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CHARLES DICKENS IN NORWAY:

1839-1912

by
James Wesley Brown

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Doctoral Committee:

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A C T

CHARLES DICKENS IN NORWAY: 1839-1912

by

James Wesley Brown

Chairman: Karl Litzenberg

It was not just in England and America that Charles Dickens became a literary institution. Previous studies have revealed the extent to which Dickens was a cultural influence in Germany and France. It is not surprising to find that he was widely read in countries that have always been a part of the cultural mainstream of Europe. There have, however, been no extensive investigations made of the reputation of Dickens in smaller European nations. This study of Dickens' reception shows that he was the most popular and influential non-Scandinavian novelist in Norway during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The wide extent of Dickens' impact on Norway, a sparsely populated, provincial, mountainous, geographically isolated country, is undoubtedly similar to that he had on other smaller nations of Europe. The evidence presented enlarges our estimation of Dickens as a nineteenth-century literary force.

Dickens' popularity in Norway culminated in 1912, his centenary year. New translations of his works appeared, replacing the dated Danish translations Norwegians had previously been dependent upon. Newspapers printed long commemorative articles written by outstanding critics who praised both the man and his writings. A full-length popular critical introduction

to Dickens' works was published the same year. Norwegians more than compensated for the delayed reception given his works in the 1830's and 1840's.

Dickens did not establish himself as an important public figure in Norway until his American journey in 1842. Wide-spread popular interest in Dickens was not apparent until the 1850's, when the first decent Dano-Norwegian translations of his works began to appear and the pages of Norwegian magazines and newspapers were filled with articles and stories taken from Household Words. One of the surprising discoveries made in this study is the important role Household Words and All the Year Round played in sustaining and spreading Dickens' popularity in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Over 250 items have been found in the Norwegian press which were taken from Dickens' periodicals.

From the 1850's on, there is not a decade which does not bear evidence of the extreme popularity Dickens enjoyed in Norway. Articles on Dickens were published in magazines until the 1880's. His death was a major news event and evoked testimonials to his greatness in the Norwegian press. In the 1880's several of his novels appeared in serial publication in Oslo newspapers. In 1894 readers of Kringsjaa voted Dickens the most influential non-Scandinavian author in Norway.

Dickens was read and loved by most of the important figures in nineteenth-century Norway. He was read in the mountains by pastors' daughters; he was read on the coast by school teachers and lawyers. He was the favorite English author

of major writers of prose fiction such as Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Jonas Lie, and most importantly, Alexander Kielland. In the case of Kielland, there is evidence to show that the social protest fiction the Norwegian author wrote was derivative of Dickens' novels. Kielland's love of Dickens caused him to attempt to emulate the latter by holding readings of his own works in Bergen and Trondheim. Kielland was the second Norwegian author to imitate Dickens in this dramatic manner.

This study of the popular and critical reception of Dickens in Norway and of the impact which he had on Norwegian writers of prose fiction is based on an investigation of newspaper and magazine articles, diary entries, memoirs, letter collections, auction catalogues, and other such material, most of which is on deposit at the Library of the University of Oslo. The nature of the material discovered caused the study to fall into three chapters: (1) Dickens and the Norwegian Press, (2) Dickens and the Norwegian Reading Public, and (3) Dickens and Norwegian Belle-lettres.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to express my sincere thanks to Professor Karl Litzenberg for his thoughtful guidance and support during the various stages of this dissertation. Sharing my interst in Scandinavia, he first recommended that I study the reception of an English writer in Norway; this work is the result of that suggestion. The kind encouragement of Dr. Bert G. Hornback helped me through numerous moments of doubt; his extensive knowledge of Dickens was especially beneficial in the writing of the final chapter of this study. I am indebted to the critical suggestions of Professor William H. Bennett and Professor Lyall H. Powers; they proved most valuable in improving the quality of the completed work. I should also like to state my gratitude to my friends Dr. Calvin L. French and Mrs. Linda Leach; both read carefully my final draft and offered many useful suggestions.

Most of the material found in this study was compiled at Universitetetsbibliotek in Oslo during 1964-67. The untiring assistance of the librarians there made my research less difficult. Many are the dusty volumes unearthed by them for my perusal. I thank Professor Edvard Beyer of the University of Oslo for the advice he so readily made available to me. Finally, I should like to thank my friend Reidar L. Andreassen for painstakingly checking bibliographical material for me after my return to Ann Arbor. I dedicate this work to him.

James Wesley Brown

Ann Arbor

August, 1968

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CHARLES DICKENS IN NORWAY: 1839-1912

INTRODUCTION

One usually does not think of Charles Dickens in connection with Norway. It was not a country in which he himself showed much interest. His travels always led him to sunnier climes. The only extended association he ever had with a Scandinavian was with the Danish writer Hans Christian Andersen-- a relationship described by Elias Bredsdorf in his book Hans Andersen and Charles Dickens: A Friendship and Its Dissolution (1956). In the writings of Dickens himself I have been able to find only one mention of Norway. In referring to the guillotine in the opening chapter of A Tale of Two Cities, Dickens writes:

> It is likely enough that, rooted in the woods of France and Norway, there were growing trees . . . already marked by the Woodsman, Fate, to come down and be sawn into boards, to make a certain moveable framework with a sack and a knife in it, terrible in history.[1]

And although articles about Scandinavia in general and Norway in particular appear in various volumes of Dickens' two periodicals, Household Words and All the Year Round, none was written by Dickens.

If, on the one hand, the English writer showed no interest in Norway and its people, the Norwegian people showed considerable interest in the life of Charles Dickens. The purpose of this paper is to describe the Norwegian interest in Dickens through a study of his popular and critical reception and through an analysis of the

impact his work had on writers of Norwegian prose fiction in the nineteenth century. Some of the questions I shall attempt to answer are: How widely was he read and by whom? Which works were the most popular? What was the nature of his literary influence? Who was influenced? What aspects of his life attracted the attention of the Norwegian press? To what extent were his writings unfavorably criticized? What aspects of his writings received praise?

There are only two studies concerned with a few of these questions. The first, "Anglo-Norwegian Literary Relations: 1867-1900," by Brian W. Downs, published in the Modern Language Review (1947), traces "The Fortunes of English Literature in Norway" in the first part, and, in a second section, the reception accorded Norwegian literature in England during the same period. Downs' paper is for the most part a bibliographical survey of translations of poetry, fiction, drama, and essays from English into Norwegian and from Norwegian into English. Downs is heavily indebted to two extensive bibliographies compiled by Reidar Øksnevad: A Bibliography of Norwegian Literary History and The British Commonwealth and Eire in Norwegian Literature. The first half of Downs' survey is prefaced by a seven-page general introduction in which he attempts to define the influence English literature from Shakespeare to Yeats had on Norwegian thought and art. As a result of his large scope and small space, Downs is inevitably obliged to generalize, providing little analysis. He does stress the preeminent popularity of Dickens but considers all English literary influence "indirect and diffuse."[2] His further treatment is ambiguous and needs clarification; for example, he states that Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Alexander Kielland,

and Jonas Lie, the three major novelists of nineteenth-century Norway, all read Dickens "in their receptive years," but insists that few of Dickens' traits are to be found in their novels.[3] Yet he proceeds to mention specific instances of such influence in the work of each. I shall attempt to clarify the degree of indebtedness these writers owe to their favorite English author.

The second work covering some of the ground to be traversed in this investigation is Alexander Kiellands litterära genombrott (1952), by Nils Erik Baehrendtz, a study concerned with the earliest prose works of Alexander Kielland. Baehrendtz devotes an entire section to a detailed discussion of Dickensian influence. Comment on Baehrendtz's book will be deferred until Chapter Three of this dissertation.

Whereas most reception studies base part of their analysis of popularity on a consideration of the number of translations of an author's work, this method could not fruitfully be explored here. For several hundred years Norway had been under the Danish crown, and Copenhagen had been the cultural center for the educated classes of Norway. When Norway was finally freed from Danish rule in 1814, attempts were begun to establish a national culture. Until the 1870's, most intellectual energy was devoted to the national romantic movement, and little could be spared for criticizing and translating foreign literature. As a result Copenhagen continued to exert considerable cultural influence in this area. It was almost a century before Norway had freed herself from her cultural dependency on Denmark. An example of this dependency is found in the fact that until the turn of the century most Norwegians read non-Scandinavian literature

in Danish translations printed in Denmark (Danish and Norwegian riksmaal are, for all intents and purposes, the same written language, and will most often be referred to here under the term Dano-Norwegian). The major Danish translations will be commented upon in the course of this study, but more weight will be given to other evidences of Dickens' popularity: articles and news items in Norwegian papers and periodicals, letter collections, diaries, memoirs, auction catalogues, etc.

The nature of my findings has caused me to divide my discussion into three major sections, each of which is developed chronologically: (1) Dickens and the Norwegian Press, (2) Dickens and the Norwegian Reading Public, and (3) Dickens and Norwegian Belle-lettres. I have assumed that most readers of this dissertation will not possess a reading knowledge of the Scandinavian languages, and have, therefore, translated all quotations from Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish into English. I have substituted the name Oslo for the Danish name Christiania (Kristiania) except where it appears in footnotes and bibliographical entries.

FOOTNOTES

INTRODUCTION

[1] Charles Dickens, A Tale of Two Cities ("New Oxford Illustrated Dickens"; London: Oxford University Press, 1949), p. 2.

[2] Brian W. Downs, "Anglo-Norwegian Literary Relations: 1867-1900," Modern Language Review, XLVII, No. 4 (1952), p. 454.

[3] Loc. cit.

CHAPTER ONE:

DICKENS AND THE NORWEGIAN PRESS

Although there is no great wealth of material about Charles Dickens to be found in Norwegian newspapers and magazines of the 1840's, the few articles and reviews of his work that did appear reveal that Norwegians showed interest in both the man and his writings. By the time of his American journey in 1842, Dickens' fame was firmly established. By 1870, the year of his death, an event announced and commemorated in newspapers throughout the nation, he had become the most popular English writer in Norway. By the time of the centenary celebration of his birth, he was not only Norway's most popular English writer; he had become its most popular non-Scandinavian novelist.

The first mention of Charles Dickens to be found in the Norwegian press is in an advertisement that appeared on January 5, 1839, in the Oslo newspaper Den Constitutionelle announcing that among the new novels available in Johan Dahl's Bookstore were the first three numbers of Lieben und Abenthauer d. Niklas Nickleby, Londoner Skizzer, and Die Pickwickier.[1] The readers of the newspaper were further informed that on the day of the publication of Nicholas Nickleby in London, over 20,000 copies had been sold.[2] There was, however, no comparable rush to Johan Dahl's shop by Norwegians eager to get their hands on a copy of the German translations advertized. (In a town which by 1855 had a population of only 42,000, there would have been few who could or would have been willing to read Dickens in German.)

This advertisement, repeated in subsequent issues of the newspaper,

was eventually followed in February by an article, taken from Magazin für die literatur des auslandes, reviewing the state of English literature in the year 1838. No works by Dickens are specifically named, but the review does mention that the unheard-of success of his novels had caused other English novelists to imitate his "humorous method of presentation," and that, instead of just one Dickens, there were then three or four feverishly at work turning out comic novels.[3] Thus, in the course of two months, Norwegians had been made aware of the existence of an English novelist who was creating a sensation in England and Germany.

In October of the same year, Den Constitutionelle published the first article based on Dickens' writings, "Engleske Saeder [English Customs]," a description of three types of characters in London: rich old bachelors, apprentices, and "elegant beggars."[4] These types were all taken from the section of Sketches by Boz entitled "Characters," Chapters One and Ten. A complete translation of another sketch, "The Dancing Academy," appeared the following year in one of the short-lived monthlies devoted to humorous literature, Nat og Dag. Excerpts from the Sketches again appeared in 1844, when Den norske Rigstidende, one of the oldest newspapers in Oslo that usually carried nothing but official announcements and advertisements, published a series of stories at Christmas: "A Christmas Dinner" on December 22, "A Visit to Newgate" on Christmas Day (hardly Christmas fare!), and "The New Year" (more appropriately) on December 31.

A provincial newspaper had long before discovered that Dickens had a strong affinity for Christmas. In 1839 Christiansandsposten

published at Christmas a translation of the Gabriel Grub story from Pickwick Papers, "a book which has attracted considerable attention in the reading world, and which, amazingly enough, has still not fallen into the hands of a translator here."[5] This lamented lack of a Dano-Norwegian translation was soon to be rectified by the appearence in Denmark of both Pickwick Papers and Nicholas Nickleby by the end of 1840.

A review of this Danish translation of Pickwick Papers, printed in Bergen's newly founded Stiftstidende in 1840, is the only critical review of a specific Dickens novel in the Norwegian press before the major modern Norwegian translations of his works began to appear in 1912. The "very successful" Danish translation by Ludvig Jordan, illustrated with the Cruikshank drawings, was warmly received by the reviewer, who was pleased to point out that Dickens' much heard of reputation had been well deserved. After calling attention to the unparalleled success of Nicholas Nickleby in England, and contrasting the work of Dickens with that of his nearest competitors, Bulwer and Scott, comparing him to Smollett, Goldsmith, and Marryat, the reviewer turned at last to a consideration of the particular merits of Pickwick Papers. "You will hardly find, even in the works of the best English writers, a more splendid depiction of the English, especially the Londoner--or of family life, or more truthfully drawn characters or a so well-sustained jovial spirit."[6] It was noted that Dickens did not place his emphasis on plot but rather on characterization and satire: "the inexhaustible, genuine English spirit that lives and breathes in his characters and scenes . . . shows the author to be a mature

and superior master [of his art]."[7] Pickwick Papers is not the sort of work that pleases everybody, "but the reader whose spirit is receptive to witty, rich humor, truth and poesy will see that this book is one of the most unique productions in literature."[8] The reviewer was aware of the criticism often leveled at Dickens, that he dealt too much with the lower classes, but this was not important as far as Pickwick Papers was concerned. "We learn to see the shadowy sides of life in a softer light."[9] Mr. Pickwick had completely captivated the reviewer, and such an enthusiastic review should have resulted in many more admirers.

Other than printing notices of the publication of his works in England and announcements as to the availability of his works in bookshops and lending libraries, Norwegian newspapers were not to concern themselves with Dickens the Man until his trip to America in 1842. One periodical, however, the only literary magazine of the day, Ny Hermoder (1840-43), did publish numerous short entries about Dickens in its regular column "Literature and Art." His financial success was reported, his constantly increasing popularity in all parts of the world, and his philanthropic work, such as his editing of the Pic-nic Papers for the benefit of the widow of his first publisher, John Macrone. These notices were usually no longer than a few lines or so, but they kept the name of Dickens before the literate reading public which subscribed to the magazine. It was Ny Hermoder that announced in such a notice that Dickens had departed for America, the purpose of the journey ostensibly being "to bargain with a publisher to prevent the reprinting of his works."[9] Throughout the year, the magazine

continued to print anecdotes about Dickens' reception, the numerous dinners given in his honor, his acting in Montreal, and was finally able to announce that the long-awaited American Notes had been published in London.

With the possible exception of his public readings, no other event in Dickens' life evoked such an immediate interest on the part of the Norwegian press as that shown in his American trip and the book which resulted from it. The thirst for information about America was growing, partly because of the increasing emigration of Norwegians to the United States. In 1825 the first group of twenty-five sailed to America. By 1840, the number leaving had risen to 4,500 (to reach a peak of 29,000 in 1882).[10] Norwegians were curious, therefore, to see how the famous author was received in the United States and to find out what he thought of it.

The English edition of American Notes was available in four Oslo bookshops as early as January 2, 1843, and on the following day Den Constitutionelle printed translated excerpts taken from the concluding chapter in which Dickens summarizes his opinions of the American people and its press.[11] The newspaper had prepared its readers for these excerpts by printing, a few days earlier, the first feature story about Dickens in the Norwegian press. This essay was taken, as was the custom when there was no native writer willing or well enough informed to write one, from a foreign newspaper: this time the Allgemeine Augsburg Zeitung. The article bears no signature and is entitled simply "Boz (Charles Dickens)." The writer states that he met Dickens shortly after his return

from America, mentions the suspense being created by the then unpublished America book and proceeds to an evaluation of Dickens' previous work in an attempt to appraise his position in literature. "At the present moment, he is the most widely read author in Europe; his works have been translated into all languages, yes, even into Turkish."[12] Three reasons are given for this popularity: (1) Dickens' strong realism; (2) his cosmopolitanism ("His world includes all classes of modern society; it is not closed, but belongs, like life itself, to everyone");[13] and (3) his thoroughly understandable and natural style. Like the reviewer of Pickwick Papers in Bergen's Stiftstidende, this writer refers to the criticism that Dickens was too greatly preoccupied with beggars, criminals, and other lowly types; but it is also pointed out that if such types exist in life, they should also exist in art. This essay, however, is not just another written in blind enthusiasm for "The Inimitable"--it is highly critical of certain aspects of Dickens' art. He is said to have failed to show an ability to mold his material into a whole. Pickwick begins as a fool and winds up being something quite different. "His tender lovers, his virtuous girls, his men of the world are unsuccessful."[14] Dickens is called a great Poet who has not yet become a great Artist. He is creating a new type of literature, a realistic prose which has no equal, but "for the present, he has only drawn lines, shadows, portraits, landscapes; the future will show us whether he can and will create 'compositions.'"[15]

With this article and the excerpt from American Notes, Den Constitutionelle had, in the course of a week and a half,

devoted the major portions of four issues to Dickens. At the end of January, it published another extract from American Notes which was to involve Dickens' opinions in a debate as to what type of prison should be built in Oslo. In 1837, a commission had been formed to study the conditions of Norwegian prisons and work houses. This commission presented its report in 1841, suggesting a complete revision of the prison system and recommending the building of seven new prisons according to the so-called Philadelphia system in which convicts were kept in complete isolation. The commission had found this system to be the most effective one; it not only punished the prisoners but reformed them as well. It is in connection with this commission that Den Constitutionelle printed a translation of Chapter VIII from American Notes wherein Dickens describes his visit to Eastern Penitentiary in Philadelphia and his negative reaction to the system of isolation employed there. "The system here, is rigid, strict and hopeless solitary confinement. I believe it, in its effects, to be cruel and wrong."[16] Den Constitutionelle remarked that since a new prison was soon to be constructed in Oslo (completed in 1851), it was perhaps "not without interest that we read the remarks--even though his judgement is unfavorable--which the famous traveller makes about such a model penitentiary in the very city which has given the system its name."[17]

The powerful liberal representative to the Norwegian Storting, Ludvig Daa, eventually accused the Prison Commission of having ignored these observations of Dickens printed in Den Constitutionelle. In a public report issued in 1845, Om Faengselvaesenets nuvaerende

Standpunkt (The Present Position of the Prison Commission), the chairman of the Commission, Niels Berg, answered Daa's criticism. Berg pointed out that the Commission had made its major report in 1841 and that Dickens did not go to America until 1842. The Commission, therefore, had had no opportunity to consider Dickens' views. Even if it had been able to do so, however, Berg stated that its conclusions would not have been affected.

