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Natalie Marie Whitaker

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**THE ESSENCE OF ENGLISH IDENTITY: GENDER'S ROLE IN THE
STABILITY OF THE NATION IN ENGLISH LITERATURE, FROM THE
ANGLO-SAXONS TO THE VICTORIANS**

A Masters Thesis

Presented to

The Graduate College of

Missouri State University

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts, English

By

Natalie M. Whitaker

December 2015

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ABSTRACT

This thesis, using Jungian analysis, investigates how the Anglo-Saxon poem *Beowulf*, William Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, and Charles Dickens's *David Copperfield* reflect the interdependent spheres of gender relationships that affected societal perceptions of English national identity and stability for over a thousand years. Historian Geoffrey Hindley writes, "the historical reality of an English identity grew out of the traditions of loyalty and lordship from the epic heritage of a pagan past embodied in the poem of *Beowulf* in a common vernacular tongue." In the three periods examined here, men and women had responsibilities in marriage that were defined by the societal ideals for their gender. The analyzed texts and historical contexts show how these images of interdependent relationships as a necessary part of a whole community, a unified state, became a facet of the cultural conscious. This study reveals how these Anglo-Saxon perceptions of gender ideals are important for understanding more recent English literature and history since they had long-term effects on the society, influencing in the English renaissance, and even the Victorian era and their perception of the public and private spheres.

KEYWORDS: Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Saxonism, *Beowulf*, *David Copperfield*, English National Identity, Gender Roles, Jungian Analysis of Literature, *Macbeth*

This abstract is approved as to form and content

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
Chapter One	4
Chapter Two.....	6
Chapter Three.....	7
 Chapter One: <i>Beowulf</i> and the Anglo-Saxon Foundations	9
Beowulf and Physical Strength	13
Women and Mental Strength	15
Lessons in Leadership.....	18
 Chapter Two: “Let the frame of things disjoint, both the worlds suffer”: Anglo-Saxonists and Identity in Renaissance England	26
The Saxonists	28
Gender Roles.....	31
<i>Macbeth</i>	36
 Chapter Three: “The True Anglo-Saxon Liking for Butter”: Charles Dickens and Victorian Anglo-Saxonism	46
Dickens and Anglo-Saxonism.....	48
The Public and Domestic Spheres	51
<i>David Copperfield</i>	55
 Conclusion	62
 Works Cited	65

INTRODUCTION

Every nationalist movement, according to the experts, involves a search for the “essence and inner virtues of the community” — a quest, that is, for the National Identity. Of all the aspects of nationalist intellectual activity, this is the one most central and most important. Hence for the historian trying to decipher the multifarious activity, this Identity, if he can make it out, furnishes a Rosetta stone, for it is the nebulous essence round which all else revolves.

— Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism* (123)

An assumption of readers of English literature is that it serves as a cultural and political expression of the nation at the time it was written, since “fictional narrative gives us an inside view of a society or nation” (Parrinder 1). While English nationalism’s development is often traced to the late eighteenth century (Newman 54), the earliest links between national identity and English literature may begin as early as the Anglo-Saxon period. Historian James Campbell claims, “Late Anglo-Saxon England was a nation state. It was an entity with an effective central authority, uniformly organized institutions, a national language, a national church, defined frontiers, and, above all, a strong sense of national identity” (10). Although this idea of national identity may not be the same as the modern nation-state that evolved in the eighteenth century,¹ the Anglo-Saxons did have a

¹ Gerald Newman writes about the rise of nationalism beginning with the reign of George III in the eighteenth century. He acknowledges there will be those who argue that he should have begun earlier, but that “I hope I may find some absolution on the simple plea that it is never easy to account full for movements essentially spiritual” (xxi). Linda Colley’s definition of nation also begins in the eighteenth century with the geographical and political fusion of the Act of Union (1707), and with the patriotism that developed over a century of wars. Colley notes, however, “Benedict Anderson’s admittedly loose, but for that reason invaluable definition of a nation as ‘an imagined political community’” (5) is helpful in not being too restrictive with the definition of nationalism. So, while scholars of English nationalism often begin with the eighteenth century movements of patriotism and unification, they still acknowledge that nationalism is a mental and spiritual construct whose historical origin is difficult to pinpoint.

definable identity, as the “Angelcynne” (the English people).² Campbell defends his claim with historical evidence, such as the Domesday accounts, Anglo-Saxon chronicles, minted currency, and legal writs. He asserts that these sources depict how people in Anglo-Saxon England identified as English, with freedoms and rights for both men and women, and a “disconcertingly modern” sense of individualism (26). Furthermore, this individualism did not conflict with state power but complimented it in a reciprocal relationship between the people and the authorities (30). Across cultures, such societal standards of behavior for the individual were created to protect the whole of society (Triandis and Gelfand 499). Within English literature, we see this relationship between the individual and the society depicted in the relationship between the idealized qualities of males and females and the nation’s well being.

Anglo-Saxon literature was rarely studied during the centuries following the Norman Conquest and prior to the English Reformation. In those intervening years, literary interests lay more with the romantic Arthurian tales and the pre-Anglo-Saxon British heritage of the island (Berkhout ix). However, by the sixteenth century, scholars were looking to Anglo-Saxon sources in an effort to define English identity (Brackmann 11; Lutz 1). Over the following centuries, this urge to define national identity through scholarly interpretations of Anglo-Saxon texts developed into the Anglo-Saxonism of the Victorian period. While scholars have examined the influence of Anglo-Saxon studies on English nationalism, they have yet to make a connection between national and gender identity (Adams; Brackmann; Lutz). Thus, in this thesis, I argue that during the Anglo-Saxon period and times of renewed interest in Anglo-Saxonism, notably the English

² This term is used multiple times in Anglo-Saxon texts, including the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles and King Alfred’s preface to Gregory’s Pastoral Care.

Renaissance and the Victorian periods, selected works of English literature, specifically *Beowulf* (c. 1000 AD), *Macbeth* (1606 AD), and *David Copperfield* (1849-1850 AD), depict similar patterns of gender role expectations that affected the fate of the nation.

In *Beowulf*, *Macbeth*, and *David Copperfield*, progress toward individuation is essential for stability within the society. For this particular study, I will use a psychological lens to examine how the literature depicts a building from Freud's theory of individual egos, which are viewable through a society's social roles formed by the typical childhood experiences, outward to Jung's theory of a cultural consciousness, which is made available to us through that culture's literature. *Individuation* involves the individual's ability to define the Self in respect to society—not realizing the Self as different from society but realizing the Self in relation to society. Individuation is a person's journey to assimilate the personal and collective unconscious into a unified whole. This assimilation is reflected in these English texts as the progress that defines the reciprocal relationships of marriage and leadership—both of which are depicted as necessary for a nation's longevity. Jung comments on this important connection between literature and psychology when he states, "Fantasy is the creative function – the living form is a result of fantasy.... We count upon fantasy to take us out of the impasse; for though people are not always eager to recognize the conflicts that are upsetting their lives, the dreams are always at work trying to tell... the creative fantasy that will lead the way out" (Jung 11). Jungian analysis is particularly helpful in this study because of the importance these texts place on the link between gendered responsibilities in marriage and leadership and the stability of the nation.

While the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were not familiar with *Beowulf*, Anglo-Saxonism influenced the literature and societies of both the English Renaissance and Victorian periods. In this study, I will first examine *Beowulf* through Jungian analysis of Anglo-Saxon depictions of gender models. These models are culturally unique patterns that demonstrate the essence of the society. These patterns are a part of the social consciousness, constructed and encouraged by the similar interest in Anglo-Saxon influence during these periods. Next, I will analyze *Macbeth* and *David Copperfield* in order to identify similar patterns that passed into the social conscious through the influence of Anglo-Saxonism. Below, I will summarize the main points and structure of the chapters.

Chapter One

Beowulf depicts, through models of male and female leaders, the idea that the individual and social identity must unite for individuation to occur. Shakespearean scholar Coppelia Kahn states,

Identity has two sides. One faces inward, to the core of the individual, to his own confidence in being uniquely himself, and in the consistency and stability of his self-image through space and time. The other looks outward, to his society; it rests on his confidence in being recognized by others as himself, and on his ability to unify his self-image with a social role (3).

This self-image of the individual relates to social expectations and gender roles. In Chapter One, I will use a psychological approach to demonstrate how *Beowulf* depicts Anglo-Saxon ideals concerning gender roles. I will focus on analyzing how gender identity affected the culture and thus likely had far-reaching effects in the larger sphere of Jungian individuation. Analysis of the text's structural binaries of men and women

reveals underlying neuroses that upset the functions and balance (discovery of a unified self and individuation) the culture believed necessary for a leader to be individuated and the community to be whole. For this study, *Beowulf's* significance resides in its depictions of society and images of ideal leaders, men, and women. I argue that depictions of gender roles in *Beowulf* are important to the definition of individual and community identity. If individuals did not act according to their roles, then the community could not be unified and would fail. This belief is related to the social code of *comitatus*, the Germanic reciprocal relationship between lord and thane. The hierarchical and yet interdependent *Comitatus* first occurs in Tacitus' first century work *Germania* and appears as a central facet of early English national identity in Anglo-Saxon literature.

Historian Geoffrey Hindley writes of the connection between social relationships and English identity, "the historical reality of an English identity grew out of the traditions of loyalty and lordship from the epic heritage of a pagan past embodied in the poem of *Beowulf* in a common vernacular tongue" (xxxix). Resembling the *comitatus* relationship, the female and male were also interdependent. In *comitatus*, a thane owed allegiance and duty to his liege lord, but to earn and maintain this allegiance, a lord was responsible also to protect and provide for his thanes. This idea of reciprocal relationships extended to the domestic sphere of men and women where they each held particular responsibilities in the marriage that were defined by the societal ideals for their gender. These images of interdependent relationships as a necessary part of a unified and stable community became a facet of the cultural conscious. Just as the hierarchy of lord and thane remained, the same system could be said of the marriage relationship, yet for both,

there were acknowledged interdependent roles in these relationships that complicate the typical perception of them only being hierarchical relationships.

Chapter Two

In Chapter Two, I will look at the use and influence of Anglo-Saxon texts in sixteenth and seventeenth century England. I will discuss some of the Elizabethan scholarly work that used Anglo-Saxon texts. Examination of Anglo-Saxon texts began during the English Reformation by religious scholars including Archbishop of Canterbury Matthew Parker, and later with secular scholars including Laurence Nowell, who was in service to Elizabeth I's statesmen William Cecil, and William Lambarde, who was trained in law and a protégé of Nowell. These Anglo-Saxonists demonstrate a conscious effort to root English national identity in the Anglo-Saxon past.

I will also discuss texts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that debate gender perceptions. Through much of the sixteenth century, the rulers of England and Scotland were female, which upset traditional conceptions of gender roles and likely had an effect on masculine identity because of the belief that the father and husband's power paralleled the King's power (Kahn 13). As a result, the gender pamphlet wars of the early seventeenth century reveal much of the turmoil that both genders experienced during the period. Finally, I will analyze Shakespeare's *Macbeth* through a Jungian lens to see how these matters of gender and nationhood may have been reproduced in the popular literature.

Chapter Three

Peter Ackroyd writes that the Victorian period combined a revival of the past alongside progress to create a feeling of stability, despite the multitude of social changes: “The close association with medievalism also provided an image of organic unity, of a civilization established upon firm religious and cultural principles, in a period when every aspect of society was being called into doubt” (261). While scholarly interest in the Anglo-Saxons evolved in the Elizabethan period, both scholarly and popular interest intensified in the nineteenth century within this medievalism movement. In Chapter Three, I will examine the influence of Anglo-Saxonism in the Victorian period, focusing specifically on Charles Dickens’s view of England and his novel *David Copperfield*.

David Copperfield suggests that, again at a time of heightened Anglo-Saxonism, a similar pattern develops in the text that depicts the need for an interdependent relationship between male and female in order for the nation to prosper. The Victorian period experienced many social changes that challenged traditional gender arrangements; texts such as Coventry Patmore’s “The Angel in the House” (1862) and John Ruskins’s “Of Queens’ Gardens” (1865) were contributions to the debate around “The Woman Question.” In *David Copperfield*, Dickens depicts the need for interdependent relationships and how they create stabilization and are necessary for a strong family; the proliferation of family appears to represent the future and stability of the nation. For David, his own journey of individuation is halted by his marriage to a partner who he realizes is not a counselor, can not share his burden, and is not his equal in character or purpose (653–54). Once he is married to a woman who does embody the Anglo-Saxon

characteristics of good counsel, diplomacy, and foresight, his individuation continues, and he is able to have a family.

