Soldiers’ Pay:
The Outgrowth of a Lyric Poet

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For the attentive reader of Faulkner, the year 1926 is quite important for both social and personal reasons. When Soldiers’ Pay appeared as William Faulkner’s first novel, Earnest Hemingway also published The Sun Also Rises. Edward Estlin Cummings’ first book, The Enormous Room (q.v., 1922) was also based on his experience in France during World War I. These novels fully show the literary climate of the time of post-World War I in America. Personally, as a number of critics have remarked, Soldiers’ Pay presents the very early steps of the writer’s literary apprenticeship toward his more mature, later works to follow and his earliest predisposition in narrative toward the power of woman in the world. In Carvel Collins’ opinion, Faulkner employs Cabell’s popular theme because of his troubled relationship with Helen Baird: he was more attracted to her than she to him, and he was finding that frustration painful.

Possibly, for a few years before the publication of the novel, Faulkner had been groping from lyric poetry to narrative form, which undoubtedly makes him outstanding and outdistancing other novelists. It may be safe to say that many writers are likely to start their literary careers as short story writers. In Faulkner’s case, however, ‘it bears the mark of an author whose affinities are with painting, sculpture, and lyric poetry.’ According to J. L. Sensibar his poetry, when placed in the context of his life, provides new insights concerning the formal style and thematic concerns of his novels, especially those
novels that directly followed his long apprenticeship to poetry. G. L. Stonum also observes the writer in general as follows:

He learns to write, among other ways, by reading what others have written, and he perhaps learns also in the process something more concrete about what one may hope to achieve by writing. The lazy or unsophisticated writer may learn only enough to repeat unawares the received formulas of his culture. The ambitious and skillful writer, we like to think, understands his situation better and writes with enough awareness and determination so as not to remain wholly the unwitting slave of the already written.

For Faulkner, it seems always that 'there's too much to be written about, that needs to be written about, that needs to be said, for one to have to resort to actual living figures, including himself. In Soldiers’ Pay he can be seen reflected in his male characters frequently, such as Julian Lowe, Donald Mahon, George Farr and even Januarious Jones as self-parody. Another practice in common is quoting from his previous works. The best example here may be the very lines with which the novel begins, quoted from A Green Bough. Also in his first two novels the nymphlike maiden of The Marble Faun wearing the image of slender populars, parallels with Cecily Saunders and Patricia Robyn. None of them carry any fertility symbol like Caddy who is also associated with trees. In Vision in Spring Pierott repeatedly says, “Play something else,” and the reader finds himself associating it with “Carry on, Joe” (204) Donald utters to Joe automatically in a semi-coma, being unconscious of any present or past.

Soldiers’ Pay opens with a scene in the train, where Mrs. Powers happens to see Donald Mahon who has been seriously injoured and decides to assist Joe Gillian to take him home in Georgia. Charlestown appears to react to the inevitable condition of the post war, divided into two parts. That is, one includes Margaret, Joe and Donald, and the other Jones, Cecily, Robert, Emmy, etc. Then the rector undoubtedly has the role of a bridge, though
quite inadequate, connecting the two parts. With the cacophonous relation to each other, 'even verbal communication ceases, for while death has become an integral part of the veteran's experience, it is, if not meaningless, then only a symbol of romance of "something true and grand and" for the non-combatants. 10) In the latter group, Janarious Jones, who invites himself to the rector's garden, plays the counterpart of Donald: at first glance he seems to be armed with almost all that Donald has lost, and yet both share something. They are motherless children, egoistic and indifferent to others, torn away from the past. Cecily and Emmy, with their own divergence, eventually become objects of Jones's amorous pursuit. Another disturbing figure is Robert Saunders, who just wants to see Donald's scar, which may well explain children's curiosity and admiration for fliers.

Although the main theme of the novel is the alienation of individuals separated from past and present, it is evident that Faulkner makes full use of the conclusion that is powerful enough to compensate for what he has presented in the novel. There Gilligan and the rector hear Negroes singing "Feed Thy Sheep, O Jesus. All the longing of mankind for a Oneness with Something, Somewhere" (226). A. F. Kinney observes that both Cecily and Margaret demean Donal himself, but it is his weakened condition that enables the Reverend Mahon, as well as Joe Gilligan, to grow in spiritual understanding. Thus Faulkner succeeds in reconciling an ideal with reality filled with 'the lack of harmony between the individual and his natural world.' 11) And the same tone of atonement is to be employed in the last section of The Sound and the Fury in a few years as his challenges and development of the principle shown in Soldiers' Pay and Mosquitoes.