Three pages of his lengthy report in support of the Philadelphia system are devoted to discrediting Dickens' attack on the system. Although admitting that Dickens was a writer who deserved his popularity among educated readers, Berg asserted that:

> in a matter so important as prison reform, one cannot rely on the reflections of a man, who had no knowledge of the problem before he left home, and who, in the course of six months, travelled back and forth across the Atlantic and covered enormous distances in America, observing an endless number of new and powerful scenes and objects with the eye and perception of a writer. He offered a few prisons a few hours' hasty attention, and a few months after his return had his travel book finished, printed in London and translated in Leipzig. But so great is the ignorance of the conditions and problems involved in this matter, that his observations have been set forth by certain people as proof, not only of the demoralizing effect which the system has had in America, but also of the worthlessness of the system itself. One heard everywhere sentimental chatter about Dickens' "terrible" descriptions, and anyone with a tenth of Dickens' imagination need only take a few steps inside some of the neighborhoods in town to encounter actual agonies and miseries which could hold their own beside those the writer has imagined and put on paper.[18]

Berg went on to argue that most of what Dickens had reported was the result of an overactive imagination and had no relationship to known facts. Berg was, of course, ignorant of Dickens' particular qualifications as a judge of prisons; yet, if his refutation of Dickens was somewhat erroneously based, his remarks

show that Dickens was widely talked about and read in "educated circles" and that his opinions were important enough to concern members of the Norwegian Storting and its commissions.

A little over a month after Den Constitutionelle had printed the Philadelphia chapter which was to cause the stir in the Storting and the Prison Commission, the publisher of the newspaper, Johan Dahl, announced in its pages that the whole of American Notes was being translated into Norwegian and that the first number was already obtainable in his bookshop.

> The author of Pickwick, Oliver Twist, Nicolaus [sic] Nickleby, etc.--describes in this work what he saw and experienced in North America. The universal interest this work has awakened, not just in England, but all over Europe, where numerous editions of the original, as well as translations, are coming out, has caused me to believe that it would be of interest to have the same translated here.[19]

The translation was undertaken by Albert Autenrieth and Martinus Nissen, both of whom were then teaching in Oslo. The translation was never completed; only the first volume, totalling 192 pages, actually appeared.

Before the translation of American Notes was abandoned, however, Dahl had also commenced the publication of a translation of Martin Chuzzlewit, which was discontinued after the appearance of the first number, of 64 pages. It has been impossible to discover why these two projects, begun with such optimism, were not continued. It could not have been owing to the sudden publication of rival Danish editions, since the first translations of American Notes and Martin Chuzzlewit did not come out in Denmark until 1852-53.[20] It is possible that Dahl had

overestimated the interest his reading public had in these works, and, the Norwegian publishing industry, being very unstable, found that the translations were not paying their way. The translator of Martin Chuzzlewit, Christian Smith, who took his medical examinations in 1844, may have had to stop translating in order to devote his time to his medical studies. At any rate, these two ventures were the first attempts made to translate complete works of Dickens into Norwegian, and their discontinuance remains a mystery. No copies of these translations can be located in Norway today.

With the exception of a few small anecdotes from American Notes printed in Christiania Adresse-Tidende and the aforementioned sketches printed at Christmas in 1844 by Den norske Rigstidende, nothing of importance about Dickens is to be found in the Norwegian press between the publication of the controversial chapter from American Notes in 1843 and the appearance in 1845 of the feature article on Dickens in Skilling-Magazin, the most popular magazine of nineteenth-century Norway. This magazine, a Norwegian imitation of England's Penny Magazine, had as its purpose the spreading of general knowledge through the publication of varied articles for the enlightenment of the lower classes and the newest additions to the middle class.[21] It was an eclectic magazine, the first of several which were to follow (Almuevennen, Illustreret Nyhedsblad, etc.), composed of articles and illustrations on subjects ranging from steam engines to court customs in Japan. The majority of these items were translations taken from foreign periodicals of similar format. Skilling-Magazin was scrupulous in

citing the sources of stories and essays taken from other journals, and since, therefore, the anonymous article on Dickens which appeared in November, 1845 is not ascribed to a foreign source, the chances are that it was commissioned by the magazine itself. This would make this essay the first written by a Norwegian on Dickens.

The essay begins with a short biographical sketch probably based on information obtained from the Brockhaus Konversationslexikon to which Dickens is said to have contributed biographical information.[22] One interesting aspect of this sketch is the vague and slightly inexact treatment given Dickens' childhood. It is stated, for example, that Dickens attended "a good school" in London.[23] The major part of the article discusses Dickens' novels. The discussion, phrased mostly in superlatives, concentrates on the comic aspects of his work--"the inexhaustible humor . . . [sic] one of the most important phenomenons [sic] in all English literature."[24] Of Dickens' works, The Chimes is singled out for special praise: "one of the most delightful things one can read."[25] Stress is also placed on the great moral influence his work was said to have had on people of all classes. The essay concludes with the statement: "Most of his novels have been translated into our language [Dano-Norwegian] and can be recommended as the best and soundest of the otherwise so justly infamous novel literature, and every father and mother can, without fear, put his works into their children's hands."[26] This was the last article about Dickens to appear until the beginning of the next decade.

Most of the articles printed in Norway between 1850-1870 usually

considered one or more of the following aspects of Dickens' career: his literary work, his theatrical activities, and his great financial success. As was the case in the 1840's, many of these items were derived from foreign sources. Most of them were printed in the newspapers of the larger towns: Bergen, Stavanger, Trondheim, Drammen, and Oslo; although there occasionally appeared a notice or comment in village newspapers such as Romsdals Budstikke and Lillehammers Tilskuer.

The only article of any critical value to be found in a newpaper of this period is an essay written by an "A.G." for Drammens Blad in 1852 as part of a series dealing with the state of the novel in England, Germany, and France. After presenting a short history of the rise and development of the English novel, the essay contains a discussion of a "truimvriat" of nineteenth-century novelists: Scott, Bulwer, and Dickens--representative writers of the historical novel, the novel of character, and the comic novel. When the essayist finally turns to a specific consideration of Dickens, he dwells on the great success of Pickwick Papers and despairs of being able to present any adequate treatment of Dickens' greatness. Reference is made to Dickens' satire and its effects, such as his attack on schools in Nicholas Nickleby. In one of the few instances where interest in foreign criticism of Dickens is shown, this essay in Drammens Blad refers to a critical broadside delivered against Dickens in 1842 by Jules Janin, "the French 'butterfly' . . . who tried to drag Dickens . . . down into the dust in which French writers are so pleased to find themselves"; Janin has been forgotten, but the name of

Dickens still "shines with the glow of genius."[27] Remarking that Household Words was read everywhere, A.G. closes the section of his essay dealing with Dickens by mentioning Dickens' major nonliterary activity, namely his acting with friends to raise money for the poor. The remainder of the essay consists of a brief discussion of the merits of minor English novelists such as Ainsworth and Marryat. The essay ends with a reference to Thackeray and to the immense popularity of Vanity Fair.

The names of Dickens and Thackeray were linked together in several other articles that appeared before 1870. In 1853, Christiania-Posten carried an article "Thackeray and Dickens," which was more of a biographical account of the two novelists than a comparative study of their works. This essay was taken from a Swedish newspaper which had in turn translated it from an English paper. After the death of Thackeray in 1863, two more articles were printed which are relevant to this study. The first, the obituary article run by Skilling-Magazin, commenced: "William Makepeace Thackeray, after Dickens, the most famous English novelist. . . "--illustrating the relative positions held by the two men.[28] The second essay was that written by Dickens on the occasion of Thackeray's death for the Cornhill Magazine. This appeared in a full translation in Illustreret Nyhedsblad.

The only significant [illegible] appeared in a periodical before Dickens' death was that devoted to him by Skilling-Magazin in 1869. The article, taken from the Danish periodical Ny Illustreret Tidende, gives a general but accurate biographical sketch and survey of his works. The writer emphasized Dickens'

importance as an innovator in the novel through his use of realism. Much of the immediate popularity of Pickwick Papers is said to have been owing to the freshness of the realism of the work which provided a needed change after the dull silver-fork novels of the previous decade. Although all of Dickens' novels are mentioned, the two works singled out for particular praise are Pickwick Papers and the Christmas Books, "which are just about the most delightful creations in this genre that modern literature has produced."[29] His later novels were said to lack unity or form, but this, the writer explained, "is a national flaw of greater dimensions than the English are prepared to admit."[30]

This article mentions Dickens' performances as a reader of his own works, but Dickens' talents as an actor had been known as early as 1850 when a review of Every Man in His Humour was published in Bergen's Stiftstidende. The most important articles concerned exclusively with Dickens' readings to appear before his death were "Dickens as Reader", published in Illustreret Nyhedsblad in 1858, giving in full Dickens' speech to his first audience, and an article in Norsk Folkeblad in 1870, describing his last recital and likewise including a translation of his farewell speech. Ten years later, Ny illustreret Tidende printed an essay by the German writer C.M. Sauer about Dickens' public readings, the most scholarly article written on any aspect of Dickens' life to be found in a Norwegian periodical of the nineteenth century. Sauer's essay is based on Forster's biography and two other works concerned with the subject: Charles Kent's Charles Dickens as a Reader (1872) and the American Kate Field's Pen Photographs of Charles Dickens'

Readings (1868). Sauer gives a thorough yet concise history of Dickens' readings from his earliest attempt in reading The Chimes in 1844 for his friends to his last readings in London in 1870. Well-chosen anecdotes illustrate Suaer's thesis that with the death of Charles Dickens "ended, not only the life of the century's greatest humorist, but also, if not its greatest actor, one of the greatest acting talents of merry old England."[31]

The enormous financial returns of Dickens' performances as a reader were a source of wonder throughout the nation. Judging from the Norwegian press, Dickens was considered to be an extremely rich man. The sums his books and readings were bringing in were repeatedly blown up in notices from 1853 until after his death. The fact that a writer could refuse an offer of $20,000 from the American publisher Appleton for a three-volume novel astonished the Stavanger Amtstidende in 1868.

The fear was expressed that Dickens' theatrical performances and financial success were affecting his talents as a writer, since it was generally felt that his later novels were not as good as his earlier ones. This fear was first voiced by the German writer Karl Gutzkow in an article which appeared both in Oslo and Bergen in 1853. Gutzkow, after describing a lavish dinner party he attended at Dickens' home, was led to lament the decline of Dickens to the level of a French feuilleton writer. "One can well be critical of seeing the author of Pickwick Papers and Barnaby Rudge distracted like this by social life, the serial publication of his novels, theatre performances, travel, and the like."[32] Christiania-Posten in 1860, while admitting the

financial advantages which serial publication gave Dickens, felt, however, "that this method can have something to do with leading Dickens' great talent astray, and can be part of the reason that his works have become more and more mannered and factory-like."[33]

Dickens' value to the Norwegian press as a novelist and public figure must be considered secondary to the value he had for them as editor of his two weeklies: Household Words and All the Year Round. These publications provided Norwegian newspapers and periodicals with a source of material which they frequently drew upon. Between 1851 and 1867, ninety-one articles from Household Words were published in Norwegian periodicals and newspapers, and one hundred and eighty articles from All the Year Round appeared between 1859 and 1880, a hundred and sixty-nine of which were printed before 1871. Since none of the items in Dickens' magazines bore their authors' names, the editors of Norwegian newspapers and magazines had no way of ascertaining who wrote what. For this reason, many of the articles and stories reprinted by them were attributed to Dickens, whereas they had been written by others. Of the articles and stories found, only twenty are definitely the work of Dickens, most of them stories now printed in the volumes of his collected shorter pieces: The Uncommercial Traveller, Reprinted Pieces, etc. The articles which were not attributed to Dickens usually bore a subheading such as: "from Dickens' Household Words" or "based on All the Year Round." This printing of stories and essays from Dickens' magazines caused his name to be brought into homes of all classes throughout the nation. It was difficult for many Norwegians to

obtain a copy of an English novel, even in translation, but most reading families subscribed to a newspaper or one or more of the popular periodicals.

The most prolific borrower from Dickens' magazines was Skilling-Magazin, which, between 1857 and 1881, published a total of 126 articles. Of the seven other magazines which printed translations from Dickens' magazines, none took more than three essays or stories. Of the 23 newspapers that published translations from Household Words and All the Year Round, only three printed three or more different stories, and these were important Oslo newspapers: Christiania-Intelligentssedler (26), Christiania-Posten (18) and Den norske Rigstidende (17). Ten of the newspapers were provincial or small town newspapers; the remaining ten were other Oslo newspapers. There is some duplication of articles because the provincial papers often reprinted a translation found in a newspaper from a larger town. Some of the stories were not taken directly from the English magazines but were translations printed originally in Danish magazines and newspapers.

No other non-Scandinavian author's death was given as much attention in the nineteenth century by Norwegian newspapers as that of Charles Dickens. On June 10, 1870, the afternoon Oslo paper Dagbladet carried a notice that Dickens was reputedly ill. The newly established news agency, Det norske Telegrambureau, sent the news of his death throughout the nation as soon as it was received. By June 11 almost every newspaper in the country had announced this fact to its readers. In many cases the announcement of his death was followed by an obituary, either in the same issue

or in one which appeared during the following weeks.

The source of several of the obituaries was the article describing Dickens' burial and the sermon preached by the Bishop of Manchester which had been published in the London Times. Throndhjems Stiftsavis, the weekly Almuevennen, and the Oslo newspaper Morgenposten reprinted this Times article in one form or another. The version which appeared in Almuevennen, running through three issues, is prefaced by the following: "His death is a loss felt in many places in the world almost as much as in England, because few authors have been read by so many and loved by both the high and low, as Charles Dickens."[34]

Other newpapers derived their memorial articles from Danish sources. Dagbladet devoted most of the front page of the June 17 number to Dickens; the article, based on one which originally appeared in the Copenhagen daily Berlingske Tidende, not only provided the biographical information common to most of these commemorative essays, but also attempted some critical analysis of his writing.

> Dickens distinguishes himself as an author by the depths hidden beneath his unique humor. He is a realist; but he understands how to depict the present with all of its defects and weaknesses in such a manner that we are given the impression that life, in spite of all its despair and self-inflicted punishment, is beautiful when seen as a whole. Dickens does not really possess, if we may use the expression, any real "lyrical sensitivity," but on the other hand, the ethical plays an important role in his work. He knows how to make the gentle light of goodness penetrate the London fog so that it throws its rays even into the homes of the miserable and sinful . . . .[35]

Of particular importance is the section of the essay that mentions some of the negative criticism leveled at Dickens' work in

Scandinavia:

> Dickens has been accused of repeating himself, by putting the same characters on the stage with only their names changed; he has been reproached for his tendency to put set-sayings into the mouths of his characters; he has been blamed for playing the coquette with "Goodness", people have tried to show that he is often mannered, especially in his later works; people have complained that the methods he uses to attract and hold his reader in suspense are too artful and yet not artful enough to hide the machinery behind them. But these and similar critical remarks are only of subordinate value. What we have to admire in Dickens is his unique knowledge of people, his rich creative powers, his humorous gift of presentation, and the practical humanity which shines out at the reader from every page of his writings. Dickens can rightfully be considered one of the most important authors of the day. The reading world is indebted to him for an entire gallery of novel figures and his writings have had a great cosmopolitanizing influence through the effects they have had in just about all civilized nations.[36]

Another essay, written under the pseudonym "Cabiro" was published five days later in Aftenposten. This essay differs from the other memorial articles in that it does not concern itself with Dickens' life, but concentrates rather on his literary technique. If the reader wanted to find out what kind of man Dickens was, he was advised to read his novels, particularly "the best of them all, David Copperfield, between the central line of which the sympathetic reader will see a kind of poetic confession."[37] "Cabiro" finds two reasons for the great literary achievement of Dickens: his imagination and his sentiment. The writer describes at length how Dickens creates his effects through the amassing of specific details, "each one insignificant in its own right, but united they create a world . . . This is why even the most ordinary everyday situation, brought forth by the union of the separate strengths of all the single details, strikes

us with its descriptive power."[38] Dickens' fantasy and feeling somehow enable him to make dead things live--there is life in everything to be found in his novels, even chairs and door knockers. His ability to describe "the effects of the forces of nature . . . [has] no parallel . . . ."[39] The best proof of the power of Dickens' imagination is the scenes in which "he describes such unpleasant states of the soul as the terror which results from having committed murder and the fear of its being discovered."[40] Four of his works are referred to in the course of the essay: David Copperfield, Martin Chuzzlewit, The Chimes, and Oliver Twist. An unusual omission is Pickwick Papers.

The charge of exaggeration and monotony leveled at Dickens, especially with regard to his later works, is countered by "Cabiro" with the argument that socio-economic conditions in England were very different from those in Norway so that many of the things in Dickens which seem exaggerated to Norwegians should be viewed against the particular English conditions being described. Norwegians are also advised to keep in mind that the English had a penchant for eccentricity, and that Dickens was such an Englishman. So was Turner, whose paintings are compared to the novels of Dickens.[41] Of all the articles printed about Dickens at the time of his death, this is the least superficial and most original.

Other articles and notices continued to appear throughout 1870. Mostly of a biographical nature, they were concerned with such things as Gad's Hill, the story of its acquisition, the existence of The Life of Our Lord as a private possession of the

Dickens family, his will, and rumors about the unfinished Edwin Drood. The most significant of these items consists of the "violated letter" written by Dickens to Arthur Smith "for [the] correction of false rumours [illegible] Dickens' separation from his wife in 1858.[42] A copy of this letter had been given to the London correspondent of the New York Tribune, who immediately had it printed in his newspaper. Twelve years later a translation of the letter appeared in two Oslo newspapers, Aftenbladet and Aftenposten, prefaced by a paragraph which erroneously stated that the letter had been written to a friend of Dickens in America and that it had recently been made public. The translation, taken from a Danish newspaper, was followed by the comment: "We have printed this letter because it must comfort everyone who is fond of this excellent author to know that he was also a pure and noble person in his private life."[43]

After 1870, the number of articles about Dickens quickly tapered off. The three that remain to be commented upon in this section of my study were all published in the periodical that had always given Dickens considerable attention, Skilling-Magazin. The magazine published "Dickens' Youth" in 1872, a translation of a review of Forster's biography, which had previously appeared in Chamber's Journal.[44] In 1880, the periodical printed an article which provided the most complete coverage of Dickens' life to be found in a Norwegian magazine. In a lengthy essay, Karl Hillebrandt described numerous sides of Dickens' life and work: his marriage and separation, his

radical temperament, his amassing of wealth, his talent as an actor, his friendships. Hillebrandt is the first to mention Dickens' ability as a letter writer.

