when a
> certain (albeit uncertain) morrow is in view, about
> which all of us must some day or other be speculating.
> . . . This, dear friends, and companions, is my amiable
> object--to walk with you through the Fair, to examine
> the shops and the shows there; and that we should all
> come home after the flare, and the noise, and the gaiety,
> and be perfectly miserable in private. (180-181)

The real moralist, then, exists, by irony only, in the

reader's recognition that behind the "grinning and tumbling"

lie much less comic experiences and emotions. The para-

graph is a statement not so much of what the narrator will

do in the novel (for he certainly does preach) as of what

insight the reader ought to have into the serio-comic scenes

he is to be shown. In order to be the companion to the

reader he sets out to be, the narrator must be able to share

the sentiments of the reader both in viewing the gaiety of the Fair and in reflecting upon them afterward. Clown congenitally cannot share in the reflections; The Moralist can not only share but he can articulate those feelings right or wrong. He is not, then, so much the preacher as the one who can draw "truth" from the experience.

The Moralist, too, has his own vanities: reflecting upon Rose Dawson Crawley's death and the Crawley shield "Arms and Hatchments, Resurgam," he says "Here is an opportunity for moralizing!"(140) He seems to solemnly delight at any and every prospect for a jeremiad. Stylistically, he is the most individual of all the personae. His rhetoric is formal; parallelism is his favorite device: "If there is any exhibition in all Vanity Fair which Satire and Sentiment can visit arm in arm together; where you light on the strangest contrasts laughable and tearful: where you may be gentle and pathetic, or savage and cynical with perfect propriety: it is at one of those public assemblies, a crowd of which are advertised every day in the last page of the "Times" newspaper, and over which the late Mr. George Robins used to preside with so much dignity"(159). The epideictic mode seems to be his forte: he freely praises (panegyric) and blames (declamation) in passages that verge on "purple patch" writing: "Oh, thou poor panting little soul! The very finest tree in the whole forest, with the straightest stem, and the strongest arms, and the thickest

foliage, wherein you choose to build and coo, may be marked, for what you know, and may be down with a crash ere long. What an old, old simile that is, between man and timber! (118) and "Oh, ignorant young creatures! How little do you know the effect of rack-punch! What is the rack in the punch, at night, to the rack in the head of a morning! To this truth I can vouch as a man; there is no headache in the world like that caused by Vauxhall punch. Through the lapse of twenty years, I can remember the consequence of two glasses!--two wine-glasses!--but two, upon the honour of a gentleman"(61). He is immensely fond of the rhetorical question, "Was the prize gained--the heaven of life-- and the winner still doubtful and unsatisfied?"(250) and of that old favorite of satire, the epigram: "We grieve at being found out, and at the idea of shame or punishment; but the mere sense of wrong makes very few people unhappy in Vanity Fair"(411). The epigram, in fact, is usually the end of his characteristic brief homiletic reflection, which is often begun in like homiletic style by directly addressing the reader as "brethren," for example, or "gentle reader," or "ladies." The most characteristic stylistic quality of The Moralist, however, is the elegiac questions precipitated by his melancholy. The tone is as ancient in English letters as "The Wanderer": "Mr. William Dobbin retreated to a remote outhouse in the playground, where he passed a half-holiday in the bitterest sadness and woe. Who amongst us

is there that does not recollect similar hours of bitter, bitter childish grief? Who feels injustice; who shrinks before a slight; who has a sense of wrong so acute, and so glowing a gratitude for kindness as a generous boy? and how many of those gentle souls do you degrade, estrange, torture, for the sake of a little loose arithmetic, and miserable dog-latin?"(45-46) Because his reflections often lead him to the elemental, unresolved problems of experience, and also because he so frequently laments the disappearance from everyday life of its former good qualities, one can find elegiac motifs in almost any of The Moralist's commentary. The elegiac mood seems to exist particularly strongly in those passages in which he ironically praises the heroic: "Time out of mind strength and courage have been the theme of bards and romances; and from the story of Troy down to to-day, poetry has always chosen a soldier for a hero. I wonder is it because men are cowards in heart that they admire bravery so much, and place military valour so far beyond every other quality for reward and worship?"(290) Although his most characteristic mood is elegiac melancholy, The Moralist is capable of other moods. Sometimes playful charm invades him commentary:

> The different conduct of /Rawdon and Mrs. Bute Crawley/ is pointed out respectfully to the attention of persons commencing the world. Praise everybody, I say to such: never be squeamish, but speak out your compliment both point-blank in a man's face, and behind his back, when you know there is a reasonable chance of his hearing it

again. Never lose a chance of saying a kind word. As
Collingwood never saw a vacant place in his estate but
he took an acorn out of his pocket and popped it in; so
deal with your compliments through life. An acorn costs
nothing; but it may sprout into a prodigious bit of
timber. (179)

He is frequently compassionate--"Now Rawdon Crawley, rascal

as the Colonel was, had certain manly tendencies of affec-

tion in his heart, and could love a child and a woman still.

For Rawdon minor he had a great secret tenderness"(369)--and

he sometimes gives way to bitter irony: after Dobbin de-

clared his independence of Amelia, "as for Emmy, had she

not done her duty? She had her picture of George for a con-

solation"(650). He is capable both of arousing one's sym-

pathies (for George Gaunt in the mad-house) and of feeling

sympathy himself (for Amelia when Sedley's misfortune was

beginning), with melancholy irony: "'Poor little Emmy--

dear little Emmy. How fond she is of me!' George said, as

he perused the missive--'and, Gad, what a headache that

mixed punch has given me!' Poor little Emmy, indeed"(126-

127). In short, he displays the range of reactions that

any "man with a reflective turn of mind" might be expected

to have. Finally, however, The Moralist gives his own best

analysis of himself and his motives. He follows his state-

ment that he is costumed for a comic role with two parables

about his brother-performers in Naples and Paris:

I have heard a brother of the story-telling trade,
at Naples, preaching to a pack of good-for-nothing
honest lazy fellows by the sea-shore, work himself up

into such a rage and passion with some of the villains
whose wicked deeds he was describing and inventing, that
the audience could not resist it, and they and the poet
together would burst out into a roar of oaths and exe-
crations against the fictitious monster of the tale, so
that the hat went round, and the bajocchi tumbled into
it, in the midst of a perfect storm of sympathy.

At the little Paris theatres, on the other hand,
you will not only hear the people yelling out, "<u>Ah
gredin</u>! <u>Ah monstre</u>!" and cursing the tyrant of the play
from the boxes; but the actors themselves positively
refuse to play the wicked parts, such as those of
<u>infâmes Anglais</u>, brutal Cossacks, and what not, and pre-
fer to appear at a smaller salary, in their real char-
acters as loyal Frenchmen. I set the two stories one
against the other, so that you see that it is not from
mere mercenary motives that the present performer is
desirous to show up and trounce his villains; but be-
cause he has a sincere hatred of them, which he cannot
keep down, and which must find a vent in suitable abuse
and bad language. (80-81)

It is the traditional satirist's apologia. Hatred of vil-

lainy forces him to assume a guise suitable to the abusive

behavior he must take part in. His primary function is

denunciation of villainy, but if he makes himself simply

a "performer" denouncing, his denunciations can be made

much more palatable to the audience he wishes to draw.

As Clown, the narrator is free to interest his audience and

expose folly; as Moralist, he is able to deal with folly

extended beyond its exposure into its implications and its

concrete results. According to the narrator, together they

are able to express the sometimes disagreeable truth.

After the book is well begun, a strain of reminiscence

begins to appear in the commentary that is unlike as well as

inappropriate to the personae already established. Its

"personal" content is what distinguishes it from the other

commentary, and the bulk of it seems to belong to a commentator more familiar with the higher levels of Vanity Fair society than the one who protested he knew nothing of fashionable life. This commentator is not loath to admit his own sharing in the social affairs whose participants he exposes. He is, in fact, a great deal more generous to them than the other personae:

> Ladies, are you aware that the great Pitt lived in Baker Street? What would not your grandmothers have given to be asked to Lady Hester's parties in that now decayed mansion? I have dined in it--*moi qui vous parle*. I peopled the chamber with ghosts of the mighty dead. . . .
> It is all Vanity, to be sure: but who will not own to liking a little of it? I should like to know what well-constituted mind, merely because it is transitory, dislikes roast-beef? That is a vanity; but may every man who reads this, have a wholesome portion of it through life, I beg: ay, though my readers were five hundred thousand. Sit down, gentlemen, and fall to, with a good hearty appetite; the fat, the lean, the gravy, the horse-radish as you like it--don't spare it. Another glass of wine, Jones, my boy--a little bit of the Sunday side. Yes, let us eat our fill of the vain thing, and be thankful therefor. (484-485)

Instead of being the performer in the theater, he is the observer of the performance, and his elegiac commentary from that point of view blends with The Moralist's. Instead of strictly moralizing, however, he is more likely to eulogize: when the regiment and their ladies go to the Brussels Opera House "It was almost like Old England" (270). In keeping with his eulogistic tone, the narrator defends his right to the eulogy: "Fifty years ago, and when the present writer, being an interesting little boy, was ordered out of

the room with the ladies after dinner, I remember quite well
that . . . ."(405). His eulogy, however, can be less than
complimentary:

> I, for my part, look back with love and awe to that
> Great Character in history. Ah, what a high and noble
> appreciation of Gentlewomanhood there must have been
> in Vanity Fair, when that revered and august being was
> invested, by the universal acclaim of the refined and
> educated portion of this empire, with the title of
> Premier Gentilhomme of his Kingdom. Do you remember,
> dear M----, oh friend of my youth, how one blissful
> night five-and-twenty years since, the Hypocrite being
> acted, Elliston being manager, Dowton and Liston per-
> formers, two boys had leave from their loyal masters
> to go out from Slaughter House School where they were
> educated, and to appear on Drury Lane stage, amongst a
> crowd which assembled there to greet the king. THE
> KING! There he was. Beef-eaters were before the august
> box: the Marquis of Steyne (Lord of the Powder Closet)
> and other great officers of state were behind the chair
> on which he sate, He sate--florid of face, portly of
> person, covered with orders, and in a rich curling head
> of hair--How we sang God save him! How the house rocked
> and shouted with that magnificent music. How they
> cheered, and cried, and waved handkerchiefs. Ladies
> wept: Mothers clasped their children: some fainted
> with emotion. People were suffocated in the pit,
> shrieks and groans rising up amidst the writhing and
> shouting mass there of his people who were, and indeed
> showed themselves almost to be, ready to die for him.
> Yes, we saw him. Fate cannot deprive us of that.
> Others have seen Napoleon. Some few still exist who
> have beheld Frederick the Great, Doctor Johnson, Marie
> Antoinette, &c.--be it our reasonable boast to our
> children, that we saw George the Good, the Magnificent,
> the Great. (459)

Both the Napoleonic wars and Becky's dress, which
"any present lady of Vanity Fair would pronounce . . . to
be the most foolish and preposterous attire ever worn, ⌐and
which⌐ was as handsome in her eyes and those of the public,
some five-and-twenty years since, as the most brilliant
costume of the most famous beauty of the present season"(461),

keep the frame of time upon the performance. His own admissions keep the frame of distance upon it. He considers himself an outsider. Joining in a curious league with the reader ("And let us, my brethren who have not our names in the Red Book, console ourselves"/454/), he says he would wait upon Lord Steyne, along with the reader, "if we had an invitation"(458), and again that other invitations are not forthcoming: "some of the very greatest and tallest doors in the metropolis were speedily opened to /Becky/--doors so great and tall that the beloved reader and writer hereof may hope in vain to enter at them"(484). Although he is socially accomplished enough to be an opera-goer, he does not participate in "the great world." He tells that Becky, a participant, "has owned since that there too was Vanity" (487). He, however, cannot tell her career first-hand, and being unfamiliar with the most fashionable circles, "we must be brief in descanting upon this part of her career. As I cannot describe the mysteries of freemasonry, although I have a shrewd idea that it is a humbug: so an uninitiated man cannot take upon himself to pourtray the great world accurately, and had best keep his opinions to himself whatever they are"(487). Along with the others uninitiated to court life, he observes it from the outside: "To us, from outside, gazing over the policemen's shoulders at the bewildering beauties as they pass into Court or ball"(491). Being an outsider, he must get his information second-hand.