The novel as form consists of nine chapters, and Julian Lowe's letters to Margaret Powers are inserted in chronological order. Interestingly, as time goes, his letters become shorter and less enthusiastic toward her. The device of weaving plots into a novel employed here is to be developed strikingly in Faulkner's later works, such as Light in August, The Wild Palms, etc. Apparently the role of Julian's letters is to 'provide a clue to the unifying theme of the novel.' 12) According to Volpe, his letters express the feeling
shared by all the characters in the story. Both his wishful thinking and frustrated mind are well expressed as follows:

Raising his hand he felt his own undamaged brow. No scar there. Near him upon a chair was his hat severed by a white band, upon the table the other man’s cap with its cloth crown sloping backward from a bronze initialed crest.

He tasted his sour mouth, knowing his troubled stomach. To have been him! he moaned. Just to be him. Let him take this sound body of mine! Let him take it. To have got wings on my breast, to have wings; and to have got his scar, too, I would take death tomorrow (38).

Julian Lowe, bitter and unsatisfied, regards his world with a yellow and disgruntled eye. He hates “the sorry jade, Circumstance” for robbing him of his chance at glory, and envies all heroes, even those dreadfully scarred like Mahon. And D. Minter suggests that Faulkner had suffered no wounds nor had he received any decorations or commendations like Julian.

With Donal Mahon the theme of predetermination prevails throughout the novel. He is helpless at the mercy of compassionate people such as Joe Gilligan and Margaret. It is inevitable for him to move toward the fate. Also Faulkner makes Donald Mahon an adequate explanation of heroism in war that means a spiritual death. “That’s it. The courage, the recklessness, call it what you will, is the flash, the instant of sublimation; then flick! the old darkness again.” Donald’s wounds transform him into a mere spiritless being, a shadow of himself, with “his face, young, yet old as the world beneath the dreadful scar” (25). His scarred brow makes a great display of the difference between the past and the present, in which one of Faulkner’s major themes, time, is presented as A. Bleikasten remarks.

Donald is only the empty shell of a man, a living corpse with neither past nor present, imprisoned in a timeless limbo from which there is no return to life and no escape into death. Deliverance is denied him as long as he has not recovered his memory, that is, consciousness of his identity.
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Only when the elusive past is eventually recaptured as he remembers his encounter with the enemy plane does death become a possibility again. Then at last, the past having been reunited for a fleeting moment to the present, Donald again has a future, even though, ironically, it is a future of nothingness. Time and memory, consciousness and identity: Faulkner's readers will recognize here the nucleus of later thematic developments.

Deprived of the memory of the past, Donald only repeats in his egoism and indifference to the world around him, "Carry on Joe."

J. L. Sensibar puts emphasis on some affinities between Donald and Pierrot, who are both wounded in sensory organs. Donald, compared to a gull lonely and remote, tries to defend himself against the attack by German planes. But, she continues, just as Pierrot, trapped in his cold, empty world, he is punished for trying to fly and to make his own music. As she remarks, Donald may be completely disabled like Pierrot, never to sing or fly, nor can control his actions, whereas Michel Gresset reminds the reader of the way Faulkner has treated Donald with a humane touch, which is to be seen repeatedly in his later characters, such as Harry in The Wild Palms, Christmas in Light in August, Mink in The Mansion, etc.

A tragic dignity is for certain bestowed upon him in extremes, so that he does not die like a run-over dog, without being conscious of "imminent nothingness." The advent of dignity takes place in the scene in which Donald recalls the air battle which results in his being wounded beyond repair. The scene ends with these words: "He knew sight again and imminent nothingness more profound than any yet, while evening, like a ship with twilight-colored sails, drew down the world, putting calmly out to an immeasurable sea. 'That's how it happened,' he said, staring at him" (245).