Several canonical texts from across a thousand years of English literature, *Beowulf*, *Macbeth*, and *David Copperfield*, depict similar patterns of gender role expectations in relation to the fate of the nation. Analyses of these texts may show how these patterns are related to the interest in Anglo-Saxon literature and culture since they were written during the Anglo-Saxon period or at a time of heightened Anglo-Saxonism. By analyzing *Beowulf*, patterns of comparable constructions in later popular English literature emerge and suggest how some authors envisioned gender roles as a significant facet of the nation. These patterns exist in the literature despite the centuries between: “the heroic world is that past world on which the present is founded, and which informs or is re-embodied or emulated by the present” (Considine 7). By looking at these periods, their texts, and the influence of Anglo-Saxon writings we catch a glimpse of the connections members of the culture made between ideals of gender and the nation.

CHAPTER ONE

BEOWULF AND THE ANGLO-SAXON FOUNDATION

Forðy me ðyncð betre... ðæt we eac sume bec, ða ðe niedbeðearfosta sien eallum monnum to wiotonne, ðæt we ða on ðæt geðiode wenden ðe we ealle gecnawan... ðæt eall sio gioguð ðe nu is on Angelcynne friora monna, ðara ðe ða speda hæbben ðæt hie ðæm befeolan mægen, sien to liornunga oðfæste....

It appears better to me... that certain books that are necessary for all men to know, we translate into that language that we all understand... so that all the youth of free men now in England, who have the opportunity to apply themselves to it, are set to learning....

— Alfred's Preface to Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Care*

Through most of the early centuries of the Anglo-Saxon period, England was divided into several kingdoms. In the late ninth century, Alfred, the King of the West Saxons proclaimed himself ruler of all Anglo-Saxons. A rise in documented reference to the English as belonging to a single nation appears during and after Alfred's reign. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, Alfred succeeded in unifying the people under his rule: when Alfred occupied London, "him all Angelcyn to cirde" [to him all the English people turned] (MS A, Batley 886). Furthermore, Alfred initiated a vernacular literacy campaign that also provided a unified identity through language. Alfred, in his preface to the English translation of Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, explains his belief that these books provided information all men of the "Angelcynne" (English people) should know in order to be educated. This preface is possibly the earliest time English was officially given the power to transmit ideas and education previously reserved for Latin and the Church. Alfred's role in constructing a unified English identity is noted in

an *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* record of his death in 900 A.D.: “Se wæs cyning ofer eall Ongelcyn butan ðæm dæle þe under Dena onwalde wæs” [He was king over *all* the English race except that portion which was under Danish possession] (MS A, Bately).

Because of this simultaneous interest in literacy and unifying the English identity during the later Anglo-Saxon period, analyzing patterns in the Anglo-Saxon texts is useful in understanding what they sought to teach society through literature. The Anglo-Saxon poem *Beowulf* models standards of behavior that the Anglo-Saxons believed preserved their society. John D. Niles states that it is best not to confine the poem to myth or history, but rather to “identify the poem as a ‘mythistory’ that confirmed a set of values among the Anglo-Saxons by connecting their current world to a fabulous ancestral past” (213). I argue that *Beowulf* contains examples of this set of values meant to show how individuals should act within their genders for the good of the nation.

Studies of *Beowulf*'s historical and mythological origins propose that the somber end of the poem may be tied to the Norse beliefs in Ragnarok,³ or to the destruction of the Geats (Niles 220, 227). Scholars of the *Beowulf* manuscript often date it to the early eleventh century (Kiernan 13–14), a period that saw complex conflicts in England between Danes and Anglo-Saxons. One result of these conflicts was England falling under the rule of the Scandinavian king, Canute, after the overthrow of the Anglo-Saxon king Æthelred. At a time of such socio-political conflict, *Beowulf* is a cautionary tale. If they were to preserve their community and not be annihilated and exiled, then they needed to heed the lessons in *Beowulf* and maintain their societal values. The end of the poem refers to the unavoidable destruction of the society from warfare and “tribal

³ According to Norse mythology Ragnarok is the end of society, the last battle of the gods and men.

dissolution” (Niles 220). This fear of their society’s end may be the reason that the lessons of leadership and gender roles were modeled in *Beowulf*. By using a Jungian lens to examine how men, women, and leaders are depicted in the poem, it is easier to see cultural ideals of gender and how they were perceived to affect the community’s future.

Recent scholarship explores various interpretations of gender in *Beowulf*, especially concerning Beowulf’s gender identity and the place of women in the poem. Gillian Overing calls the poem “overwhelmingly masculine” (69) and states that women do not appear to have a place in the battle-oriented “masculine economy” (72). Overing also brings attention to the use of the fathers’ names to confirm identity in the poem rather than the mother, such as how Beowulf’s father Ecgtheow is named but not his mother, despite her public position as the sister of the Geat king (72–73). Their responsibility as “peaceweavers” often marginalized women since the cross-tribal bonds often fail (74–75). Although some feminist critics view the poem as “masculinist,” others have emphasized that women in the poem do have power. Robert Morey discusses the cross-tribal bonds as a way to show how Beowulf plays a traditionally feminine role as a successful peaceweaver by bonding the Geats and Danes (496). Helen Damico states that Wealhtheow and Hygd are not just marginalized cupbearers; their position as queens in time of war and unrest align them with the queen of the Anglo-Saxon poem *Maxims I*. This poem states that when a king gains a queen that they should be generous, their military power will grow, and she shall be loved, intelligent, a counselor, and a gracious hostess (19–21). Jane Chance places the women in *Beowulf* in a “diluted” version of the *comitatus* tradition, both through horizontal, cross-tribal peace, and vertical, in-tribal, relationships of the men (1, 98–99). As these scholars argue, the women in *Beowulf* are

not marginalized characters but have important positions that are related to the idea of *comitatus*. In this study, I will look at how the men and women show a need for balance between the typically masculine trait of physical strength and the typically feminine trait of mental strength, which is often accomplished through marriage. As the *Maxim I* poet attests, through marriage the lord not only gains military power but also counsel. This relationship correlates to the Jungian theory of the *anima* and animus, which is discussed in greater detail below.

A Jungian analysis of the text reveals ideal gender roles and their opposites, which depict the underlying functions and balance, through the discovery of a unified self that the culture believed necessary for a strong society: a balance between thinking and sensation, and between mental and physical strengths, that develop ideal individuals, marriages, and leaders. Individuals are in search of a unified self, a whole. Neurosis occurs when there is disunity within the whole, and functions, like thinking and sensation, have excessive disassociation. Writing about modern man's inability to gain self-control, Jung argues that "the individual's psyche is far from being safely synthesized: on the contrary, it threatens to fragment only too easily under the onslaught of unchecked emotions" (8). According to Jungian theory, major neuroses are formed through childhood experiences and repressed into the personal unconscious. Such a neurosis will tend to block the person from being able to encounter the archetypes of the collective unconscious and to bring them methodically into consciousness, which constitutes the process of individuation. In *Beowulf*, the structure of the tale, the use of gender roles, and the impetus on leadership show a people and a culture in search of

balance between physical strength (the sensation function) and mental strength (the thinking function).

The attributes of mental strength and physical strength appear at first to be different cultural expectations of men and women; however, the needed balance in masculine physical strength and feminine mental strength is a part of the journey to individuation. Jung discusses this balance of male and female in the context of the *anima* and *animus*, a duality that exists in every unconscious—the female unconscious holds a male element, the *animus*, and the male unconscious holds a female element, the *anima*. Jung links this concept to a medieval belief: “In the middle ages... it was said that ‘every man carries a woman within himself’” (15–17). For individuation, one must become conscious of their inner opposing *anima* or *animus*. The depictions of good and negative marriages are representative of either the benefits of progressing toward individuation, or the negatives of neuroses and disassociation that are experienced through conflict with the *anima* or *animus*. In *Beowulf*, a balanced marriage, where both partners bring together the socially ideal gender attributes, is an outward representation of the self’s balance of the *anima* and *animus* on the journey toward individuation.

Beowulf and Physical Strength

The poem introduces Beowulf with his physical strength: “se wæs moncynnes mægenes strengest” [he was of mankind the greatest in strength] (196). Beowulf defines his identity in his body’s strength. He states, if he should fail in defeating the monsters, Hrothgar should not worry about his body, since he is worthless if his body fails him (442–51). For him, his body and strength defines him as a worthy man. Not until the

middle of the poem are we given an explanation for this emphasis on physical strength.

When Beowulf was young, he was not well respected because he appeared weak, but now that he has proven his physical strength, he is beloved:

Hēan wæs lange,	bearn gōdne ne tealdon,
swā hyne Ġēata	micles wyrðne
nē hyne on medobenċe	ġedōn wolde;
(dry)hten Wedera	þæt hē slēac wære,
swyðe (wēn)don,	Edwenden cwōm
æðeling unfrom.	torna ġehwylċes (2183–89) ⁴
tīrēadigum menn	

This passage shows how likely Beowulf suffered from a neurosis that stems from feelings of inadequacy. He exemplifies the journey of the Hero archetype by attempting to overcome his own self-doubt, the weakness of his youth, and the disrespect of his own people. This neurosis stems from the perceived weakness of his youth. He never overcomes this neurosis and so never finds complete individuation. In reaction to the weakness of his youth, Beowulf goes to the extreme, and despite warnings from Hrothgar, he ignores the models of good leadership and focuses completely on his own physical strength.

Beowulf's exaggerated strength emphasizes the physical extreme of the masculine. The text states Beowulf fights in hand-to-hand combat three times. First, he renounces his weapons and armor because Grendel has done so (433–40). Second, he fights hand-to-hand with Grendel's mother for a short time until he finds the ancient sword that only he can use (1557–1662). Finally, he fights a Frankish warrior barehanded, boasting later, "ne wæs ecg bona, ac him hildegrap heortan wylmas, banhus

⁴ Long he was lowly / so him the Geat sons considered not worthy / nor him for on the mead bench much worth would the leader of the men render / they thought especially that he was slothful / a feeble noble. A change of fortune came / to that [now] famous man for each of these griefs.

gebræc” [an edge was not the slayer of his life but rather a hard grasp drowned his heart and broke his bone house] (2506b–08a). This lack of development beyond brute force culminates in the disastrous fight with the dragon when the poet interjects and notes how Beowulf was too physically strong to wield a sword; that they always failed him because his body was too powerful (2682b–87). Beowulf’s strength blinds him to the need for forethought and strategy. He seeks to revenge for his destroyed throne room by attacking the dragon himself. By doing so, he leaves his people without a protective leader. Hrothgar faces a similar situation but selflessly allows for a younger warrior to earn glory in killing Grendel rather than risk his people’s security and stability by leaving them without a leader. He does not feel the need to prove himself. Beowulf, however, even in old age is still battling his neurosis.

Women and Mental Strength

The women in *Beowulf* have more of the thinking function than the sensation function; they are less physical and more intellectual. There is a noticeable lack of physical descriptors of the females when compared to the language used to describe the males. The ideal women act as policy makers, diplomats, and peace weavers. The women who act outside of these ideals, Modthyrth and Grendel's mother, illustrate how balance between intellectual strength and physical strength is essential, and how the lack of balance results in death and destruction.