About the house of Gaunt, his "informant" is "little Tom
Eaves, who knows everything, and who showed me the place"
(451), "little Tom Eaves, who knows everybody's affairs"
(452). Of what is said about Lord and Lady Steyne "the
reader must bear in mind that it is always Tom Eaves who
speaks"(453). He also assigns the story about Becky's wan-
dering in Europe to Eaves, accrediting him with "I have
been informed"(626). His persona takes final shape in the
Pumpernickel section. He reveals that he would write on
his list of gentlemen "My friend the Major"(602). It was
evidently at Pumpernickel, too, that he made the Major's
acquaintance, first noticing Dobbin and Amelia appropriately
enough at the playhouse, where he was one of the "young
fellows in the stalls": "Georgy was always present at the
play, but it was the Major who put Emmy's shawl on after
the entertainment; and in the walks and excursions the
young lad would be on a-head, and up a tower-stair or a
tree, whilst the soberer couple were below, the Major smok-
ing his cigar with great placidity and constancy, whilst
Emmy sketched the site or the ruin. It was on this very
tour that I, the present writer of a history of which every
word is true, had the pleasure to see them first, and to
make their acquaintance"(602). It is at the Pumpernickel
playhouse that the raison d'etre of the novel is placed:
"And in the Prison Scene, where Fidelio, rushing to her
husband, cries, "Nichts nichts mein Florestan," she fairly

lost herself and covered her face with her handkerchief.
Every woman in the house was snivelling at the time: but
I suppose it was because it was predestined that I was to
write this particular lady's memoirs that I remarked her"
(603).   The Memoirist finishes his documentation of the
novel in the last number (Chapter 66) by assigning the
information about his second "heroine" to another London
gossip, Tapeworm:

> William, in a state of great indignation, though
> still unaware of all the treason that was in store for
> him, walked about the town wildly until he fell upon
> the Secretary of Legation, Tapeworm, who invited him
> to dinner.   As they were discussing that meal, he took
> occasion to ask the Secretary whether he knew anything
> about a certain Mrs. Rawdon Crawley, who had, he
> believed, made some noise in London; and then Tapeworm,
> who of course knew all the London gossip, and was besides
> a relative of Lady Gaunt, poured out into the astonished
> Major's ears such a history about Becky and her husband
> as astonished the querist, and supplied all the points
> of this narrative, for it was at that very table years
> ago that the present writer had the pleasure of hearing
> the tale. (644)

For the tale, partly third-hand now, there remains nothing
but the recounting of accidental meetings, of reconcilia-
tions, and of children grown up.   For the Memoirist, the
task presents no problem.

The persona of the Manager of the Performance really
cannot be found in the novel.   One would not expect to find
him anyway except in the last installment, because the idea
was not suggested to Thackeray until then.   The Memoirist,
however, is thoroughly predominant there.   The question
still remains of who speaks the ending sentences.   To the

persona of The Memoirist, the patronizing tone of the address "Come, children" is foreign as is the metaphor of the puppet-play. To the persona of the Clown-Moralist, both tone and metaphor are appropriate, and in the serial novel, without the Preface, this persona would be a likely and obvious choice. The persona of The Writer, too, could be a second choice. The tone is appropriate, but he generally confines himself to comments about novel techniques and novel reading: the subject matter would be less appropriate to his persona. In the subsequent editions of the novel, including the Preface, however, the new persona of the Manager of the Performance has been introduced, almost as if to explain or provide a speaking personality for the ending speech. The Preface, in this case, could have been necessitated by a new point of view at the end of the novel, incorporating the conversationality and technical tone of The Writer, the irony and moral comment of the Clown-Moralist, and the gentler compassion and detachment of The Memoirist. The Manager of the Performance is a brilliant choice for combining such qualities while retaining popular interest. It is not surprising that critical readers have traditionally felt he is a guiding spirit hovering constantly over the Fair. Literally, he could not perform such a function until the Preface completed the frame begun by the epitaph. In the completed form, though, it is quite simple to consider the movement among the multiple personae as the role-playing

of a creating, observing conscience. <u>Vanity Fair</u> gains
a great deal in unity and perception by means of this
multi-leveled narrating device.

CHAPTER IV

THE ACHIEVEMENT: TOWARD THE HISTORIAN OF IRONY

> In other words, burlesque and realism jostle up and
> down in the book, and it is not always easy to interpret
> the author's meaning.
> —Whibley on Vanity Fair[1]

In order to assess Thackeray's achievement in the

narrator of Vanity Fair, one must consider the development

of the narrator's roles in the novel and the reasons for

these roles as well as their appropriateness to mid-nine-

teenth-century fiction and their significance for the

novel subsequent to Vanity Fair. Very few are willing to

grant Thackeray much technical achievement in handling

the commentary although they are begrudgingly willing to

grant some achievement in deepening the ironic potential of

the novel. Even fewer are willing to grant Vanity Fair a

place in the mainstream of the English novel: it is more

often considered a work of eccentric genius, the epitome

—and at the same time probably the only example—of the use

of the panoramic method in the humorous novel of manners.

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[1]Whibley, p. 98.

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If a mainstream of the English novel can be considered the
development of the human conscience as the center of both
experience and the novel, Vanity Fair very clearly does make
a significant contribution. The technique of the observing
conscience as a unifying device for narration was not at
all new: Moll Flanders, Pamela, Tom Jones, Tristram Shandy,
Pride and Prejudice--the list could be made quite lengthy.
But it had been difficult if not impossible to create a
narrator who was not finally a fool or a rogue or an out-
sider. (Perhaps "cynic" would be a better term for "rogue"
in the sentimental novel. Such a term would encompass Jane
Austen's magnificent parodies of sentimental novels.)
There was no reliable, intelligent, realistically human
commentator capable of completing experience by going sym-
pathetically beyond the narration into the moral complexi-
ties of the action. Austen, Scott, and Dickens came very
close, but the Austen observing consciences lack passion,
Scott's do not go very far beyond the narrative, and Dick-
ens's sometimes eccentric, always passionate observing con-
sciences lack the cool intelligence which would convince
one of their absolute reliability. I do not think it can
be argued that Thackeray manages the task completely suc-
cessfully, but he does seem to be the first to express the
effect on such a conscience of coping with that duty, and
the failure could lie perhaps, too, with readers' lack of
preparation for and therefore misreading of the narrating

persona and his relation to the novel. D. H. Stewart accurately defines the moral problem of Thackeray's intelligent Victorian conscience:

> There is, it seems to me, something terrible in our plodding, skeptical, tearful Thackeray that few have seen and fewer accepted. It is not his "irresolution" . . . . We have witnessed so many coteries, so many whole nations which have contrived to exist for a decade, or a century, or an age, yet whose values are patently illusory and false. Our own may be one, for all we know. But falseness is irrelevant. The fact is, they exist; they live; they rule. This is the terror. With wide-eyed bewilderment, Thackeray meditated upon a world in which a dozen mistaken moralities plunged like wild horses in a corral containing hysterical children whose one conviction was that safety lay in being astride. But which horse? From which could a sturdy rider subdue the rest? Thackeray did not know.[2]

Within this framework, Thackeray began to feel the intense obligation to tell the truth. Geoffrey Tillotson, in fact, makes a convincing case for truth as a ruling passion in the Thackeray canon: "the 'person writing', whose presence is felt everywhere in the novels, is a person interested in being truthful--that is the first thing, and almost the last, to say about his authorial character."[3] Thackeray himself described the conflict which truth imposed upon the teller with an intelligent conscience in the lecture Charity and Humour:

> /The author of Vanity Fair/ has lately been described by the London Times newspaper as a writer of considerable parts, but a dreary misanthrope, who sees no good anywhere, who sees the sky above him green, I think,

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[2]Stewart, p. 213.

[3]Geoffrey Tillotson, p. 115.

> instead of blue, and only miserable sinners around him.
> So we are, as is every writer and reader I ever heard
> of, so was every being who ever trod this earth, save
> One. I cannot help telling the truth as I view it, and
> describing what I see. To describe it otherwise than
> it seems to me would be a falsehood in that calling in
> which it has pleased Heaven to place me; treason to
> that conscience which says that men are weak; that
> truth must be told; that faults must be owned; that
> pardon must be prayed for; and that Love reigns supreme
> over all. (Smith, Elder, XXIV, 328)

Creating a narrator who could describe what he saw without

treason to his conscience is the Thackerayean attempt, if

not the achievement.

Because Vanity Fair appeared in serial form, or rather

more accurately, because it was actually written in serial

form--Thackeray almost always wrote the individual piece

or installment for its specific deadline--one might expect

a certain change in judgment over a period of a year and

a half of great development.

The first part of the novel in which a particular

persona is predominant is the unrevised first installment,

Chapters 1-4. From the very first statement that indicates

the storyteller is going to be dramatized rather than

being strictly omniscient--"It is probable that we shall not

hear of /Jemima/ again from this moment to the end of time,

and that when the great filigree iron gates are once closed

on her, she and her awful sister will never issue therefrom

into this little world of history"(14)--he establishes a

first-person relationship with the reader. He immediately

in the first chapter goes on to play the role of implied

author by telling the reader how he is to evaluate the
domestic, un-heroic content of the novel: Amelia is not
to be a heroine, but she is, in the first edition, "one
of the best and dearest creatures that ever lived"(14).
One immediately begins to suspect, when the triteness of
"best and dearest" conquers the time-lag getting to his
mind's ear, the irony which one later confirms richly
embroidering the commentary. The implied author has
already established his style as the formal rhetoric of the
Augustan sage. His Olympian wit is capable of completely
demolishing his anti-heroine by descending, for a moment,
to describe her in terms of her own school-girl sentimen-
talism. The shape-shifting has already appeared which the
second chapter begins by providing what seems to be an
emblem for the title page: "We may be pretty certain that
the persons whom all the world treats ill, deserve entirely
the treatment they get. The world is a looking-glass, and
gives back to every man the reflection of his own face.
Frown at it, and it will in turn look sourly upon you; laugh
at it and with it, and it is a jolly kind companion; and so
let all young persons take their choice"(19). The looking-
glass symbol involves perhaps more than a conventional comic
speech. The title page of the novel displays a clown, the
role which the narrator finally chooses as his own, looking
in a glass (Plate IX). As early as the unrevised Install-

PLATE IX

VANITY FAIR
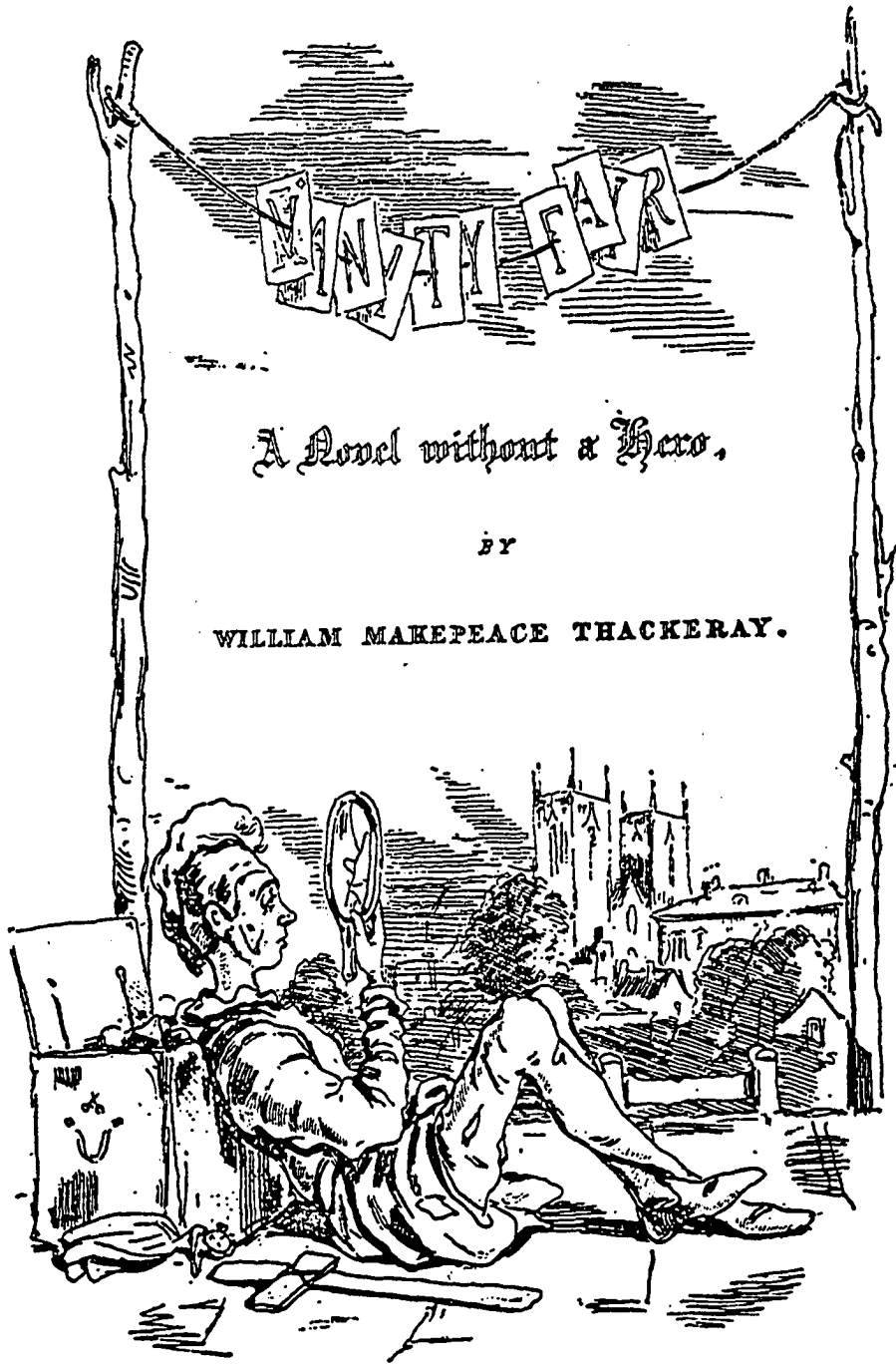
A Novel without a Hero,

BY

WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY.