> No one can write more lively, beautiful letters than Dickens, and we only wonder how he found the time to write such lengthy and carefully written ones. The majority are very long, containing descriptions and anecdotes which go into the most minute detail; only seldom do they contain his reflections. It is just like reading a chapter from one of his novels. Many of them are phrased as if they were written by one or another of the characters we know so well from his novels: Mrs. Gamp, Sam Weller and others. There is a gushing of life, spirit, and feeling; a humor that is always fresh and a genuine, moving pathos; naturalness, spontaneity, freshness in them all. When we read these letters, it is impossible not to love Dickens and this is one of the few exceptional instances in which an author's personality is greater than his works; it is something which is true only of the greatest. I have to admit that I never had as high an opinion of Dickens from his novels as I have gotten from these letters and notes about his life. Whether you praise his view of life or not, agree or disagree with his individual judgements, praise or criticize his conduct in a particular instance--one cannot deny that here is a man with his heart and head in the right places.[45]

Hillebrandt's essay is obviously based on Forster's The Life of Charles Dickens, which had appeared in a Danish translation in the year of its publication, 1872.

Skilling-Magazin paid its final tribute to Dickens by publishing in 1886 "Charles Dickens at Home," taken from The Cornhill Magazine and written by Dickens' eldest daughter Mamie. The article provides intimate views of Dickens as a father through the telling of anecdotes about the family activities he took such an interest in: dances, plays, games, pets, and the summers at Broadstairs and Bologne.[46] This was the last article to appear about Dickens in the Norwegian press before the flood of memorial essays in honor of the 1912

centenary of his birth. However, if interest in Dickens the Man waned during these years, the interest in his novels continued.

In spite of the numerous articles, stories, and even novels taken from Household Words and All the Year Round, translated and printed in Norwegian newspapers and magazines, no novel of Dickens was issued until the newspaper Verdens Gang printed in 1883 a truncated version of Dombey and Son, which appeared as a serial in the Saturday numbers of the newspaper and in book form upon the completion of the serialization. The work was compressed into 34 chapters (the original has 62), which were composed of selected excerpts from the novel bound together by short, concise summaries. The main lines of the plot remain: Paul's childhood and death, Dombey's remarriage and Edith's elopement, and the life at The Good Midshipman--but all minor characters such as Toots and Miss Tox are well nigh excluded. The title page of the book edition rightfully reads: "Excerpts from Dombey and Son." Illustrations are provided, but they are not the original "Phiz" drawings. It is possible that this version is a translation of an English or Continental abridgement of the work.

In 1888, the same newspaper issued another Dickens novel, A Tale of Two Cities, this time in the serial format which had been used by Norwegian papers since the end of the 1840's. As an added inducement to subscribers, novels and longer short stories would be serialized and printed in such a way that the reader was able to cut out each installment of four printed sides each and then bind the installments into a book upon

completion of the serialization. This translation of A Tale of Two Cities has no worth other than representing another attempt by a Norwegian newspaper to publish a Dickens novel. The work has been heavily abridged; most descriptive passages have been removed; the result is but a vague picture of the original.

In 1900-1901 two of Dickens' novels were serialized simultaneously in two different Oslo newspapers. The first of these to appear was David Copperfield, issued by Norske Intelli- [illegible] which ran from April 7, 1900 to June 7, 1901. The novel was given a thoroughly modern sales campaign before the initial installment began. Numerous advertisements were printed in the newspaper announcing the intended publication: "In the next quarter, Charles Dickens' best novel shall begin as a cut-out serial. This classic tale, which at the same time is the poet's own life story as well as an exciting novel, will give our readers some of the most enjoyable moments in their lives."[47] The newspaper went so far as to write to a number of prominent writers and public figures, requesting that they express their opinions as to the value of David Copperfield as "a book for the people."[48] The statements which they received from these individuals were then printed in a lengthy advertisement. (Chapter Two of this study will consider these statements in so far as they reflect attitudes of Dickens' readers.) The serial translation was complete, adequate, and readable, but was soon to be superseded by C.J. Hambro's far superior translation which appeared in 1913.

David Copperfield had been running for only two months when another Oslo daily, Landsbladet, began serial publication of Barnaby Rudge, which was not completed until the following April. This translation begins well, but soon there is a deletion of sentences here and there and a compression of detailed descriptive passages. Beginning with Chapter LXXV, abridgement becomes very pronounced and the final chapters are more than halved. The first half of Chapter LXXVII, for example, is entirely omitted, ruining the effect of the execution scene. The hapless Miggs is dismissed in the course of a page. The translation, however, is readable, if heavy and not very imaginative. This newspaper edition of Barnaby Rudge is the only translation of the work ever printed in Norway. Whereas all Dickens' other novels (with the exception of Edwin Drood, which, being incomplete, is a special case) were eventually to be issued in modern translations in a hard cover format, Barnaby Rudge still awaits such publication. The form of its publication makes the Landsbladet translation virtually inaccessable to the Norwegian of today who wishes to read the work but does not read English; he must still turn to a Danish version.

Before this chapter ends with a discussion of the Dickens centenary articles which appeared in Norway in 1912, mention must be made of the production on Norway's major stage, Nationalteatret, of a translation of the German adaptation of Little Dorrit made by Franz von Schönthan. Reviews of the March 1906 production appeared in the major Oslo dailies. All

found the play charming and delightful, the main reason being the "enchanting" acting of Mrs. Mette Bull in the title role. Speaking of the play itself, the reviewer for Norske Intelligentssedler wrote, "A great number of people will enjoy all this sentimentality and naiveté very much. The whole thing is so extremely lovable, well-intentioned, pretty and sweet; it is just that it is a bit too sweet--for my taste at least."[49] The play, first produced in Vienna in October, 1905, had enjoyed considerable popularity in Austria, Germany, and Hungary;[50] it seems to have been a box office success in Oslo as well.

The history of Dickens' popularity and fame as reflected in the Norwegian press is capped by the adulation and honor awarded him by the number and quality of the memorial essays which appeared in the major city and provincial newspapers on or about February 7, 1912 in connection with the celebration of the centenary of his birth. The Oslo newspapers commissioned their finest literary critics to write the essays: Carl Naerup, Nils Kjaer, Erik Lie, Carl Hambro, and Reidar Øksnevad.

The two most important of these critics were Carl Naerup (1864-1931), the only critic ever to receive kunstnerlønn (a yearly salary paid by the Norwegian Storting to outstanding artists), and the essayist-playwright Nils Kjaer (1870-1949), both of whom had established their reputations as leading literary critics by the mid-1890's and maintained their prominent positions until their deaths. They shared many similar critical points of view. They were conservatives, neo-romantics and anti-Naturalists. Both admired Dickens highly. It appears that neither let an

occasion pass without using it in their fight against Naturalism since in their respective essays on Dickens each manages to fire a shot at the post-Zola generation of Norwegian writers. Naerup wrote, "[Dickens] did not begin his novels armed with huge documentative piles of notes and observations";[51] and Kjaer, speaking of Pickwick Papers, observes, "Good humor possesses a tenacity of life which makes a mockery of the most scientific of [literary] conjectures, and if the reader is unable to find any nourishment in modern writings, he can always safely turn to the old and tested."[52] Naerup finds the source of Dickens' greatness in his "very unique humor, a kind of humor that had never before existed."[53] Kjaer, on the other hand, see his greatness as coming from an imagination which was able to create unique characters which live in a unique fairy-tale world that is at the same time a world of complete reality. Although they stress different aspects of Dickens' work, both Naerup and Kjaer are in complete agreement; both essays are positive and written with obvious love and admiration.

The other essays which appeared do not differ greatly in content from the two just mentioned. Like Naerup, Erik Lie (1869-1943), son of the great Norwegian novelist Jonas Lie, stresses Dickens' humor. Like Kjaer, Reidar Øksnevad (1884-1958), lektor in Norwegian at the Sorbonne, emphasizes his imaginative characterization. Naerup, Kjaer, and Lie point out the relationship between Dickens and Cervantes. Lie compares him with Balzac. Although Balzac had the greater soul, Lie states that "one cannot be sure that Dickens' works will not live, i. e. be read,

just as long as those of the genial Frenchman."[54]

Several of the articles dwell on Dickens' interest in the poor, his "democratic belief in the people," as Øksnevad puts it.[55] This aspect of Dickens' life and works is duly emphasized in the essay written for the Social-Demokraten by its former editor Olav Kringen (1867-1951), writer of numerous political pamphlets, labor agitator and translator of "The International." Dickens is the great radical humanitarian, the writer who had always had a single goal in mind--the amelioration of the lot of mankind. Kringen also points to Dickens' use of the language of the poor of London, of factory workers and of country folk as an important innovation in the novel.[56]

Of the works singled out for specific comment, the one common to most of the essays is Pickwick Papers. Other novels frequently mentioned were David Copperfield, which Kjaer claims "had the greatest number of readers,"[57] Oliver Twist, and Nicholas Nickleby. The only essayist to name works written after David Copperfield was the radical socialist Olav Kringen who mentions Little Dorrit and A Tale of Two Cities, which might have interested the socialist because they deal significantly with prisons and revolution. Of the individual characters, Pecksniff and Micawber are given noteworthy attention along with Mr. Pickwick and his friends.

The one major essayist who did not attempt to deal with the works of Dickens was Carl Hambro, then literary editor of Morgenbladet. His article is devoted exculsively to Dickens the Man. Widely read in Dickens and Dickensiana, Hambro draws a respectful and

tender portrait of "The Inimitable." "It is as if sunshine beams from all sides of his life. And yet there are few who worked harder. Worked! Wearing out his life year by year. And yet this might be the reason why it was the small things which had such worth for him."[58] The same number which carried his essay likewise contained Hambro's reviews of several new books on Dickens which had appeared in England--one of the rare instances in which an interest in Dickensian scholarship is shown in Norway.

With these centenary essays ends a major phase of interest in Dickens on the part of the Norwegian press. From the first appearance of his name in Johan Dahl's advertisement in Den Constitutionelle in 1839 to the laudatory essays of Hambro, Naerup, and Kjaer in 1912, no other non-Scandinavian author had been given so much and such consistent attention as Charles Dickens by the Norwegian press. Norwegian newspapers and magazines were concerned with three aspects of the author. There was Dickens the Man--successful, rich, world famous, the public figure and traveler, the actor and reader, the father and friend. There was Dickens the Writer--the imaginative creator of comic novels filled with fantastic but lovable characters, Pickwick Papers being the best of them all because it was the most comic (although David Copperfield, dealing as it does with Dickens the Man, soon gave it some competition). And there was Dickens the Editor--the Dickens to whom the Norwegian press should have been most grateful because of the endless supply of copy he supplied them with through his two magazines, Household Words and All the Year Round.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I

[1]Den Constitutionelle (1835-1847), published by Johan Dahl, as the official organ for the pro-Danish group of Oslo intellectuals, Intelligenspartiet. One of the leading newspaper of its day, Den Constitutionelle was supported by some of the most gifted men in Norway. It played a significant role in establishing Dickens' fame in Norway. The German translations were by H. Roberts. Cf. Ellis N. Gummer, Dickens' Works in Germany: 1837-1937 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), p. 186.

[2]Actually Forster set the number of copies sold at "nearly fifty thousand!" Cf. John Forster, The Life of Charles Dickens (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1927), I, 85.

[3]Den Constitutionelle, February 25, 1839.

[4]Den Constitutionelle, October 11, 1839.

[5]Christiansandsposten, December 27, 1839.

[6]Stiftstidende (Bergen), November 29, 1840.

[7]Loc. cit.

[8]Loc. cit.

[9]"Literatur og Kunst," Ny Hermoder, III (March, 1842), 124.

[10]Magnus Jensen, Norges Historie: Unionstiden: 1814-1905 (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1963), p.147.

[11]Den Constitutionelle, January 3, 1843.

[12]Den Constitutionelle, December 28, 1842.

[13]Loc. cit.

[14]Den Constitutionelle, December 29, 1842.

[15]Loc. cit.

[16]Charles Dickens, American Notes and Pictures from Italy ("The New Oxford Illustrated Dickens"; London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 99.

[17]Den Constitutionelle, March 17, 1843.

[18]Niels Berg, Om Faengselvaesnets nuvaerende Standpunkt (Christiania; 1945), p. 8.

[19]Den Constitutionelle, March 17, 1843.

[20]F. Fabricius, Dansk Bogfortegnelse for Aarene 1841-1858 (København: Forlagsbureauet, 1861), p. 36.

[21]Cf. Clarence Gohdes, American Literature in Nineteenth-Century England (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1944), p. 50.

[22]Gummer, op. cit., p. 2.

[23]"Charles Dickens," Skilling-Magazin, X (November, 1845), 377.

[24]Loc. cit.

[25]Loc. cit.

[26]Loc. cit.

[27]Drammens Blad, August 20, 1852. In 1842 Ny Hermoder had printed excerpts of this attack on Dickens by Janin, who was reviewing a theatrical adaptation of Nicholas Nickleby while Dickens was in America. Cf. "Literatur og Kunst," Ny Hermoder, III (September, 1842), 364. Cf. also: Floris Delattre, Dickens et la France (Paris: Libraire Universitaire, 1927), p. 57.

[28]"Thackeray," Skilling-Magazin, XXX (February, 1864), 130.

[29]"Charles Dickens," Skilling-Magazin, XXXV (February, 1869), 131.

[30]Loc. cit.

[31]C.M. Sauer, 'Dickens som Forelaeser," Ny illustreret Tidende, VII (July, 1880), 99.

[32]Morgenbladet, April 6, 1853.

[33]Christiania-Posten, March 30, 1860.

[34]"Charles Dickens," Almuevennen, XXII (June, 1870), col. 202.

[35]Dagbladet, June 17, 1870.

[36]Loc. cit.

[37]Aftenposten, June 22, 1870.

[38]Loc. cit.

[39]Loc. cit.

[40]Loc. cit.

[41]George Ford notes that "Ruskin's taste for Turner may account

for his admiring the storm scene in David Copperfield." This storm scene is one of the scenes "Cabiro" singles out for particular praise. Cf. George Ford, Dickens and His Readers: Aspects of Novel Criticism since 1836 (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1965), p. 92.

[42]Forster, op. cit., II, 206. The letter is printed in R[obert] Shelton Mackenzie, The Life of Charles Dickens (Philadelphia: T.B. Peterson & Brothers, 1870), pp. 248-250.

[43]Aftenbladet, June 27, 1870; and Aftenposten, June 28, 1870.

[44]"Dickens Ungdom," Skilling-Magazin, XXXVIII (March, 1872), 154-158, 162-166.

[45]Karl Hillebrandt, "Charles Dickens ennu engang," Skilling-Magazin, XLV (January, 1880), 27.

[46]"Charles Dickens i sit Hjem," Skilling-Magazin, LII (January, 1886), 2-11. Cf. "Charles Dickens at Home: With Especial Reference to His Relations with Children. By His Eldest Daughter," The Cornhill Magazine, IV, New Series (January, 1885), 32-51.

[47]Norske Intelligentssedler, April 7, 1900.

[48]Loc. cit.

[49]Norske Intelligentssedler, December 22, 1900.

[50]Cf. Gummer, op. cit., p. 173.

[51]Tidens Tegn, February 71 1912.

[52]Aftenposten, February 7, 1912.

[53]Tidens Tegn, February 7, 1912.

[54]Norske Intelligentssedler, February 7, 1912.

[55]Verdens Gang, February 7, 1912.

[56]Social-Demokraten, February 6, 1912.

[57]Aftenposten, February 7, 1912.

[58]Morgenbladet, February 12, 1912.

CHAPTER TWO

DICKENS AND THE NORWEGIAN READING PUBLIC

While Mr. Pickwick, Oliver Twist, and Nicholas Nickleby were establishing themselves in English and American hearts in the late 1830's, the Norwegian reading public, as described by Harold Tveteråas in his history of the Norwegian book trade, was composed mostly of women of the bourgeoisie, and "was solely interested in reading German or Danish works. The types of novels these readers first picked out in their bookshops were books by authors like the German August la Fontaine, who wrote in an emotional style, and after him, a whole line of his countrymen, all of whom were more or less sentimental."[1] In the early 1840's, however, reading taste turned toward English literature. "Initially it was focused on Walter Scott and gradually other writers became known--post-romantic novelists like Dickens, Bulwer, Marryat, and Cooper."[2] Their works were read, as was nearly all non-Scandinavian literature, in Danish translations, usually of very poor quality.

The inferior nature of these translations was a common cause for complaint by educators and critics who feared that the language employed in the Danish versions was having harmful effects on the taste and language of the general reading public. H. Winter-Hjelm, in a review of Danish translations for the Norsk Tidsskrift for Videnskab og Litteratur (1847-55), warned against a constant reading of translated novels. They were being turned into Danish at such a factory-like speed that no attention

was being given to style. As a result, the prose was "so non-idiomatic that you [could] immediately tell from the translation itself what the language of the original was; and in addition [the translations were] so slovenly and bad that you [could not] work your way through them without disgust."[3]

But the rapidly growing novel reading public of the mid-nineteenth century had no choice. Few Norwegians knew English well enough to be able to read long novels in the original. At that time English was studied almost exclusively by merchants, sailors, and mechanics because of its practical use.[4] It did not become an important subject in the schools until the enactment of the School Law of 1869; a Chair of Modern Languages was not established at the University of Oslo until 1873. Even had there been more extensive training in English, it is doubtful whether any large portion of the reading public would have been willing to read English novels in the original. Most readers, preferring to avoid the strain of a foreign language, read Danish translations.

Thirteen versions of Dickens' novels and Christmas books were published in Denmark between 1839 and 1849: Nicholas Nickleby (1839), Pickwick Papers (1840), Oliver Twist (1840-41), The Old Curiosity Shop(1841-43), Sketches by Boz (1844), A Christmas Carol (1844), The Chimes (1845), Barnaby Rudge (1845), The Cricket on the Hearth (1846), The Battle of Life (1847), Dombey and Son (1849-50), The Haunted Man (1849), and David Copperfield (1849-50).[5]

It is a writer such as Dickens who suffers most from poor

translation. So much of his characterization, especially in his earliest novels, is done through a unique use of language that an inept rendering of the speech of a Sam Weller or a Mrs. Gamp would weaken considerably the novels in which they appear. The poor quality of the earliest Danish versions of his works was certainly a major reason for his slow growth in popularity in the 1840's. Norwegians were not reading the writings of Dickens; they were reading shadows of these writings.

The review of Pickwick Papers in Bergen's Stiftstidende had this to say of the Danish version of Nicholas Nickleby: "Of Charles Dickens' work, only Pickwick Papers is known to us here, because an incomparably poor translation of his Nicolaus Nickleby [sic] has made that work so unrecognizable that its readers will be disappointed if they go there to find Dickens' spirit."[6] Pickwick Papers and five of the other volumes mentioned above were translated by Ludvig Jordan. Although Bergen's Stiftstidende found his rendering of Pickwick Papers "very satisfactory,"[7] this is the only instance I have discovered in which Jordan's work receives praise. The general impression one gets from occasional comment found in Norwegian newspapers of the period is that his efforts were but those of a hack writer. Readers were cautioned against reading his editions of Dickens. There is, for example, this short notice found in Drammens Blad in 1853:

> Numerous translations (Dickens, Macaulay) are being published and especially a lot of vulgar novels [translated by] the infamous literary figure, Ludvig Jordan; the Danish Book Catalogue for December of last year shows that Mr. Jordan usually published a couple of low novels a month: he has turned it into an industry! --There are several translations of Dickens available: Eibes' [pub-

> lishing house] are probably the best, since the other translators live in Odense and work for Jordan or are to be found in other suspicious places.[8]

Ludvig Jordan's efforts were soon eclipsed by the work of Ludvig Moltke (1805-72) whose name was to become as closely linked with Dickens' novels for Danish and Norwegian readers as that of Phiz.