Hrothgar’s queen, Wealhtheow, enters and serves mead around the hall to the Danes and the visiting Geats. This is not an act of servitude or subjugation but diplomacy. The text notes that she is a mindful queen (612b), and she has a purpose

beyond mead-serving in her dispensing of wisdom (626a). Wealhtheow's service is not a subjugation of women but a part of her diplomatic responsibility as a leader. After Beowulf kills Grendel, Wealhtheow asks Beowulf, who is sitting between her sons, to watch over and guide them. She foresees future conflict and tries to ensure the future stability of her people. Wealhtheow's request is independent of Hrothgar. She makes it clear that she too has authority over the thanes: "þegnas syndon geþwære, þeod eal gearo, / druncne dryhtguman doð swa ic bidde" [the thanes are loyal, the people are ready, even the drunk retainers do as I bid] (1230–31). Hygd, the Geatish queen, is depicted similarly. Hygd is young, but thoughtful: "Hygd swiðe geong, / wis, welpungen" [Hygd very young, wise, and skillful] (1926b–27a). When Hygelac, the king of the Geats, dies, Hygd asks Beowulf to be king because she has no trust in her own son (2370b–72). Like Wealhtheow, Hygd takes the initiative to make a political decision concerning her people's future. In these examples of female leadership, despite the presence of strong kings, the queens hold public roles of diplomacy and power. They are not in the margins but direct both their own people and the state of their society.

Grendel's mother represents the foil to Wealhtheow and Hygd and contrasts the ideal of the intellectual balance expected in a female. She is not as strong as her son (1282–1287); she is weaker, but she is not as reckless, since he refuses to use weapons (433–40). Although she dies at Beowulf's hand, she nearly survives the battle. Her mind is what makes her more capable of survival than her physically stronger son. She does what it takes to avenge her son, and she returns to her lair (1292–99a). Her awareness of realistic consequences and her forethought nearly save her from the same fate as Grendel. Paul Acker, in his article, "Horror and the Maternal in Beowulf," argues:

Grendel's mother does not play by these [the heroic epic] rules; she absconds with her prey and forces Beowulf to fight on her home turf.... The combat with Grendel's mother is central to the poem not just as the second of three combats but as arguably the most mysterious and compelling. (708)

The mysteries of Grendel's mother's episode exemplify what Acker says are Anglo-Saxon "cultural anxieties" (703) and "cultural preoccupations" (709), which materialized in the abjection of the mother. However, the cultural anxieties also could be reflective of Grendel's mother as an anomaly; her position as a woman is perverted and instead of weaving peace she seeks vengeance. Her battle scene is not only, as Acker states, a possible response to the overpowering patronymics of the *Beowulf* poem, but also a representation of the cultural preoccupation with finding balance gender ideals and marriage in order to combat cultural anxieties.

Grendel's mother is a representation of a destructive noblewoman. In line 1259 Grendel's mother is referred to as *ides aglaecwif*, a combination of lady and female troublemaker (Klaeber 348). *Ides* is often used in Old English literature to refer to a noble woman. Keith Taylor argues that *ides* is a purposeful commendation of her for her blood feud—a typically masculine, physically aggressive vengeance. He states that *ides* implies a noble-woman, a woman of inherently higher status, social or otherwise, than the *wif*, or common woman (16). Mary Kay Temple posits a theory that *ides* is mistakenly used in the positive for Wealhtheow (13). *Ides* could represent an attribute that all these women, good and bad, have: a mental acuity and the power and responsibility of forethought that was expected of women, particularly those in powerful positions, compared to the physical power expected of men. Mental strength can have negative and positive results; a woman can use her intellect for good or evil. *Ides* could then represent a particular attribute of women and their mental abilities without indicating its positive or negative

use. This definition could explain why two such disparate characters as Grendel's mother and Wealhtheow are given the same epithet; *ides* represents the intellectual strength and responsibility of influential, noble women. Women were expected to have this intellectual strength to bring balance to the aggressive and physical masculine characteristics of men.

The story of Queen Modthryth and her eventual adherence to proper gender roles in marriage illustrates the necessity of balanced leadership. She is known for killing innocent men over petty appearances of transgressions, such as looking at her (1931b–40a). When her tale is told in *Beowulf*, it is made clear that a queen should never be so wantonly aggressive: “Ne bið swylc cwenlic þeaw / idese to efnanne, þeah ðe hio ænlicu sy, / þætte freoðuwebbe feores onsæce” [such as this is not a queenly virtue for a woman to perform, though she is matchless, that a peaceweaver take away life] (1940a–42). This aggression in a woman is a representation of the needed balance of the feminine (mental strength or thinking function) and masculine (physical strength or sensation function). When Modthryth finds a man of action (1954–55a), she becomes a good woman (1953). Here the marriage becomes symbolic of the physical and mental strengths balancing to create a unified self. Modthryth's story depicts the cultural ideal that the unified self is established when there are both physical strengths and mental strengths.

Lessons in Leadership

The structure of the poem is circular, building on cultural ideals through past tales and character dialogues. Lines like the emphatic, “þæt wæs god cyning!” [that was a good king!] (11b), emphasize the qualities of a good leader. The constant comparison of

leaders and their traits in *Beowulf* further supports the masculine and feminine dichotomies of physical and intellectual strength that are needed for a stable society. Hrothgar is a model leader on the journey toward a unified self and becomes a better leader as a result; in doing so, he unifies the community he leads. Hrothgar was a strong king in his youth. He gathered his people to him, growing in strength and leadership. He was known not only for his power but also his generosity. What Hrothgar did for Beowulf's father, Ecgtheow, is an example of his leadership and perhaps the beginning of his shift from a strong man of action to a thoughtful man of diplomacy. After Ecgtheow becomes involved in a blood-feud, Hrothgar takes him in and pays the *wergeld* (the compensation for a killing) to save his life. His choice to reject revenge and instead act generously and diplomatically has far-reaching and positive effects. It is possibly one of the reasons Beowulf comes to fight Grendel for Hrothgar since Ecgtheow had sworn oaths to Hrothgar (471–72). This action is clearly more akin to the feminine diplomatic responsibilities as peaceweaver. It also is representative of *wyrd*⁵ philosophy: while events are fated, the actions of brave men can affect how fated events play out. In this case, Hrothgar's wisdom and generosity with Ecgtheow affects the Grendel episode years later and allows for the salvation of his people.

Hrothgar attempts to teach Beowulf these lessons of generosity, diplomacy, and the effects of a leader's decisions on fate and people. He admits that he is old, and it is wisdom gained from age—possibly implying that the loss of physical strength aids the development of mental strength. He compares both Beowulf and himself to Heremod, an evil king who was wrathful and ungenerous resulting in negative consequences for his

⁵ Wyrd is "The principle, power, or agency by which events are predetermined; fate, destiny" ("weird"). Personal and past (the actions of ancestors) also affected the fate of men, or *wyrd*.

people (1716–20a). Hrothgar explains to Beowulf how Heremod’s reliance on his strength is what led to his downfall (1749–51a). Heremod has a lack of awareness and intellect, an inability to see the future and the effects of his actions. These faults are the downfall of his leadership; he is imbalanced and not unified in his strengths. He has the power and physical strength that brings him to his position of power but no intellectual strength or awareness to balance his aggression. He is not like Hrothgar, who learns that physical power is only one facet of good leadership, and that community building, generosity, diplomacy, and good counsel (all aspects of intellectual strength) are the balance needed for strong leadership and a secure people. Hrothgar’s discussion of Heremod with Beowulf shows how even at this early time, Beowulf’s neurosis is visible to those around him.

Hrothgar turns the analysis of Heremod into instructions for Beowulf by telling him to be humble and prudent, despite his physical strengths that have garnered him fame as a great warrior (1758–60). Hrothgar tells him that whether he grows old and dies, or whether he is killed in battle, he will be separated from his strength and death will overpower him in the end; he can not escape it. Hrothgar is warning against the Anglo-Saxon vice *ofermod* (overpowering pride). *Ofermod* occurs most often when pride causes one to act rashly and cause others’ harm. In the Old English poem, *The Battle of Maldon*, it is the *ofermod* of the Anglo-Saxon leader Beorhtnoth that leads to the destruction of the Anglo-Saxon forces and the victory of the Vikings. Beorhtnoth allows the Vikings to come across a bridge that would have been an ideal funnel for the Anglo-Saxon army to destroy them without losing many men themselves. Instead, out of pride, Beorhtnoth decides to let them cross and then fight in a traditional field battle. It ends in a complete

slaughter of the Anglo-Saxon forces (*Battle of Maldon* 89–90). Ofermod is the type of pride that Heremod and Beowulf exhibit. Ofermod derives from the lack of humility and foresight (thinking function). Hrothgar must have seen signs of Beowulf's acting like Heremod. Beowulf's ofermod and reliance on his own strength was visible even in these early years.

Hrothgar then uses himself as a comparison in one of the clearest sections concerning leadership. Hrothgar's ability to assess himself and his faults shows his progress in his individuation. He realizes in his old age that the physical self is only one part of a whole self; he needs, especially as a leader, the intellectual self for balance. After warning Beowulf to be prudent, Hrothgar uses himself as an example of how even the mightiest strength can be undermined by fate. He tells Beowulf that, after fifty years of rule, he had not believed there was an adversary that could plague him. Then Grendel came and he has since felt "mod ceare micle" [a great mental sorrow] (1769–78a). This section is Hrothgar's recognition of the imbalance, that the physical strength that secured his leadership over so many people is not what made him a good leader. A good leader needs intellectual strength. Unlike Beowulf in his last battle with the dragon, when Hrothgar realizes he could not overcome the monster himself, he mentally recognizes that, for the sake of his people as a whole, he has to rely on another to fight Grendel.

The poem begins the comparison and contrast of leaders with Scyld Scefing. Scyld was an orphan found in a boat, penniless, powerless, and he rises to be a leader over a large area and many Danes. When he dies he is placed again in a boat, as he was found, but now he is buried with immeasurable treasure. Later, the poem tells of how Beowulf is also an orphan but is considered weak and feeble. The poem demonstrates

Scyld's leadership skills in handling his successors and the inheritance of governance, which Beowulf fails. Before Scyld dies he gives the kingdom into the leadership of his son, Beowulf Scyldinga. Scyld's story is a stark contrast to the other leaders in the poem. No other leader has as much forethought as Scyld to ensure the line of succession and an easy continuation of leadership for the kingdom. When Beowulf Scyldinga is introduced as the next leader, his thoughtfulness is his main attribute. He is concerned with the people's distress. He is also a good leader when it comes to the physical demands of warriors' needs and battle because he has forethought and generosity in order to ensure that his men will be there when he needs them. Later, Beowulf's greatest error is his lack of forethought to set up a strong leader for the succession. Thus, in the end of the poem, the people mourn less for their dead king than for their future, because Beowulf did not have the forethought to ensure the continued security of his people. Scyld removes himself, recognizes the dwindling of physical strength, and uses his intellectual strength in designating the next leader.

When Hygelac, king of the Geats, unexpectedly dies, he leaves a weak son. Hygd, his wise Queen, attempts to fix this oversight by asking Beowulf to be king. Beowulf, however, does not accept Hygd's offer, and by doing so ignores the responsibility that he should take on as a leader. He was a great warrior, a great hero, but he was not a great leader. Perhaps he recognizes this fault in himself, or perhaps he selfishly wants the crown without worrying about Hygd's son being alive to dispute it. Beowulf does not, after all, have any scruples about ruling the people once his cousin is dead; he did not continuously refuse the crown.

Beowulf's reluctance to accept the throne until his people are in the direst need most likely shows the continued inferiority neurosis that he developed in childhood. Although he is a hero now, he still has the disunity between the sensation and thinking functions. Because of these unresolved elements in his personal unconscious he is not able to progress in his own individuation. He does not act for the good of his people. This internal conflict continues into his own position as leader of the Geats. Fifty years pass and, although on the surface it appears to have been a good reign, there are clues in the episode with the dragon that suggest Beowulf was not the ideal leader.

When Beowulf discovers what the dragon has done to his homeland, specifically the personal attack on his own throne room, the text notes that he is not accustomed to these worries (2327–32). Because he does not have intellectual strength, he must confront the dragon personally and physically to continue to prove he is not the weak child of his youth. He does not appear to think of the repercussions; rather, he underestimates the dragon, relying on his own physical strength and his past victories (2347b–51a). Beowulf gathers eleven of his men to fight the dragon. At first his greatest fault appears to be pride: that a king would risk the stability of his people for the glory of killing a dragon. Since his super-human strength has never failed him, he does not feel the loss of vitality that would give him pause to think. His strength allows him to become a leader through deeds, but he did not learn the lessons Hrothgar taught. He has disunity within and has never found the balance between physical strength and intellectual strength, which would have provided the leadership qualities he needed.