LONDON

BRADBURY & EVANS, BOUVERIE STREET.

1848.

ment 1, Thackeray was presenting to each vanity a mirror image which its holders could admire or be appalled by as they wished and as they were able. To the vanity of unintelligent school-girl ultra-sentimentality, he presented himself as its very own image.

It is this skill for hoisting one with his own petard that makes Vanity Fair the classic of comic irony that it is. The commentary very often suddenly and definitively parodies that which it had been successfully expressing in a straightforward manner. Again in the fourth chapter, the comment to which Mrs. Van Ghent so strongly objects--"And I think for a kiss from such a dear creature as Amelia, I would purchase all Mr. Lee's conservatories out of hand"(42) --departs so greatly from the narrator's usual reserve that it becomes a parody of itself to expose the foolishness of its sentimental tone and content. According to Wayne Booth, the success of commentary depends on its suitability:

> How we feel about generalizing commentary will depend partly on the fashions of the moment but more basically on the author's skill in suiting its quality to the quality of his dramatic portions. The Vanity Fair presented in Vile Bodies or Decline and Fall could never support the narrator's loquacity in Vanity Fair itself. But for Thackeray's highly general, expansive kind of satire such loquacity is clearly useful. . . . Waugh's reticence would partially ruin the conclusion to Vanity Fair, as it would ruin Bleak House, Middlemarch, and The Egoist. . . . Though garrulity in narrators is as tedious as garrulity in acquaintances, though commenting narrators are, in fact, peculiarly tempted to be pompous and redundant, at their best they can yield a breadth of experience unlike that provided by any other artistic

device.[4]

What Booth calls expansiveness is perhaps the narrator's device of taking on anyone on his own terms.

The poles of the commentary in the first installment are Augustan omniscience and sentimental participation, and the narrator does not seem to depart from the polarities. In so doing, however, he creates a sticky narrative problem, Is he a first-person observer in the tradition of Defoe, Smollett, and Sterne, or is he an omniscient author in the tradition of Fielding with no real personal interest in the proceedings? Obviously, he is neither because he is both. He dramatizes himself in his very first sermon by a flight upon "the awes and terrors of youth": "I know, for instance, an old gentleman of sixty-eight, who said to me one morning at breakfast, with a very agitated countenance, 'I dreamed last night that I was flogged by Dr. Raine.' Fancy had carried him back five and fifty years in the course of that evening. Dr. Raine and his rod were just as awful to him in his heart, then, at sixty-eight, as they had been at thirteen. If the Doctor, with a large birch, had appeared bodily to him, even at the age of three-score and eight, and had said in awful voice, 'Boy, take down your pant * * ?'"(18) The narrator mixes participation, observation and omniscience in the point of view from the first.

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[4]Booth, p. 199.

Robert Rathburn and Martin Steinmann find Samuel Butler to

be the first to use the mixture: "In The Way of All Flesh

(written 1873-84; published 1903), Samuel Butler curiously

mixed the first-person observer and the omniscient author

with the third-person limited point of view, forecasting

by the latter what Defoe's first-person participant was to

become."[5] But Thackeray was clearly using what Pater called

"mixed perspectives" thirty years before. Mrs. Van Ghent

thinks the mixture weakens the aesthetic structure of the

novel:

> Whereas Thackeray seems merely to be victimized or
> tricked by his adopted convention into a clumsy mis-
> handling of perspectives, Fielding manipulates the same
> convention deliberately to produce displacements of
> perspective as an organic element of composition. This
> is not to say that Fielding's creative perceptions are,
> on the whole, more penetrating and profound than Thack-
> eray's; indeed, Thackeray's seem to reach a good deal
> deeper into the difficulties, compromises, and darkness
> of the human estate; but Fielding's have the organizing
> power to make an ancient oral convention of storytelling
> an appropriate instrument of his vision, whereas the
> same convention--actually one that is most sympathetic
> to Thackeray's gift of easy, perspicacious, ranging talk
> --becomes a personal convenience for relaxation of
> aesthetic control, even a means to counterfeit his
> creative vision.[6]

It seems, however, that if one sees deeply into human life,

a certain amount of conflict in perspective is inevitable--

in fact, truthful and realistic. And truth and realism were

Thackeray's objectives in Vanity Fair.

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[5]Robert C. Rathburn and Martin Steinmann eds. From
Jane Austen to Joseph Conrad (Minneapolis, 1958), p. 8.

[6]Van Ghent, p. 173.

In the first predominant narrating persona, however, omniscience is ascendant. He gives speeches on the personal moralities of each of his characters:

> For it may be remarked in the course of this little conversation (which took place as the coach rolled along lazily by the riverside) that though Miss Rebecca Sharp has twice had occasion to thank Heaven, it has been, in the first place, for ridding her of some person whom she hated, and secondly, for enabling her to bring her enemies to some sort of perplexity or confusion; neither of which are very amiable motives for religious gratitude, or such as would be put forward by persons of a kind and placable disposition. Miss Rebecca was not, then, in the least kind or placable. All the world used her ill, said this young misanthropist, and we may be pretty certain that the persons whom all the world treats ill, deserve entirely the treatment they get.(19)

He reminds the reader of the obvious--"novelists have the privilege of knowing everything"(31). He even knows what the reaction of Jones the club-man reader will be.

The Writer also establishes the predominating tones of commentary for the novel. What distinguishes him from the tub-preaching Clown-Moralist and the dinner-guest Memoirist is the subdued men's-club quality which pervades his commentary. He knows exactly how Jones, at his club, reads, "taking out his pencil and scoring under the words 'foolish, twaddling,' &c., and adding to them his own remark of 'quite true'"(15). He knows that Jos is "always exceedingly communicative in a man's party"(31). And when Rebecca must pursue a husband for herself, he retreats to his superior position as a man before the powers of women:

> And oh, what a mercy it is that these women do not exercise their powers oftener! We can't resist them

if they do. Let them show ever so little inclination,
and men go down on their knees at once: old or ugly,
it is all the same. And this I set down as a positive
truth. A woman with fair opportunities, and without
an absolute hump, may marry WHOM SHE LIKES. Only let
us be thankful that the darlings are like the beasts
of the field, and don't know their own power. They
would overcome us entirely if they did. (34)

A man of reticent good manners, his commentary,

although it can be heavily colored with irony, is valid and

finally objective. Of the parting as Chiswick Mall "Words

refuse to tell it"(16). Between Miss Pinkerton and Becky

"the battle here described in a few lines, of course lasted

for some months"(23). When Mr. Sedley mentioned George

Osborne's name before Amelia after her return from school

"at this, I don't know in the least for what reason, Mrs.

Sedley looked at her husband and laughed"(35). Above all,

he is a lover of truth and a deplorer of deception. He

warns "But we must remember that /Rebecca/ is but nineteen

as yet, unused to the art of deceiving, poor innocent

creature!"(25) He even knows the reason for her deception:

"/until Chiswick Mall/ she had not been much of a dissembler,

until now her loneliness taught her to feign"(22). He re-

proaches the tricks of "mamas" in finding husbands for their

daughters: "What causes them to labour at piano-forte sona-

tas, and to learn four songs from a fashionable master at a

guinea a lesson, and to play the harp if they have handsome

arms and neat elbows, and to wear Lincoln Green toxophilite

hats and feathers, but that they may bring down some 'desir-

able' young man with those killing bows and arrows of theirs?"(27-28) Even in technique he is honest, because he will not report conversation that appears only in "very high-flown and ingenious novels"(38). And when George has an impulse to kiss Amelia "and if I should say that they fell in love with each other at that single instant of time, I should perhaps be telling an untruth"(38).

The scholarly, quiet, reasonably ironic, objective, omniscient, well-mannered, witty, men's-club man who narrates the first installment of <u>Vanity Fair</u> could just as easily have sat at Squire Allworthy's table of justice as with Jones and Jos Sedley. He is thoroughly Augustan. He is primarily a narrator, telling what he sees and knows, and pointing out certain ironies which the predominant narrative happens to touch upon.

Vauxhall changes things. In the revisions of the second installment (Chapters 5-7), a new narrating persona becomes predominant. The first manuscript version of the beginning of Chapter 6 was quite omniscient and non-dramatic: "The reader I know is growing very weary of these little mean unromantic details about a vulgar stockbroker's family in Russell Square"(674). The finished version introduces a narrator whose rhetoric becomes less and less Augustan as the chapter progresses. As the initial indicates, the narrator has now assumed the costume of the Punch performer. In Chapters 6 through 8, he establishes his role

as parodist of novels which feign reality. In the first edition, he feigns it even better: "'Mofy! is that your snum?' said a voice from the area. 'I'll gully the dag and bimbole the clicky in a snuffkin'"(672). He begins to develop the fair motif by describing the amusements of Vauxhall, and he delivers his Clown-Moralist apologia, which is followed by the tail-piece of the sad jester. The weight of evidence is clearly in favor of a new narrator, a commentator with a much greater range of literary possibilities, a less formal relationship to his material, and a stronger personal relationship with the reader. The Augustan narrator could hardly have been capable of the flexibility of participation which Clown has always had. The Fool belongs equally as well to the Court of St. James as to Gin Lane. In <u>Vanity Fair</u>, the narrator capitalizes on that flexibility: "we who wear stars and cordons, and attend St. James's assemblies, or we who, in muddy boots, dawdle up and down Pall Mall, and peep into the coaches as they drive up with the great folks in their feathers"(460). In the "rich aunt" soliloquy, he is able to speak directly to a middle-class audience: "Is it so, or is it not so? I appeal to the middle classes"(87). He speaks sometimes with less formality and social distance than The Writer: if Napoleon had not come back from Elba, "what would have become of our story and all our friends, then? If all the drops in it were dried up, what would become of the sea?"(264-265) In

short, Clown was capable of a personal relationship with reality on all levels and in all situations. He could be a man of feeling or of detachment or of biting criticism—all at once, without appropriateness.

It is necessary to explore the role of Clown as commentator in order to interpret his role as commenting narrator of Vanity Fair. Quite obviously, it is this persona which Thackeray intended to be the narrator, after the novel was begun in earnest. Three illustrations of the narrator—wrapper, title, and tail-piece to Chapter 8—hammer the point home. The initial to Chapter 6, furthermore, manifests a Punch performer who comments in that chapter as Punch rather than as his creator. It is not unexpected that a reviewer in The Athenaeum should have very soon described the novel as a "harlequinade."[7]

Harlequinade it is; the evidence is overwhelming. Even in Installment 1, Thackeray had begun to draw Becky in terms of stage comedy. Her mother was a opera-girl of the family Entrechat, a ballet movement. Miss Pinkerton took her in because "used Rebecca to perform the part of the ingénue"(21), and in return "the little mimic"(21) caricatured her patroness with the doll Miss Pinkerton gave her. In Installment 2, the narrator is a moralist in long-eared livery with "brothers" in Naples and Paris,

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[7]Loomis, p. 351.

the centers of nineteenth-century commedia dell' arte re-
vivals. In Installment 3, he is pictured as a sad jester,
and a chapter later acquires a wife named Julia. Who Julia
could be is a matter of engaging conjecture, but the name
was popular as that of an inamorata in the impromptu come-
dies, and a jester attired similarly to the broken-nosed
jester is the central character of Tristram Shandy's
"Sklawkenbergius's Tale." He wears the traditional costume
of the harlequinade--crimson-satin breeches, silver-fringed
cod-piece, and short scimetar. His nose is remarkable--
"The sentinel looked up into the stranger's face--never saw
such a nose in his life!"[8] The jester is Diego in exile
from his beloved Julia, "O Julia, my lovely Julia!"(222)
In addition to these important references to commedia
dell' arte, numerous other comments, initials, incidental
drawings, and full-page plates connect the novel with
stage comedy. The initial for Chapter 18 shows a young man
(who looks very much like Dobbin) in a Harlequin's costume,
bowing before Napoleon (Plate X). The initial for Chapter
46, "Struggles and Trials," shows a weeping jester with his
hands covering his face: "Our friends at Brompton were
meanwhile passing their Christmas after their fashion, and
in a manner by no means too cheerful" (Plate XI). An inci-
dental illustration for the charade-ballet "Le Rossignol"

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[8]Laurence Sterne, The Life and Opinions of Tristram
Shandy, Gentleman, ed. Samuel H. Monk (New York, 1962), p.
215.

PLATE X

A NOVEL WITHOUT A HERO. 185

CHAPTER XVIII.

WHO PLAYED ON THE PIANO CAPTAIN DOBBIN BOUGHT.

UR surprised story now finds itself for a moment among very famous events and personages, and hanging on to the skirts of history. When the eagles of Napoleon Bonaparte, the Corsican upstart, were flying from Provence, where they had perched after a brief sojourn in Elba, and from steeple to steeple until they reached the towers of Notre Dame, I wonder whether the Imperial birds had any eye for a little corner of the parish of Bloomsbury, London, which you might have thought so quiet, that even the whirring and flapping of those mighty wings would pass unobserved there?