Ludvig Moltke had been a translator of English novels since the mid-eighteen thirties; he had introduced the work of Marryat, Bulwer, Scott, and Cooper to Danish and Norwegian readers. His first translation of a Dickens novel was that of David Copperfield which appeared in 1849-50 as a serial in the Copenhagen daily Faedrelandet at the same time that the original numbers of the novel were being issued in London. This translation, complete with the Phiz illustrations, was published in book form by Eibe, who then commissioned Moltke to begin a Danish version of "the complete works." Moltke's translations enjoyed enormous popularity. Before the publication of Edwin Drood in 1870, several of the previously translated works had gone into second or third printings. Eibe began to issue a cheap edition of Moltke's translations in the 1870's and Norwegian newspapers frequently carried subscription advertisements. Several literary reviewers welcomed the cheap edition, stressing the suitability of Dickens' novels for family reading and pointing out that the unusually low price of the volumes should allow most families to be able to afford them. These reviewers expressed satisfaction with the translations. Sigurd Müller, Danish literary correspondent for the Norsk Tidsskrift for Literatur (1876-78) deemed them "worthy of the original."[9]

Why Moltke's translations were so enthusiastically received is somewhat of a mystery; his qualifications as a translator were certainly questionable. We are informed by the Dansk Bibliografisk Lexikon that he had never received any formal training in the English language nor had he ever spoken it. "And even his lengthy experience never gave him any secure understanding of the language. In addition, he worked with increasing haste, issuing completely incompetent translations under his name."[10] His version of Forster's The Life of Charles Dickens was so poor that it caused a rival translator, Ferderik C. Sørensen (who had translated the Life for another publisher), to write an attack on the quality of Moltke's work entitled "Literature or Trash?" Somehow Moltke's inadequacies were covered over by the strength of Dickens' popularity. By 1890, the complete works, in Moltke's translation, had gone into a fourth editon. Even today, publishers find it to their advantage to advertise "in Moltke's translation," even though the volumes have been so completely re-worked by later editors that "there is little left of 'the Moltke charm': the odd non-idiomatic Danish expressions, especially in the dialogue."[11]

The only other important publication of any of Dickens' works in Denmark during the nineteenth century was the issuance of A Christmas Carol and A Cricket on the Hearth (both in 1879), Pickwick Papers (1881), David Copperfield (1886), and a volume which contained excerpts from Forster's Life and selections from Sketches by Boz (1889) all as part of a series called: "Selected Works for the Advancment of the Enlightenment of the

People." These abridged versions of Dickens were all "freely translated" by Albert Andersen and were mentioned in several Norwegian newspapers and magazines. Skilling-Magazin, for example, commented on Andersen's translation of Pickwick Papers:

> The translation presents us with an abridged version of the famous novel in which he has omitted the irrelevant interpolated tales while reproducing the original as faithfully as possible, although not in a literal translation. He especially omits the English puns and Anglicisms, replacing them with corresponding Danish expressions. He occasionally changes the names of persons and places in order to preserve the spirit of this famous literary work.[12]

In spite of the fact that these Danish editions were available, there were still a few works translated and published in Norway during the nineteenth century. Mention has already been made of the abortive attempts in 1843 to translate American Notes and Martin Chuzzlewit as well as the serialization of several novels in Norwegian newspapers in the 1880's and at the turn of the century. There were, however, a few translations which appeared in book form before 1912.

The first of these translations, although a pamphlet and not a book, was that made of a story taken from the Sketches and published under the auspices of Det norske Totalafholdselskab (The Norwegian Total Abstinence Society) in 1879. "The Drunkard's Death" was translated by the secretary of the society to be used as a tract by its members. It is ironic that Dickens, opposed as he was to the mentality and methods of teetotalers (evidenced by his essay "A Plea for Total Abstinence"), should himself have provided propaganda for one of the most conservative and stultifying forces in Norway. (It is significant that this story

had been printed earlier in 1852 by a newspaper in Stavanger, one of the most puritanical cities in the nation.)[13]

Oliver Twist was published in two very small volumes in 1880 as part of a series called "A Miniature Library for Novel Readers," which contained novels by Jules Verne, Mrs. Oliphant, Walter Besant and others. This edition is heavily abridged; almost all descriptive passages have been omitted; only the narrative essentials remain.

A more respectful and adequate treatment was given to Dickens' prose in another series of inexpensive books which appeared in the late 1880's: "The Library for Thousands of Homes" edited and published by Johan Sørensen. This highly successful series was modelled after the National Library of England, the Universal-Bibliothek in Germany and Bibliothèque nationale in France, all of which had the common purpose of making available, in cheap editions, important literary works as part of a crusade for the general enlightenment of the common man. In a statement printed on the back of each volume in the series, Sørensen proclaims:

> These books are being distributed among the great mass of readers in numbers hitherto unheard of in the publishing world; and if we are to assume--which is the only rational thing to do--that books are not bought by the millions just to be quickly thrown away, but to be read, we are forced to conclude that this mass distribution of the best that the world's literature has to offer cannot but have an exceptionally civilizing effect.[14]

The radical cultural-political aims and the content of the series caused some unrest in the more conservative circles in Norway.[15] Among the authors represented were: Tolstoy, de Maupassant, Turgenev, Herbert Spencer, Darwin, Irving, Luther,

Daudet, Brete Harte, and Moliere. Three Christmas books by Dickens were printed: A Christmas Carol (1887), The Cricket on the Hearth (1887), and The Chimes (1888)--in straightforward, careful, competent translations which reflect the seriousness of the planning behind the whole series.

A children's version of The Old Curiosity Shop was published and distributed by "Centralstyret for de norske folkeskolers Barne-og ungdomsbibliotheker (The Central Board for Libraries for Children and Teenagers in Norwegian Public Schools)," in 1901. The edition was prepared by Ingeborg von der Lippe Konow, herself a writer of children's books. Again the work is severely abridged, although there is no statement of that fact on the title page. Everything which might "bring a blush to the cheek of a 'young person'," as Mr. Podsnap puts it in Our Mutual Friend, has been excised. The translation carefully avoids the mention of drinking (Swiveller's escapades are edited), and smoking. The main story of Nell and her grandfather receives all the attention. Secondary characters are omitted or their importance is minimized. Sections considered especially suitable for children--such as the death of little Harry, the schoolmaster's favorite--are retained in full, while a character as central to the novel as Quilp is almost edited out of existence.

One of the works Dickens wrote in collaboration with Wilkie Collins, No Thoroughfare, was published in 1906 in a translation by Karen Sundt as the second paperback issued as part of a series called "World-famous Authors." The translation, a good one, is prefaced by a short biographical sketch of Dickens

which ends with an evaluation of his achievements as a reformer.

> Dickens portrays in his works people from all levels of society--from the aristocracy of the salon to the poorest to be found in attics and cellars. He is at his greatest as a poet when he describes the poor and their oppressive conditions, and most of his works have as a goal the improvement of the conditions of those who suffer in our society. Through the use of mockery and ridicule, or moving description, he uncovers human faults, weak institutions and conditions, and fights lies, hypocrisy, misuse, and oppression. His goal is to improve people and make them happy. His writings have had a far-reaching importance for the raising of social questions and have prepared the way for many reforms by crying out for their necessity.[16]

The first novel of Dickens to be published by a major Norwegian publishing house was A Tale of Two Cities issued by Aschehoug in 1906. This edition, complete in two volumes, was the first Norwegian version of a Dickens work to appear in a decent, hard-cover format; it was unfortunate that Lilli Waage's translation was so uneven. Later translations were to supersede it.

Fortunately Aschehoug did not commission Lilli Waage to translate the edition of Pickwick Papers which it published in 1912 as "the Norwegian tribute to the Dickens jubilee." This task was put into the hands of the talented young literary editor of Morgenbladet, Carl J. Hambro, a man who was destined to become an outstanding figure in Norwegian journalism and politics. As mentioned in Chapter One of this study, Hambro was a Dickens enthusiast and his translation was done with considerable love and care. Pickwick Papers, illustrated with the Phiz drawings, was first issued to subscribers in ten parts and then in a handsome two volume edition upon the completion of the subscription. Reviewers throughout the nation were unanimous in their praise of the quality of Hambro's work.

> Most Norwegians know Dickens through Moltke's translations which are respectable [sic] but not good . . . But until now, Pickwick Papers has not been available in a completely worthy Danish or Norwegian translation. Mr. C. J. Hambro has had the courage to take up this difficult challenge, and, judging from the first number, has come up with rewarding results. The Dickensian dialogue, which would cause a translator worry and despair, is transformed into fresh and hearty Norwegian. The style has humor.[17]

Pickwick Papers was the first of three Dickens novels which Hambro translated for Aschehoug. David Copperfield was published in the same format in 1913 and Dombey and Son followed in 1916. Hambro maintained the same high quality in all of them--yet Hambro's translations were not ideal. The language employed is a consistently fluent riksmaal which seldom attempts to reflect the different levels of language of the original.

Pickwick Papers was not the only Dickens work issued in a new translation in 1912. The first volume of what ended up as a three volume edition of David Copperfield was published by Det norske Samlaget, the publishing firm which championed the cause of the Norwegian dialect language, landsmaal.[18] This edition, translated by Ola Raknes, was part of a series of standard literary works which was to enable maalfolk (landsmaal enthusiasts) "to read and become familiar with the best to be found out in the world."[19] The reviews which appeared in provincial landsmaal newspapers saw the translation as bringing honor to Det norske Samlaget and had nothing but praise for the book. Maalfolk did not try to supress their feelings of pride and accomplishment; one review boasted, "Landsmaal men have beaten the riksmaal men as far as [being the first] to translate Charles Dickens' David Copperfield is concerned."[20]

(This writer was obviously unaware of the riksmaal translation of Dickens' novel that had appeared as a serial in the Norske Intelligentssedler in 1900.)

Raknes' translation is of no importance today. The language is stilted and humorless. Landsmaal is not as suitable as riksmaal for Dickens translations. Good landsmaal style requires short sentences. It does not adapt well to the often lengthy expository sentences of Dickens' prose. The translator is forced to break up or compress the thought of the original English sentences which results in undue simplification and a loss of richness in the prose. Landsmaal is excellent for the poetry of Robert Burns, but the heavy dialect quality of the language rings false in a Dickens translation.

The ideal translator of Dickens into Norwegian should be a writer who, in addition to having a solid command of riksmaal, would also possess a good ear for the local and regional dialects of Norway. Thus he would be able to find imaginative equivalents for the vulgar and provincial language spoken by many of Dickens' characters, and would reflect with greater truth the various levels of language used in the novels. The most recent translators of Dickens have attempted to utilize the language in just this way, especially those responsible for the series of Dickens novels published by Dreyers Forlag in the late 1940's and 1950's. Their versions are those preferred today.

In addition to these Danish and Norwegian translations, there were selections from Dickens' works in the various English Readers which were published after 1869

when English was introduced as a subject in the secondary schools. Dickens was a favorite choice of the editors of these textbooks; they drew heavily on Pickwick Papers, Sketches by Boz, and David Copperfield. A few excerpts were taken from A Tale of Two Cities, The Old Curiosity Shop, and, surprisingly enough, A Child's History of England. The most frequently anthologized pieces were "Bob Sawyer's Party" from Pickwick Papers and the first story which Dickens published, "Mr. Minns and His Cousin" from Sketches by Boz; each appeared in three different Readers.

In 1875, Jakob Løkke, already the author of distinguished English and German grammars, and the man whom Edmund Gosse called "the leading educational authority in Norway,"[21] published two English Readers: Engelske Forfattere i Udvalg (Selections from English Authors) and Engelsk Laesebog for Mellomklassene (English Reader for the Intermediate Grades). The former is a compilation of selections ranging from Shakespeare to such Victorians as Macaulay, Stanhope, Bulwer, and Dickens. The volume is furnished with well-written, objective biographies for each of the twenty-one authors represented. In his biography of Dickens, Løkke concludes that;

> his natural gifts were exceptional and excellent things are to be found in his production; but he lacked enough self-criticism and good taste; therefore he pushes his characters too often to extremes, drawing caricatures instead of actual people.[22]

Løkke reiterates another criticism of Dickens which was current at the time, the inferiority of his later works:

> In his later years, after he had exhausted his productive powers, he travelled around reading his own works aloud.[23]

(This comparative dissatisfaction with Dicken's later works parallels the reception they received in England as described by George Ford in Dickens and His Readers.)[24] Engelske Forfattere i Udvalg was designed more for the general reader than for students, whose needs were better fulfilled by the second volume.

The Dickens items found in these two readers were all taken from Sketches by Boz. Løkke believed that the Sketches were ideally suited to introduce Norwegians to some of the unique aspects of English life--"the numerous peculiarities of English manners, customs, and institutions, their judicial system with all of its judges, lawyers, and solicitors, their contract-interest system, their numerous by-laws and ceremonies, their system of titles, etc."--which so often made their reading of English novels in the original a difficult and frustrating experience.[25] Løkke used the Sketches as compulsory reading in his English classes and the success that he achieved with them caused him to publish in 1881 Skizzer i Udvalg (Selected Sketches), fifteen stories in English taken from Dickens' book. The selections were accompanied by explanatory glosses and notes patterned after the editions of Greek and Latin classics in use at the university. This volume was soon adopted by schools in Norway and Denmark. The reviews the book received in the Scandinavian press were all highly laudatory; one pleased reviewer asked for a similar edition of Pickwick Papers.[26] This request was never fulfilled (Løkke died suddenly in 1881), yet a supplement to Løkke's edition of the Sketches was issued in 1883 by Johan Alver which contained additional notes as well as three new selections.

An attempt had been made before Løkke's textbooks were published to assist the Norwegian reader of English with the difficulties of the more vulgar levels of the language. In 1863 Edward Wittrup issued the first volume of a dictionary entitled Om det Engelske Slang og Cant (Concerning English Slang and Cant), but this work, stopping in the middle of the letter "C," was never completed. Of all the authors used as sources or illustrations, Dickens was the most frequently cited.

At the turn of the century, Løkke's series of English Readers was superseded by a new set of texts edited and compiled by Knut Brekke, an educator who reformed the teaching of language in Norwegian schools. Brekke was successful in his campaign against the traditional "Latin" method of language instruction with its emphasis on memorization and recitation. He stressed the importance of spoken language and favored a "direct" or "natural" method of instruction. His system was soon adopted by Norwegian schools and he influenced the teaching of language in the rest of Scandinavia and even continental Europe. Brekke edited English Readers for the various class levels of the school system and each of them contained several excerpts from Dickens, usually selections from Pickwick Papers and David Copperfield. There were, of course, other authors represented in the various readers and grammars which were compiled in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Authors such as Trollope, Bulwer, Macaulay, and Marryat are frequently to be found, but none of them appeared as consistently or with as many selections as Charles Dickens. (Revised editions of Brekke's textbooks are

in use in schools today. In the course of the various editions, most of the selections by Dickens' contemporaries have been removed, but the David Copperfield excerpts are still retained. As a result, most Norwegians who have studied English in the twentieth century have had their first contact with Dickens in the original in Brekke's Readers.)

One more work must be mentioned before we leave this survey of translations and English Readers, Johan Storm's Engelsk Filologi (English Philology), published first in Norwegian in 1879 and then in two German editions in 1881 and 1896, the second being a greatly revised and expanded version of the original. Storm (1836-1920) was one of the pioneers in the use of phonetics in modern linguistics (it was he who convinced Sweet to publish his A Handbook of Phonetics) and was the first professor appointed to the Chair of Modern Languages at the University of Oslo, a position he held until 1912. Engelsk Filologi was designed to guide advanced students of the English language in their scientific work, and in the course of the book Storm makes countless uses of examples from Dickens' novels to illustrate linguistic points. Dickens is second only to Shakespeare in the number of works cited in the list of sources. In recommending various novelists for study, Storm says of Dickens:

> The most important things to be learned from Dickens are the actual spoken language as it is used in everyday life as well as the vulgarisms of the lower classes; every knowledgeable reader will take care to keep these two levels of language separate from each other.[27]

To this Storm appends a footnote:

> When I was very young, I was warned against reading Dickens'

> Pickwick Papers because it contained so much "common language." In spite of this, that was the first English novel I read in the original, and I have never discovered that I have suffered any harm from doing so.[28]

The most common means of obtaining copies of novels either in translation or in the original for those living in larger towns and cities was a visit to the rental library usually run by the local bookseller. Some towns had several such libraries. Lorentz Dietrichsen (1834-1917) describes the conditions in Bergen in the 1840's:

> The literary taste, the level of which was not very high at "Tydskebryggen" or "Stranden" [two burgher sections of the city], was usually developed by the rental libraries and the newspapers, but the number of these was not very large. In my childhood the number of rental libraries was four: Hallager's, Madam Grønnings and the Reading Society, plus one established by a German emigrant, Benemann. The number of books in each of these I would guess was about 2,000 to 3,000 volumes. Most of these were, of course, novels . . . . Although Bergen folk were an aesthetic and relatively intelligent public, the desire to buy books was not very widespread, at least not then; A real library could be found in just four or five homes.[29]

At that time most people could not afford to buy books in any great quantities, and since novels were so readily obtainable from these lending libraries, the good burgher chose to borrow rather than buy.

Conditions were more difficult in the rural districts. The homes of most clergymen and large landowners usually contained libraries, and readers in the district could borrow from them. Through the efforts of men like Herman Bang, who was very active in the movement for the "general enlightenment of the people," public or communal libraries began to be founded in the smaller rural and coastal towns. By the 1870's even

a small trading center such as Tromsø, miles above the Arctic Circle, had its "communal library."

Although it was sometimes difficult, it was not impossible to obtain reading material. Most of these libraries published catalogues listing the works which could be borrowed. The frequent occurrence of the titles of works by Dickens in these catalogues reflects his relative popularity among Norwegian readers.

In 1845, Johan Dahl's Rental Library in Oslo listed six works by Dickens in Dano-Norwegian translations: Oliver Twist, The Old Curiosity Shop, Pickwick Papers, Nicholas Nickleby and the incomplete Norwegian attempts at American Notes and Martin Chuzzlewit. Other authors available in Dano-Norwegian were: Ainsworth (3 titles), Countess Blessington (5), Bulwer(20), Cooper (18), G.P.R. James (15), Marryat (18), Scott (28), and Sue (10). Seven of Dickens' books could be borrowed in English versions as compared with Ainsworth (4), Blessington (4), Bulwer (17), James (8), Irving (6), Marryat (14), Lady Morgan (7), Scott (14), and Mrs. Trollope (6). Dickens was clearly not the writer most in demand in 1845. Unfortunately, later catalogues from Dahl's Rental Library, which would have permitted a comparative study of the growth of Dickens' popularity, no longer exist; but the fact that by 1871 Dickens had out-distanced all his rivals is demonstrated by the 31 volumes of his work listed in the first catalogue issued by the "communal library" of Tromsø, the aforementioned Arctic trading center.