Beowulf's lack of these leadership qualities results in his thanes' failure to support him. Only his cousin, Wiglaf, stays with Beowulf, suggesting that the bond of

kinship and not the bond of *comitatus* motivates Wiglaf. The poem often chastises leaders who do not give rings and are ungenerous. Generosity, namely the giving of rings, is an integral part of the symbiotic relationship of *comitatus* between leader and thane.

Beowulf's thanes do not fight for him, their leader, which implies a weakness in the *comitatus* bond. A good leader can rely on his thanes; in the end, Beowulf can rely only on his kin. One possible reason for this lack of support may be that Beowulf was ungenerous and greedy since his last wish is to see the Dragon's treasure. Hrothgar warns him that greed could undermine his leadership and lead to a rule like Heremod's. Beowulf may have been a kind king (3180–82), but there is still evidence of a failure in the *comitatus* bond between him and his thanes.

The final fault in Beowulf's leadership is that he did not secure the future for his people. The keening Geat woman at Beowulf's funeral laments the negative consequences of Beowulf's poor leadership, "wælfylla worn, werudes egesan, hynðo ond hæftnyd" [massive slaughter, terrifying armies, harm and captivity] (3154–55a). His reliance on physical strength blinds him to the need for forethought. Since Beowulf never marries, he endangers his people's future. It is possible he does not marry because his individuation process is blocked from earlier events. Jung believed that we encounter and negotiate with the *anima* (for men) or *animus* (for women) within by marrying. The male projects his inner feminine (his *anima*) outward on to a real woman, marries her, and then is forced to confront the fact that the woman he married is a mere mortal. This confrontation with reality can cause him to rely on his love for his woman and then to withdraw his projection so that he begins to deal with his *anima* spiritually, within himself, which frees him to have an authentic relationship with the real woman and to

assimilate, and accept, his own feminine portion of self. The fact that Beowulf rejects marriage indicates a possible stagnation of his individuation process. Modthyrth's marriage provides a different perspective, since, unlike Beowulf, she does marry and is able to progress in her individuation.

Beowulf does not believe in the possible failure of his physical strength. Although Hrothgar warns him that death is the one certainty for all men, Beowulf's strength is the root of his inability to gain individuation. He holds on to the perceived slights of his youth and becomes obsessed with proving his identity in only his physical strength. He never heeds the advice to balance his physical strength with intellectual strength before his death.

The cyclical structure of *Beowulf* depicts women and men as examples of the binary of intellectual and physical strength in the unifying act of marriage. When women, as examples of intellectual strength, and men, as examples of physical strength, balance each other in a political marriage, they create a unified leadership that is good for the society. The physical strength and focus of the masculine, when combined with the feminine mental strength, forethought and wisdom, creates a balance in both the leader and society. The comparisons of leaders and the social example of marriage show the poem's emphasis on the necessity of finding the unified self, the balance between the physical and mental, between the masculine and feminine, as an individual and a leader.

CHAPTER TWO
“LET THE FRAME OF THINGS DISJOINT, BOTH THE WORLDS
SUFFER”: ANGLO-SAXONISTS AND IDENTITY IN RENAISSANCE
ENGLAND

I have found none so negligent and untoward as I have found England in the due search of their ancient histories, to the singular fame and beauty thereof. This have I (as it were) with a woefulness of heart since my tender youth bewailed, and so much the more for that I have not, according to the natural zeal which I bear to my country, been able to redress it for ungentle poverty. Oh, that men of learning and of perfect love to their nation were not then appointed to the search of their libraries, for the conservation of those most noble antiquities!

— John Bale, *The laboryouse journey and serche of Johan Leylande, for Englandes antiquitees.*

The Tudor period in England witnessed the first recorded instances of scholars and statesmen using Anglo-Saxon sources for building national and social identities. For example, Queen Elizabeth I’s chief counselor, Sir William Cecil, propelled interest in nationhood and sponsored Saxonist scholars, such as Laurence Nowell. At the same time, pamphlets, such as John Knox’s *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558) and Joseph Swetnam’s *The Arraignment of Lewd, idle, froward and unconstant women* (1615), began circulating, which reflect a heightened interest in defining male and female roles in society. Through an examination of Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*, we can see how some Englishmen linked maintaining particular gender roles to the nation’s well being. By analyzing Anglo-Saxonist scholarship, the “gender war” pamphlets, and Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*, we can better understand how

perceptions of Anglo-Saxonism and gender ideals were integrated into an English national identity.

The sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in England witnessed social conflict and confusion in religion, gender, and nationhood. Strong queens reigned in England and Scotland for much of the period. These queens undermined a belief that the father's authority paralleled the king's authority. The king was the supreme head of the country, just as the father was the supreme head of his home. Coppelia Kahn remarks on this leadership issue, noting that many Elizabethans borrowed from Aristotle, creating a worldview where, in every matter, the father was the authority for the family, just as the king was the authority for the country (13). The fear was that if a queen ruled in her own right, women might not feel the need to submit to the masculine head of their household.

Despite their positions as queens regnant, marriages became points of contention for both the nation and genders during the reigns of Mary I and Elizabeth I of England, and Mary, Queen of Scots. Mary I's marriage to Phillip II of Spain created an English fear that, since she was his wife, she would become subservient to him in both her private and public life, causing England to become subservient to Spain. Queen Elizabeth played the marriage game for years, using her position as a marriageable monarch for diplomatic purposes, which often worried her advisors and subjects, and eventually caused fears over the succession late in her reign. In 1563, the Commons even petitioned her to marry because of their concern for the future stability of the nation. In her answer to them, she acknowledges that her marriage is a part of the people's future security and stability (Stump and Felch 128). Her marriage was tied to the safety of the nation's identity both in how it negotiated its relationship to foreign powers and how it set an example for the

households of England. Apprehension was high regardless of whether the queen chose to marry or not, causing identity crises for not only the genders but also the nation.

The Saxonists

After Henry VIII separated from the Catholic Church and declared himself the supreme head of the Church of England in 1534, the process of dissolving the English monasteries began. Over several years the monasteries were disbanded and their extensive libraries dispersed. According to Angelika Lutz, the rising interest in the Anglo-Saxon period during this time was tied to Henry VIII's actions:

The beginnings of Old English studies in the sixteenth century are known to have been closely linked with the efforts of the early Elizabethan regime to represent the break with the Catholic Church under Henry VIII as a return to the greater independence from Rome that the English church had known in the Anglo-Saxon period. (1)

Many Anglo-Saxon works, including the *Beowulf* manuscript, first came to light because of this dissolution of the monasteries (Kiernan 159).

Before the monasteries were disbanded, Henry VIII appointed John Leland, his librarian and “antiquarie,” to search the various religious houses and colleges for ancient writings (Adams 12). Leland was reputed as “the first man to turn the eyes of the kingdom toward English antiquity” and spent years cataloging the holdings of various monasteries and cathedrals with the intention of writing a history of England (Adams 13). John Bale, a protestant reformist who recorded Leland's travels, states that in all his journeys he has never witnessed a country as ignorant of their own history as England and that his interest stems from the “natural zeal which I bear my country” (1). Further, he laments that “men of learning and of perfect love to their nation” had not conserved

the antiquities of the libraries before now (2). According to Bale, protection of the nation from decay was dependent on the English knowing these Anglo-Saxon texts.

After Leland, several Anglo-Saxon scholars, including Matthew Parker, Laurence Nowell, and William Lambarde, continued Leland's work in English antiquities.

Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, and his secretary John Jocelyn procured many of the Anglo-Saxon texts and conserved them in new bindings. According to Jocelyn, Parker's intent was to print those which would best "instruct them in the faythe and religion of the elders" (qtd. in Adams 21). Parker and Jocelyn worked on editing, commenting on, and using these texts to argue the precedence of an independent English church. Parker's own interest in the marriage of priests may have been an early part of the debates over gender identity. In 1562, Parker, concealing his name, published *A Defense of Priests' Marriages* in which he used evidence from Anglo-Saxon sources as a part of his argument (Adams 26). The Catholic Church taught that, in order to remain pure of the sins that women had held since Eve was tempted in the Garden of Eden, priests had to remain celibate. Parker's argument for priests to marry may have removed some of the negative perceptions of women and inadvertently encouraged the gender pamphlet wars.

Archbishop Parker's concern with founding the nation's religion in Anglo-Saxon precedence was complimented by Laurence Nowell's and William Lambarde's secular interests. Laurence Nowell collected and transcribed Anglo-Saxon works, including the *Beowulf* manuscript,⁶ under the patronage of William Cecil, an antiquarian and Queen

⁶ At this time Nowell was also tutor to the young Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford. It has been proposed by one scholar that it is possible that while living in Cecil's household and tutoring the young de Vere, Nowell could have introduced *Beowulf* to the household (Anderson 23). This may have initiated some familiarity and interest of *Beowulf* in the literary coteries of the time. According to Brackmann, Nowell's efforts were

Elizabeth's chief advisor. Rebecca Brackmann, in a recent study on Anglo-Saxon scholarship in Elizabethan England, argues that since Nowell's patron was William Cecil, it is more likely his research was pushed toward constructing an English national identity, an agenda of Cecil's beginning in the 1560s (11). Brackmann illustrates her point with the example of Nowell's cartographical work, which defined English identity by setting the geographical boundaries of the Irish (14).⁷

William Lambarde, who studied law, was a pupil of Nowell's and received Nowell's books and manuscripts after his death. Brackmann points out that even without Cecil's influence, Lambarde's works focus on national identity by way of his interest in local identity, and, like Nowell's works, were "bound to the Anglo-Saxon period" through his use of etymology and old English law (22). Lambarde published a translation of Anglo-Saxon laws, *Archaeionomia* (1568); in the preface he makes an argument for the Anglo-Saxon laws as underpinning the nation, when he states that law is like the walls of a city, since it is there for the defense of the society and its people. These laws were made in defense of the national identity and the people inherited the rights and freedoms passed down from these laws. Like Nowell's map that made a distinction between the Irish "other" and the English as a nation, Lambarde states that it is laws that define the

a part of coterie scholarship: "texts produced in and for a network of colleagues and associates, drives home both the ways and that even non-literary manuscripts... could circulate and become influential" (10).

⁷ Brackmann includes another point about Nowell's work: his interest in older definitions of botany terms. Cecil, according to Brackmann, was an avid gardener, but Brackmann makes no mention of a connection between these terms and Anglo-Saxonism and English national identity. This may be an early example of the same association between nature and the Anglo-Saxons that the Victorians later held. Considering Cecil's influence on building national identity and Nowell's work, it is possible that was part of Nowell's interest in these garden terms.

foreigner from those who are a part of the state.⁸ In this sense, to maintain English nationhood they must maintain and know the Anglo-Saxon foundations that define them as their own state.

Gender Roles

At the same time as these attempts to identify nationhood with the Anglo-Saxons, the gender conflict accelerated with the publications of literature for and against women. One example of these publications is John Knox's treatise, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558), where he attacks the right of women to rule. Knox uses scriptural references and follows in the medieval and humanist tradition of using classical and patristic authors to make the case that women rulers have never been acceptable to any authority, whether Judeo-Christian or secular.

Knox argues that people are so blind and subversive to God's will that they do not even recognize how female governments are destroying society:

Finally, they are so destitute of understanding and judgment, that although they know that there is a liberty and freedom which their predecessors have enjoyed, yet are they compelled to bow their necks under the yoke of Satan, and of his proud mistress, pestilent Papists and proud Spaniards. And yet they cannot consider, that where a woman reigns and Papists bear authority, that there Satan must needs be president of the council. Thus hast thou, O Lord, in thy hot displeasure, revenged the contempt of thy graces offered. (91)

Knox is directly attacking the rule of Mary I of England, arguing that, since she is female, Catholic, and married to a Spaniard, then she is Satan's representative. Worse yet, Mary

⁸Praeclare mea quide Sententia Heraclitus (vir praestatissime) leges civitatis muru, atque uti moenia defendendas affirmavit. Quemadmodu enim hostes exteri atque longinqui, civitatem oppugnaturi, si ad muros assilierint atque occuparint, non levem inclusis minitantur mortis, & vastitatis metum: ad eundem modum cives improbi hostium teterrimi, si leges impune transilierint atque protriuerint, maxima important Reipub. calamitatem.

allows the Catholic Spanish to have authority over the previously Protestant English. For Knox, Mary's gender made her more susceptible to outside suggestions. He uses the popular argument of Eve's sin in the Biblical story of the Garden of Eden. As the story of Eve and the serpent proved, women will undermine men's devotion. England's failings, according to Knox, in religion and politics are due to Mary's gender, which causes her susceptibility to Satan's temptations. Knox argues that men need to remember, even in the animal world, the males of the beasts do not bow to the females; rather, they lead them. Outside of the human kingdom, he says, there are no examples of females leading males. The males of the human race are so blind they forget that there is "involute" a "certain mark of dominion in the male, and a certain subjection in the female" (86).