"Napoleon has landed at Cannes." Such news might create a panic at Vienna, and cause Russia to drop his cards, and take Prussia into a corner, and Talleyrand and Metternich to wag their heads together, while Prince Hardenberg, and even the present Marquis of Londonderry, were puzzled; but how was this intelligence to affect a young lady in Russell Square, before whose door the watchman sang the hours when she was asleep: who, if she strolled in the square, was guarded there by the railings and the beadle: who, if she walked ever so short a distance to buy a ribbon in Southampton Row, was followed by black Sambo with an enormous cane: who was always cared for, dressed, put to bed, and watched over by ever so many guardian angels, with and without wages? *Bon Dieu*, I say, is it not hard that the fateful rush of the great Imperial struggle can't take place without affecting a poor little

PLATE XI

A NOVEL WITHOUT A HERO. 115

CHAPTER XI.

STRUGGLES AND TRIALS.

UR friends at Brompton were meanwhile passing their Christmas after their fashion, and in a manner by no means too cheerful.

Out of the hundred pounds a year, which was about the amount of her income, the widow Osborne had been in the habit of giving up nearly three-fourths to her father and mother, for the expenses of herself and her little boy. With £120 more, supplied by Jos, this family of four people, attended by a single Irish servant who also did for Clapp and his wife, might manage to live in decent comfort through the year, and hold up their heads yet, and be able to give a friend a dish of tea still, after the storms and disappointments of their early life. Sedley still maintained his ascendancy over the family of Mr. Clapp, his ex-clerk. Clapp remembered the time when, sitting on the edge of the chair, he tossed off a bumper to the health of " Mrs. S——, Miss Emmy, and Mr. Joseph in India," at the merchant's rich table in Russell Square. Time magnified the splendour of those recollections in the honest clerk's bosom. Whenever he came up from the kitchen-parlour to the drawing-room, and partook of tea or gin-and-water with Mr. Sedley, he would say, " This was not what you was accustomed to once, sir," and as gravely and reverentially drink the health of the ladies as he had done in the days of their utmost prosperity. He thought Miss 'Melia's playing the divinest music ever performed, and

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"in Old French costume" shows Becky in a costume with her hands in first position of classical ballet (Plate XII). Her costume is strikingly like the Ballerina of art comedy (Plate XIII), whose function, like Becky's in the charade-ballet, is to sing and dance as pure embellishment to the performance. The initial to Chapter 65 portrays Jos costumed very appropriately as the craven Captain of Italian comedy (Plate XIV). The initial to Chapter 21 shows a Miss Osborne admiring a black baby (Plate XV), an aged joke in improvised comedy about the offspring of black Harlequin and Columbine (Plate XVI). The full-page plate of the elder Osborne is drawn in a traditional Pantaloon pose (Plates XVII and XVIII). Finally, the broken-nosed jester himself more than remarkably resembles Tartaglia, the stuttering, slightly dense clown from Naples (Plate XIX). The Neapolitan clown's characterizing device was, like Titmarsh's, a pair of enormous spectacles. He also shares several interesting characteristics with the narrator of Vanity Fair. He played whatever role he wished--notary, constable, advocate, judge, apothecary: "In the nineteenth century in Naples this personage /could/ be nothing in particular so that /he/ may be anything he chooses." His manner, too, sounds interestingly familiar: "He delivers himself of the most outspoken and buffoon sayings, with a nonchalance

PLATE XII

as for the cabin. The music rises up to the wildest pitch of stormy
excitement, and the third syllable is concluded.

There was a little ballet, Le Rossignol, in which Montessu and
Noblet used to be famous in those days, and which Mr. Wagg
transferred to the English stage as an opera, putting his verse, of
which he was a skilful writer, to the pretty airs of the ballet. It was
dressed in old French costume, and little Lord Southdown now
appeared admirably attired in the disguise of an old woman hobbling
about the stage with a faultless crooked stick.

Trills of melody were heard behind the scenes, and gurgling from
a sweet pasteboard cottage covered with roses and trellis work.
" Philomèle, Philomèle," cries the old woman, and Philomèle comes
out.

More applause—it is Mrs. Rawdon Crawley in powder and
patches, the most *ravissante* little Marquise in the world.

She comes in laughing, humming, and frisks about the stage with

PLATE XIII

PLATE XIV

A NOVEL WITHOUT A HERO. 349

CHAPTER XXX.

FULL OF BUSINESS AND PLEASURE.

HE day after the meeting at the play-table, Jos had himself arrayed with unusual care and splendour, and without thinking it necessary to say a word to any member of his family regarding the occurrences of the previous night, or asking for their company in his walk, he sallied forth at an early hour, and was presently seen making inquiries at the door of the Elephant Hotel. In consequence of the *fêtes* the house was full of company, the tables in the street were already surrounded by persons smoking and drinking the national small-beer, the public rooms were in a cloud of smoke, and Mr. Jos having, in his pompous way, and with his clumsy German, made inquiries for the person of whom he was in search, was directed to the very top of the house, above the first-floor rooms where some travelling pedlars had lived, and were exhibiting their jewellery and brocades; above the second-floor apartments occupied by the *état major* of the gambling firm; above the third-floor rooms, tenanted by the band of renowned Bohemian vaulters and tumblers; and so on to the little cabins of the roof, where, among students, bag-men, small tradesmen, and country-folks, come in for the festival, Becky had found a little nest; —as dirty a little refuge as ever beauty lay hid in.

Becky liked the life. She was at home with everybody in the place, pedlars, punters, tumblers, students and all. She was of a wild, roving nature, inherited from father and mother, who were both

PLATE XV

A NOVEL WITHOUT A HERO.   221

CHAPTER XXI.

A QUARREL ABOUT AN HEIRESS.

OVE may be felt for any young lady endowed with such qualities as Miss Swartz possessed ; and a great dream of ambition entered into old Mr. Osborne's soul, which she was to realize. He encouraged, with the utmost enthusiasm and friendliness, his daughters' amiable attachment to the young heiress, and protested that it gave him the sincerest pleasure as a father to see the love of his girls so well disposed.

" You won't find," he would say to Miss Rhoda, " that splendour and rank to which you are accustomed at the West End, my dear Miss, at our humble mansion in Russell Square. My daughters are plain, disinterested girls, but their hearts are in the right place, and they've conceived an attachment , for you which does them honour—I say, which does them honour. I'm a plain, simple, humble British merchant—an honest one, as my respected friends Hulker and Bullock will vouch, who were the correspondents of your late lamented father. You'll find us a united, simple, happy, and I think I may say respected, family—a plain table, a plain people, but a warm welcome, my dear Miss Rhoda— Rhoda, let me say, for my heart warms to you, it does really. I'm a frank man, and I like you. A glass of Champagne ! Hicks, Champagne to Miss Swartz."

There is little doubt that old Osborne believed all he said, and that the girls were quite earnest in their protestations of affection for Miss Swartz. People in Vanity Fair fasten on to rich folks quite naturally. If the simplest people are disposed to look not a little

PLATE XVI

ITALIAN PUPPET BALLET

PLATE XVII

Mr Osborne's welcome to Amelia.

PLATE XVIII

PANTALOON
Watteau

PLATE XIX

TARTAGLIA (1620)

and calm that are imperturbable."[9]   One cannot help con-
jecturing that it was a player of this comic role to which
the narrator referred when he spoke of his brother of the
storytelling trade in Naples.   It is perhaps more likely,
however, that he is referring to Tartaglia's Neapolitan
brother Pulcinella, the Italian Punch.   All this is to
suggest that there is more than a little of the Italian
comedy troupe in Vanity Fair.   There is old Osborne, the
avaricious aspect of Pantaloon, the stupidly selfish, greedy
old man who tried to pander his children for his first love,
money.   There is the elder Sir Pitt, the lecherous aspect
of Pantaloon as well as the avaricious.   There is George
Osborne, the knave Brighella, his characteristic whiskers
("the moustache of a fop, thick and swirled up at the ends
in such a fashion as to give him an offensive, swaggering
air"[10]) groomed to magnificent ambrosial perfection, "like
a god"(118).   There is Jos, the foolish Captain; Amelia,
the comica accesa inamorata, "usually uninteresting and sub-
dued; often desiring marriage but curbed by hard parents;
sometimes merely a kind of doll, a puppet for the plot,"[11]

[9]Maurice Sand, The History of the Harlequinade (Lon-
don, 1915), pp. 259-263.

[10]Pierre Louis Duchartre, The Italian Comedy, trans.
Randolph T. Weaver (London, 1929), p. 161.

[11]Sobel, p. 162.

and Becky, the soubrette Columbine, "she was rather French
in character and was noted for her coquetry . . . and by her
keen and active wit was able to hold her own in every situa-
tion and emerge with ease and dignity from the most involved
intrigues."[12] Dobbin plays the gallant and foolish lover.
The novel itself seems to be a full-blown performance of the
comedians:

> They were the great artists of Laughter. . . . They
> had only to receive a scenario, which someone had scrib-
> bled on his knee, to meet their stage manager in the
> morning to arrange the outlines of the plot, and to
> hang the paper within easy reach of the wings; the rest
> they could invent themselves. Familiarity with the
> stage and their profession and their art had taught them
> a whole bundle of tricks and quips. They had a store
> of proverbs, sallies, charades, riddles, recitations,
> antitheses, cacophonies, hyperboles, tropes, and pleas-
> ant figures; and besides they had volumes of tirades,
> which they had learnt by heart, of soliloquies, exclama-
> tions of despair, sallies, conceits of happy love, or
> jealousy, or prayer, or contempt, or friendship, or ad-
> miration, always on the tips of their tongues, ready to
> utter when they were out of breath. They raised their
> scaffolding high into the air, and then gave themselves
> up to their own fertile genius and their amazing caprice.
> They obeyed all the intemperance and extravagance of
> their humors. They became nothing but retorts, sallies,
> conceits, paradoxes, witticisms, mental somersaults.
> They seized opportunity by the forelock and turned the
> least accident to profit. They drew inspiration from
> the time, the place, the color of the sky, or the topic
> of the day, and established a current between their
> audience and themselves out of which the mad farce arose,
> the joint product of them all.[13]

But most important of all there is the Master of Ceremonies
--sometimes Harlequin, sometimes Pierrot, sometimes Punchi-

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[12]Duchartre, p. 278.

[13]Sobel, p. 164.

nello, always the commentator. A description of an eight-
eenth-century Harlequin could just as easily be a descrip-
tion of the narrator of Vanity Fair: "His character is a
mixture of ignorance, naivete, with stupidity, and grace.
He is both a rake and an overgrown boy with occasional
gleams of intelligence, and his mistakes and clumsiness
often have a wayward charm. . . . He plays the role of a
faithful valet, always patient, credulous, and greedy.
He is eternally amorous. . . . He is hurt and comforted
in turn as easily as a child, and his grief is almost as
comic as his joy."[14] Harlequin descends from the ancient
line of Fool, who always had the duty of social criticism,
of "fostering reform and revolt."[15] In the early eight-
eenth century, the commedia dell' arte had come under
criticism because it had degenerated into indecencies, and
it fell to Harlequin to regenerate the art form: "Harle-
quin, in his capacity as a master of ceremonies, had to
fight back, champion personal and professional liberty,
defend himself and his associates against political, liter-
ary, and social enemies. Through heckling, wisecracks, and
community singing, he turned the stage into a public forum
with the audience as participant, becoming by force of cir-
cumstances, a censor, a critic, a caricaturist" (167).

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[14]Duchartre, p. 132.

[15]Sobel, p. 166.

The Clown-Moralist's manner of participation in his work is also similar to the Master of Ceremonies, who went "under the general name of clown": "Though still largely extraneous to the plot of a play, he bobbed on and off the stage whenever he had a chance to do so"(166). Vanity Fair's Clown is Master of Ceremonies to a novel, however, and it is natural that he assumes the functions of the controlling artist of a novel instead of comedy. When he becomes Clown, the narrator develops an increased sense of complex irony: "What well-bred young person is there in all Vanity Fair, who will not feel for a hard-working, ingenious, meritorious girl, who gets such an honourable, advantageous, provoking offer, just at the very moment when it is out of her power to accept it? I am sure our friend Becky's disappointment deserves and will command every sympathy"(148). Irony now seems to balance narrative in importance. Dodds expresses what critics have always felt, that a certain cynicism or irony characterizes the novel's narrator: "The clue to his art is the complete and covering irony through which his whole view of life is filtered."[16] Using the disguise of the clown is a Socratic irony, according to Sister M. Corona Sharp. The irony is explained by David Worchester as a private jest between writer and reader if the reader penetrates the deliberate handicap which the

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[16]John W. Dodds, "Thackeray in the Victorian Frame," Sewanee Review, XLVIII, 474.

writer employs: "His self-deprecation saves the novel from being a moral tract."[17] At any rate, the perceptions which the narrator arrives at because of his keen sense of irony become equally as interesting and insightful as the narrative itself. As the motion of the Fair turns into the Dance of Death, however, Clown is less appropriate as a commentator. The Dance itself is warning enough of the consequences of vanity, and The Moralist, too, becomes unnecessary. The narrator once again has to change his role, and the role that the material demands is The Memoirist, the historian of the ironies of pursuing vanities, the elegist of truth.