In Section 8 of Chapter 8, the rector responds to Donald while Gilligan and Margaret attribute the sign from him to his dream, insisting of nothing heard.
However, far from the marionette image, Donald recovers his consciousness. "And suddenly he found that he was passing from the dark world in which he had lived for a time he could not remember, again into a day that had long passed, that had already been spent by those who lived and wept and died, and so remembering it, this was his alone: the one trophy he had reft from Time and Space. *Per ardua ad astra*" (243). This explains that after all there is a limitation in compassion and goodwill Gilligan and Margaret extend to him and that the rector, who has been described as a spectator confined himself to his flower garden, becomes an active participant on the stage. He understands his son better than anybody else, and his son also responds to it, staring at him. Upon the rector Faulkner has bestowed a very positive, strategic move toward the last scene, where 'there was not even a voice but instead their hearts were speaking to one another in chanting measures beyond the need for words.'

By juxtaposing Januarious Jones with Donald, Faulkner presents us both the differences and the similarities between the two. To begin with, M. Millgate focuses on Donald's pre-war activities similar to Jones's and on Jones in the final chapter where he 'eventually manages to substitute himself for Donald in Emmy's mind, unconsciously echoing the word which Donald had used in his earlier seduction.' Despite of that, the same critic puts emphasis on Faulkner's principal aim that is possibly 'to set off Mahon, the figure reprinting the terrible realities of war against the fantasy figure of Jones. In Charlestown, which looks like Jefferson in Faulkner's later works, he also shows his keen interest in the family structure and its dynamics. Donald Mahon is taken back to his home where his father waits for him. Even Cecily and Margaret are seen involved in the family theme. Jones, however, completely avoids Mahon, which explains one of his major characteristics revealed in his compassionless, egoistic, irresponsible attitude toward life.

He is completely indifferent to the sick man, even lacking the curiosity Robert Saunders has, climbing the fence by night in order to see Donald's scar. Jones's visiting the rector's garden and giving chase to Cecily and Emmy are 'quite independent of Donald Mahon's reappearance in Charles-
town.' Vickery draws our attention to the facts of Donald's complete passivity and of Jones's rampaging vitality and continues:

There is, however, at least a partial explanation for the equal attention given these two characters. They mirror in their own persons the separation of past and present and the alienation of individuals which is the underlying theme of the novel. Jones, who is a caricature of the civilian group, is wholly indifferent to the past, while Mahon in a semicomma is unconscious of any present. Communication between them is clearly impossible because of that dislocation in time and consciousness which Mahon's coma symbolizes.

He is indifferent not only to the past and history but to the present, the realities of life. At the luncheon "finding that the quest (Jones) knew practically nothing about money or crops or politics, Mr. Saunders soon let him be to gossip trivially with Mrs. Saunders" (181). (Italics mine) At the same table Robert asks Jones three times if he has been a soldier in the war. And he replies, "Sure, old fellow, I fought some." Jones, who has never seen the Statue of Liberty—even from behind, is not honest with a child, keeping his respectability. According to E. L. Volpe, who attributes Jones's manner to nature of civilians in general; namely, Jones ignores the realities of life and death which Joe Gilligan faces.

His yellow eyes are constantly compared to those of a goat and his attitude and his pipe remind us of an image of Pan. It is clear that Pierrot in Vision in Spring has been transformed to Jones: both are objects of ridicule. In the novel Jones plays a role of the trickster. Cecily's insight makes her tell him of his conduct. Knowing that he has scared her brother, she says to him, "But then you frighten lots of people, don't you?" His reply is "Sometimes that's the only way to get what you want from people" (182). By definition the trickster is likely to know more about evil deeds of his neighbors than any other people. But he often makes preposterous mistakes trying to reach his goal by taking advantage of his knowledge. Consequently, things may be
settled with fuss, and a false alarm, but never extended any further. And Jones can be categorized into this. As E. L. Volpe remarks, Jones reflects 'an image of a rootless, aimless, decadent generation pursuing sensation and empty dreams to escape boredom,' which is best expressed when Gilligan prevents him from climbing to Emmy's bedroom window. In the last chapter Gilligan says to Margaret, "Certainly he don't get all the women he wants. He has failed twice to my knowledge. But failure don't seem to worry him. That's what I mean lucky" (254). 'Symbols of the quest for self through nympholeptic visions (shadows, mirrors, immersions into dreamscapes through water and music), the sense of loneliness and impotence, and accounts of unfulfilled, thwarted, or unfulfillable desire permeate Faulkner's Vision.' Likewise, Faulkner is shortly to transform Jones's nympholeptic matter to Quentin Compson in The Sound and the Fury: one of the affinities remarkable between Jones and Quentin may be their involvement with the theme of time, always Faulkner's major concern throughout his literary career. In addition to it, both get aquainted with incidents relating to water.