Perhaps Dickens' growth in popularity is most clearly illustrated by a study of the catalogues of the Norwegian Naval Academy. In

1852 not a single title of a Dickens work was listed, although Bulwer (12), Cooper (13), James (11), Marryat (11), and Scott (20) were well represented. By 1885, however, the Dickens collection included the complete works in twenty volumes plus additional copies of Great Expectations, Hard Times, A Tale of Two Cities, David Copperfield, various shorter works, and Forster's Life. By 1906 the naval cadets could choose from an English and a Danish set of the complete works plus an additional forty-three copies of single works, including three versions of David Copperfield.

Although very few of the catalogues distributed by these lending libraries have survived, there is on deposit in the Library of the University of Oslo a collection of auction catalogues of private libraries which were sold upon the deaths of their owners. Of the 102 catalogues examined, eighty-nine, published between 1853 and 1900, contained titles of books by Dickens. A count was made of the various novels listed in an attempt to chart the relative popularity of Dickens' individual works between 1840 and 1900. A tabulation of the titles according to the frequency of their appearance in these catalogues produced the following lists:

TABLE 1

TOTAL NUMBER OF EDITIONS LISTED: 1840-1900

Title	Frequency
Pickwick Papers	45
Sketches by Boz	34
Oliver Twist	32
David Copperfield	25
Nicholas Nickleby	23
Old Curiosity Shop	22*
Little Dorrit	17

TABLE 1-Continued

Title	Frequency
Martin Chuzzlewit	16
Bleak House	13
Our Mutual Friend	13
Dombey and Son	11
A Tale of Two Cities	9
Great Expectations	8
Barnaby Rudge	7
Hard Times	7
Edwin Drood	1

TABLE 2

THE EARLY YEARS: 1840-1870

Title	Frequency
Pickwick Papers	15
Oliver Twist	13
Sketches by Boz	10
Nicholas Nickleby	9
Old Curiosity Shop	9*
Barnaby Rudge	4
Martin Chuzzlewit	4
David Copperfield	3
Bleak House	2
Hard Times	2
Dombey and Son.	1
Little Dorrit	1
A Tale of Two Cities	1
Our Mutual Friend	1

TABLE 3

THE LATER YEARS: 1871-1900

Title	Frequency
Pickwick Papers	30
Sketches by Boz	24
David Copperfield	22
Oliver Twist	19
Little Dorrit	16
Nicholas Nickleby	14
Old Curiosity Shop	13*
Martin Chuzzlewit	12
Our Mutual Friend	12
Bleak House	11
Dombey and Son	10
A Tale of Two Cities	8

TABLE 3-Continued

Title	Frequency
Great Expectations	8
Hard Times	5
Barnaby Rudge	3
Edwin Drood	1

*Includes volumes entitled Master Humphrey's Clock

In evaluating those lists it must be kept in mind that many of the books had been purchased years before their owners' deaths. The rankings show a marked lack of interest in Dickens' later novels, with the exception of Little Dorrit, Bleak House and Our Mutual Friend. Pickwick Papers clearly led all the other novels in popularity. The high ranking of the Sketches was perhaps partially a result of the publication of Løkke's Skizzer in 1881 which made this work readily available to Norwegian book buyers. Although it is difficult to ascertain with any degree of certainty on the basis of the titles alone the language in which these various books were printed, in most cases the place of publication was listed. It appears that only about half of these volumes were in Dano-Norwegian. There were just about as many English versions, usually in the Tauchnitz editions printed in Leipzig. Twenty of the titles were in German, and since German translations of Dickens were also published in Leipzig, the actual number of volumes in German might have been greater and the number of English volumes fewer. Four titles are in Swedish, one in French and one in Italian.

Of Dickens' minor works, the title with the most frequent occurance is A Christmas Carol, which was listed twenty-nine times. One unexpected find is the number of copies of A Child's

History of England which were auctioned off--sixteen--although the work had received negative criticism whenever it had been mentioned by Norwegian men of letters. (Løkke, for example, had called it Dickens' "most unsuccessful effort.")[30] Complete sets and separate volumes of Household Words and All the Year Round are scattered throughout the listings. Seven copies of Forster's Life were found.

Although this investigation of auction catalogues provides strong evidence that Pickwick Papers led all other of Dickens' novels in popularity, there is other evidence which suggests that, by the end of the century, David Copperfield had caught up with its rival, and went on to surpass it in popularity in the twentieth century. (There have, for example, been nine translations made of David Copperfield since 1900 as compared with two of Pickwick Papers.)

In 1894, Kringsjaa published the results of a poll taken of its readers, the purpose of which had been to determine which books and which authors exerted the greatest influence and made the deepest impression on the general reading public. Although only 327 readers responded to the repeated requests that lists be sent in to the magazine, the editor, H. Tambs Lynche, felt that those he received were representative of the reading public, "people of all classes and tastes interested in books."[31] As a control measure, they were divided into four groups as they arrived: three groups of 100 lists each and one of 27. It was discovered upon comparing the four groups that the ranking of authors and books did not vary to any great extent. "Only a couple of

names on the final lists fell out and were replaced by names farther down, while a couple of others had changed places."[32] The final lists read:

TABLE 4

THE 25 MOST INFLUENTIAL BOOKS IN OUR LAND[33]

Title	Number of Votes
1. Bjørnson's tales	207
2. Per Gynt (Ibsen)	189
3. Brand (Ibsen)	139
4. The Bible	134
5. Paa Guds veie (Bjørnson)	129
6. Traette maend (Garborg)	101
7. Arbeidsfolk (Kielland)	100
8. Kongsemnerne (Ibsen)	90
9. Lodsen og hans hustru (Lie)	89
10. Holberg's comedies	80
11. Den fremsynte (Lie)	78
12. Wergeland's poems	73
13. Det flager (Bjørnson)	70
14. Fred (Garborg)	70
15. Shakespeare's plays	68
16. Crime and Punishment (Dostoevski)	58
17. Bondestudentar (Garborg)	58
18. Skipper Worse (Kielland)	56
19. Kolbotnbreve (Garborg)	49
20. Garman & Worse (Kielland)	45
21. David Copperfield (Dickens)	41
22. Faust (Goethe)	40
23. Ingemann's novels	40
24. Asbjørnsen's fairy tales	39
25. Udsigt over Norges historie (Sars)	39

TABLE 5

THE 25 MOST INFLUENTIAL AUTHORS IN OUR LAND[34]

Name	Number of Votes
1. Henrik Ibsen	759
2. Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson	577
3. Jonas Lie	507
4. Arne Garborg	387
5. Alex. Kielland	354
6. The Bible	134
7. K. Janson	125
8. Charles Dickens	111

TABLE 5-Continued

Name	Number of Votes
9. Holberg	94
10. Wergeland	78
11. J. Tvedt	77
12. Shakespeare	68
13. Tolstoi	68
14. O. A. Vinje	68
15. Camilla Collett	60
16. Dostoevski	58
17. Henry Drummond	57
18. Goethe	54
19. Fritz Reuter	49
20. K. Elster	45
21. Walter Scott	44
22. Thomas Carlyle	43
23. E. Zola	43
24. E. Sars	42
25. Ingemann	40

Dickens is the first non-Norwegian on the list of influential authors, 43 votes ahead of his closest competitors, Shakespeare and Tolstoi. Table Four shows that by 1894 Norwegians were no longer dependent on foreign sources for their literary enjoyment; Ibsen, Bjørnson, Kielland, Lie, and Garborg were the leaders of the great flowering of Norwegian literature in the last half of the nineteenth century. Their works predominate. David Copperfield is the third non-Norwegian title on the book list (not counting the Bible), 27 votes behind Shakespeare's plays, 17 votes behind Crime and Punishment, and one vote ahead of Faust. The point to be stressed here, however, is not David Copperfield's position on the list, but that it is David Copperfield and not Pickwick Papers which represents Dickens.

Further proof of the high esteem in which Norwegians held David Copperfield at the turn of the century is found in testimonies printed in the advertisements announcing the serialization of the novel in Norsk Intelligentssedler in 1900-01. The newspaper had written to outstanding teachers, theologians, government

ministers, and writers, asking them to given their opinions as to the worth of David Copperfield. Dr. K. Krogh-Tønning (1842-1911), a theologian, commented: "I can hardly think of any novelist to whom my family and I are more indebted than Charles Dickens. And as far as David Copperfield is concerned, it must be considered the most perfect of his works . . . ."[35] Dr. August Western (1856-1940), educator and linguist, wrote: "If I were to name a single book which lends itself to an unusual degree to be read by all classes of society and by all ages, it would have to be David Copperfield by Dickens. It is a book for the young . . . . It is a book for adults . . . . It is a book for those who love literature. A great deal is lost if one has not read David Copperfield."[36] Ten notable Norwegians attested to the great moral and literary worth of David Copperfield.

Even though David Copperfield was eventually to surpass it in popularity in the twentieth century, Pickwick Papers and not David Copperfield was the book published by Aschehoug in honor of the 1912 centenary. The landsmaal edition of David Copperfield, however, appeared the same year, and Hambro's translation of Dickens' "favorite child" was issued in 1913. Perhaps the question of the relative popularity of Pickwick Papers and David Copperfield was best described by the writer of a review of Hambro's translation of the former for Trondhjems Adresseavis:

> Professor Hagerup once had the occasion to remark during a lecture, "One book by Dickens, gentlemen, is worth a whole cartload of modern literature"; a judgement which would be approved by all the fans of Dickens in our land, and they are legion. And whenever two Dickens-enthusiasts meet, they always end up talking about Pickwick Papers. Not all of them put Pickwick Papers

> at the head of Dickens' books. David Copperfield gets many votes. There are immortal things to be found in Martin Chuzzlewit. Some support A Tale of Two Cities, others Bleak House or Oliver Twist. But anyone who has any understanding of Dickens puts Pickwick Papers in a class by itself and very high up. I, personally, am in no doubt as to my choice. I would not like to do without any of the others. [But] I find Pickwick Papers indispensable. It is one of those very few books to which you can always return after a longer or shorter time span and find something new. Its supply of observations, wise humanity, and wonderful comments seems to be inexhaustable . . . . I once knew a man who was better acquainted with a lot of literature, both old and new, than most people. There were three authors to whom he always returned: Seneca, Erasmus Rotterdamus [sic], and Dickens. And although nothing by the last mentioned was unknown to him, Pickwick was his love. For a great number of years, he read Pickwick Papers in its entirety at least once a year. He had gotten to know it in his youth.[37]

"Approved by all the lovers of Dickens in our land, and they are legion"--this phrase echoes Hans Christian Andersen's words to Dickens in a letter written in 1857 by the only Scandinavian to have had any extended personal contact with the English novelist: "You have an immense circle of admirers and friends all over Scandinavia, but I verily believe: none can so fervently love you as I do."[38] Whereas there were no Norwegians who would have questioned the intensity of Andersen's admiration for Dickens, an investigation of letters, memoirs, and diaries from 1840 to 1912 shows that there were some who might have protested that they loved Dickens just as much as did the more famous Dane.

One of the first Norwegians to join Dickens' "circle of admirers and friends" was Niels Matthias Aalholm (1811-94), teacher, and writer of a few short stories. Aalholm, who lived and taught in the little seaport town of Arendal on Norway's southern coast,

exchanged numerous letters with his elder friend, Simon Olaus Wolff (1796-1859), a clergyman and poet, whose parish was located in the mountains of Telemark. Both were representative of the educated men of their day. Many of their letters, filled with comments on their reading, have fortunately survived to provide a valuable source of information about the reading habits of professional men in the 1840's and 1850's. Dickens' name is mentioned in the very first letter from Aalholm which still survives:

9 April 1841

> . . . If you have a chance to get in contact with a reading society, obtain a copy of Pickwick Papers by Charles Dickens, and you will find in this work, filled as it is with riches of wit and genuine humor, cause for much more true enjoyment than that provided by a couple of dozen other novels. I believe that one can in all truth say about this book what is so often said about Holberg's P[eter] Paars, that it is impossible to find a page on which you cannot find something witty or some hitting observation.[39]

Later in the same year, Aalholm described his recent reading:

24 October 1841

> . . . The prolific Englishman [G. P. R.] James has again presented us with a desperate novel about the campaigns of the Huns . . . . The book is neither fish nor fowl. A Persian novel, Gidselen Zofrat [Zofrat the Hostage?], by Morier, a man who has lived for many years in Persia, is much better, just as is Den unge Gouvernante [The Young Governess] by Countess Blassington [sic], a good description of English social life and is rather comic every now and then. But my friend Ch[arles] Dickens' Oliver Twist, which has amused me enormously, stands above them all. As proof of today's perverse taste I only have to add that this man's writings are not having much success here (probably because of the too truthful descriptions of the actual life of the people)--whereas in England they have created such an enormous furor that they have reduced the price 1/3 that of an average novel.[40]

Three years later Aalholm had read A Christmas Carol which he tells his friend is "a real masterpiece, a non plus ultra of

humor and wit."[41]

In response to a letter from Wolff asking if Aalholm would recommend Eugene Sue's Mysteries of Paris, Aalholm answers:

22 March 1846

> . . . You ask me whether you should buy Paris' Mysterier, Den evige Jøde [The Eternal Jew] or Londons' Mysterier--the last one by a Frenchman Feval, who calls himself Trollope. Well, my answer is none; you would regret it if you bought them. They are very provocative, that is to say, unhealthy nourishment; horrors of the worst sort, the darkest shady-sides of mankind are very garishly exaggerated, often depicted in a false and affected manner. Londons' Mysterier is not a whit better than Paris', and if you insist on buying any of them, then, in the name of all that is trashy, buy those of Paris; but you should be able to borrow them and so save 3-4 specie dollars, which can be used for good books which would provide greater pleasure. As far as today's novels are concerned, none can stand up to [those of] C. Dickens . . . . (Aalholm's italics.)[42]

The only instance in which Wolff comments on Dickens is in a letter written after he had just finished reading Dombey and Son:

> . . .We have such a flood of daily papers that their number is legion, and it is impossible to read them all. I have to read Christianiaposten and Morgenbladet, Krydseren, and Nyhedsbladet, but it annoys me that I throw away so much time reading them that I don't get anything else read--only some short story or other in bed in the evening--such as "Beauchamp" by [G. P. R.] James. I certainly read Dombey and Son with enough interest; but it is, like all of Dickens' novels, not as soberly true as those of Walter Scott and James. Dickens strains himself in order to be original and has a peculiar passion for producing mistreated and tormented children. If things are as revolting and shocking in England's institutions and schools as he describes them, and if it is his purpose to fight against such barbarity, it seems to me that he would do better to write serious articles and books about these things and thereby more directly affect his public and the government. It is inelegant and an offence to one's aesthetic and moral sense to have pictures of mistreated children constantly thrust before one's eyes. As far as Dombey is conerned, well it is difficult to figure out how the neglected and mistreated Florence can become such a lovable creature! There is no one

> who brings her up, no friends, with the exception of Susan Nipper and the stupid, almost bestial [sic] Mr. Toot [sic]. Dombey's character is also exaggerated and unnatural, and so is his wife's--in short, the book did not please me at all; which was also my reaction to Nelly og hendes Bestefar [The Old Curiosity Shop]. No, thanks, I'll continue to read the "old steward" Scott![43]

It is surprising that a clergyman anxious to read Sue's Mysteries of Paris should have been morally and aesthetically offended by Dickens' depictions of cruelty to children. Aalholm took up the defense of his favorite author in his answer to Wolff's letter:

4-5 May 1852

> . . . It is quite possible that Dombey & Son and several other of Dickens' works are not as "soberly true" as W. Scott's novels, but my opinion is that they, with few exceptions, are much closer to poetic truth, and even though one can, speaking prosaically, make numerous criticisms of his work, I believe that they will hold their own before the court of aesthetics, as is shown by Dickens' world-famous name and the love Englishmen of sound judgement have for his works. As for myself, I lose myself in his bubbling humor, his heartiness which runs through so many of his writings; although they also have their shadowy sides. It never dawned on me to compare this master with James, who has always been considered a second-rate writer by the critics, yet he too has his good points.[44]

The last letter from Aalholm to Wolff in which mention is made of Dickens was written a few years later:

29 Jan. & 4 Feb. 1855

> . . . Since I have less to do this winter than usual, I have been able to read a lot. This is why I have recently read through the latest numbers of Munch's History, which becomes more interesting as it progresses. "Strands-Conflicter," Hard Times, a wonderful book by Dickens, Amtmandens Døtre by Mrs. Collett (Camilla Wergeland) [the first important novel written in Norway], written with great fineness and spirit, Thackeray's extensive but interesting Vanity Fair, as well as other works.[45]

The Munch mentioned in the above excerpt was the Norwegian

historian Peter Andreas Munch (1810-63), whose most significant achievement was Det norske Folks Historie [The History of the Norwegian People] in eight large volumes. Munch was one of the great men of mid-nineteenth-century Norway. He was responsible for a renewed scientific interest in Norway's ancient past and language. He had the distinction of being the first Protestant historian given unrestricted admittance to the Papal Archives in Rome. Munch is important to this study because he was a Dickens enthusiast and is the only Norwegian known to have met Dickens personally. Munch's daughter describes how "evening after evening, at the end of an exhaustive day's work, he would sit and translate English books for his wife . . . . He found the time to swallow all sorts of novels."[46] Before he read David Copperfield, The Count of Monte Cristo had been his favorite book. In 1849, Munch had occasion to travel to England, Scotland, the Orkney Islands and the Hebrides to do research. He spent three weeks in London, and, according to his daughter, spent "an interesting evening at Dickens' home."[47] Munch, a compulsive letter writer, sent a lengthy letter to his family describing the evening. This letter has, unfortunately, been lost. He had just then read David Copperfield, "which he loved and often quoted. Later Pickwick Papers became his constant companion on all his trips."[48]

The citation of lines from Dickens in letters or in conversation became a frequent occurrence, especially for writers, as will be shown in the next chapter. But even non-literary men were infected by Dickens' or refer to him in

their letters. There is, for example, the letter written by the young painter, Hjalmar Kjerulf, to his brother, the composer Halfdan Kjerulf, in which Hjalmar describes a meeting he attended in Dresden in 1844:

> The meeting and the lectures were extremely ridiculous, that is to say that they were extremely dull--dull to the point that they became comical. I was vividly reminded of the antiquarian investigations of the Pickwickians and the meetings of their club, and was, therefore, able to amuse myself quite nicely as listeners of different sizes slept sweetly around me.[49]

Or there are the letters written by Alexander Grieg (1806-75) to his son, the composer Edvard Grieg, which are described by the composer's biographer, David Monrad Johansen, as revealing characteristics "which because of their warm humor could easily be put into a Dickens novel and which show the spiritual union [between the two men]."[50]

Among the numerous female admirers of Dickens was Elise Aubert (1837-1909), a representative, sensitive, well-educated woman. The daughter of a respected country clergyman, she has provided in her memoirs and diaries published in her last years one of the most charming sources about life among educated country folk. She draws, for example, the following scene which occurred in homes throughout the land:

> It was important to store up as many books as possible for entertainment and for reading aloud in the dark, cold time of the year. When the family sat together in the evenings, there was always someone who read aloud. It was rather difficult to provide enough light for both those who read and those who sat with their fine needle-work. The single tallow candle simply did no send a bright enough light across the table, so it was constantly being moved about, according to the demands of the work in hand. The reading aloud was preferably allotted to the one who had the strongest eyes and who would be able

to manage with a minimum of light.[51]

Reading novels aloud was one of the most popular forms of entertainment in nineteenth-century Norway. Before the introduction of the kerosene lamp in the 1860's, however, it had been more common for well-to-do families which could afford the luxury of candles for such a purpose; the kerosene lamp not only provided more light, it was also cheaper, and thereby made it possible for more families to enjoy reading novels aloud, especially during the long, dark Norwegian winter evenings.