The narrator's role as memoirist begins to predominate in the novel after the Clown-Moralist consummates his role in the charades. The Clown seems to resign himself to his demise in the sermon on the inevitability of dying: "Your comedy and mine will have been played then, and we shall be removed, O how far, from the trumpets, and the shouting, and the posture-making"(585). He becomes in part an observer of the very comedy he had been participating in. He retains the roles of Writer and Clown-Moralist, but as the narrative interest diminishes and draws to a close, the ironies intensify. The Writer pleads his decorousness in order to sink the barbed shaft into those readers who denied reality: The Clown is almost non-existent except to show

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[17]Sharp, p. 335.

Becky at the Fancy Fairs; The Moralist lets the narrative
speak its own moralities, and the bitter irony of the final
serio-ironic travesty of love in the Dobbin-Amelia marriage
is devestating: "Emmy /scurried/ off on the arm of George
(now grown a dashing young gentleman), and the Colonel
/seized/ up his little Janey, of whom he is fonder than
of anything in the world--fonder even than of his 'History
of the Punjaub.' 'Fonder than he is of me,' Emmy thinks,
with a sigh. But he never said a word to Amelia, that was
not kind and gentle; or thought of a want of hers that he
did not try to gratify"(666). It is enough for the Mem-
oirist to document, with only simple and brief comments, the
fortunes of his players. He has become almost completely
an ironist. The normative values which the characters
sought--respectability, love, happiness--have gained them
lives in which the forms of those values are preserved but
the feelings are hopelessly lost. Even Emmy is aware of it.
Sister M. Corona Sharp sees his role as ironist in terms of
the novel's morality: "According to Frye's estimate, the
narrator is therefore a sophisticated ironist; for although
he seems to point a moral at the expense of Vanity Fair, he
is really condemning the morality which judges avarice and
is avaricious, which brands Rebecca and then accepts her,
which preaches piety and makes it grotesque."[18]

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[18]Sharp, p. 333.

The Memoirist gains certain technical advantages which give him even more range than the previous personae. The role of commentator is ideally adapted to the ironist, according to Praz: "the ironist stands aside from life, he does not involve himself in it; he is commentator, not poet."[19] The Memoirist combines the omniscience of The Writer and the personal participation of The Clown-Moralist, although he loses part of the intimacy of the latter because his information is primarily second- and third-hand. "This memoir pose gives Thackeray precisely the time relationship to his story which he desired to maintain--the view of all events spread out at once in a panorama before him," says Lester: "With this memoir pose, Thackeray can view his characters now in the press of present action, now in the mature and deliberate retrospect of after life."[20] Taube points out that Thackeray's reminiscences have tones of pastness and disengagement which result in his becoming essentially withdrawn from participation in "the rough and tumble of life."[21] The withdrawal brings him profit as well as loss though: "He was no religious mystic, though he catches the profound melancholy of the contemplative."[22]

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[19]Praz, p. 232.

[20]Lester, pp. 400-401.

[21]Myron Taube, "Thackeray and the Reminiscential Vision," Nineteenth-Century Fiction, VIII(1963-1964), 259.

[22]Dyson, p. 23.

The melancholy-reflective tension established in the Preface is completed in this persona.

The development of the narrator's persona in Vanity Fair consists, then, of an uncertain first installment in which a writer with an Augustan quality parodies whatever falsity falls under his pen; a long second part in which the writer-turned-clown-moralist narrates his irono-comic domestic saga; and a final part in which the writer-clown-moralist matures into a storyteller who is capable of recording the deeper ironies to which the pursuit of vanity brings one. The last persona is not far from the first: there is simply a growing complexity of character which is the natural consequent of the effect that the experiences he tells about have upon his conscience. The change of roles dramatizes on the superficial, public level that process of maturation.

Reading Vanity Fair as a fictionalized commedia dell' arte performance narrated by a man playing the role of Harlequin, the Fool, explains a great many things about the novel. It explains, I think, the largely unjustified reputation Thackeray drew for unrelieved cynicism: "The popular Thackeray-theory before his arrival was of a severe satirist who concealed scalpels in his sleeves and carried probes in his waistcoat pocket; a wearer of masks; a scoffer and sneezer and general infidel of all high aim and noble char-

acter."[23] The description seems to be just as applicable
also to Punch-Harlequin the commentator of satiric comedy.
Reader seemed to recognize the tones of stage comedy in the
commentary and to assume therefore that the usual cynicism
of stage commentators was intended. The fact that it was
significantly softened seemed to have escaped them. The
reading also explains the quality and quantity of the in-
trusions. The _lazzi_ of Italian comic opera were "scenes
wherein the buffoons interrupt the story with irrelevant
pranks."[24] The _zanni_, furthermore, encouraged audience
participation by goading or teasing the audience. Goethe
wrote in his _Italian Journal_ for October 1786 that "the
spectators join in and crowd and actors are as one compa-
ny"(367). The commentator was responsible for keeping the
action moving and for sustaining the actors' close rela-
tionship with the audience.

There is biographical support, too, for the analo-
gousness of the narrator of _Vanity Fair_ and the commentator
of comic opera. In his younger years immediately before
Vanity Fair, Thackeray became enamored with the theater.
Although Praz believes that "the cult of mediocrity becomes
a pose " in his profession of partiality, in _A Brighton_

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[23]Melville, p. 289, from an article in _Putnam's_.

[24]Arno Schönberger and Halldor Soehner with the col-
laboration of Theodor Müller, _The Rococo Age: Art and Civ-
ilization of the 18th Century_, trans. Daphne Woodward (New
York, 1960), p. 367.

Night Entertainment, for "second-rate beauty in women, sec-
ond-rate novels . . . and second-rate theatrical entertain-
ments,"[25] biographical evidence seems to support his honesty
in the statement. Edward Fitzgerald was once appalled by
his close friend's taste in theater: "Fitzgerald went one
night with Thackeray in the pit to witness a piece which,
with its mock sentiment, its indifferent humour, and ultra-
theatrical scenes bored him so terribly that he was about
to suggest they should leave the theatre, when Thackeray
turned to him, and exclaimed delightedly: 'By G-d! is
n't it splendid!'"[26] Having a taste for it did not neces-
sarily mean, though, that Thackeray could not see its
faults; he too clearly sees them in Vanity Fair to argue
a blindness of taste. He wrote to his mother from his law
studies at Hare Court, Temple, that he had been diligent in
studying, but the diligence did not seem long-lived: "As
for the theatre, I scarcely go there more than once a week,
which is moderate indeed for me. In a few days come the
Pantomimes: huzza!"[27] His art interests supported his
interest in the theater: "The sum total of his two years
in Paris was 'an awful collection' of costume studies and

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[25]Praz, p. 251.

[26]Melville, pp. 257-258.

[27]Herman Merivale and Frank Marzials, Life of W. M.
Thackeray (London, 1891), p. 87.

'some infamous water colour copies perpetrated at the
Louvre.'"[28] It is hard to believe that he could have missed
the famed Watteau paintings of comic actors. The sad jester
could pass for a caricature of a Gobbi (dwarf-jester), which
Callot made famous. Callot's remarkable costume sketches
of commedia dell' arte actors were evidently well known to
Thackeray, too, for he compliments Richard Doyle by com-
paring his inventiveness to Callot's: "A very young man,
we believe scarcely twenty, he has produced in the course
of a few years, in the pages of Punch and elsewhere, a
series of designs so remarkable for grace, variety, fancy,
and wild picturesqueness--drawings of such beauty and in
such profusion, as we believe are quite unexampled hither-
to. Callot is a barren inventer by the side of this young
artist."[29] Underneath the taste and the art interests lay
always the literary interests. After his trip to Weimar,
he wrote to Goethe's daughter Ottalie that "the Theatre is
still my rage (don't think me conceited or say anything
about it); I intend fully to try my hand at farce, tragedy,
or comedy--which I cannot say yet--all three perhaps."[30]

Most important of all is Thackeray's concept of him-
self as professional fool. His personal appearance was

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[28]Stevenson, p. 62.

[29]Ray, Chronicle, p. 98

[30]Stevenson, p. 42.

perhaps the source of the feeling. The anecdote is told

that one day being at a fair with his friend 'Big Higgins'

they approached a booth and Higgins felt in his pockets

for small change. 'Oh!' said Thackeray, 'they'll pass us

in free, as two of the profession.'"[31] It was during his

relationship with Jane Brookfield that he seemed to have

developed the idea of himself as buffoon: "Yet here his

old sense of unworthiness made him feel, as always, that

though his greatest frustrated ambition was to enact the

handsome lover, he must instead play a comic role. That role,

furthermore, was a useful disguise for the true nature of

his emotions. He calls himself 'the buffoon your humble

servant'—another way of making himself medievally into her

privileged court jester."[32] He seemed also to cover his

ill-ease at social intercourse with a veneer of comedy:

"He was not a good talker, in the common sense, or a bril-

liant. Of all things his delight was to be allowed, if

we may use the phrase, to play the fool. 'Desipere in loco'

was his favourite pursuit; and he fretted under a companion

who could not understand or join in it."[33] He often drew

for friends caricatures of himself as a jester or as Mr.

Punch, and he was fond of characterizing himself as a

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[31]Quiller-Couch, p. 129.

[32]Ennis, p. 169.

[33]Merivale, p. 13.

charlatan. Feeling public humiliation at having to "sell"
himself on the American lecture tours, he countered the
feeling by assuming his favorite public role: " 'I propose
to mount my tub and send round my hat,' he said..... . 'I
can't say when the Titmarsh Van will begin its career.' "[34]
And after Vanity Fair he burbled to Mrs. Brookfield "in the
proper phrase of the time, 'What a jaunty off-hand satiric
rogue I am to be sure,--and a gay young dog.' "[35]

On the other side of the coin, however, was the Thack-
eray Carlyle described after a house party at Lady Ashbur-
ton's country house in 1852: "There is a great deal of
talent in him, a great deal of sensibility,--irritability,
sensuality, vanity without limit--and nothing, or little,
but sentimentalism and play-actorism to guide it all with:
not a good or well-founded ship in such waters on such a
voyage."[36] Quiller-Couch ascribes the same sensibility that
Bagehot calls Thackeray's "nerve-ache for life"[37] to the
melancholy that he inherited from his Anglo-Indian back-
ground.[38] Praz finds a "repressed romanticism" in his
"lacrymose and penetrating" face.[39] Ennis feels that Thack-

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[34]Stevenson, p. 247.

[35]Whibley, p. 117.

[36]Stevenson, p. 249.

[37]Walter Bagehot, Literary Studies (London, 1911), p. 121.

[38]Quiller-Couch, p. 130.

[39]Praz, p. 189.

eray's preoccuptaion with masks was due to his feelings of
inadequacy:

> Going through life thus, conscious of many inadequacies,
> Thackeray inevitably shared with his fellow mortals the
> habit of building up protective devices. These took the
> form of various poses or masks or shells. Having
> achieved such protections as these afforded, his par-
> ticular aggressive counter-attack was aimed at tearing
> the shells from the inner personalities of other people
> with whom he came face to face. This counter-attack
> had a threefold purpose: it helped him ward off unex-
> pected treachery; it gave the assurance that he was not
> uniquely weak since he could find short-comings in
> others; and it averted their scorn from his weaknesses
> by placing them on the defensive.[40]

Ennis is fair enough to see an advantage in the author's

introversion: "The introvert is usually the first to see

both sides of the question"(16). Another advantage lies

in the comic process itself. From exposure comes the

creative act: "It seems to me that whenever someone is

talented in caricature or grotesque-comic acting and the

like, a tendency to self-exposure creeps in beside the wish

to expose others, and that this tendency to exhibit and to

confess produces the driving force for creation."[41]

Two suggestions have been made about the personal

reasons for Thackeray's chosen role as jester--his marriage

difficulties and his platonic relationship with Mrs. Brook-

field. Of the former, Melville believes that "he was not a

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[40]Ennis, p. 3.

[41]Annie Reich, "Structure of the Grotesque-Comic Sub-
limation," Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic, XIII(1949),
169.

man to parade his domestic sorrows in public--he might think
of them in solitude, but if a visitor entered, he would im-
mediately look up with a smile and a joke--both forced."[42]
And to the latter, Ennis describes his self-deception: "Yet
because of the circumstances which made his love for Mrs.
Brookfield a guilty passion by the standards of the time,
Thackeray was forced to be, not an unmasker of sham, but a
man deceiving himself with all sorts of poses and attitudes.
When the affair was over, he spent some time utilizing the
emotional aftermath in his writing. Thus feeling that the
affair had left him a burnt-out shell, he spent the rest of
his life living up to that pose."[43]

Underneath it all lay a measure of honesty and opti-
mism which affected the role-playing, too. Even though
his role as comic artist necessitated posing, Thackeray
retained a basic honesty which Praz recognizes: "Yet this
attitude of wishing to reduce values is due not merely to
a spirit of mediocrity; it is due also to another bourgeois
quality: honesty. Thackeray detests pose; his pet aversion,
the snob, is nothing more than a poseur."[44] Trollope, who
knew Thackeray well, discusses the humor with which Thack-
eray strove to balance his melancholy side: "In attempting

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[42]Melville, p. 131.

[43]Ennis, p. 172.