In Soldiers' Pay the author presents "The antiphonal cry of the modern world" by juxtaposing Jones of an image of Pan with the rector whose God is Circumstances. Both Gods are dead. Is that world compatible with what Pieter Brueghel I wished to express in his Playing Children (1560)? It is questioned if the painter was truly satisfied with human beings as they were: the picture depicted to the viewer a group of lonely, isolated beings driven by a dark, demonic impulse. Koji Nakano has concluded that Brueghel's love consists of complicated elements and it cannot be a simple love of the realities of life. Cleanth Brooks analyzes Faulkner's view of the modern man and his world as follows:

I find nowhere in Faulkner the notion that man, if he would only know his true nature, could be at home and happy in the world, or any hint that the subtropical South was a kind of latter-day Garden of Eden in which men, had they not allowed their native ideas to be distorted, might have lived in any easy and harmonious rapport with nature. Faulkner's
men are not innocent in this sense. They are already fallen and alienated. In effect, then, Faulkner seems to accept the Christian doctrine of original sin. Men are condemned to prey upon nature.

The rector, Donald’s father, is also described as quite a limited character of despair in his domain; that is, his rose garden. There he seeks what is unattainable in his faith. However, making full use of this quiet character who is to be sublimed at the very last scene of Soldiers’ Pay, Faulkner leads us to his own interest in ‘fascination with the multiplicity of responses which mankind makes to common experience, with time, with language and action, and with man’s endeavor to define “himself” ’ revealed in Mosquitoes, The Sound and the Fury and elsewhere in his later works.

O. W. Vickery’s observation on the rector may leave some of his problems hidden and intact. He is a decent and gentle man with ‘balance and sanity’ who represents conventional Christianity. In the disillusioned world Gilligan and Margaret give assistance to not only Donald but also his father as good Samaritans, who do not belong to any religious groups. They are the ones who notice the rector’s disability to face the reality of life, the real condition of his dying son. In Section 4 of Chapter 3, when Mr. Saunders brings up the subject of Cecily’s engagement to Donald, the rector, immediately takes advantage of it and says, “Oh, yes, I was thinking of it myself. Do you know, I believe Cecily is the best medicine he can have?” (94) Mr. Saunders, sensing something must be done to mend this, argues with Margaret as follows:

“I don’t like this, he stated. “Why doesn’t someone tell him the truth about that boy?”

“Neither do I,” she answered. “But if they did, would he believe it? Did anyone have to tell you about him!”

“My God, no! Anybody could look at him. It made me sick. But, then, I’m chicken-livered, anyway,” he added with mirthless apology. “What did the doctor say about him?” (97)
When Mr. Saunders insists that "his father should be told," Margaret has a good explanation to it: she says, "I know, but who is to do it? Besides, he is bound to know some day, so why not let him believe as he wishes as long as he can? The shock will be no greater at one time than at another. And he is old... And Donald may recover, you know" (98).

Thus Margaret, acting on her own initiative, shows her acceptance of the limitation of life with her moral decision for the good of others and tries to manipulate 'her temporal household,' so to speak. In addition, David Williams sees polarities in the nature of women since 'this submission is often counterpointed by the refusal to submit to or by even the perversion of the natural sexual process... leading to the eruption of forces which deny and defeat life.' And Margaret is no exception. According to Enami, in India the goddess often appears not only as a gentle character but a scary one. That may be because from the time of her birth she symbolizes the whole movement of life that includes death. His comment upon original sin is a very traditional interpretation; that is, in the woman is an impulsive power to destroy herself, which dates from Eve in the Garden of Eden by whom Adam was tempted into 'man's first disobedience' to God.