During the English Renaissance, some men followed the more enlightened humanist philosophies of Sir Thomas More. More advocated for gender equality in education, and in turn, influenced men across England, such as Sir Anthony Cooke.⁹ Despite these men, traditional misogynistic ideas, such as Aristotle's belief that women were defective, remained popular. This theory purported that women are obviously physically defective when compared with men and therefore, using the doctrine of homology, women are defective in every other aspect of their being: mental, moral, and spiritual. A pamphlet war over gender began in the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean period. The invention of the printing press allowed for greater dissemination of pamphlets, which instigated the rise in women defending themselves by responding to sexist pamphlets (Henderson and McManus 11). Several pamphlets were written,

⁹ Anthony Cooke classically educated his five daughters in the same manner as his sons and is reputed to have believed "souls were equal, and that women are as capable of learning as men," and hoped "that his daughters might have compleat Men, and that their husbands might be happy in compleat Women" (McIntosh 3).

supporting the masculine point of view then answered by the feminine point of view, back and forth, on various issues concerning the education, expectations, and rights of women. These pamphlets are often aggressive in tone and denigrating to both sexes, such as Joseph Swetnam's *The Arraignment of Lewd, idle, froward and unconstant women* (1615).

With an antagonistic tone and distorted facts, Swetnam remarks on the many faults of women. He comments on their frailty and their inability to love, since "women's hearts are like pumice stones, full of holes" (194). He also believes that women are deceitful since "eagles eat not men till they are dead, but women devour them alive. For a woman will pick the pockets and empty thy purse, laugh in thy face and cut thy throat" (201). Early in the pamphlet, Swetnam inaccurately writes, Ulysses wept for the death of his dog but never wept for his wife (196). Either Swetnam is not as well-educated as he would like to appear or he is lying in order to appear to use the long-lived tradition of defending an argument with classical anecdotes. He also uses the tale of Ulysses and the Syrenian women to show how men must fight and resist the seductive wiles of women: "If thou wilt avoid those evils thou must with Ulysses bind himself to the mast of the ship" (199). For him, all women are evil, witches, hags, and harpies, which is the reason in such passages he generalizes the entire female gender as sirens who will bring a man to his death.

Swetnam also provides several examples from the Bible about women who ensnare men (202), such as Jezebel (198). One of his first attacks is based on the belief that women were made from ribs, and, since ribs are crooked by nature, then women must be crooked by nature (193), another argument that is merely part of a long tradition of

blaming the Biblical Eve for causing Adam to sin in the Garden of Eden. Women, by virtue of being of Eve's gender, were as weak and easily tempted by the devil as she was in the Garden of Eden. Thus women are by nature as morally "crooked" as the rib, the basis of their creation, is physically crooked.

Barbara Kiefer Lewalski writes that women's power declined with the Jacobean era, caused by the change from the reign of a formidable queen to a patriarchal system. The outpouring of misogynistic tracts (such as Swetnam's) led women writers to defend their gender through literature, and especially pamphlets (794). Esther Sowernam,¹⁰ responded specifically to Swetnam's crooked rib comment in her pamphlet *Esther hath hanged Haman* (1617). Sowernam says that if women are crooked because they are made from ribs, then men are of muddy and dirty dispositions because they are made from dirt and clay. She further says any argument like this is ridiculous because God made both, male and female, and to disparage either is blasphemy (222). Jacobean poetess, Aemilia Lanyer, in her poem, *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611), argues that Eve was not as much to blame as men. She compares Eve's lack of intent to the malicious self-serving of Biblical men like Adam and Pilate. Lewalski says of Lanyer that she creates a community of women "that reaches from Eve to the contemporary Jacobean patronesses, with virtue and learning descending from mothers to daughters" (803). Lanyer created a new, community identity for women, a unified identity in virtue and intellect, which contradicted how men like Swetnam defined them.

A pamphlet that shows a different male perspective is Constantia Munda's *The Worming of a Mad Dog* (1617). Although scholars are divided on whether this

¹⁰ Joseph Swetnam's name was real; however, Esther Sowernam is a pseudonym, answering "Sweet-name" with a "Sour-Name."

anonymous author was male or female, there are textual clues that would make it appear that Constantia was male. Constantia is disgusted by Swetnam's pamphlet and thinks highly of women; however, she often appears more concerned with Swetnam's lack of intellect than his defense for women. Also, Constantia's linguistic skills and use of technical language is more representative of male education during this era considering the fall in female education since the Humanists of the Tudor period. Finally, some of the language Constantia uses is extremely vulgar, unlike many of the known female pamphlet-authors (246).

Constantia Munda begins the pamphlet with a poem that argues, unlike what Swetnam would have his audience believe, women are revered and worthy of praise for both their mind and body:

Wherein the body's frame, the intellect and mind,
With all their operations do first find
Their essence and beginning...
Whose virtues, worthiness, resplendent rays
Of perfect beauty have always had the praise
And admiration of such glorious wits
Which fame, the world's great Herald, sits
Crowning with Laurel wreaths and Myrtle boughs,
The tribute and reward of learned brows (246–47)

Constantia addresses how violent and aggressive Swetnam is in his pamphlet toward women: "none [no woman]... shall escape the convicious violence of your preposterous procacity" (252). Contrary to Swetnam's misogyny, Constantia's remarks on the intellectual strength and the virtue of women are more akin to the Beowulfian depictions of the feminine. Constantia even makes the same separation between the physical, "within the body's frame," and mental, "the intellect and mind," strengths.

Constantia's arguments demonstrate that John Knox or Joseph Swetnam did not speak for all males regarding the available sentiments about women in the English Renaissance. Some were using women as a negative binary in order to define themselves; others, like Constantia Munda, continued the humanist belief that women deserved an education and men's respect. During the effort to define nationhood, the English were concerned with defining expectations of genders on both the public level of leadership, as seen in Knox's treatise, and the domestic level, as seen in the gender war pamphlets.

Macbeth

Shakespeare's *Macbeth* illustrates the strain caused by the various social changes and interests in national and gender identity during the Tudor and Jacobean periods. Like *Beowulf*, the play shows both ideal characters progressing toward individuation, whose actions support and stabilize the society, and the paranoid and immature characters whose actions harm society. *Macbeth* portrays two patterns of similarity with *Beowulf*: the first is the pattern of interdependent binaries of men, women and leaders, and the second is a link between community/national identity and gender.

As I will argue below, the first level of binaries is the expectations of men and women, especially in the context of leadership. The play presents the noblewoman less as the Jacobean reality and more as the Anglo-Saxon ideal wife to a nobleman, an ideal that Lady Macbeth fails to uphold. As the previous sections show, women in the Renaissance were not considered to be worthy advisors or peace-weavers and did not hold vital diplomatic positions. *Macbeth* reveals a yearning for and an attempt to teach the Anglo-Saxon ideal to be "naturally" present in male-female partnerships. In his letter to Lady

Macbeth in the first act, Macbeth refers to her as, “my dearest partner of greatness” (I.v.11). Shakespeare is presenting this marriage as if it should conform to the Anglo-Saxon balanced marriage. She is an advisor to her husband, an intellectual counter-balance to his physicality. Lady Macbeth, however, is a hyper-masculinized and overpowering woman. She embodies the negative qualities that the misogynist writers in the English renaissance period often described as the natural qualities of women, such as tempting her husband to sin and wrath.

Similar to Beowulf’s inability to progress past the initial developments of personal archetypes, Macbeth and his wife each display a lack of mature *anima* and *animus* development. The play shows how destructive it can be to remain in this phase of development for a couple. Lady Macbeth projects the *animus* onto Macbeth, expecting him to be the man that she views her own *animus* to be at this point: a ruthless murderer. Macbeth projects his *anima* onto Lady Macbeth, viewing her as the controlling, vengeful, and devouring mother that he has never progressed past in his childhood fears. And worse, their projections feed each other’s fears.

The climax of this disjunction is visible in the reactionary madness of both Macbeth and Lady Macbeth. Neither recognized—until it was too late—what their actions and feeding off each other’s fears would do to themselves, their friends, and their country. Lady Macbeth’s madness is an attempt to retreat into her traditional female role. In response to Macbeth’s having fully realized her *animus* projections onto him, through the murder of King Duncan, she now tries to wipe herself clean of the guilt by obsessively washing her hands (V.i.28–32), trying to make them pure and regain her traditional place as a peacemaker instead of a blood-soaked instigator. Toward the end,

Macbeth does recognize that the results of his and his wife's actions are negative, even if he is still unable to end his self-destruction that is also destroying his country and its people. Macbeth knows that something is wrong, and that he will not have what should be expected in old age, love or friendship, and he is cursed (V.iii.28–31).

Lady Macbeth acts as an extension of the three witches who first tease Macbeth into his fall. It is noted that the witches “look not like th’ inhabitants o’ th’ earth / And yet are on’ t... You should be women, / And yet your beards forbid me to interpret / That you are so” (I.iii.42–49). The witches are harbingers of Lady Macbeth; they all appear like women, yet they have masculine characteristics. Just as the witches appear to be in-between male and female, Lady Macbeth asks to be unsexed and uses forceful rhetoric, a masculine characteristic shared by the witches. Once Lady Macbeth hears of Macbeth's encounter with the witches, she seizes the opportunity to manipulate him and embrace the witches' agenda. She calls on other powers to “unsex” her and keep her from the feminine qualities of remorse and peace (I.v.48–54). She adopts a masculine persona by becoming more aggressive, creating imbalance within the household. She asks for the spirits to take away her milk, a feminine feature of motherhood and womanhood, and replace it with gall (I.v.55). Later, Macbeth responds to her aggressive emasculation of him and her encouragement of his killing Duncan: “Bring forth men-children only, / for thy undaunted mettle should compose / nothing but males” (I.vii.83–85).

Stephanie Chamberlain argues that Lady Macbeth's position as a mother and a woman is part of a cultural anxiety concerned with the power of the mother and the importance placed on patrilineage: “That patrilineage could be irreparably altered through marital infidelity, nursing, and infanticide rendered maternal agency a social and political

concern. Lady Macbeth's act one fantasy reveals much, in fact, about the early modern anxiety surrounding mothers' roles in the perpetuation of patrilineage" (73). Lady Macbeth's neurotic nature and the projections of both her and her husband's *anima* and *animus* represent a part of this cultural anxiety. Lady Macbeth does not have any children, she does not have any sons that can carry on her husband's name, she asks for her milk to be replaced, and she even discusses infanticide, all unmotherly characteristics, yet, despite her lack of children, she is powerful. She turns the power that stems from her natural maternal agency into the unnatural and negative power of influencing her husband to harm his own kin and lord. Joanna Levin discusses another cultural anxiety with women at this time: hysteria and demon possession. According to Levin, there was a shift from using religion (the demonic woman) to science (the hysteric woman) to blame women for weakness and deviance from the patriarchal norm. Either way, "the demonic woman and the hysteric violated patriarchal ideals, but they validated misogynist accounts of an essentially corrupted female nature" (29). *Macbeth* shows a different perspective, that although there was this misogynistic blame, in the character of Lady Macbeth there is both demon and hysteria brought on by an imbalanced marriage, not by her sex, which makes her husband as equally culpable.