[44]Praz, p. 230.

to understand his character it is necessary for you to bear

within your own mind the idea that he was always, within his

own bosom, encountering melancholy with buffoonery, and

meanness with satire."[45] The effect of the two conflicting

personalities in the man was evidently equally enigmatic in

the novel. Douglas Jerrold, with whom Thackeray worked

closely if attritionally on Punch, said of him "I have known

Thackeray eighteen years, and don't know him yet."[46]

Two questions about the narrator of Vanity Fair remain:

what specific qualities of stage comedy did Thackeray choose

for his narrator, and why did he choose them? According

to Signora Isotta Guisti, Florentine doll and puppet maker,

of the two types of Italian art comedy--stage comedy and

puppet shows, the former is considered for adults and the

latter for children.[47] Thackeray was obviously not writing

for children, and it seems to be the "living" adult art

comedy which he thinks of in Vanity Fair as well as his

last contribution to Fraser's in January 1847, the same

month as Installment 1 of Vanity Fair: "But see where we

have come to!--to the very last page of the very last sheet;

and the writer is called upon to stop just at the very mo-

ment he was going to cut his own head off. So have I seen

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[45]Trollope, p. 32.

[46]Merivale and Marzials, p. 217.

[47]Signora Isotta Guisti, personal communication, Sep-
tember 25, 1967.

Mr. Clown . . . set up the gallows, adjust the rope, try the noose curiously, and--tumble head over heels."[48]

From a lineage as ancient as comedy came the two prototypes of comic figures, Punch the slow and Harlequin the lively. Thackeray seems to have borrowed from the traditions of both. From the Harlequin mask, the narrator of Vanity Fair borrowed a certain complexity of character-- "a mixture of stupidity and cunning, for he can be deceived as well as deceive."[49] Sister M. Corona Sharp seems to be entirely accurate when she defines Vanity Fair's eiron as "a 'sly deceiver,' a 'sly mocker,' a 'hypocritical rascal.'"[50] More important was his talent for making the audience laugh and then cry, a talent the narrator of Vanity Fair certainly attempts: "/Carlin, a Harlequin/ had an extraordinary prescience in divining the public taste. . . . He possessed the rare merit of appearing always different and always excellent, and like Thomassin, he could make the audience laugh one moment, and cry the next."[51]. In the Victorian period there was a melding of the roles of Harlequin and Pierrot, when at the Theatre des Funambules in Paris, the Harlequin permitted Deburau,

[48]Melville, p. 244.

[49]Sobel, p. 406.

[50]Sharp, p. 324.

[51]Duchartre, p. 311.

later the famous Pierrot, to take over his role as master

of the performance. Deburau developed a new Pierrot "chang-

ing the stupid valet, the knock-about clown of tradition

into a self-controlled stoic, 'acteur sans passion, sans

parole and presʒue sans visage.'"[52] After 1830 Deburau

reigned as king of clowns in the Paris theaters, a favorite

visiting place of Thackeray. Jules Janin, French critic and

friend of Thackeray, describes the sensationally popular

Deburau performance:

> He made a revolution in our art and has created a new
> type. An actor without passion, without words and
> almost without a face, he said everything, expressed
> everything, mocked at everything and without speaking
> a single word played the comedies of Moliere and gave
> to them real life; an inimitable genius who went hither
> and thither, who looked, who opened his mouth, who
> closed his eyes, made everyone laugh and was charming.
> In Noces de Pierrot, a farce which he played over six
> hundred times, we see the curtain rising slowly. De-
> burau appears in his white costume with a pretty girl
> on his arm. It is impossible to describe the enthusi-
> asm of the audience. Deburau simply placed his hand
> on his heart, and a tear rolled down over his face
> whitened with flour.[53]

The pose of the Byronic hero began to creep into French

comedie a l'impromptu in 1847 when Deburau was replaced

by Paul Legrand: "/He/ completed the process of introducing

pathos and mystery into the character of the once rollicking

clown. Legrand and Champfleury romanticized pantomime, and

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[52]Enid Welsford, The Fool: His Social and Literary
History (London, 1935), p. 305.

[53]Joseph Spencer Kennard, Masks and Marionettes (New
York, 1935), p. 34.

introduced a macabre element into the character of Harlequin
and his friends, making them belated contemporaries of the
slim young men in black who, both in literary and pictorial
art, had been brooding by moonlit waters and ruined towers
ever since the beginning of the century."[54] It is the cos-
tume of Pedrolino, who evolved into Pierrot and Pagliaccio,
which "the moralist, who is holding forth on the cover"
wears. An interesting description for reading Vanity Fair
is given of the role of Pagliaccio: "Pagliaccio, the valet,
was a sort of 'side-show barker,' a low comedian given, as
a rule, to coarse burlesque. . . . He generally took part in
the parades, or prologues to the regular performances, his
specialty being imitations and caricatures. He was also
an acrobat and tumbler, and Montaigne speaks of his 'strange
buffoon's motions' and his habit of twisting his face into
'savage grimaces' to make the crowd laugh."[55] Especially
with the zanni, Vanity Fair begins to seem more and more
analogous to stage comedy.

It is perhaps from the Punch tradition that the narra-
tor draws his melancholy. In the Feuillet version of Punch,
his melancholy is ascribed to unrequited love for Columbine.
He would not tell why he stayed away from Paris a fortnight,
but it was suspected he had gone to Naples and Columbine:

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[54]Welsford, p. 306.

[55]Duchartre, p. 258.

"On this point we can only hazard a guess, Punch having al-
ways kept the deepest silence about this dark period of his
life. When he returned it could be seen that his wonted
gaiety was tempered at times with a shade of melancholy; a
wrinkle, caused perhaps by some emotional blow, changed
the usual serenity of his brow; he would sometimes wipe
away a tear which intruded into his slapstick routine.
Punch had grown from carefree youth to manhood through
the sorrow which comes to all."[56] The sad jester in the
tail-piece wears a Punch-like costume, but it is the con-
ventional costume of any jester. Thackeray could well have
taken heart, also, in the social acceptance the narrating
role of a Victorian Punch could gain for his novel:
"Punch's fellow pages were at first tempted to tease him
because of his deformity and ugliness, but soon they all
became his friends, some dreading the barb of his famous
wit, others liking his unfailing good nature, for when wit
is united with kindness, the resulting amiability of charac-
ter wins the world, and a comely face is the last thing by
which sensible people judge one."[57]

In addition to the continental Punch-Harlequin com-
mentators, there was also the long English tradition of Fool
and Clown. Since even before the sotties of fifteenth-cen-

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[56]Feuillet, p. 114.

[57]Feuillet, p. 36.

tury Joyous Societies, "the metaphorical significance of

'fool' to the moralist and theologian was embodied in the

person of the jester, and he himself appeared as a dramatic

formula denoting contrasting aspects of man's nature."[58]

Fool's role, too, was that of commentator: "The actors of

the sotties, then, amused their audiences with running talk

into which swift bits of satire could intrude"(93). The

badinage of Clown the merry and Fool the "wise" in the

Sobres Sots reveals their distinct roles:

> Clown: You are all fools, aren't you?
> Fifth Fool: Yes truly.
> Clown: Ah, then it's this way: if you are fools all
> the time, you must, if I understand correctly, be
> fools either by nature or by habit. A fool shall
> never become a wise man; therefore you will never
> be wise.
> Third Fool: Poor clown, anyway I can promise you you'll
> never have to meddle with wisdom.
> Clown: No truly, for you must recognize that a clown
> who thinks of nothing at all knows more about the
> honorable and the good than a fool learns in his
> whole life.
> Third Fool: For that I'd like to give you a good cuff-
> ing.
> Clown: A clown . . . eating, drinking, dancing or
> laughing, is worth more than all the fools put to-
> gether. (98, 216n)

Clown's role was to amuse; Fool's, to instruct. The narra-

tor of Vanity Fair does both. By the nineteenth century,

the English Fool's role had blended almost entirely with the

continental Punch-Harlequin tradition, but English Clowns

still remained. Mayhew interviewed three clowns which il-

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[58]Barbara Swain, Fools and Folly During the Middle
Ages and Renaissance (New York, 1932), p. 91.

luminate a reading of <u>Vanity Fair</u>. The Street Clown, "a melancholy-looking man," wears a costume similar to the title page clown's: "'The dress,' he continued, 'that I wear in the streets consists of red striped cotton stockings, with full trunks, dotted red and black. The body, which is dotted like the trunks, fits tight like a woman's gown, and has full sleeves and frills. The wig or scalp is made of horse-hair, which is sewn on to a white cap, and is in the shape of a cock's comb.'"[59] It is also the costume made famous by Grimaldi, the Victorian Joey. The Penny-Gaff Clown, who performs pantomimes at penny-gaffs, shares the profession of authorship with the narrator of <u>Vanity Fair</u>: "Besides being a clown, my informant was also 'an author,' and several of the most successful ballets, pantomimes, and dramas, that of late years have been brought out at the City gaffs, have, I was assured, proceeded from 'his pen'" (499). He shares also a physical resemblance to the sad jester: "In build, even in his every-day clothes, he greatly resembles a clown--perhaps from the broadness of his chest and high-buttoned waistcoat, or from the shortness and crookedness of his legs"(499). With the Penny Circus Jester, the narrator shares his verbal inventiveness: "He is expected to be witty and say clever things, and invent anything he can for the evening's performance"(501).

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[59]<u>Mayhew's London</u>, p. 497.

Why Thackeray could have been drawn to producing a
fictionalized impromptu comedy is apparent: it was popular,
and it fitted the requirements of serial novels uniquely.
He was groping very hard in the mid-1840's for a piece of
work which would make his name well known. Punch shows
appealed so much to the popular audience that Dickens was
able to say that a thief-chase was so magically interesting
that it could make "a whole audience desert Punch in the
very thickest of the plot."[60] The Punch man himself tells
what made it popular. He is quick to point out its "moral"
whenever he can: "By struggling with Satan, Punch over-
powers him, and he drops the poker, and Punch kills him with
his cudgel, and shouts 'Bravo! Hooray! Satan is dead,'
he cries (we must have a good conclusion): 'we can now all
do as we like!'--(That's the moral, you see.)"[61] The "mor-
al" of Vanity Fair is hardly cynical in comparison. A
more persuasive appeal, however, was in the combination of
sentimental and comic:

> "A drama, or dramatical preformance, we calls it, of
> the original preformance of Punch. It ain't a tragedy;
> it's both comic and sentimental, in which way we think
> proper to preform it. There's comic parts, as with
> Clown and Jim Crow, and cetera--that's including a deal
> more yer know.
> . . . .
> "The prison scene and the baby is what we calls the
> sentimental touches. Some folks where I preforms will

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[60] Dickens, III, 84.

[61] Mayhew's London, p. 470.

have it most sentimental, in the original style. Them
families is generally sentimental theirselves. To these
sentimental folks I'm obliged to preform werry steady
and werry slow; they won't have no ghost, no coffin, and
no devil; and that's what I call spiling the preformance
entirely. He, he!" he added, with a deep sigh, "it's
the march of intellect that's doing all this: it is,
sir.
    "Other folks is all for the comic, specially the
street people; and then we has to dwell on the bell
scene, and nursing the baby, and the frying-pan, and
the sassages, and Jim Crow." (454)

Harlequin was so popular that ten could be chosen from the

London theaters in 1853 to demonstrate interesting individ-

ual comic attitudes (Plate XX), but even the Punch man

seemed aware that "the march of the intellect that's doing

all this" was making things complicated for Victorian comedy.

Popular taste held certain requirements for comedy,

too. Sybil Rosenfeld, in a study of the contents of fair

drolls, draws three conclusions about those requirements:

"First, it was conservative, clinging to the old tales.

Secondly, it demanded the ancient relief of comic interlude,

revelling in swiftly alternating contrasts of marvellous

feats and knockabout farce, fustian and slapstick. Thirdly,

it required an admixture of singing and dancing."[62] In his

masterwork, Thackeray seemed to be trying to provide them

all.

It seemed to be the variety of the show that appealed

to the popular audience. Improvised comedy "ran the gamut

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[62]Sybil Rosenfeld, The Theatre of the London Fairs
in the 18th Century (Cambridge, Eng., 1960), p. 149.

PLATE XX

GREEN'S MINIATURE HARLEQUINS. *Nº 27.*

SIGNOR VERRONI—Drury Lane BOLOGNA—Adelphi. C. FENTON.—Sadler's Wells PORREST—Olympic MELBOURN ELLAR—Astley's

TEAGUE—Queen's W HARVEY.—Marylebone. R. H KITCHEN.—Victoria. CORMAC—Princess's M MILANO.—Surrey.

London Pub Jan 1, 1853, by J K GREEN, 9, Thurlow Place, East St Walworth, and Sold by J. REDINGTON. 208. Hoxton Old Town

VICTORIAN HARLEQUINS

from coarse farces to mordant philosophic satires, and from

the popular parade to the most long-winded declamation--all

sometimes combined in a single play."[63] Rosenfeld notes

that within the variety, order mattered little to the fair

show: "The fair audiences required variety rather than

coherence; a constant shift of scene, mood and actors to

hold their attention, rather than intelligible action."[64]

That good entertainment hung on the subtlest of scenaric

structures has often been the explanation for the form of

Vanity Fair.