This negative directivity in Margaret, independent of her will or goodwill, makes her give an warning to Gilligan toward the end of the novel: "Bless your heart, darling. If I married you you'd be dead in a year, Joe. All the men that marry me die, you know" (255). However, masculinized as she is, she is paralleled with a tree like Caddy. In description of trees as symbols used traditionally since prehistoric times, Mircea Eliade attributes it to the nature they possess. For example, generally speaking, some of the conspicuous characteristics of trees are that they are mostly upgrowing or perpendicular, that they are to grow, lose their leaves and that they finally germinate, comong to life again. Obviously Faulkner already knew of the duality in the nature of women before Soldiers' Pay, interpreting man's relation to women: 'man should beware of Experience as he should beware of all women, for with her or without her he will be miserable, but without her he will be not dangerous.' And under such circumstances he is obliged to have
an ethical choice of ‘with’ or ‘without’ her. And the reader may wonder if Gilligan’s choice was the right one for him, thinking of Cabell’s comment that to live unbefooleled by love is at best a shuffling and debt-dodging business.

Just as Caddy is associated with a fertility symbol of trees, flowers and water, but is not necessarily a life symbol, Margaret Powers is described in association with Beardsley’s drawings. He designed his works mainly in black and white. To Gilligan and Lowe, “she was dark. Had Gilligan and Lowe ever seen an Aubrey Beardsley, they would have known that Beardsley would have sickened for her: he had drawn her so often dressed in peacock hues, white and slim and depraves among meretricious trees and impossible marble fountains”(27). Regarding some reasons for Faulkner’s paralleling Margaret with the female figure in Beardsley’s drawings, I would like to introduce a few critics. Firstly, G. L. Stonum considers it as the novelist’s important method strongly image-based. He emphasizes that ‘Soldiers’s Pay’ practices an essentially decorative art, referring to the novelist’s affinities with painting, sculpture and lyric poetry. Secondly, L. W. Wagner attributes it to Margaret’s emotionally meined condition by the losses of war. More openly, by Bleikasten, ‘Margaret is a neurotic war widow,’ seeking ‘to assuage her sense of guilt through a sacrificial gesture.’

Of these critics, Wagner seems to be most sympathetic to Margaret, pointing out her instinctive understanding of human nature and disregarding for convention. Thus she prefigures many of Faulkner’s women, who know ineffectuality of words. In Chapter 7, Margaret says to Jones, who has not acquired next to no skill with women,” “Let me give you some advice,” and “the next time you try to seduce anyone, don’t do it with talk, with words. Women know more about words than men ever will. And they know how little they can ever possibly mean” (207).

Faulkner creates another female figure in close association with trees, especially slender populars. The nymphlike maiden appears in succession as Cecily Saunders in Soldiers’ Pay and Patricia Robyn in Mosquitoes. They are said to be representing Faulkner’s version of the modern young woman of the 1920’s. Referring to Cecily, who “is cool and pliant as a young tree,” M.
Millgate believes that 'Faulkner's presentation of Cecily as a kind of tree-spirit or wood-nymph raises some interesting questions. It may simply have been his intention to define her as a kind of wild thing, a creature not to be confined within established bounds, and certainly not within the limits represented by the Rector's deeply loved and carefully cultivated garden, itself an image of his withdrawal into illusion.'

George Farr, paralleling the Faun and Pierrot in *The Marionettes*, is a nervous youth created from the novelist's 'own discarded poetic persona.' In Section 3 of Chapter 6, the time "when the exodus from the picture show came along" is marked every thirty minutes from nine thirty to eleven thirty, which apparently harbingers some of the techniques applied to *The Sound and the Fury*. More important is that George and Quentin have much in common.

Like Pierrot, Quentin and Farr structure their lives by "False music." While apparently obsessed with actual time, they constantly try to obliterate it by drowning in the "false music" of their fantasies. Simultaneously they use time or fate as an excuse to abdicate responsibility for their actions.

One of the reasons why Charlestown seems to resemble Yoknapatawpha more than the stage of *Light in August* does may be due to the introduction of "the clock on the court house, staring its four bland faces across the town, like a kind and sleepless god, dropped eleven measured golden bells of sound" (195). Then we meet Schluss at the first time in Faulkner's work. He introduces himself on the train, "Schluss is my name. I got a swell line of ladies' underthings" (14). With these examples, it is obvious that Faulkner is already under the influence of Balzac's *Comédie Humaine*; namely, a kind of program that 'binds together individual texts into something like a continuous whole.' And Faulkner, like Balzac, has found his follower in Kenzaburo Oe, whose Yoknapatawpha is a small village in Shikoku, surrounded by woods named Ose-mura. Faulkner says:

> With *Soldiers' Pay* I found out writing was fun. But I found out after
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that not only each book had to have a design but the whole output or sum of an artist’s work had to have a design. With Soldiers’ Pay and Mosquitoes I wrote for the sake of writing because it was fun. Beginning with Sartoris I discovered that my own little postage stamp of native soil was worth writing about and that I would never live long enough to exhaust it, and by sublimating the actual into apocryphal I would have complete liberty to use whatever talent I might have to its absolute top. It opened up a gold mine of other peoples, so I created a cosmos of my own.