Elise Aubert's love for Dickens was a result of these family readings. "Dickens becamse our favorite author and all of his works which had been translated by Moltke eventually found their way to the parsonage."[52] Several of Elise Aubert's thoughts about Dickens eventually found their way into her diaries. In her twenty-first year she made an entry in her diary which reflects her judgment of Dickens.

> I have just read through Hard Times for the second time. It is a serious book, yes, very, very serious; but how right it is for an author to make his readers look the seriousness of life straight in the eye--to allow them to stand face to face with the hard times . . . . I love Dickens' books; they are so pure and calm, so gentle and peaceful that they refresh the mind without forcing the emotions to the overly tense, unatural heights as do the novels of Bulwer.[53]

A few months later she made another entry, the only contemporary Norwegian reaction I have found to Dickens' separation from his wife.

> I have had the misfortune to read in the newspapers that Charles Dickens has separated from his wife after having been married to her for 22 years and having had 10 children. I cannot hide the fact that this came as a

> mortal blow;--it is so painful to be robbed of one's belief in one's ideals and Dickens was one of my ideals. It has always been my belief that it was quite impossible for this man, whose imagination has created such lovable people, not to possess those qualities which allowed him to stamp his imagined pictures with the sign of pure noble truth--should he, who knows the goodness in each character, deny this in his own person? --And is it an Agnes, a pious, lovely, pure Agnes--Agnes, who is always pointing upward--who is now being cast off? Yet--I have read his defense in Household Words and I believe him. I will chase away every doubt about the author and read his works with the same sincere confidence and faith, amusing myself with his rich, inexhaustible, ever bubbling powers of the spirit.[54]

We see that for his contemporary readers Dickens had become a sort of institution as the family novelist, a moral Bank of England which could show no signs of faltering. And here is one instance, at least, where the publication of Dickens' statement in Household Words had its intended reassuring effect. (One need not wonder, however, what the reaction of this minister's daughter would have been had she known of Ellen Ternan.) This last entry is also interesting because it reveals that a provincial clerical family in an isolated valley subscribed to Household Words. It has been previously pointed out that in the auction catalogues examined for this study, the titles of Dickens' two periodicals were often listed.

Since this chapter began with a discussion of the various translations of the works of Dickens available to the Norwegian reader, it is perhaps fitting that it close by our allowing his first important Norwegian translator, Carl Joachim Hambro (1835-1964), to describe some of the Dickensians in his family circle and to relate how he himself came to love the novels. There was, for example, his grandfather, whose "great love was

literature and art. He subscribed to Dickens, and owned the rare first editions in green covers."[55] Then there was his teacher, Pastor Morten Magnus, who seems to have walked right out of a Dickens novel:

> Pastor Magnus and Mrs. Petra lived in their own little house on the corner of Strømgaten and Foswinkelsgaten. They had named the house "The Matchbox." There they lived surrounded by their household gods. Magnus loved clocks--especially grandfather clocks. He had twelve of them in his office and others throughout the house. He had clocks that rang every quarter of an hour; clocks that played hymns; clocks that showed the day, month and year. --And he loved Dickens; all of Dickens' books were displayed on the bookshelves--in English and in Moltke's Danish translation. Pickwick Papers was the dearest of them all. And when he pushed his eyeglasses up on his forehead or down on the tip of his nose, he became the very image of Pickwick, beaming kindness in all directions . . . .[56]

It was the Pickwickian Pastor Magnus who was to introduce Hambro to Dickens' works.

It appears that, in spite of his Dickens-reading grandfather and Pastor Magnus, Hambro had never read anything by the novelist until after his twelfth birthday. As a boy, he had read Hans Christian Andersen, Cooper, and Conan Doyle. But at Christmas in 1896 he fell ill with scarlet fever and had to remain in bed until after his birthday. In his autobiography about his early years, Far og Sønn (Father and Son, 1948), Hambro describes the day when he was finally allowed to get up again:

> When the boy had come down, a real Christmas table was arranged for him, with both his gifts for Christmas and his birthday. --He remembers, naturally, just the books. He had been given a Bible by Pastor Magnus for a Christmas present. His mother had given him Edmondo d'Amici's simply wonderful book Den lille trommeslager [La vita militare], tales from the Italian war of independence. And Magnus gave him A Tale of Two Cities by Dickens for a birthday present. To receive that was worth having

had scarlet fever.

> It led him to all of the other books by Dickens; the boy fanatically wanted them all, either as Christmas or birthday presents and was soon just as well at home in Dombey and Son and David Copperfield and Little Dorrit and Our Mutual Friend and all the others as he had felt himself to have been at home in the Norwegian folk tales. The value of the Christmas Stories and of Great Expectations did not dawn on the boy until much later. But his friendship with Dickens has lasted throughout his life.
>
> A Tale of Two Cities led to another book which had great importance to the boy: Carlyle's The French Revolution in Vilhelm Troyes excellent, abridged translation.[57]

Thus Dickens introduced a young boy to the study of history, a young boy who was eventually to have important roles to play in twentieth-century Norwegian history. Hambro became editor-in-chief of Morgenbladet, Leader of the Conservative Party, President of the Norwegian Storting (1936-46), Norwegian delegate to the League of Nations and the United Nations, member of the Nobel Committee, and recipient of eleven honorary degrees from foreign universities.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER TWO

[1] Harald Tveterås, Den norske bokhandels historie (Oslo: Capellen, 1950), I, 356.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Norsk Tidskrift for Videnskab og Litteratur, VII (February, 1853), 94.

[4] [Einer Boysen], "Språkundervisning," Aschehougs Konversations Leksikon, (4th ed.; Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1960), XVI, col.1023.

[5] Fabricius, op. cit.

[6] Stiftstidende (Bergen), November 29, 1840

[7] Loc. cit.

[8] Drammens Blad, June 5, 1853.

[9] "Nyere dansk Oversaettelselslitteratur," Norsk Tidsskrift for Literatur, I (September, 1876), 230.

[10] Paul Laessoe Müller, "Moltke, Ludvig," Dansk Biografisk Leksikon, Povl Engelstoft, ed. (København: J.H. Schultz Forlag, 1939), XVI, 79.

[11] Ibid., p.80.

[12] "Picvik-Klubben," Skilling-Magazin, XLVIII (March, 1882), 83.

[13] Stavanger Amtstidende, August 12, 1852.

[14] Cf. Charles Dickens, Sirissen i peisen (Fagerstrand pr. Høvik: Bibliothek for de tusen hjem, 1887).

[15] Harald Tveterås, "Sørensen, Johan (Jean) Christian," Norsk biografisk lexikon, ed. Jonas Jansen et. al. (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1923--), XV, No. 76, p.9.

[16] Charles Dickens and Wilkie Collins, Hittebørnene, trans. Karen Sundt (Kristiania: Olsens Boghandel, 1906), p.i.

[17] Trondhjems Adresseavis, March 7, 1912.

[18] The only earlier instance of a landsmaal translation of Dickens was the abridgement of the Gabriel Grub story from Pickwick Papers printed in 1859 by Olav Vinje in his unique newspaper Dølen.

[19] O [lav] M [idttun] , "David Copperfield," Syn og Segn, XVIII (Noverember, 1912), 496.

[20] Hørdafylket, April 10, 1912.

[21] Edmund Gosse, "A Visit to the Friends of Ibsen," The Modern Language Review, XIII (July, 1918), 284.

[22] Jakob Løkke, Engelske Forfattere i Udvalg (København: Gyldendal, 1875), p. 395.

[23] Loc. cit.

[24] Ford, op. cit., p. 75ff.

[25] Aftenbladet, January 28, 1881.

[26] Berlingske Tidende (Copenhagen), January 29, 1881.

[27] Johan Storm, Engelsk Filologi (Kristiania: Cammermeyer, 1879), I, 124.

[28] Loc. cit.

[29] Lorentz Dietrichsen, Svundne Tider (Kristiania: Cappelen, 1913), I, 121.

[30] Løkke, op. cit., p. 395.

[31] "De 25 mest inflydelsesrige bøger og forfattere," Kringsjaa, III (May, 1894), 710.

[32] Loc. cit.

[33] Ibid., p. 711.

[34] Ibid., p. 712.

[35] Norske Intelligentssedler, April 1, 1900.

[36] Loc. cit.

[37] Trondhjems Adresseavis, March 7, 1912.

[38] Elias Bredsdorf, Hans Andersen and Charles Dickens: A Friendship and Its Dissolution (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons Limited, 1956), p. 45.

[39] Joh. U. Wolff, ed., "Brevveksling mellom S.O. Wolff og N.M. Aalholm i årene 1832-59," Edda, XXXV, No. 3 (1935), 389.

[40] Ibid., p. 393.

[41] Ibid., No. 4, p. 571.

[42] Ibid., XXVII, No. 1 (1937), 89.

[43] Ibid., XXVIII, No. 2 (1938), 261.

[44] Ibid., p. 262.

[45] Ibid., p. 295.

[46] Laura Larsen-Naur, P.A. Munchs Levnet og Breve i Familiekredsen (Kristiania: Det norske Aktieforlag, 1901), p.36.

[47] Ibid., p. 62.

[48] Lil Roede, "P.A. Munch i familiekretsen," Bokvennen (1944), p. 12.

[49] Halfdan Kjerulf, Av hans efterlatte Papirer 1831-1847, ed. Waldimir Moe (Kristiania: Jacob Dybwads Forlag, 1917), I, 52.

[50] David Monrad Johansen, Edvard Grieg (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1956), p. 22.

[51] Elise Aubert, Fra de gamle prestegaarde (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1928), p. 163.

[52] Ibid., p. 164.

[53] Elise Aubert, Fra Krinoline-tiden: Elise Auberts Ungdomsbreve og Dagbøker, ed. Sofie Aubert Lindbaek (Kristiania: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1921), p. 28.

[54] Ibid., pp. 56-57.

[55] C.J. Hambro, Far og sønn: Barndomserindringer (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1948), p. 106.

[56] Ibid., p. 142.

[57] Ibid., pp. 172-73.

CHAPTER THREE:

CHARLES DICKENS AND NORWEGIAN BELLES-LETTRES

At the request of The Royal Norwegian Committee for the Paris Exhibition of 1867, Paul Botten-hansen (1824-1869) compiled a bibliography which listed "tous les ouvrages de quelque valeur imprimés en Norvège ou composés par des auteurs norvégiens au 19e siècle."[1] This catalogue graphically demonstrates the impoverished state of prose fiction in Norway during the first half of the nineteenth century. In other genres, such as drama and poetry, Norwegians had produced some important works by 1867. Ibsen had published six plays, including Brand; Bjørnson had likewise written six plays, including Maria Stuart i Scotland.[2] The poets Henrik Wergeland (1808-1845) and J.S. Welhaven (1907-1873) had made significant contributions to Norwegian letters. In the realm of folklore, P. Asbjørnsen (1812-1885) and Jørgen Moe (1813-1882) had published their important collections of Norwegian folk tales. Although Botten-Hansen's book runs to a total of 271 pages, only five of them are needed to list the thirty-one titles found under the heading Fictions en prose. The greater majority of these books were collections of tales and sketches about peasant life in Norway. With the exception of the three volumes containing Bjørnson's earliest peasant stories, and Camilla Collett's Amtmandens Døtre (1854), none of these works survived the century. The major writers of prose fiction did not emerge until the following decade when the novelists Alexander Kielland, Jonas Lie, Arne Garborg, the mature Bjørnson, et al.,

helped to create Norway's literary "Golden Age."

Among the authors listed by Botten-Hansen is Niels Matthias Aalholm, the teacher in Arendal whose correspondance has been discussed in the second chapter of this study. Aalholm published three novelettes between 1838 and 1847 under the pseudonym Theodor Reginald. The humor in the last of these, Lys og Skygge (Light and Shadow), is attributed by Fredrik Paasche to the influence of Dickens.[3] Indeed, the ghost of Oliver Twist, which Aalholm had read in 1841, hovers over the opening scene of the story:

> Round about the room there sat or stood, in various picturesque groups, the town's farmers, fishermen, old women with running eyes and noses, wrinkled, ashy-grey cheeks upon which poverty and need, as well as laziness and dissipation, had inscribed indelible marks, a bunch of ragged children, and a few brightly scrubbed sailors. But no one had a more prominent spot than a small boy about seven years old, with a thin face, clad in Poverty's most wretched clothing. The little boy looked around him with wonder and fear because he sensed why they had given him such an excellent seat among all the ragged children. He was frightened by the grim expression and wrinkled brows of the bailiff and the sexton.
>
> But his fear increased even more when the pastor stood up and said, "Hogbarth Bjørnson Fjeldal, pauper, seven years old! What am I bid for him?" --So I was going to be sold, sold in opposition to all human rights, sold like a dumb animal or more correctly, I was to be rented out, like a cow, to the highest bidder! My childish mind found such treatment disgraceful and upsetting; and my bitter tears, falling like hail [sic] down my pale cheeks, protested against a course of action which struck me as being just as barbarous as when they laid my poor parents in the black coffins and lowered them into the cold, deep earth, while I remained alone in the bare hut.[4]

In view of Aalholm's professed admiration of Dickens, it is not unlikely that both the pathetic tone of this beginning and the later humorous scenes were derived from the English author.

Lys og Skygge was Aalholm's last attempt at prose fiction.

Aalholm's enthusiasm for Dickens was shared by his brother-in-law, Frithjof Foss (1830-1899), lawyer, journalist, businessman, and author of works of fiction which enjoyed an unprecedented popularity in the early 1860's. Having passed his law examinations in 1855, Foss travelled to England where he remained until 1858, when he returned to his hometown, Arendal, to begin his law practice. During his stay in England, he had become an admirer of Dickens and seems to have seen London with the eyes of a lesser Boz. Foss was introduced by his school friend Henrik Ibsen to Paul Botten-Hansen, then editor of the weekly Illustreret Nyhedsblad, who published in 1861 a series called Skizzer fra London (London Sketches) written by Foss under the pseudonym, Israel Dehn. When the first sketch appeared, many readers took it to be a translation from the English. This misunderstanding caused Botten-Hansen to append to the second sketch a note informing his subscribers that the author was a Norwegian "who has lived in London for a longer period of time and has chosen the English-sounding Jewish name to denote the character behind whose mask the observations are made and in whose hands the causes of the action are sometimes placed."[5] Foss' Skizzer enjoyed immediate popularity and were collected into a single volume at the close of the year for the annual Christmas book trade.

Although Foss is said to have told his children that he had not read Dickens until long after he had begun to write himself,[6] this cannot be true. The similarities between Dickens'

Sketches by Boz and those of Foss are too striking. The titles of the individual sketches alone make one suspect imitation. Some of the obvious parallels are: "Messr. Hank, Bucklesbury," which is about diners in a London restaurant, and Dickens' "Making a Night of It" with Messrs. Potter and Smithers; "A Courtroom Scene," and the Boz sketch "Criminal Courts"; "Miss Springett," a description of an "Establishment for Young Ladies," and Boz's "The Dancing Academy." A comparison of the beginning of Foss' tale "A Fallen Man" with lines from Dickens' "The Drunkard's Death" shows how closely Foss' work sometimes parallels that of Dickens.

Foss:

> Is there a man, be he high or low, rich or poor, who has never known "a fallen man" among his immediate acquaintances? One can fall from every level of society; no one is so low that he cannot get lower, no class or position so poor that it cannot get poorer. But everything is relative in this world . . . . [7]

Boz:

> Is there any man who has mixed much with society, or whose avocations have caused him to mingle, at one time or other, with a great number of people, who cannot call to mind . . . from among the list of their quondam acquaintance, some fallen and degraded man, who lingers about the pavement in hungry misery . . . . [8]

The success of Foss' Skizzer fra London was comparable to that of those by Boz; a second edition was printed in 1862 and a Swedish version in 1864. This taste of success caused Foss to give up his law practice and move to Oslo where he intended to live by his pen. By the end of 1862, the man whom Jonas Lie called "the novel factory"[9] had produced three long novels and was enjoying a popularity without parallel in Norwegian

literature.[10] Although the works which followed the Skizzer show a less marked similarity to the work of Dickens, traces of the English master can still be seen. Foss' novel Høit og Lavt (High and Low, 1862) has the loose structure of an early Dickens novel as well as a multitude of characters from the lower and higher classes involved in separate narratives which progress simultaneously towards the conclusion. Many of the descriptions are reminiscent of Dickens:

> The little girl froze standing there with her naked feet on the cold stone.
> She had put her basket down as she stood listening for footsteps; but it was quiet up the great stairs inside the house. The last sound of the bell still rang in her ear; it came from a place high up and had rung so sharply through the empty rooms that she was afraid over having caused such a disturbance. What on earth would they think when they discovered that it was she who had pulled the bell so hard; what would they think when they saw that it was only a poor little girl who was standing there barefooted on the cold stone?[11]

It is almost as if Little Nell were visiting the home of Mr. Dombey.

In the novel which followed Høit og Lavt, Et Aegteskab (A Marriage, 1863), the hero, Rammel, makes his living as a novelist. He justifies his profession (disparaged by his wealthy father-in-law who Rammel eventually saves from bankruptcy with money made from his literary activity) in a short scene wherein direct reference is made to Dickens:

> "Neither Bulwer, Victor Hugo nor Dickens would have the names they have today if they had not been thoroughly practical people. Take Charles Dickens, for example, what does he do? First he sells his book and lets it be published; then he reads it to the very same public and doesn't hesitate to admit in a newspaper that he does it solely to make money."