The most tempting reason one finds for Thackeray's

using popular entertainment as a structure for Victorian

life is the charming picture of the masquerade in Life in

London, a passionately beloved childhood favorite of his.

The masquerade, says, Bob Logic ironically "is also a fine

picture of 'Life' in the Metropolis":

> "For my own part," said LOGIC, "I have been delighted
> beyond measure at the extraordinary talents that I have
> met with at this species of amusement, as well as having
> been disgusted with witnessing impudence substituted for
> ABILITY; but, nevertheless, the contrast is not only
> entertaining but profitable, as it affords degrees of
> comparison towards acquiring a more intimate acquaint-
> ance with the various classes of society. A MASQUERADE,
> at all events, gives an opportunity for the exhibition
> of talents. The searchers after fun may either find it
> or create it. The MAN OF WIT may show it. The PUNSTER
> be quite 'at home.' The SATIRIST have full scope for
> his powers of ridicule. The DANCER may sport a toe with
> effect and applause; and the LOVERS OF MUSIC enjoy a

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[63]Duchartre, p. 22.

[64]Rosenfeld, p. 148.

treat. The SINGER can amuse the company and be amused
in return. The SERIOUS hero can scarcely be _serious_ at
a Masquerade, but then he may keep his _laugh_ to himself
under his mask: and, however strange it may appear, yet
such is the fact, that the FASTIDIOUS person may still
remain _fastidious_ in the motley group by when he is
surrounded, under the protection of his disguise. It
is true, the dashing _Cyprian_ here sometimes throws her
bait to inveigle the gallants _flushed_ with wine, tossing
her head, and passing herself off as a woman of quality,
to make a better bargain for her favours. The _Man of
the World_ repairs to a Masquerade in search of adven-
tures. The _modest folks_, but yet _curious_ ones, who may
have felt a wish just to have it to say in company,
'they have been at a Masquerade once in their lives;'
.yet, perhaps, they have reason to repent it as long as
they exist. The _genteel_ thief, in order to rob the
unwary under the appearance of a person of rank; and
whose _assumption_ of _consequence_, if detected in the act,
is almost enough to appal an OLD TRAP, under the fear
that he has laid hold of the wrong person. The _decked-
out_ PROCURESS, parading up and down, to keep a sharp
look-out after her young brood, that none of them might
fly off with her _finery_, which she has lent out at above
100 per cent. profit, to embellish their unhappy frames.
The _dissipated_ of all ranks drop in here, by way of an
excuse to try to get rid of their _ennui_ for _half an
hour_, in search of NOVELTY: and the wind-up of the crit-
ic is, 'that /is/ a Masquerade in England.'"[65]

_A footnote to "a Masquerade in England" adds that French

masquerades are inferior, "_Punch_ and _Punchinello_ being by

far the most numerous personages at a French Masquerade"

(155). It was the variety, freedom, and amusement of the

masquerade and the art comedy which made it an inviting

choice for an author setting out to popularize his name.

Not only did the choice of the commentator from im-

provised comedy contribute to the success of Vanity Fair but

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[65]Pierce Egan, Life in London; or, the Day and Night
Scenes of Jerry Hawthorne, Esq. and his elegant friend
Corinthian Tom accompanied by Bob Logic, the Oxonian, in
their Rambles and Sprees through the Metropolis (London,
1904), pp. 154-155.

also the very idea of commentary proved popular with the
mid-Victorian serial-reading audience. First of all, it
was the way novels were supposed to be. The special appeal
of the commentary for the middle-class Victorian audience
was its pedagogic quality. Thackerayean commentary was
extremely successful in this respect: "Thackeray takes his
reader by the hand and never stops directing his attention
to the point he is anxious to bring out, with almost the
same pedagogic persistence as Macaulay."[66] Ray suggests
a persuasive reason for the success in "conceivably the
very fact that his unsystematic mind found expression in
attitudes rather than in theories made his opinions the
more acceptable to his Victorian readers."[67] Ray also
believes that Thackeray's style of "relatively impersonal
realism"[68] ended with Barry Lyndon, and it seems to me that
in Vanity Fair, as in no other Thackeray novel or story,
there is attempted a closer personal relationship with the
reader. Perhaps it is that the narrator is more free with
his reactions in the novel than those before or after. Pen-
dennis, without the freedom of the persona of the stage
comedian, retreats again into a more impersonal relationship

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[66]Praz, p. 256.

[67]Gordon N. Ray, "Vanity Fair: One Version of the
Novelist's Responsibility," Essays by Divers Hands, being
the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, n.s.
XXV(1950), 96.

[68]Gordon N. Ray, The Buried Life (Cambridge, Mass.,
1952), p. 29.

of commentator and reader. Truth, for Thackeray, is a
"personal, individual thing, what Pater calls the writer's
sense of fact," according to Emerson Grant Sutcliffe: "And
so it involves that habit of preaching for which Thackeray
is either praised or damned, a habit absolutely necessary
to a person of his temperament with its thwarted bent toward
romanticism. Possessed of such a disposition, Thackeray
could not rest easy until the reader was acquainted with
everything, not only what had happened, but what Thackeray
thought about it. Only this was for him the complete
truth."[69] Preaching sold, and "Robert Louis Stevenson
wrote a story, Treasure Island, /which/ told a plain tale
neatly as . . . a tale should be told. But Treasure Island
cut (as they say) very little ice with the General Public."[70]
The novel provided that school of manners which its audience
was seeking, because "the author has taken the place of our
conscience, and the novel transformed by reflection, becomes
a school of manners."[71] In the nineteenth-century search
for order within disorientation, the novel provided a new
morality to substitute for lost established moralities.
Both Cervantes and Thackeray, says Ford Madox Ford, "had to

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[69]Emerson Grant Sutcliffe, "Thackeray's Romanticism,"
The South Atlantic Quarterly, XXI(1922), 316.

[70]Quiller-Couch, p. 142.

[71]H. A. Taine, History of English Literature, trans.
H. Van Laun (London, 1897), IV, 173.

attune /their/ satire to the pipe of a reacting church.

Fiction, in short, had to pay an always greater tribute to

morality as it escaped from being the mere servant of estab-

lished religion."[72]

Although the narrator of Vanity Fair contributes to

the success of the novel as an acceptable nineteenth-century

spokesman on morality--he is "in keeping with the moral

earnestness that mid-nineteenth-century Englishmen and

Americans were seeking"[73]--he also seems to have made the

contribution because of his position as a truth-speaker.

The romantic revolution had already established the ability

of "fantastic humor" to speak truth. George Sand recognized

that ability in the impromptu comedy: "The commedia dell'

arte is not only a study of the grotesque and facetious

. . . but also a portrayal of real characters traced from

remote antiquity down to the present day, in an uninterrup-

ted tradition of fantastic humour which is in essence quite

serious and, one might almost say, even sad, like every

satire which lays bare the spiritual poverty of mankind."[74]

Carlyle defined the place of humor in the Victorian context

--"/he/ identified humor with genius, wit with talent" and

"being now essential, god-like, all-inclusive, 'the finest

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[72]Ford, p. 54.

[73]Dudley Flamm, Thackeray's Critics: An Annotated
Bibliography of British and American Criticism 1836-1901
(Chapel Hill, 1967), p. 9.

[74]Duchartre, p. 17.

perfection of the poetic genius.'"[75] Standing outside all
established social relationships, Clown could well speak
unstintingly what he saw as the truth. His traditional mor-
al obligation to criticize wrong made that truth a moral
truth, and as an objective spokesman for moral truth, Clown
was fitted as no other spokesman to the Victorian milieu.
His audience accepted him for selfish reasons too: "In
1846 the wave of revolution which broke over Europe two
years later was already gathering force and volume. Democ-
racy, if not fashionable, was popular. There were thousands
of Britons eager to see the follies and vulgarities of the
great world exposed."[76] If middle-class follies were
exposed in Vanity Fair, so were the follies of "the great
world," and by the perverse quirks of the human mind, in
the mutual exposure the audience found the social acceptance
it eagerly sought.

Despite his remarkable appropriateness as a nineteenth-
century commenting persona, Clown seems to have little in-
fluence upon subsequent literature. No really important
novelist seems to have recognized his potential, primarily
because so much criticism and misunderstanding focused on
his supposed cynicism. Times soo changed, too. The
growing interest in naturalism on the continent and the

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[75]Tave, pp. 220, 240.

[76]Whibley, p. 76.

·literary criticism and novels of Henry James spelled the end to conspicuous romantic self-display as well as to obtrusive commentary. Meredith's Comic Muse seems to act symbolically: "taking a glance at the others of her late company of actors, she compresses her lips."[77]

One of the early novelists to recognize the potential which Clown stands for was Charlotte Bronte, who dedicated the second edition of Jane Eyre to Thackeray in December of 1847:

> There is a man in our own days 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 came before the throned 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 daring. Is the satirist of Vanity Fair admired in high places? I cannot tell; but I think if some of those amongst whom he hurls 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.
> Why have I alluded to this man? I have alluded to him, Reader, because I think I see in him an intellect profounder and more unique than his contemporaries have yet recognised; because I regard him as the first social regenerator of the day--as the very master of that working corps who would restore to restitude the warped system of things; because I think no commentator on his writings has yet found the comparison that suits him, the terms which rightly characterize his talent.[78]

In the satirist of Vanity Fair there was indeed an "intellect profounder and more unique" than that of any of his contemporary novelists as well as that of the average con-

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[77]George Meredith, The Egoist, ed. Lionel Stevenson (Boston, 1958), p. 423.

[78]Charlotte Bronte, Jane Eyre (New York, 1960), pp. vi-viii.

temporary reader. Only the novels which criticized the

social ills of the workhouse and the street approached the

depth of social criticism which he attempted. It was not

a mere superficial criticism of manners but instead a probing

of the serious moral consequences of superficial behavior.

Kathleen Tillotson correctly assigns the serious content

to the narrator's passages: "The characters, the best as

well as the worst, are almost without ideas; the intellectual

atmosphere of the novel is provided by the commentary."[79]

The narrator of Vanity Fair seems to have been a progenetor

of the interest in philosophy and in morality in the novel

subsequent to it. The irony which the novel, with its

major theme of exploring appearance and reality, potentially

contained deepened from superficial social irony to elegaic,

cosmic irony. Geoffrey Tillotson ascribes George Eliot's

mixing of philosophy with narrative to her admiration for

Thackeray; he ascribes to Thackeray James's interest in

"how piquant a subject lies in the woman who does not defeat

or outrage our moral judgment--moral in the widest sense--

so much as baffle it with the aesthetic fascination of the

changes on the surface."[80] It is the narrator of Vanity

Fair who first becomes aware of that subject. Geoffrey

Tillotson also points out James's debt to the Thackeray

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[79]Kathleen Tillotson, p. 253.

[80]Geoffrey Tillotson, p. 298.

canon for the persona of "the frustrated middle-aged male"
which Lionel Trilling traces through nineteenth- and twen-
tieth-century literature as "the defeated hero"(299).
Thackeray's contribution to the novel of ideas and the
stream of consciousness novel is obvious. The narrator
of <u>Vanity Fair</u> is the first persona in the Thackeray canon
in which there is serious exploration of self and of ideas,
because his is the first personality which is touched by
the ideas of reflectiveness and geniune melancholy which
his search for the truth brings him to. Ray believes that
one of Thackeray's drawing cards was that he made his
readers feel: "His fiction performed for many of them the
same service that Wordsworth's poetry performed for John
Stuart Mill and Matthew Arnold, it loosed their hearts in
tears and made them feel."[81] There seem to be two reasons
for the effect. First of all, the novel manages the im-
pression that it is the record of a reflecting soul laid
bare in moments of both levity and sorrow. Such a record
creates a very close subjective relationship between the.
reader and the narrator: "Told as they are openly in his
person," says Cecil, "the scenes of the story are inevitably
steeped in the mood with which he regarded life in general
and them in particular."[82] The narrator's reflectiveness

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[81]Ray, "Buried," p. 5

[82]Cecil, p. 81.

both piques and sates the reader's curiosity, but either
way his own reflectiveness is constantly involved: "Around
any dramatic incident in his narrative Thackeray will search
tirelessly to explore its repercussions in the minds and
sentiments of his characters."[83] The narrator is the center
of consciousness for the events as well as the moral truths
behind them. This has been called rather accurately "the
process of organizing the world by the narrator."[84] The
consciousness in the book unravels his own conscience by
the method which has been called variously the armchair
method, a reminiscential vision, and annotation. Cecil
and Dodds represent the armchair proponents. "He tells us
the story," Cecil says, "as he might tell it if he was
sitting talking to us in his armchair; it is thus easy for
him to cover a great deal of ground; he does not need a
set theater, he acts the parts himself, and when his point
is made he can shift the scene without any further assist-
ance than he can supply with his own voice. This method
not only makes it easy for him to control his material, to
move his puppets about, but it also helps him to solve his
artistic problem, to impose a unity of tone on a heterogene-
ous subject matter."[85] Dodds points out the pitfall in the

83Lester, p. 399.

84Wilkinson, p. 370.