Lady Macbeth depicts a negative and neurotic female nature. She resolves to drive Macbeth to break societal rules, as he details so clearly in his soliloquy:"

He's here in double trust:
First, as I am his kinsman and his subject,
Strong both against the deed; then, as his host,
Who should against his murderers shut the door,
Not bear the knife myself. (I.vii.12–16)

By killing his king he is breaking his oath to serve and protect his leader, by killing his kin he is breaking duty to kin, and by killing his guest he is breaking his responsibility as host to protect those who are under his roof. Lady Macbeth drives Macbeth to do all this despite her own inability to kill Duncan, which she acknowledges when she says, “Had he not resembled / My father as he slept, I had done ’t” (II.ii.16–17). Here, she recognizes the horror of harming kin intellectually and emotionally, but she still drives her husband to do it himself when she cannot. She does not break her own duties as hostess, but she convinces her husband to do so. Her actions break the partnership that Macbeth refers to in his letter to her in the first act (I.v.11). It completes the devolution of the ideal symbiotic connection between husband and wife. This break is what propels their unraveling, which, because of their positions as leaders, affects the whole society.

Lady Macbeth, besides masculinizing herself, emasculates Macbeth, completely switching their culturally dictated gender positions and responsibilities. She questions his manhood and masculinity and undermines his initial attempt to do what was honorable. When Macbeth tells Lady Macbeth that he does not want to go through with their earlier plans because of his oaths as kin and thane, she calls him a coward (I.vii.47). She tells him that when he was daring to kill Duncan, he was a man, but when he thinks of repercussions he is not a man (I.vii.56). Her instigation of these violent events undermines the masculine ideals of the culture and cultivates the paranoia, fears, and neuroses that destroy him later.

Lady Macduff acts as Lady Macbeth’s foil by representing the traditional ideal woman who stands by her family and protects the home—even when her husband leaves. The most striking aspect of Lady Macduff is that she is the only female character in the

entire play that represents any positive element of womanhood. Her time in the play is brief before her murder by Macbeth's men. However, within that time she is shown to be a protective and well-spoken woman who is aware of the responsibilities of her and her husband, and she openly speaks against her husband's flight, calling his fear more traitorous than any action and madness (IV.ii.5). Even Macduff shows guilt over his actions when he asks Ross whether "The Tyrant has not battered at their peace?" (IV.iii.207). Her murder on Macbeth's orders leaves the play without a strong female character and allows Malcolm to encourage Macduff to seek revenge. This death creates an imbalanced marriage, a marriage in which the patriarch is all-dominant and the wife/mother is essentially invisible, and thus the maimed Macduff family becomes emblematic of an imbalanced society. In addition, this imbalance is created by an all-dominant patriarch, Macbeth, who was shaped into this dominance through the immature *animus* projections of his marriage partner—a balanced marriage insofar as it contains both male and female but unbalanced in terms of the power to shape one another's psyches—but who takes his immaturely construed masculine authority too far and destroys a good and balanced marriage.

Macbeth, like his wife, is a neurotic and corrupt example of his gender. One scholar, Jarold Ramsey, notes that while all tragedies ask the question, "What is a man?" *Macbeth* answers the question with a perversion of what man is. Macbeth sows destruction throughout the play, becoming more monster than man. He separates himself from humanity by renouncing human kinship when he begins to believe he is indestructible (V.vii.15–18), and even finds more resemblance with animals than humans (V.vii.2). These extremes appear to be in answer to his wife's questions of his

masculinity. His identity as a man is confused, so he is forced to define himself as an animal.

Macbeth is obsessed with proving himself and ending his wife's criticism of his masculinity. Critic Brents Stirling writes that it is as soon as Macbeth becomes obsessed that the consistent contradictions of the text begin. Macbeth is in a heightened state of obsession Stirling calls "raptness" (386), which causes compulsive self-destruction. There is no thought or plan, only base compulsion to continue in these violent actions that he, in his inverted nature, thinks make him a man. This compulsion toward violence is similar to the *ofermod* seen in Anglo-Saxon literature, in characters like Beowulf and Byrthnoth whose obsession with proving their own valor and strength destroys the people they are supposed to protect.

By examining the relationship of the thanes to their leaders in *Macbeth*, we can see societal unrest caused by a lack of *comitatus*. Macbeth deceives his thanes and uses the traditional oaths against them. He causes the thanes to break their oaths they had made to Duncan and to swear loyalty to his murderer. Furthermore, he sets them against Malcolm, Duncan's son and heir. Duncan represents a good leader who does his expected part in the *comitatus* relationship between lord and thane. After Macbeth's initial victory, Duncan rewards Macbeth and speaks highly of him, saying:

O worthiest cousin, the sin of my ingratitude
Was heavy on me.... Would thou hadst less deserved,
That the proportion both of thanks and payment
Might have been mine! Only I have left to say,
More is thy due than more than all can pay. (I.iv.17–24)

Duncan publicly praises Macbeth while giving him a new title. Macbeth responds as a loyal thane, "The service and the loyalty I owe / In doing it pays itself..." (I.iv.25–26a).

Macbeth, when arguing initially over whether to kill King Duncan or not, recalls that King Duncan has honored him and fulfilled his side of the relationship (I.vii.35a). Duncan's legacy as a revered king (III.i.71; III.vi.4) is evidence of how he embodies the ideal leader. It is Duncan's death that initiates the societal shift in Macbeth. Macbeth, by perverting all the societal rules of thane and man, created conflicts in identity and the duties of thane, lord, male, and female. Not only is the society suffering, but by creating this conflict, Macbeth begins to fragment as well.

Macbeth's reign is both destructive and self-destructive. He is called false (IV.iii.71) and devilish (IV.iii.136), and unloved (V.ii.22–23) by his own thanes. He murders his thanes (IV.iii.6) and their families (IV.iii.240–43), completely destroying the *comitatus* bond between king and thane. While Macbeth contemplates the murder of Duncan, he mentions two important points that were cultural imperatives: duty as a thane and duty as a kinsman (I.vii.13). Not only did he owe allegiance to his lord as his sworn thane, but they are also cousins.¹¹ By killing one of his own blood, he destroys a part of his own identity. Near the end, Macbeth realizes he destroyed himself by going against these cultural norms:

And that which should accompany old age,
As honor, love, obedience, troops of friends,
I must not look to have, but in their stead
Curses, not loud but deep.... (V.iii.28–31)

The loss of what was socially expected in old age is a large part of the neuroses that envelop Macbeth. His guilt stems from not only breaking the oath of a thane but also the blood allegiance he owed to Duncan.

¹¹ The neuroses that develop from Macbeth's killing his own kin is similar to the Anglo-Saxon depiction of kin killing that is seen in *Beowulf*, especially in Grendel. In *Beowulf*, Grendel is an animalistic monstrosity, descended from the first kin killer, the biblical Cain.

Macbeth's reign leads to a near societal collapse. Duncan is a trusting king, acting within his expected responsibilities as a leader. He trusts his sworn thanes until they prove they are unworthy of his trust (I.iii.73–76), but all of this changes with Duncan's death and Macbeth's tyrannical rise. Macbeth's tyranny stems from his paranoia and neuroses. Society mirrors his paranoia, becoming more and more unstable as Macbeth's own paranoia grows. Duncan is the first to discuss the problem of trust versus paranoia in Act I, which then becomes a pervading theme, when he remarks on the Thane of Cawdor's treachery: "There's no art / To find the mind's construction in the face. / He was a gentleman on whom I built / An absolute trust" (I.iv. 13–16). This theme of hidden intentions is prevalent throughout the play. Essentially, the traditional world has been turned upside down—"fair is foul, and foul is fair" (I.iii.39)—and creates instability throughout society. With the murder of Duncan, the people no longer trust the rules that had traditionally structured society. Macbeth's neuroses cause his own debilitating paranoia, and the society now recognizes they are no longer able to feel secure in traditional expectations.

Macduff and Malcolm comment on the state of the society after Macbeth takes power: "I think our country sinks beneath the yoke. / It weeps, it bleeds, and each new day a gash / Is added to her wounds" (IV.iii.49–51). The imbalance created by Macbeth and his wife causes a disjunction in the society that is left unresolved, even with the death of Macbeth and his wife. Like *Beowulf*, the tragedy ends in a lesson of how the lack of balance in genders and leaders can cause once strong nations to crumble.

By examining three parts of the society's literary world, the Anglo-Saxon scholarship, the gender war pamphlets, and Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, we can see how

England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries began to define the nation through perceptions of Anglo-Saxonism and its gender ideals. Scholars and leaders such as Laurence Nowell and Sir William Cecil helped found a social legacy of Anglo-Saxon ideals. Concomitantly, the pamphlet war allowed for new expression concerning gender identity. These parallel issues are entwined in the Shakespearean tragedy, *Macbeth*, where, similar to the Anglo-Saxon poem *Beowulf*, the literature reflects cautionary lessons in gender roles intended to protect the nation's future.

CHAPTER THREE

“THE TRUE ANGLO-SAXON LIKING FOR BUTTER”: CHARLES DICKENS AND VICTORIAN ANGLO-SAXONISM

We hear of the “mission” and of the “rights” of Woman, as if these could ever be separate from the mission and the rights of Man; —as if she and her lord were creatures of independent kind, and of irreconcilable claim. This, at least, is wrong. And not less wrong—perhaps even more foolishly wrong (for I will anticipate thus far what I hope to prove)—is the idea that woman is only the shadow and attendant image of her lord, owing him a thoughtless and servile obedience, and supported altogether in her weakness by the preeminence of his fortitude. This, I say, is the most foolish of all errors respecting her who was made to be the helpmate of man. As if he could be helped effectively by a shadow, or worthily by a slave!

—John Ruskin, *Lillies: Of Queens’ Gardens*, 1865.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries experienced a rising curiosity about the Anglo-Saxons; however, it was the nineteenth century that witnessed a dramatic surge in popular interest in the Anglo-Saxon period. One reason for this escalating interest is John Mitchell Kemble’s work.¹² Kemble, an Anglo-Saxon scholar and philologist who trained under the famous philologist and folklorist Jacob Grimm, created the first complete English translation of *Beowulf* in 1833, which included an extensive glossary of Anglo-Saxon terms. While the 1833 edition had a small run of only 300 copies, it was later

¹² Although there is no evidence to show that Charles Dickens and John M. Kemble had ever met, Kemble was the son and nephew Shakespearean actors that Dickens’s revered: Charles and John P. Kemble. Peter Ackroyd mentions an appointment to audition before Charles Kemble (139) and it appears that some relationship with Charles Kemble continued years later since in an 1852 letter Dickens mentions “I dined with Charles Kemble yesterday, to meet Emil Devrient, the German actor.” (277). In addition, the sister of John M. Kemble, Fanny Kemble, wrote for Dickens’s *Household Words*. While there is no evidence found yet to tie Dickens and J.M. Kemble together personally, Dickens interacted with various members of the Kemble family and surely was familiar with John M. Kemble’s works.

republished in 1837. After Kemble's translation and throughout the rest of the Victorian period, there were several additional *Beowulf* translations.¹³

Anglo-Saxonism colored the evolution of English national identity in nineteenth century England. An article in Charles Dickens's 1850s weekly journal, *Household Words*, illustrates how Anglo-Saxonism was an identity marker, even for food preferences: "As for our brethren in the United States and the West India Islands, they have the true Anglo-Saxon liking for butter" (Martineau 346). Recent scholarship discusses Anglo-Saxonism's influence on Dickens's educational interest (Boehm and Paroissen) but not on how it may have influenced his novels. According to Gerald Newman, "every nationalist movement... involves a search for the 'essence and inner virtues of the community' (123). For Dickens, Anglo-Saxonism and the identification of England as an Anglo-Saxon nation were a significant element of social reform and English nationalism. This chapter will argue that Anglo-Saxonism influenced not only Dickens's publications but also his view of England and her future. I will examine how Victorian scholars demonstrated an extensive interest in these Anglo-Saxon ideals. Then, using Jungian analysis with *David Copperfield*, I will discuss how Dickens's depicted the ideal model of Anglo-Saxon characteristics and virtues that Dickens believed was the foundation of the English national identity.

¹³ There were eight complete English translations, including Kembles, during Queen Victoria's reign: A. Diedrich Wackerbarth's 1849 *Beowulf: An Epic Poem*. Translated from the Anglo-Saxon into English Verse in Ballad meter; Benjamin Thorpe's 1855 close literal English translation; Thomas Arnold's 1876 Literal prose English translation; James M. Garnett's 1882 *Beowulf: an Anglo-Saxon Poem, and the Fight at Finnsburg*; John Earle's 1892 *The Deeds of Beowulf: An English Epic of the Eighth Century*; John Lesslie Hall's 1892 *Beowulf: An Anglo-Saxon Epic Poem*, Translated from the Heyne-Socin Text; William Morris and Alfred J. Wyatt's 1895 *The Tale of Beowulf, Sometime King of the Weder Geats*.