> "But he doesn't admit that that is his only reason for writing."
> "Nor have I said that it was. His immediate goal, naturally, is to influence through his writings and he has chosen his position because he knows that he can do so. But neither he nor any other man is to be a philanthropist to the extent that he pays more consideration to his public than he does to himself. He says frankly to his public: If I find it worth my while to write for you, I shall write; if not, then I'll stop, and will have to find something else to do."
> "Will you follow this principle if you continue to write?"
> "Unconditionally. If writing doesn't reward me better than anything else, I'll stop."[12]

Unfortunately, Foss' career was not as successful as that of his fictional hero; Foss was soon to sink in popularity as quickly as he had risen. True to the credo espoused by Rammel above, Foss stopped writing fiction the moment it became obvious to him that it was no longer profitable.

Before his decline, however, Foss was to carry his imitation of Dickens one step farther. On April 10, 1863, he held a public reading of several of his Skizzer in the great hall of the Kristiania Stock Exchange "for members of the Kristiania Business Club and a large number of ladies."[13] The reading was mentioned in the local Oslo newspapers, which praised Mr. Foss for introducing into Norway this form of entertainment. Morgenbladet observed that "such readings are common abroad and are received with great interest and favor because one perceives the beneficial influence they can have. We only have to name as an example the very famous readings given by Dickens for thousands of hearers . . . ."[14] Morgenbladet was not the only representative of the Norwegian press to draw parallels between the reading given by Foss and the more famous ones given by

Dickens. The satirical weekly, Vikingen, did not let the occasion pass unnoticed; its review gave Foss no quarter:

> But what struck us most at this reading was the similarity it bore to those of Mr. Charles Dickens in England. It never really entered our minds that Mr. Dickens' method of presentation should be an actual imitation of Mr. Foss'; but we were startled just the same over the similarity which was found between these two great personalities, although they consist mostly of minor details. First and foremost was the likeness in the unique manner in which they both tell their stories, although by no means so close that it would allow one to take the one for a mere copy of the other; on the contrary, we shall go so far as to assert that Dickens would never, for the life of him, have written Mr. Foss' short stories. Furthermore, Mr. Dickens has, in addition to a great number of good things, written many poor works. Mr. Foss has also written many poor works. When Mr. Dickens reads his novels, people come from all directions to hear him. --When Mr. Foss does the same, people do not leave, especially when they have the foresight as in the Business Club to "lock the doors at 8:30," presumably when the reading [began]. It may also be mentioned that Mr. Foss is an original writer who claims never to have read Bjørnson. Neither has Dickens ever read Bjørnson! Mr. Dickens can always find his works in houses wherever he goes; here in Norway, Mr. Foss will often be able to find his writings in--outhouses. It is true, however, that Mr. Dickens does have a considerably greater number of readers than Mr. Foss; but, then, Mr. Foss is editor of Dagbladet, a post which Dickens would not be able to carry very far, and even if he should be daring enough to attempt it, he would still not be able to realize the paper's "idea" as well as Mr. Foss has been able to do; but, then, it is not so strange that the newspaper's present editor has carried it up to such considerable heights, because it is obvious that we must get more water when it comes from a waterfall [foss means waterfall in Norwegian] whereas before we used to get it from a pump.[15]

Such criticism hastened Foss' fall from popularity.

There is, however, one more instance in which his name was to be coupled with that of Dickens. After he resigned his post as editor of Dagbladet in 1864, Foss edited several publications, the most important being the trade journal Norsk

Handelstidende which he founded in 1866. In 1868 he also began a weekly, Hver Ottende Dag, written entirely by himself. Only twenty-seven issues appeared, but two of Dickens' Sketches were published in the magazine before it ceased publication: "Shabby-Genteel People" and "The Mistaken Milliner"--additional evidence of Foss' interest in and admiration for these shorter works of Dickens.

Johan Vibe (1840-1897) was another minor novelist and journalist whose writings show the impact of a deep interest in the writings of Dickens. As the review which appeared in Ny illustreret Tidende pointed out, the method of narration and much of the characterization in Vibe's comic picaresque novel Alexander Møllers Erindringer (The Memoirs of Alexander Møller, 1875) have a good deal in common with Pickwick Papers.[16] The hero is somewhat of a Norwegian Pickwick, an elderly bachelor, filled with the milk of human kindness, whose naiveté causes him to be exploited or to be placed in absurd situations. One scene in particular bears a close relationship to a scene in Pickwick Papers. After being grandly fêted by some military cadets (a feast to which he was invited, but for which he eventually had to pay), Møller returns to his boarding house, mistakes the room of his landlady's daughter for his own, and climbs into bed. This results, of course, in an unexpected and painful confrontation between Møller and the daughter; a scene develops and Møller is thrown out of the house. Although this kind of situation was not peculiar to Pickwick Papers, as it evolves in Vibe's novel, the reader's mind is led to the similar scene

in Dickens' novel involving Mr. Pickwick and the Middle-Aged Lady in the inn at Ipswich. There is, likewise, a duel, which after being built up, never materializes. Several of the minor characters deserve the appellation Dickensian--characters such as Mrs. Madsen, who is always worrying about her husband's health and is plentifully supplied with shawls, galoshes and other equipment to protect him from the elements. The novel was relatively successful; a second edition was printed in 1879.

Vibe's interest in and admiration for Dickens is more evident in his small critical treatise Nogle Bemaerkninger i Anledning af Naturalism (A Few Observations Concerning Naturalism, 1884),an analysis and rebuttal of the literary theories of Emile Zola as presented in Le roman expérimental. After a clear, precise, and knowledgeable summary of Zola's theory of Naturalism, Vibe proceeds to argue that Zola's concept of the artist as a scientific, dispassionate observer of life is an impossible one to entertain seriously. When a man wants science, he goes to a scientist; when a man wants art, he goes to an artist. Vibe supports his refutation of Zola's position by referring to the writings of Balzac, Shakespeare, Swift, Kielland, Ibsen, Homer, and Dickens, who is the author most frequently mentioned. If Zola claims that the naturalistic novel has as its humane goal the directing of the attention of the reading public to the plight of the unfortunate, Vibe retorts that Dickens had already brought about the reform of many unfortunate conditions by doing precisely the opposite of what Zola suggest--"not by the scientific value of his work, or because he has written with

lofty objectivity and without allowing his personal interests to influence his descriptions."[17] No, Dickens aroused the English conscience because he wrote with passion and indignation. If Zola claims that non-naturalistic novelists are guilty of exaggeration in their creation of sympathetic and unsympathetic characters, Vibe defends them by again pointing to Dickens:

> Nature has probably never brought forth a Mr. Pecksniff or a Uriah Heap [sic] . . . but when Dickens introduces these characters, they not only captivate us, but we become aware, through them, of faults, vices, and absurdities which surround us in our daily lives, but which we had never noticed before. The hypocrites that surround us in daily life are never complete hypocrites. Their vice is always mixed with or covered by a whole lot of irrelevant everyday qualities which results in our not discovering the vice or, at any rate, our not looking at it with any real interest. Dickens, on the other hand, has, in the characters mentioned, eliminated these irrelevant qualities; he has shown us the hypocrite freed from foreign elements. His hypocrites are interesting, therefore, in a way in which real hypocrites are not, and they make us aware of faults which we had not seen before, at any rate, not with the necessary clarity.[18]

Vibe criticizes the lengthy, tedious, detailed descriptions of the Naturalists; he again points to Dickens as the writer who knows how things are to be done. "Dickens' strength is precisely to be found in the fact that he, in opposition to the Naturalists, does not worry about details, unless they assist in accentuating the major quality of the object with which he wants to acquaint his reader."[19] Vibe's general position is that Zola's theories are artistically invalid; Dickens' achievements, based on an artistic instinct and a good heart, surpass any Naturalistic work.

Zola was to find a champion in Hans Jaeger and the writers

of the Bohemian Movement in Norwegian literature of the 1880's. Jaeger and his friends, however, belonged to a younger generation than the major writers like Lie, Bjørnson, and Kielland, whose works dominated the Norwegian literary life of the 1870's and 1880's. These older novelists, whom Brian W. Downs labels "middle of the road realists,"[20] had their philosophical roots in Kierkegaard and John Stuart Mill, their artistic roots in Balzac, Turgenev, Dickens, Marryat, and various Danish and German authors. Evidence suggests that Dickens was, if not in all cases the favorite author of each of these Norwegians, certainly the Englishman most widely read by them. With writers of talent and genius such as these, it is often difficult to identify strains of influence. Indeed, the term influence is always a dangerous one to use; similarities may exist between two authors; one assumes direct influence, only to discover that the "influenced" author had never read the other writer. In this study I shall mention influence only in those instances where there is reliable evidence that the author had actually read and admired the works of Dickens, and where, in addition, the prose fiction of the Norwegian author contains strong elements of Dickens' art.

Before proceeding to a discussion of these major writers, however, perhaps these elements, usually referred to as "Dickensian," should be clarified. Dickens was a pioneer in the use of the novel as a vehicle for social protest in order to effect reforms in institutions and attitudes which he felt were

needed if the lot of mankind was to be improved. Through the use of a myriad of unique characters both high and low, rich and poor, dull and brilliant, he describes in detail the different wrongs of his day, suggesting that they can be corrected only through the application of the great commandment of Christ: "Love thy neighbor as thyself"--a personal Christian philanthropy. This attitude must be shared by any writer for whom a claim of influence is made--or the discussion of influence is limited to the level of imitation, resulting ultimately in a superficial comparison of similarity of technique or plot or characterization. Dickens' deep concern with pride, hypocrisy, wealthy, poverty, and class reflects his basic moral seriousness. This moral seriousness was illuminated by a tone often referred to as "Dickensian". Once one has read a Dickens novel one knows what this tone is like, just as when one has once heard a Mozart symphony one knows what is meant by Mozartian. It is the combination of specifics which produces an effect that immediately calls to mind the work of a Dickens or a Mozart. In the case of Mozart, it is a mixture of gracious melody, a melancholic chromaticism, a formal elegance, a liveliness of rhythm, a clarity of statement. In the case of Dickens, it is a fusion of his social theme, his imaginative characterization, his manifold use of detail, his good humor and biting satire, his love of the goodness of children and the poor, his hatred of the hypocrisy and false pride of the wealthy, his awareness of the evil and good that money can do. When this combination of elements appears in the writings of one who has read and admired

Dickens, a claim of influence can be made.

Many critics, for example, have found Dickensian elements in the work of Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906). While it would add additional stature to Dickens' reputation if it could be proven that Ibsen's realistic plays derive partially from his reading of Dickens, there is little evidence to support such a claim of direct influence. It is known that Dickens' novels were available in the lending library of his childhood hometown, but there is no record of his ever having borrowed them.[21] Little is known about Ibsen's reading. He almost never comments upon it in his correspondence. Yet it is true that Ibsen's use of the realistic play as a means for social reform and comment is similar to the use Dickens made of the realistic novel. It is also true that many of his characters seem familiar to us from Dickens' world. William Archer was "reminded of Mrs. Bardell's fatal misunderstanding of Mr. Pickwick's intentions" in the corresponding scene in Ibsen's first realistic play The League of Youth (1869).[22] M.C. Bradbrook finds in Aslaksen and Heire, other characters from the same play, "humors of the Dickensian sort."[23] Francis Bull observes "certain likenesses" between "Dickens' immortal Mr. Micawber" and Hjalmer Ekdal in The Wild Duck.[24] It may be more than coincidental that the conflict in A Doll's House is a negative version of the David Copperfield-Dora relationship. There is the similarity of names: Nora, Dora. Bradbrook speaks of Torvald in the first act as "indulgent, perhaps a trifle inclined to nag about the macaroons and to preach, but virtually a more efficient David

Copperfield curbing a rather better trained Dora."[25] There is the possibility that Ibsen was influenced by Dickens; but no proof; there are just "certain likenesses."

Although few likenesses appear in the works of Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1832-1909), he considered Dickens one of his favorite authors. In an unpublished manuscript written by Bjørnson's niece, Signe Bjørnson, she recalls her childhood visits to Aulestad, Bjørnson's estate, and mentions the extra feeling of excitement which was experienced by the family whenever Dickens was to be read aloud in the evenings.[26] Pickwick Papers and David Copperfield seem to have been Bjørnson's personal favorites. He sometimes referred to these works in his letters. Writing to a friend in 1864 about his son, Bjørnson remarks, "Bjørn is a picture of health and liveliness; for the time being, a first class guttersnipe. But as the old coachman in Pickwick says: That's the best upbringing one can get!"[27] Years later, in 1888, in a letter from Aulestad to the Swedish authoress Cecilia Bråäth-Holmberg, the Norwegian writer advises her "to be a good, sweet little girl and read David Copperfield, because it makes you love mankind; that's what I'm doing these days . . . ."[28] This interest in Dickens is seldom reflected in Bjørnson's prose fiction. Bjørnson's realism is not as fully charged with satire as that of Dickens. He tends to preach and discuss rather than work through his characterization. His admiration for Dickens is suggested by the mention in his works of the two novels cited above. The first instance occurs in the following scene from Magnhild (1877):

> One evening they were seated around the table; the pastor had given in to their prayers and was in the process of reading aloud from Pickwick Papers.
>
> The kitchen door slowly opened and a large, bald head, with a wide stub-nose and smiling features, stuck in. One short leg in very wide trousers was added, followed by another leg which was curved and therefore even shorter. The entire figure hobbled as it turned around on this curved leg to close the door. In doing so he presented to them the back of his large head, with a narrow band of hair about its base, a square back, a disproportionate rear end, which was only partially covered by a pea-jacket. Again he made a halting gesture towards them as he once more presented his smiling face with its snub-nose. The girls bent close over their sewing; a suppressed giggle arose from one of the seamstresses, another was heard from a second. "Is it the saddle maker?" asked the pastor and rose. "Yes," was the answer, and the man halted over and presented a fist that was so uncommonly large, with very broad fingertips, that the pastor was forced to look at it as he grasped it. The fist was offered to the others; and when Magnhild's turn came, she burst out in laughter the moment her hand disappeared in his. An outburst of laughter was heard being suppressed by one of the other girls. The pastor hastily explained that they were reading Pickwick Papers. "Aha!" answered the saddler, "yes, that's really something to laugh about." "Have you read it?" asked the pastor. --"Yes, I read most of the English authors during the years I was in America; I have most of them at home," he answered and began to explain about the cheap editions you could get there. The laughter of young girls is not so easily supressed; it was on the verge of exploding again even though the saddler had been given a pipe and the reading had begun again. But now they had an excuse. The pastor eventually tired and wanted to stop, but the saddler offered to read on and actually did so. He read in a dry, calm fashion and with such an unusual pronunciation of the names of the various characters and places that the inherent comic nature of the text became irresistable; even the pastor, who had resisted for a long time, joined in the laughter.[29]

This scene undoubtedly reflects the mirth caused in Bjørnson's own home by similar readings of Pickwick Papers. The second mention made of a Dickens novel in the work of Bjørnson is found in a later novel, Det flagger i Byen og paa Havnen

(The Flags Are Flying in Town and Harbor, 1834) in which the heroine of the early part of the book is sent a copy of David Copperfield by a friend.[30]

The works of Jonas Lie (1833-1908), especially the earlier ones, present a more difficult problem. We know that Lie had read Dickens, as well as Shakespeare, Cooper, and Marryat, before he commenced his literary career.[31] Several distinguished critics have referred to elements of his fiction which are said to have been derived from Dickens. Francis Bull, for example, writes that Dickens was "probably Lie's most important teacher in the art of writing novels."[31] Yet the only characteristic which can be called Dickensian in Lie's first novel, Den Fremsynte (The Visionary, 1871), is the inclusion of interpolated tales of the supernatural within the course of the main story, a narrative device familiar from Pickwick Papers, but a device which Dickens by no means discovered.

Little is known about the specific literary works Lie read. There is some evidence--a character here, a motif there--in his writings to suggest that he might have been an admirer of several of Dickens' novels. In his second novel, Tremasteren "Fremtiden" (The Barque "Future," 1872), a few parallels can be drawn between Lie's novel and those of Dickens. Bull observes that "the villain Stuwitz causes one to think of Dickens."[32] Stuwitz is the trusted employee of a well-to-do merchant family in northern Norway who cleverly forces the trading firm, which he manages for the family, into bankruptcy, after having carefully protected his own interests so that he can then

seize the business. His characterization includes traits both of John Carker and Uriah Heep. A closer parallel with Dombey and Son is the relationship between Morten Jonsen, the son of a poor fisherman, and Edel, the daughter of the wealthy merchant Hegglund, a relationship which is quite similar to that between Walter Gay and Florence Dombey.[33] Another aspect of this novel which is familiar from Dickens is the inclusion of several Christmas scenes in the course of the novel.

The most successful of Lie's earlier novels were those which dealt with the sea, especially that area of Norway where he had spent his childhood, North Norway. But on the whole, these tales of the sea show a stronger influence of Marryat than of Dickens. Motifs and characters in several of Lie's later novels might have had their predecessors in Dickens' novels. The characterization, for example, of Barbro, the wet-nurse in Livslaven (The Lifer, 1883), may have had its source in Polly in Dombey and Son. One of the main themes in the novel most Scandinavian critics consider to be Lie's finest, Familien paa Gilje (The Family at Gilje, 1883), is a variant of a theme from Our Mutual Friend, a recognition of the hypocrisy and shallowness of the Establishment. All discussion of Dickensian influence on the work of Jonas Lie must remain, however, in the realm of speculation. The similarities mentioned are superficial and might be the result of mere coincidence. If there was any direct influence, it was sporadic. Lie's novels were usually not written as social protest fiction. He was primarily interested in telling an exciting tale of the sea or of some mysterious,

supernatural event from the north of Norway or in describing a marital relationship with considerable insight, delicacy, and psychological truth.