85Cecil, p. 78.

armchair method: "This method is of course the seemingly casual, chatty soliloquizing of a man sitting in his armchair by the fireside and telling a story. It is of all narrative manners the most flexible, but also the one most likely to lead into windy digression."[86] Taube explains the reminiscential vision: "There is a particular tone of pastness, of reminiscence, of disengagement. While it is true that novels are generally written in the past tense, there is in Thackeray's novels a tone that is decidedly and peculiarly different from the fact of the past tense. It is a tone of pastness and dissociation. It is a tone of memory, of finished action, which leads G. K. Chesterton to call Thackeray 'everybody's past . . . everybody's youth.'"[87] And Greig defines annotation: "He had a _daimon_, to whom every now and then he surrendered his discursive mind. Unfortunately, he did not trust his _daimon_ often enough. He was always prone to withdraw from his imagined world, and start discoursing on it from without."[88] It is perhaps more accurately "a kind of dramatic monologue"[89] or a discursive soliloquy.[90] That method has been taken up

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86Dodds, "Critical Portrait," p. 120.

87Taube, p. 247.

88Greig, p. 73.

89Wilkinson, p. 383.

90Lubbock, p. 96.

by later nineteenth- and twentieth-century novelists as a
type of epiphanic novel in which the artist figure either
delivers the novel as a complex and lengthy soliloquy or
becomes a participant in the novel or becomes himself the
novel's main concern. Cary's Gulley Jimson is a soliloquiz-
ing artist-huckster:

> A sign, I thought. I'll try my old friend Coker. Must
> start somewhere. Coker, so I heard, was in trouble.
> But I was in trouble and people in trouble, they say,
> are more likely to give help to each other, than those
> who aren't. After all, it's not surprising, for people
> who help other people in trouble are likely soon to be
> in trouble themselves. And then, they are generally
> people too who enjoy the consolation of each other's
> troubles. Sympathetic people. Who'd rather see each
> other's tears, boo-hoo, than the smile of a millionaire,
> painted in butter on a barber's shave.[91]

Philip Quarles, in his own way, participates: "Philip
excused himself; he was only a writer of novels, not a
politician, not a journalist."[92] And Stephen Dedalus makes
himself the center of the artistic experience: "Welcome,
O life! I go to encounter for the millionth time the
reality of experience and to forge in the smithy of my soul
the uncreated conscience of my race."[93] It is no longer
necessary for the artist to wear a mask and stand at the

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[91]Joyce Cary, The Horse's Mouth (New York, n.d.), pp.
1-2.

[92]Aldous Huxley, Point Counter Point (New York, n.d.),
p. 71.

[93]James Joyce, A Portrait of the Artist as a Young
Man (New York, 1956), p. 253.

side of the stage. The descendants of <u>Vanity Fair</u>'s Clown

have managed for themselves a place at the center.

David Cecil believes that Thackeray's achievement lay

in the use he makes of his powers of observation:

> Now its ignorances and vanities, its self-deceptions
> and self-absorptions, are far from making up the whole
> of human nature. But they are, it must be repeated,
> universal to it. They appear in some degree or other
> in every age, country, sex and character; moreover,
> there is not a human thought or activity in which they
> do not take some share; nothing anyone does or thinks,
> good, bad, or indifferent, is without some strand of
> human egotism interwoven into its texture. It is Thack-
> eray's first and characteristic achievement that by
> isolating and exhibiting these motives in all their
> ubiquitous and tortuous manifestations through the
> labyrinth of human conduct, he imposes a new unity and
> order on that chaotic human life which is the material
> of his art.[94]

"Labyrinthine" is a good descriptive word for <u>Vanity Fair</u>.

It took a certain kind of reader to cope with the Shandean

fictional maze. Not all mid-Victorians were up to it, and

neither is understanding the exclusive property of the mid-

twentieth century, unfortunately. It still takes a certain

kind of reader for <u>Vanity Fair</u>. The narrator of the novel,

because of his labyrinthine personality has not been under-

stood, and the final word has not yet been spoken. I sup-

pose for that reason he is in a large measure a failure as

a commentator: the comment does not necessarily illumine.

Part of the problem lay perhaps in the experimental quality

of the Clown-Moralist persona. Cecil recognizes that qual-

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[94]Cecil, p. 66.

ity and provides for it an analogy: "I have compared /Vic-

torian novels/ to the Elizabethan drama. And with intention.

For they have a great deal in common; each the first, ir-

resistable outcome of a new and major channel of literary

expression, vital and imaginative in the highest degree,

but inevitably stained by immaturity and inefficiency and

ignorance"(19-20). Thackeray seemed to have recognized

the inappropriateness of unreal speakers for a philosophy

of truth. In order to establish his own identity as a

writer, he had to break away from what was considered pop-

ular at the time, and the axe fell ʒuite naturally upon

Dickens:

> I think Mr. Dickens has in many things ʒuite a divine
> genius so to speak, and certain notes in his song are
> so delightful and admirable, that I should never think
> of trying to imitate him, only to hold my tongue and
> admire him. I quarrel with his Art in many respects:
> wh. I don't think represents Nature duly; for instance,
> Micawber appears to me an exaggeration of a man, as
> his name is of a name. It is delightful and makes me
> laugh: but it is no more a real man than my friend
> Punch is: and in so far I protest against him . . .
> holding that the Art of Novels is to represent Nature:
> to convey as strongly as possible the sentiment of
> reality--in tragedy or a poem or a lofty drama you aim
> at producing different emotions; the figures moving,
> and their words sounding, heroically: but in a drawing-
> room drama a coat is a coat and a poker a poker; and
> must be nothing else according to my ethics, not an
> embroidered tunic, nor a great red-hot instrument like
> the Pantomime weapon.[95]

Punch may not have been real, but in a work in which one is

kept aware that the speaker is a Punch performer speaking

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[95]Letters, II, 772-773.

Punch, the illusion of reality is still intense. The Punch

performer is not a puppet-master manipulating puppets; he

is a live actor in a stage comedy speaking truth through the

mask of his role. The point of view managed by the tech-

nique of the man inside the mask opened new perspectives for

the novel. After the narrator of Vanity Fair, Victorian

novelists were able to move away from epic detachment toward

their material and from the epic purpose of documenting and

reforming manners. The artist himself began to move into

the novel in order to make it possible to present life in

its full complexity. The Clown-Moralist is the first com-

mentator-narrator-artist figure who can express a full range

of human responses: "Our awareness of these cross-currents

is beautifully stage-managed; and represents one of Thack-

eray's most interesting challenges to ourselves. The mate-

rial for censoriousness is offered in abundance, but is

censoriousness the most human response we can make? Not,

surely, if we think of life as it is, with all its perver-

sities; with all its intolerable perplexities and burdens,

especially for the lonely and weak."[96] As he undergoes the

experiences in the novel, his world view changes because of

his own perceptions about things: "By degrees the interest

widens and deepens. A whole group of personages is taken

in, and their fortunes are linked together; the comedy

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[96]Dyson, p. 25.

darkens into tragedy, the satire grows more and more
thoughtful and intense, and a book, apparently begun as
one of mere amusement closes leaving its reader a livelong
theme for emotion and meditation."[97] The book, then, is in
a sense a geniune bildungsroman for the comic artist. In
it the Clown-Moralist learns to handle real complexities
in a subjective way without losing objectivity. He begins
as the traditional English scourge of folly, the scourge
chastened by Augustan reserve. From this position, the
narrator explores both the Chaucerian strain of English
humor, in which one can be sympathetic with folly even
though it is finally morally wrong, and the Jonsonian strain,
in which folly is always both morally and intellectually
dead wrong. From the exploration's saddening effects upon
him, he arrives at understanding folly as a purgatorial
process toward truth. Becky, perhaps, and both Dobbin and
Emmy, for certain, are conscious that they have reached the
truth their vanities have brought them to, whatever her
other thoughts about it, at the end of the novel. Emmy
knows that she is second-rate: Dobbin is fonder of his
projected history than of her. Dobbin is trapped by the
vanity of his foolish love into carrying out its motions
for the rest of his life. Yet there seems to be something
left. Perhaps it is a mature love; perhaps it is a chas-

[97]James Hannay, Studies on Thackeray (London, n.d.),
p. 20.

tened love purged of vanities. Ironic it is, but somehow

all of them--Dobbin, Emmy, Becky, and the Clown-Moralist--

have learned something. Somehow the scourge of villany has

grown into the teller of the history of what life is not

telling him. "Even critics who think it bad art for an

author to obtrude his personality must admit," says Brownell,

"that the evil is lessened in proportion to the interest of

the personality so obtruded."[98] The success of the narrator

of Vanity Fair is that when one is reading accurately, it

is extremely difficult not to notice and to become increas-

ingly drawn up by the unfolding bildungsroman of the Clown-

Moralist. Unfortunately, Thackeray was never to do it

again: his success "was as sudden as it was unrepeat-

able."[99] After he had gone through the purgatorial process,

Thackeray was not able again to find its intensity in a

spokesman. At the end of Vanity Fair, the commentator's

role was memoirist, and it is that role which Pendennis

and the other narrators of the later novels must play. The

elegaic predominates entirely, and self-dramatizing is not

really necessary for elegy. The "decline and fall" of

Thackeray's artistic drama had set in especially hard on

him; others have managed to retain the sense of the maturing

process better. His comic vision seemed to have turned more

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[98]Brownell, p. 16.

[99]Lawrence Brander, Thackeray (London, 1959), p. 19.

and more melancholy after its conversional experience, and
although the role of jester is still with him at the very
end, he seems to remind one more of the Pierrot with the
single tear: "We may hear of LOVEL MARRIED some other day,
but here is an end of LOVEL THE WIDOWER. Valete et plaudite
you good people, who have witnessed the little comedy. Down
with the curtain; cover up the boxes; pop out the gas-lights.
Ho! cab! Take us home, and let us have some tea, and go to
bed. Good-night, my little players. We have been merry
together, and we part with soft hearts and somewhat rueful
countenances, don't we?" (XII, 163) The important thing
is, however, that the narrator of Vanity Fair saw his role
as Fool and that he made Fool respectable as a serious
artist: "Thackeray, from the beginning of his life until
the end, consistently and seriously preached a gospel. His
gospel . . . was the philosophy of the beauty and the glory
of fools. He believed as profoundly as St. Paul that in
the ultimate realm of essential values God made the foolish
things of the earth to confound the wise. . . . We may,
without any affected paradox, but with rather serious re-
spect, sum up Thackeray's view of life by saying that amid
all the heroes and geniuses he saw only one thing worth
being--a fool."[100] There is a gain in stature for the
narrator of novels. He no longer has to be a fool or a

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[100]G. K. Chesterton and Lewis Melville (Lewis Saul
Benjamin), Thackeray (London, 1903), pp. 7-8.

rogue or an outsider. He may be foolish and vain, but after
<u>Vanity Fair</u>, he can also be humbly truthful about the vanity
of the world: "In other words, since circumstances had
forced on Thackeray the need of wearing a mask, he was now
willing to grant that other men too had a right to wear
one."[101] By assuming personally the mask, the narrator
finds the truth behind other men's masks. He gains in
stature also by accepting sympathetically the truth he
finds there, for "only figures of some heroism attempt to
gainsay an unpalatable truth, and appeal from it to another,
a higher."[102] Fool's traditional role has been heroically
anti-heroic since the beginning: by challenging the order
or by creating disorder, he proves the order he defies.
Wolfgang Zucker describes the disrepute in which masquer-
ading was held in the nineteenth century. Within such an
atmosphere, there was really no place for the clown after
Diderot's call for social reality:

> Only with /easily recognizable social roles and pro-
> fessions/ could the spectator identify himself, and only
> from them could he learn the moral lesson. . . . The
> clown was banned from the stage; instead the artist
> himself was directed into the existence and position of
> the clown. Now the reservations of the Left Bank,
> Chelsea, and Schwabing were created, and there the
> artist was expected to live as a colorful bohemian, com-
> parable to the pearl-studded gypsies who are permitted

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[101]Ennis, p. 219.

[102]Frazer, p. 147.

to tell fortunes on the English race courses.[103]

The problem was that Clown had no defined social role. But

at least two new channels of expression opened up for Clown:

> Renan's "Caliban" and Leoncavallo's "Pagliacci" ex-
> pressed clearly what the clown was supposed to be in
> that age. It seems that the century of the victorious
> Third Estate simply could not suffer an image without
> definition of its social role. Thus Renan, quite in
> conformance with Comte's universal historical scheme,
> made out of the clown the man who has conquered mythol-
> ogy and metaphysics and become a positive philosopher.
> Leoncavallo on the other hand offered an even deadlier
> interpretation. For him . . . the clown had become the
> hero of an individualistic novel, a character with a
> private life full of tragedy, passion, and sentimental-
> ity. Clowning was the incidental profession of a man
> with whom the spectator could identify himself, and his
> grotesque costume was only a self-denying disguise,
> under which brave hearts beat passionately for women,
> children, or professional success. With this develop-
> ment the clown ceased to be comical. He now became
> psychological and tragic. (315)

In the Master of the Performance speaking as Clown-Moralist

growing from scourge of villainy to historian of irony,

Thackeray found a _mythos_ for the Victorian comic artist.

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[103]Wolfgang M. Zucker, "The Image of the Clown,"
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