Dickens and Anglo-Saxonism

David Paroissen links Dickens's Anglo-Saxonism, as shown in Dickens's *A Child's History of England*, with his interest in social reform, his concern for his children, and his belief that he "could do good service" related to "the Education of the people, [and] the elevation of their character" (qtd. in Paroissien 297). Paroissien notes how Dickens "had to reach back 900 years to find a monarch he unequivocally admired." The monarch was King Alfred the Great, the idealized ninth-century Anglo-Saxon King (301). While Paroissien argues that *Household Words* was an integral part of Dickens's mission to educate the public (303), I argue that in addition to *Household Words*, this mission to educate the public pervaded Dickens's other works and that the same influence of Anglo-Saxonism is visible in his novel, *David Copperfield*.

Two articles from *Household Words* demonstrate examples of how Anglo-Saxon scholarship was presented to the public. Henry Morley, a prolific writer for *Household Words* and a literary scholar, wrote both articles. The first article, from May 1, 1858, is an intensely shortened prose version of *Beowulf* along with a small introduction. The introduction mentions how *Beowulf* is a glimpse "of past customs and a record of past manners of thought" (459). This interest in Anglo-Saxon literature focused on Anglo-Saxon virtues, especially the "customs" and "manners" that they taught. The second article, published a week later, is "Anglo-Saxon Bookmen." In this article, Morley sketches briefly the various Anglo-Saxon works that have been found by antiquarians. He begins the quick survey by remarking on the earlier *Beowulf* article as, "the oldest national epic of Germanic Europe extant." He also notes the various Anglo-Saxon manuscripts show "past history and manners" and, because books then were scarce and

treasured compared to their own Victorian print culture, these works were not trivial but a direct link to the time they were written (498). Both the past virtues and customs are noted here as a significant part of a national epic.

A Child's History of England was published serially in *Household Words* from 1852-1854 and covers the history of England between 50 B.C. and 1689 A.D. In this work, Dickens uses the Anglo-Saxons as models for English society while every ruler after the Norman invasion never escapes without at least one scathing rebuke. The vilifying of the French in English print culture was an important element to English nationalism. Dickens constructs a history for children that taught that England's troubles began with the Norman invasion of 1066 AD. This polemic of the 'Norman Yoke'¹⁴ had existed in collective English memory since at least the Elizabethan period and was tied to the belief that the Saxon's had encouraged freedom and equality while the Normans enslaved them and placed a ruling aristocracy over these once-free Englishmen (Newman 190).

In *A Child's History*, Dickens is explicit about the Anglo-Saxon virtues that are still, according to him, a part of the English character and that King Alfred was "the best and wisest king that ever lived in England" (II 526). This argument is a part of what E. M. W. Tillyard calls the supplanting of King Arthur, as the English historical myth, by Alfred the Great. According to Tillyard, English historical mythology is based in the concept of liberty, "the great English characteristic" (96) and what helped to establish this

¹⁴ Gerald Newman states the principles of the theory of the Norman Yoke: "Saxon Englishmen had governed themselves, the Normans took this away and imposed a lasting tyranny of alien kings and landlords, the people remembered their lost liberties and kept struggling to recover them." Christopher Hill, the initiator of the Norman Yoke theory, connected this struggle with the enlightenment and latter aristocracy, saying: "Even if they no longer speak French, whether or not they are of Norman descent, the upper classes are isolated from the life of the working population... The nation is the people." (Newman 190).

characteristic was the Victorian assertion of Anglo-Saxon values as the foundation to English culture. Dickens's states that King Alfred possessed all the Saxon virtues:

Under the Great Alfred, all the best points of the English-Saxon character were first encouraged, and in him first shown. It has been the greatest character among the nations of the earth. Wherever the descendants of the Saxon race have gone, have sailed, or otherwise made their way, even to the remotest regions of the world, they have been patient, persevering, never to be broken in spirit, never to be turned aside from enterprises on which they have resolved. In Europe, Asia, Africa, America, the whole world over; in the desert, in the forest, on the sea; scorched by a burning sun, or frozen by ice that never melts; the Saxon blood remains unchanged. Wheresoever that race goes, there, law, and industry, and safety for life and property, and all the great results of steady perseverance, are certain to arise. (II 528)

Here Dickens points out the attributes that he believes children, and Englishmen in general, should try to emulate since they are Alfred's and Alfred is the representative ideal of Englishness. Dickens notes that industry, law, and justice travel with these persevering Saxons, even into the various wildernesses, including the forest. The forest is important imagery in David Copperfield's effort to earn Dora Spenlow's hand in marriage. David states, "[I] was to take my woodman's axe in my hand, and clear my own way through the forest of difficulty, by cutting down the tress until I came to Dora" (526). He demonstrates the attributes of industry, perseverance, and patience that Dickens says are distinctly Saxon, by working multiple jobs and by not straying from his resolve. When he decides to pursue a position reporting the debates in Parliament, his friend Traddles tries to dissuade him by explaining that learning short-hand was as difficult as learning six-languages but might be attainable through years of perseverance. David responds with determination and again echoes the imagery of *A Child's History*: "I, feeling that here indeed were a few tall trees to be hewn down, immediately resolved to work my way on to Dora through this thicket, axe in hand" (533). This line echoes the

imagery of the wilderness, conquered only by the Saxon character, which Dickens describes in his children's history.

The Public and Domestic Spheres

Dickens depicts Anglo-Saxon gender ideals as a part of the English national identity by showing how the public and domestic spheres compliment and balance one another in a way similar to the Anglo-Saxon perceptions of masculine and feminine binary relations and family relations. Mary Poovey argues that the representations of social relationships and sexual differences in the nineteenth century were not biological, but social (2). Further, it was not physical differences that were the foundations to their perceptions of gender relationships, it was the historical and cultural perceptions of gender ideals that the society held. In addition, scholar Barbara Gottfried writes that there is a subversion of the domestic realm in the Victorian period since the public realm held the financial and legal power (1). This belief was a part of the social perceptions of gender differences inherited from the medieval period. I argue that the Victorian public and domestic spheres were a social construct that reflects a similar dynamic to that found in Anglo-Saxon literature. Dickens's works are reflective of negotiating and bringing a balance between domestic and public spheres. As Poovey points out, the ideological formulations were experienced and expressed differently, dependent on the position one held in the society (3). Dickens appears to endorse a balance between the male and female social relationships that mirrors the ideals of the Anglo-Saxons.

In an 1865 essay about the place of women in society, John Ruskin depicts the negotiation of the spheres of men and women. Ruskin asserts that women should not be

treated as slaves, subservient to men, but as queens (54) and develops the idea that the stability of the state rests in morality and thoughtfulness and is dependent on resolving the issue of women's place in society (52). Ruskin states that there is not a superior sex, but that "each has what the other has not: each completes the other, and is completed by the other" (67). Ruskin echoes the *comitatus* ideology of interdependent spheres. He also describes the characteristic attributes of the sexes that is reminiscent of the Beowulfian divide between physical and mental strengths:

The man's power is active, progressive, defensive. He is eminently the doer, the creator, the discoverer, the defender. His intellect is for speculation and invention; his energy for adventure, for war, and for conquest, wherever war is just, wherever conquest necessary. But the woman's power is for rule, not for battle, —and her intellect is not for invention or creation, but for sweet ordering, arrangement, and decisions (68)

The analysis of *Beowulf* in Chapter One has a similar view of the masculine and feminine attributes. The woman in her sphere is to bring order, rule, and thoughtful counseling, while the male faces the physical world of battle, knowing he will come home to a wife, not a slave. Ruskin perceives a balance in these spheres. The language for a man's power is physical and is seen in the use of such words as *active*, *defensive*, and *energy*. A woman is meant to balance this physicality through rule, order, and counseling.

As seen in Chapter One, for the Anglo Saxons, interdependent spheres created symbiotic relationships that encouraged mutual dependency and respect,¹⁵ most notably

¹⁵ As discussed in the previous chapter on *Macbeth*, concerning how the use of "demons" or "hysteria" could both relieve the blame on women (they are weaker than men and susceptible to such tendencies) and also encouraged misogynistic tendencies. This issue of spheres in the Victorian period also could cause multiple reactions and interpretations. While according to this paper, some members of the Victorian society appear to be searching for a link between their public and private spheres and the interdependent spheres of the Anglo-Saxon period, misogynistic tendencies could still allow for viewing the differences in the spheres as subservient, and not believe it earned women mutual respect.

in the social relationships of men and women. This interdependence and balance between genders extended from the political sphere of thane and lord in the Anglo-Saxon virtue of *comitatus*, and to the domestic sphere and the masculine and feminine. Additionally, within the masculine and feminine circle was the necessary balance of physical and mental strength. In the behavioral models set forth in *Beowulf*, the ideal female virtues are wisdom, forethought, and peacemaking. Dickens recognizes this need for balance that reciprocal virtues of the male and female brought to the family and the nation. Imbalance between the male and female creates an inequality that weakens the nation. This link between marital balance and the security of the nation is depicted symbolically in *David Copperfield*. In two of the imbalanced marriages, the marriage of Mr. Murdstone and David's mother, and the marriage of David and Dora, there is an underlying instability in the relationship that is shown through the deaths of their children. David is able to have a son only when he is with someone who completes the balanced family, Agnes. Before marriage to Agnes, David's individuation is blocked by his unequal partnership with Dora and by his shadows,¹⁶ Uriah and Steerforth. Once he is free of Dora, Uriah, and Steerforth, and he marries Agnes, individuation can continue, the spheres can be aligned and the state can have a future in the continuation of the family.

J. M. Kemble's two-volume history, *The Saxons in England* (1849) demonstrates how scholars perceived the Anglo-Saxon influence on national identity. Kemble states that the institutions and principles of the Anglo-Saxons explain the "history of the childhood of our own age, — the explanation of its manhood" of the nation; the Victorian

¹⁶ According to Jung, the shadow is representative of the least desirable characteristics of one's own self. The unconscious often recognizes the shadow while the conscious ego does not (51).

society represents the manhood, and the Anglo-Saxon society, the childhood. Further, Kemble argues that it is this principle of equality, passed down from the Anglo-Saxons, which stabilizes the nation and keeps Victoria on her throne while the rest of the European continent is in revolt (v).¹⁷ Equality is also depicted as a part of the Anglo-Saxon family relationship when Kemble addresses the free man. To Kemble, it is the foundation for the Anglo-Saxon state; therefore, it is the foundation to the English national identity. The male is the power in the household but the wife is “a free woman, who shares in his toils, soothes his cares, and orders his household.” Kimble further argues that “through the son, that the family becomes the foundation of the state” (129). *David Copperfield* reflects this same ideology. Marriages that do not have balance end in the death of a child. But when David is in a strong partnership, he has multiple children.

In 1858, the Alfred Committee, an organization of Anglo-Saxon scholars, published a work on the various facets of Alfred the Great, his works, and Anglo-Saxon society. The chapter concerning manners and habits discusses women’s rights and liberties:

Women were allowed to be present both at the witenagemots and the shire-gemots; they could sue or be sued in courts of justice, and could inherit, possess, and dispose of property without control from any one.... their lives and liberties were protected by express laws made for the purpose (431)

The witenagemots were democratic assemblies that the Victorians believed were the foundation of the liberties and freedoms of their current parliamentary system. In Victorian sources, the witenagemots are often compared to parliament and associated with liberty, justice, and democracy (Graham 19). So women were not only allowed to

¹⁷ This mention of revolt is most likely in reference to the revolutions of 1848, which spread across the European continent with revolutions in such countries as Italy, France, Germany, and Denmark.

take actions in court, but also were present at the government assemblies. With these rights, especially autonomy when dealing with their own property, women were recognized as important members of the political as well as social sector.