As he remarks, we are to see him perpetually reconstruct new designs out of old ones just as we have seen him reconstruct Soldiers’ Pay out of his previous interest.

Finally we will discuss another male character, who is not to reappear in Faulkner’s work whatever. If Donald Mahon is set off against Jones, Gilligan, too, opposes to the latter. In many ways there is constant antagonism between Gilligan and Jones. For example, Gilligan and Margaret have come to Charlestown all the way out of devotion to Donald. He says, “I know you and I tried to help nature make a good job out of a poor one without having no luck at it” (253), whereas he avoids meeting Donald. Gilligan is rather rustic and free from academism while Jones is irresponsible, amoral and artificial. M. Millgate considers Gilligan as Faulkner’s remarkably successful attempt and explains what that means: “Technically, too, it is remarkable that in this first novel Faulkner should have found his way to the technique of juxtaposition which, in a variety of forms, was to be central to so many of his major works,” Like Schluss, Gilligan, very neat, clean in his attire, is a man of wisdom. And it is appropreate that the rector and himself are invited to experience “all the longing of mankind for a Oneness with Something Somewhere.”

Since his early days Faulkner must have been fascinated with Black folk religion rather than Calvinism represented by harsh Simon McEachern. The former is compatible with celebratory worship while the latter’s concern is for
individual salvation. *The Unvanquished* and *The Sound and the Fury* present impressionable scenes concerning the Black religion in the South. And yet it does not necessarily mean that they may weaken the effect of the climactic event in *Soldiers' Pay* that involves Gilligan and the rector. Faulkner’s sympathies are not with institutional churches symbolized by the tall church tower but with unsophisticated folk religion. In *Soldiers’ Pay* Institutional Christianity, is a ruin malfunctioning, whereas Black religion in communities is ‘spontaneous, instinctive, close to nature.’ 

Brooks’ quotation from Hunt about a Christian Stoicism certainly helps us gain an insight into Faulkner’s religious world. The same critic also stresses the survival of ‘a kind of innocent pre-Christian paganism.’ And it is in that religion that the rector and Gilligan get mingled with the Black singing, ‘humankind’s umbilical link with the world and with others outside the self.’ 

Despite many critics’ downright criticism and the novelist’s indifference to the novel, we should not disregard possible clues to his novels to come scattered throughout the novel. Thematically, it contains many of the issues Faulkner shows his interest in through his literary career. They are like seeds with potentiality in them to be developed in various unexpected directions in the future work of his. Technically, the structure Faulkner employs here is to be transformed and reappear in later novels such as *The Sound and the Fury, As I Lay Daying, The Wild Palms*, etc. Likewise, the same characters are to reappear with different masks. All of these, echoing each other, are essential and responsible for the richness of Faulkner’s literature.

### Notes

4) Judith L. Sensibar, *The Origins of Faulkner’s Art* (Austin: University of
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5) G. L. Stonum, p. 22.


17) "Pierrot's Mutilation Fantasy and Donald Mahon's Fatal Wounding: From Poetry to the Prose of Soldiers' Pay," The Origin of Faulkner's Art, pp. 149-150.


19) David Williams, p. 11.


21) Olga W. Vickery, p. 2.

22) Ibid., p. 3.

23) Edmond L. Volpe, p. 53


29) David Williams, p. 13.


31) Ibid., p. 61.

33) Aubrey Vincent Beardsley’s influence was more prominent in Faulkner’s early work of poetry. For further study, see William Faulkner: *The Art of Stylization in his Early Graphic and Literary Work* by Lothar Hönnighausen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).


36) André Bleikasten, p. 17.

37) Michael Millgate, p. 63.

38) Judith L. Sensibar, pp. 161-162.

39) Gary Lee Stonum, p. 29.


41) Michael Millgate, p. 66.