David Copperfield

In *David Copperfield*, David begins his narrative and journey toward individuation by questioning his identity and place: “Whether I shall turn out to be the hero of my own life, or whether that station will be held by anyone else” (13). This line sets up a parallel of David finding his identity at a time when Dickens was encouraging the public to view the Anglo-Saxon character as a part of the national identity. David is on the way toward individuation and eventually finds his identity after he develops the Anglo-Saxon characteristics of perseverance, patience, and leadership that Dickens’s associated with the Anglo-Saxons. In the beginning of the novel, David often loses his identity and mimics other men—unwittingly in the case of Uriah Heep and optimistically with Steerforth, who both represent David’s shadow. For example, when David wants to stab Uriah with a hot poker, it echoes Steerforth’s outburst against Rosa when he throws a hammer at her and scars her for life. Later, when Uriah tells David of his plans to marry Agnes and attempts to destroy Dr. Strong’s marriage, David becomes so enraged he slaps him. The scene, however, holds a mirrored action, reflective of how Heep represents the angry and frustrated shadow of David’s unconscious when he takes the hand David slaps him with: “He caught the hand in his, and we stood in that connexion, looking at each other. We stood so, a long time... I felt only less mean than he. He knew me better than I

knew myself” (626–627). Throughout his narrative journey, David must overcome these shadows and try to understand his masculine identity.

With no strong masculine role models in his life, David’s journey is a reflection of how the English society needs to find their way back to their Anglo-Saxon models of social roles and national identity. David begins to gain his identity when he resolves to earn his own way. Before David decided to be the axe man in the “forest of difficulty” (526), his journey toward individuation appears muddled and stunted by a lack of father figures. The men in his early childhood are either cruel and thoughtless, such as Mr. Murdstone and Mr. Creakle, or childlike, such as Mr. Micawber and Mr. Dick. David becomes obsessed with bettering himself and being a gentleman and turns away from the positive male figures that he deems as beneath him, Mr. Mell and Mr. Peggotty, in favor of the enigmatic Steerforth. The cruel and reckless Steerforth in turn represents the early negative influences of Mr. Murdstone, David’s earliest father figure. David’s lack of strong masculine role models leaves him not only conflicted with his own identity but also consistently drawn to negative masculine role models. While David eventually hates Murdstone because of his cruelty to his mother and himself, he is still the only masculine role model in David’s earliest childhood and until he leaves for school. The impact of this early negative male role model is reflected in the connection David forms with Steerforth. Despite Steerforth’s early meanness toward Mr. Mell, David supports Steerforth (107–108). He is still attracted to this aggressive, hyper masculinized identity that is similarly cruel to Mr. Murdstone’s because it is one of the few powerful masculine identities he has witnessed. It takes years of being away from Steerforth’s influence for David to begin to cleanse himself of these negative shadows and progress toward individuation through

his love for Dora, who represents the early desire for the mother and the assimilation of the anima for the male. Unsurprisingly considering the tragic early death of his mother, he is often attracted, and distracted, by women, such as in his early fascination with Miss Shepherd (275) and the older Miss Larkin (278). Dora is simply the last in a long line of female fascinations and the most like his own mother.

Dora is depicted as the most like David's mother (also called Dora), who is early on described as a "wax doll" (15) and a "baby" (17) by David's notoriously blunt aunt. After her marriage, David's timid mother falls emotional and physical prey to her overpowering husband, Mr. Murdstone and his sister, finally dying in childbirth. Similarly, Dora is depicted as a childish young woman resembling David's own mother. She too is under the control of Miss Murdstone, who is her governess, but unlike with his mother, David has the chance to protect and save Dora. Dora and David's mother are not positive female influences, however, which David realizes only towards the end, after his marriage to Dora proves to be an unfulfilling and unequal partnership.

What is different about these women is that, unlike the earlier representations of the negative female, such as Lady Macbeth and Modthyrth, Dora and David's mother are not too masculine but show too little feminine wisdom. However, there is also a representative in *David Copperfield* of aggressive, masculine, negative women. Miss Murdstone is depicted as harsh, angry, and masculine. When David first meets Miss Murdstone he says, "I had never, at that time, seen such a metallic lady altogether as Miss Murdstone was." She carries "hard black boxes, with her initials on the lids in hard brass nails" and "a hard steel purse, and she kept the purse in a very jail of a bag which hung upon her arm by a heavy chain." Not only is she hard and metallic, she is also actively

trying to masculinize herself; according to David, she is “dark, like her brother, whom she greatly resembled in face and voice; and with very heavy eyebrows, nearly meeting over her large nose, as if, being disabled by the wrongs of her sex from wearing whiskers, she had carried them to that account” (58–59). Beyond this physical description, she is cruel like her brother. She undermines the ideal family relationship of husband and wife. She usurps David’s mother’s position in the household by taking the household keys (60), which were figurative for the woman’s position of power and responsibility in the home—in comparison, Agnes is entrusted with the household keys at a very young age.

Agnes is the representative ideal female with the Anglo-Saxon feminine virtues of intellectual strength, foresight, and good counsel. David says of Agnes in his first retrospect: “my counsellor and friend, the better angel of the lives of all who come within her calm, good, self-denying influence—is quite a woman” (278). By not only suffering through Uriah Heep’s overtures for the sake of her father (583–86), but also persevering in the hopes of a relationship with David (868), she embodies the characteristics of the Saxons Dickens wrote about in his children’s history. She is the “domestic angel” in the house, a Victorian term for the idealized passive and unintellectual woman. However, Agnes is also shown as David’s intellectual equal and capable of counseling and working in the public sphere when necessary. Agnes is the only one he trusts for counseling, even over his own wife, whom he soon realizes is not an equal partner needed for a strong marriage and success: “I could have wished my wife had been my counselor; had had more character and purpose to sustain me and improve me by; had been endowed with power to fill up the void.... I took it upon myself the toils and cares of our life, and had no partner in them” (653–54). Dora is content to make-believe at keeping house (655),

while Agnes since childhood had successfully kept house for her widowed father (233).

David's journey toward individuation stagnates in his marriage to Dora. He does not have the equal partner in marriage to fulfill the interdependent public and domestic spheres of husband and wife.

David recognizes the difference between Dora and Agnes (703) and the trouble that his own marriage to Dora has caused when he mulls over Annie Strong's statement: "There can be no disparity in marriage like unsuitability of mind and purpose" (668). It is Agnes and David's relationship that is reflective of the interdependent spheres and need for balance. Dora stifles David's liberty, her carefree attitude of "whatever is the matter, we ought always to dance" (401) imprisons David because it forces him to carry the burden of the marriage without an equal partner. She does not provide him with the balance and domestic sphere that a wife should, with counseling, patience, and forethought. David felt something wrong in his own identity because of this lacking piece of the interdependent marital sphere. When the society is cleansed with the death of the aristocratic Steerforth, the unveiling of Uriah's complex and corrupt web of law and finance, and the death of Dora, David further develops his own identity and the virtues Dickens's mentions in *A Child's History*: perseverance, patience, justice, and intellectualism. He does not, as he did with Dora, rush into the marriage with Agnes, but is careful and patient and gains a disciplined heart (801). In the end, David and Agnes' marriage (i.e., family) is the new model of England, reflective of the celebrated Saxon characteristics of perseverance and patience.

After the trauma of Dora and Steerforth's deaths and the added struggle of freeing Mr. Micawber and Mr. Wickfield from Uriah Heep's nefarious plots, David does not

immediately run to Agnes. He struggles with his love for her and, reflecting the perseverance of the Saxon characteristics, he pursues his work: "I truly devoted myself to it with my strongest earnestness, and bestowed upon it ever energy of my soul" (849). David then finds success and gains an identity in society as an author. He finds fame and a palpable representative identity of both name and place in society: "As my notoriety began to bring upon me an enormous quantity of letters from people of whom I had no knowledge... I agreed with Traddles to have my name painted upon his door" (850). This sequence of events leads to David asking Agnes to marry him and completing the interdependent circle of marriage and being able to achieve the ideal model. Similar to his time spent earning Dora's hand in marriage in the proverbial forest of difficulty, David had to again persevere and show the Saxon characteristics of hard work and patience. In the end of Copperfield's narrative, Mr. Peggotty's summation is framed by a domestic scene of Agnes' and David's family: "I had advanced in fame and fortune, my domestic joy was perfect. I had been married ten happy years. Agnes and I were sitting by the fire... and three of our children were playing in the room" (871). This process, from success, to marriage, to children, is the ideal sequence produced by pursuing the Saxon qualities. He first had to advance his own identity through hard work, and after, achieves a domestic happiness through his marriage to an intelligent and counseling wife, who completed the interdependent circle that brought happiness. Unlike his mother's marriage to Mr. Murdstone, and his own marriage to Dora, David is able to have children with Agnes. The success of this marriage and its balance is proven in the birth of children, who will be able to perpetuate the model.

Charles Dickens was not only interested in Anglo-Saxonism but viewed it as foundational to his view of English national identity. He regarded, along with other Victorian writers and scholars, the Anglo-Saxons as the basis of what was virtuous in English society. Dickens's used his periodicals to educate the public on the core values and characteristics of the Anglo-Saxons and his perception of English national identity, and in his novel built a model of how the English national identity would continue in England. Although scholars have examined the later effects of Anglo-Saxonism on English society, there has been very little scholarly work examining the mid-Victorian interest in the Anglo-Saxons. Because of Dickens's large readership and publications for a mass audience in both *Household Words* and his novels, his interpretation of Anglo-Saxonism in his works is relevant to the understanding of English national identity in the mid-Victorian period.

CONCLUSION

The analysis presented in this thesis allows us to see how Anglo-Saxon gender ideals influenced literature and opinions of English national values. A Jungian analysis of *Beowulf* reveals that individuation, the balance of mental and physical strengths, and the importance placed on interdependent gender relationships were perceived as essential for securing England's future. The Anglo-Saxon poem *Beowulf* effectively illustrates this interdependence as necessary for bringing balance in marriage and stability to the nation. Furthermore, applying the same analysis to examples of literature from two periods of Anglo-Saxonism, the English Renaissance and the Victorian era, permits us to trace Anglo-Saxon ideals of gender and their importance to perceptions of national identity. The analysis of representative texts from these periods illustrates how these writers believed England's success as a nation was founded in interdependent marriage relationships.

After centuries of Norman and French influence on the English people, sixteenth-century scholarship encouraged the study of Anglo-Saxon texts and the rooting of identity in Anglo-Saxon, rather than Norman or French, heritage. We can see this interest again in the Victorian period, with the maturation of Anglo-Saxonism in both scholarly and popular interest. Not only was there a perception of Victorian English culture inheriting the perseverance and excellence of an idealized Anglo-Saxon character, but there was also a significant interest in the roles of males and females in society and the definition of their spheres of influence. The Victorian philosophy of public and domestic

spheres as represented in *David Copperfield* reflects similar ideals of interdependent relationships depicted in *Beowulf* and *Macbeth*.

Through Jungian analysis, *Beowulf*, *Macbeth*, and *David Copperfield* portray how individuation is necessary for a nation's stability. In these three texts, the binaries of male and female and good and bad leaders are used as examples for how individuals should conduct themselves based on their genders. Beowulf's arrested journey toward individuation is a model of how, despite his strength and apparent hero-status, he was not a good leader and brought instability through his lack of individuation. Physical and mental strengths are depicted as a binary that needs to be balanced in individuals, in marriages, and in the nation as a whole. Beowulf and Macbeth lack individuation, balanced marriages, and children, resulting in a chain reaction that hurts the nation. David Copperfield has an imbalanced first marriage, which stunts his own individuation. As soon as he marries a woman who embodies Anglo-Saxon feminine ideals, and who balances his own Anglo-Saxon qualities, his journey toward individuation progresses. The marriage results in children, which represents the security and future stability of the nation.

This study is admittedly limited in its scope, since it examines only two English texts, one each from two periods of increased Anglo-Saxonism. Additional research in the literature of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries might shed additional light on how these ideals evolved from the Tudor and Jacobean periods to the Victorian. Furthermore, an examination of literature after the Victorian period may show connections between this thesis's research and the modern feminist movement, as well as racial issues likely encouraged by Victorian perceptions of Anglo-Saxon white

supremacy. Such research could enable us to better understand the motivations and ideals that still affect western culture's gender and racial perceptions.

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