The influence of Charles Dickens on one major writer, however, is indisputable. Alexander Lange Kielland (1849-1906) may perhaps be called the Norwegian Dickens. His letters, his life, and his novels all provide proof of his deep admiration of Dickens. Kielland read Dickens in his youth and continued to read him throughout his life. His daughter, Kitty, in her book about her father, writes of his reading in the years prior to his embarking upon his literary career:

> In those years [early 1870's], when we were little, my parents lived a very average small town existence, with considerable social life both within and outside of the family; but precisely during these years, when my father seemed to be enjoying the gaiety about him, he lived a completely private life by himself and within himself. He read an enormous amount, especially Søren Kierkegaard, French and German literature, and, not to be forgotten, Charles Dickens, with whom he felt he had much in common.[34]

But Kielland did not keep his reading of Dickens to himself:

> It was while we were at Hillvaag that he began to read Dickens aloud to us in the evening, and this continued until he left France. Strangely enough he never read Pickwick Papers; he cared least about that work; and when I read it later on my own, I clearly understood that there was something about Mr. Pickwick's personality which did not attract him. Our Mutual Friend, A Tale of Two Cities, and David Copperfield I know almost by heart.[35]

The most striking example of Dickens' influence on Kielland's life (as opposed to his influence on Kielland's writings) is the attempt made to imitate Dickens' public readings, a fact which has been overlooked by Norwegian literary

historians. Kielland, the son of a wealthy merchant family in Stavanger, always seems to have been in financial difficulties once he began his literary career. Having completed his first successful collection of short stories in 1879 and while he was in the midst of writing his first full-length novel, he began looking about for means to increase his income. He devised some "great plans" which he presented in a letter to his Danish friend, Edvard Brandes:

> Even if Gyldendal [Kielland's Danish publishing firm] offers me twice the amount per sheet as last time (40 crowns), and even if I complete 30 sheets, it still won't be enough to cover the year that has elapsed since the short stories. I must have money--lots of money!--I'll send you chapter after chapter as they are completed and you are to decide whether they are worth being translated--will you [do this]? -- I have, you see, the belief that one can make a nice sum both in Sweden and in Germany on a good novel--hem?--In addition I have thought of reading the book aloud in Bergen while it is being printed--what do you think?
>
> Do you know where all this comes from? --from Forster's Life of Dickens, which my wife is reading to me in the evenings. Now you mustn't laugh at me--oh, well--you may if you like,--but just answer--answer--answer--answer--[36]

Edvard Brandes apparently sent back a favorable reply, because Kielland's next letter to him contains the comment:[37] "So you think that I'll be able to read my novel; this really pleases me. The most difficult thing is that I am so easily moved when I read the sentimental passages."[38] Kielland questioned other friends as to what they thought of his plan and after considerable doubt, he held a trial reading of three of his short stories in Bergen on February 19, 1880. The favorable reception accorded him by the local press encouraged Kielland to plan a series of readings from his novel, Garman & Worse, in Bergen and

Trondheim in April and May of the same year. Writing to Bjørnson soon after his initial reading, Kielland reveals feelings of inadequacy in the new role he had chosen for himself:

> Things went better in Bergen than I knew myself. I, personally, was so displeased with the evening--it was just a single performance in order to try it out--that I returned home determined never to attempt the thing again. But then people come to me and tell me that it wasn't so bad, and now I have renewed courage. Therefore I'll choose parts of my novel and read two evenings in Bergen and Trondhjem.[39]

He eventually decided against reading from his novel, Garman & Worse (1880), the difficulties of cutting it down into manageable sections having proved to be too tedious. As with the trial reading, those later readings were comprised of short stories and were warmly applauded by the press. Kielland, however, became more aware of what his limitations were as a performer; he grew to dislike the project and never held other readings.

According to Harald Tverterås, there was a second period in Kielland's life when he seriously entertained the idea of trying to raise money in ways similar to those used by Dickens.

> After Kielland had completed Fortuna, he wanted to publish a collection of comic stories and anecdotes, illustrated by Erik Werenskiold, and the project progressed as far as to the signing of a contract, but the plan then died. He was not in the mood for such things. Financial difficulties, for which he was so poorly suited, threatened to embitter his life several times. Money had to be found and he dreamed of issuing a novel on a subscription basis, in separate numbers, as Dickens had done.[40]

The first project finds its Dickensian parallel in the early history of Pickwick Papers with the short-lived collaboration between Dickens and Robert Seymour. The second plan, like the

first, was never carried out.

Frequent references to Dickens occur in Kielland's correspondence--often in connection with his financial problems. A year or so after he had discarded the plans mentioned by Tveteråas, Bjørnson had offered Kielland a loan of a thousand crowns. Kielland, feeling that Bjørnson had already helped him enough in other ways, declined the offer.

> . . . We'll just have to see how things work out after I've pulled myself together--or have arranged my affairs--or taken some steps--or done some similar weak thing--in the manner of Mr. Micawber . . . .[41]

A second reference to Mr. Micawber is to be found in a letter written to his daughter, Beate Krag, at the turn of the century:

> Dear child! --Finally here are 100 crowns which you are to spend as you like--with a good conscience; of course your eternally faithful is in a Micawber-like crisis, but . . . .[42]

Not all references to Dickens, however, in Kielland's correspondence are related to his financial difficulties. While vacationing on the sea-coast south of Stavanger in June, 1892, the novelist wrote to his sister, Dagmar, in reply to a letter in which she seems to have referred to him as Steerforth:

> I have been lying here in delightful Aare for 14 days. I'm surely too fat now for Steerford [sic], but would you believe it, numerous times in my life, when I've been happy and free from cares, I've wandered across the firm, smooth sand thinking of Steerford. Dickens' description must be marvelous since the image is so imprinted on us both.[43]

Ten years later, on another short vacation, he wrote to his daughter, Kitty:

> Dear child! I'm still here--a few blessed days of

> quiet, conversing with myself. When I'm inside I'm reading Our Mutual Friend by Dickens--one of my favorite books--would you like to borrow it?[44]

In moments of crisis as well as in moments of ease, Kielland derived pleasure, hope, and inspiration from the writings of Dickens.

It is not surprising, therefore, that all critics of Norwegian literature of the nineteenth century have mentioned Kielland's affinity for Dickens. Their lists of authors said to have influenced Kielland vary, but all include Dickens. Winsnes, for example, writing of Kielland's first novel, Garman & Worse, observes: "His novel has received nourishment from the entire stream of realism in European literature, from Dickens, Turgenev, Zola, and Daudet. His greatest kinship is with Dickens and Turgenev."[45] Gerhard Gran lists Kierkegaard and Heine as having been Kielland's favorite authors when he was a student, "in addition to Dickens, whom he constantly quoted and to whom he felt related in his brand of humor and sentiment."[46] Harald Beyer mentions Heine, "as well as Dickens, Daudet and other French authors."[47] The English critic Brian W. Downs claims that "the only imaginative literature to leave a clear mark on his art was that of Charles Dickens."[48]

The one study of Kielland's work which contains an analysis in depth of Dicken's contributions to Kielland's art is the treatise by the Swedish literary historian, Nils Erik Baehrendtz, Alexander Kiellands litterära genombrott. In this extensive investigation of Kielland's earliest literary efforts, the two

collections of short stories, Novelloter (1879) and Nye Novelleter (1880), and his first novel, Garman & Worse, Baehrendtz has amassed considerable evidence as to the direct influence of Dickens on Kielland, especially in terms of humor, satire, and characterization. References to Dickens are scattered throughout Baehrendtz's study and he devotes a separate section of six pages to "The Influence of Dickens" in the course of his analysis of Garman & Worse. He points to a character such as the Swedish printer's apprentice, Gustaf Oscar Carl Johan Torpander, as a clear example of a Dickens figure in Kielland's novel. Torpander is a comic-pathetic soul, hopelessly in love with Marianne, in exactly the same way as poor Mr. Toots is in love with Florence in Dombey and Son.[49] Baehrendtz demonstrates how both Dickens and Kielland employ the same technique of characterization. Both use specific details of almost symbolic import to convey a character's dominant personality (e.g., Carker's teeth, the young Counsel's "correctness"), both exaggerate qualities in their figures with comic and satiric intent, both like to put set-phrases in the mouths of characters which are repeated throughout the book (e.g., Micawber's "something will turn up," and Mrs. Worse's "everything has just got to be straightened out").[50]

The degree of Dickensian elements is not as prominent in Kielland's earliest series of short stoies as in Garman & Worse and his second set of short stories. Baehrendtz reveals the close similarity which one of the stories from the latter bears to parts of Bleak House. Kielland's story "A Clear

Conscience" is about Mrs. Warden, a "do-gooder" from the upper class who goes into the homes of the poor to assist them one day, only to be disillusioned when she discovers that the poor had been "putting on a show" to enlist her sympathies. She is repulsed when she learns the truth about their lives, and her Christian attitude of charity and sacrifice disappears with the theft of her purse. The situation inside the poor hovel Mrs. Warden visits is, as Baehrentz points out, very close to the scene in Bleak House where Mrs. Pardiggle engages in her philanthropic work.[51] There is a letter written by Kielland, again to his friend Edvard Brandes, which supports Baehrendtz's claim of influence in this story. Asking for help in the naming of characters, Kielland exclaims, "The devil take these names! Warden is good. It has a solid, calm, affluent sound about it and has a familiar Dickensian ring to it."[52] This short story is likewise used to demonstrate another stylistic trait common to both Dickens and Kielland--the use of epithets. Mrs. Warden's coachman is referred to as "The Unshakable" and his horses as "The Fat Ones" in a manner similar to Dickens' usage of "The Patriarch," "The Cherub," and "The Analytical Chemist."[53]

One can only conclude that the various materials Baehrendtz has assembled demonstrate that Dickens had a considerable influence on the early writings of Kielland. There are plot similarities, common characterization techniques, the use of Dickensian names, and social criticism, especially in Garman & Worse, presented in a satiric Dickensian tone. Francis Bull, in his formal critique of Baehrendtz's dissertation,

observed: "Kielland would not have become quite the same author as he became had it not been for Charles Dickens; but it is my opinion that no other Scandinavian or German, English, French or Russian novelist or short story writer played any similar correspondingly important a role in Kielland's 'literary breakthrough.'"[54]

Bachrendtz's study, however, is limited to an analysis of Kielland's earliest works. In the course of his discussion, the Swedish literary historian does mention and briefly treat some of the later novels, but usually only in so far as they reflect or illustrate his analysis of Kielland's first three volumes. Several of these references to later works occur in conjunction with the question of Dickensian influence, but are never developed in detail. The influence of Dickens is present in all of Kielland's novels, although the works written after Fortuna (1884) reflect it less clearly than do the earlier works.

In the case of Kielland's writings the presence of Dickensian traits is more a question of influence than of imitation. Imitation is purely cerebral and superficial--an artist copies another to achieve a certain effect. But influence is more subjective--more dependent on a feeling of kinship between two artists. It has been previously mentioned that Kielland felt that he had much in common with Dickens. Like Dickens, Kielland was a radical. Although a product of the Establishment, he turned on it and directed such a series of attacks against it that the Norwegian Storting twice refused to award him kunstnerlønn or a state scholarship. The most

important trait those two novelists shared was their attitude towards the purpose of art. Just as Dickens exposed and criticized the evils of Victorian England, so Kielland attacked his society.

> He uses his pen like a knife. He dares to judge. Kielland is the first Norwegian writer for whom the social question appears in all its breadth and with its full strength, covering everything else. Out of an awareness of social inequalities, he directs his biting satire against the church and state, school and education, business morality and charity; this awareness explains his understanding of the democratic tendens of his day, of the advances made by the farmers, of the working movement . . . . And it explains his sympathy for all the people society cripples or kills.[5]

Part of this awareness came from Kielland's reading of Kierkegaard, part of it resulted from his contact with Georg Brandes, but an important part undoubtedly came from his reading of Dickens' novels and Forster's Life. This is why his novels contain more than artistic or technical similarities to the writings of Dickens; there is also a spiritual similarity--a shared awareness of a moral consciousness.

This moral consciousness is particularly evident in the two works written in 1881, Arbeidsfolk (The Workers) and Else: En Julefortaelling (Else: A Christmas Tale). Both of these novels are concerned with the pathetic-tragic deaths of young girls--deaths for which Society must take the blame. In Arbeidsfolk, Kristine, a country girl, is sent to live in Oslo where she is eventually "forced" into a lowly marriage by a merchant family that fears its oldest son has fallen in love with her. She contracts venereal disease from her husband and dies. Kielland's indignation is less directed toward Kristine's husband than toward the merchant, because he knew

that the man was contaminated, but chose to overlook it in order to placate his wife and get Kristine out of the way. But this is only one of the narrative threads in the book. Arbeidsfolk is basically an attack on the civil servant class of Norwegian life.

One of the critical problems in the study of this novel is the question of the originality of certain parts. Francis Bull, in his essay "Da Arbeidsfolk ble til," stresses the fact that Kielland had read with great pleasure Strindberg's The Red Room upon the recommendation of Georg Brandes.[56] Edvard Brandes seconded his brother's recommendation with the significant comment: "Do read it. He resembles you, but is sharper and has less sense of form: English humor in French sauce, just like you."[57] Kielland began his second novel after having read the first chapters of Strindberg's novel and Bull suggests that the opening chapters of the two works are very similar, "not so much as imitations as contrasts."[58] Both writers had, as Bull also points out, learned a great deal from their favorite author, Dickens.[59] The novels share a common theme. Kielland remarks on this in a letter to Strindberg with whom he had begun corresponding because of his admiration for Strindberg's work:

> While I'm busily struggling these days with the opening chapters of my new novel, I often think of the supreme contempt with which you treat "officialdom" in The Red Room. I am trying to deal with the corruption in our [governmental] departments; the whole system of proud, lazy civil servants headed by their strange, half-Swedish--half-French--and thoroughly dangerous king.[60]

The common root of both novels is, of course, Little Dorrit.[61] There is proof that precisely this work was in Kielland's mind while he was writing his novel. Edvard Brandes wrote to Kielland that he did not like the title his Norwegian friend had chosen for the work then under progress and suggested that he

> Make up a word which can stick to these people, as you have done before, exactly as blessed Dickens--[J.P.] Jacobsen would say, the all too recently departed Dickens--once created "The Circumlocution Office." Use this as your pattern and condense all of your satire into one catchword.[62]

Kielland kept his original title and did not think up any such catchword, but Little Dorrit still left many marks on Arbeidsfolk.

There is, for example, the similarity between the opening chapters of the two novels. Kielland describes Oslo baking beneath a remorselessly scorching August sun in exactly the same fashion as Dickens commences Little Dorrit with a description of a sun-scorched Marseilles.— The second half of Kielland's first chapter is heavily indebted to the tenth chapter of Dickens' book, "Containing the Whole Science of Government," wherein Dickens introduces the Barnacle family; Kielland's civil servants are close relatives of this English family. The law suit which eventually impoverishes the farmer Kjaedel has elements of the story of Daniel Doyce from Little Dorrit as well as the cases in the Court of Chancery in Bleak House. Most of the characters of the Oslo establishment would have felt themselves quite at ease in the homes of the Podsnaps or Veneerings

of Our Mutual Friend, especially the Falk-Olsens, "one of the newer names in the capital." All of these parallels reveal how heavily Kielland drew on Dickens for character types and plot situations in addition to his Dickensian moral attack on the hypocrisy and inefficiency of the Norwegian ruling classes.

Else is perhaps Kielland's most completely Dickensian work. It is written in the spirit of Dickens' famous Christmas tales, A Christmas Carol and The Chimes. Again, like Dickens, Kielland attacks the lack of concern of the well-to-do for the lot of the poor and unfortunate. Proof of the success of this attack is reflected in this letter written to Kielland by Bjørnson, the kind of letter Dickens was most pleased to receive from his closest friends:

> I have just read Else.
> If I had been with you now, I would have taken you by the hand with the warmest handshake I could muster, and I would have said something such as you are a noble fellow or something like that. I love you for this book; I don't think that any other human being could have given me greater joy. You can walk down Østergaden and say to yourself: "Here goes one who has given to the poor at Christmas more than all of you together with your warmest hearts are able to do. Here walks a one-time dandy--now a Man; here walks one who doesn't give a damn about you [the bourgeoisie] because I know what I want, and I know that what I want is good . . . .
> This modern Christmas-bit probably won't bring you much money or any laurels; it will be too "bitter," too "one-sided," too quickly put together, etc., etc.--and yet this book ranks among the best that any living Norwegian citizen of any position has done in his entire lifetime. I cried like a child when I finished reading your book--not because I was touched--no, because of joy, joy over your honesty, your good heart, your seriousness, your ability . . . .[63]

The story describes the moral disintegration and eventual death of a young girl as a result of her seduction by one of the

town's "pillars of society," a board member of "The Society for Fallen Women in St. Peter's Parish." Again there are numerous examples of Dickensian influence other than the primary one of tone and genre. There is "The Band" of suspect characters who inhabit the attic of the house called Noah's Ark, with their epithetic names: The Flea, The Beer Economist, The Mechanic, which calls to mind the characters in Fagin's lair in Oliver Twist. The Society for Fallen Women is composed of Norwegian counterparts of Dickens' Christian hypocrites such as Mrs. Snagsby, Mrs. Jellyby, and Mrs. Pardiggle. The faithful sisterly love shown by Miss Falbe for her alcoholic brother is reminescent of the relationship between Little Nell and her grandfather, and the final scene between them is described in an appropriately sentimental tone. The death of Else in the snow on Christmas eve, while the good burghers are busily buying the last sweets and delights for the festive season, is completely in Dickens' manner. And the moral power of the work is indicated by Bjørnson's letter.

Another novel by Kielland which reflects a strong Dickensian influence is Gift (Poison, 1883), partially written as a direct attack on the Latin school of the nineteenth century. Kielland focuses the first part of the novel on the education of his hero, Abraham Løvdahl, and his friend, little Marius. The relationship between these two boys is similar to that between Steerforth and David Copperfield, the more mature, proud, dashing boy partonizingly protective of the weaker, often mistreated pupil. Kielland's admiration for Dickens'

characterization of Steerforth has been mentioned earlier; Abraham Løvdahl is a product of that admiration. Little Marius, however, is, as a character, more closely related to Paul Dombey than to David Copperfield. He is weak physically, and eventually dies as a result of his constant exertion over his Latin, the subject in which he had to excel in order to maintain his free place in the school. Just as Toots and his compatriots in Dombey and Son are mentally maimed by their classic education at Mr. Blimber's establishment, so is little Marius crushed by his studies, develops brain-fever, and dies. Kielland eschews some of Dickens' often criticized sentimentality in the depiction of the death of Paul for a more bitter-pathetic tone:

> The spring days were bright and fair--the right kind of weather to inspire hope, and Mrs. Gottwalk walked to and fro, constantly watching for signs of improvement.
>
> But one evening it was obvious to her that the end was near. Little Marius was uneasy and mumbled more and more quickly.
>
> "Little Marius--my dear little Marius! You mustn't die and leave your mother. You mustn't, because you don't know what you mean to me. Tell me that you won't leave me--tell me!--"
>
> "Monebor
> maneberis
> monebitur
> monebimum
> monebimini
> monebuntur," answered little Marius.
>
> "Yes--you are a clever boy!--You are the smartest in the whole class when it comes to Latin. The principal said so again today when he was here. But you didn't recognize him; but you know me--don't you? Little Marius! You know your mother? --Tell me--you know me --don't you?"
>
> "Ad, adversus, ante, apud, circa, circiter," little Marius began.
>
> "No, no! Dear little Marius! --no more Latin, sweet. I know how smart you are, and I am so stupid--you know. But just tell me that you know me, that I'm your sweet mother, just tell me that--just say: dear mother--just

say: mother--"

"--fallo, felelli, falsum," answered little Marius.

"Oh, my God! My God! This frightful language! What has it done to my poor boy! --He's going to die without saying his mother's name, his miserable, vain mother who has killed him with all this accursed learning!"

She dashed out into the hall hoping that it was the doctor who had arrived; but it was just one of her lodgers upstairs who had come home.

She then returned to the bedroom; but standing in the doorway, she clapped her hands together and cried in great joy:

"God be praised! You must be feeling much better now--little Marius! You're smiling so contentedly." 64

"Mensa rotunda," answered little Marius, and died.--

Here is the set-piece so familiar from Dickens--the death of a small child--Paul, little Nell, the schoolmaster's Favorite, and Jo. There is the familiar use of the diminuative "little" as part of the child's name. There is the heightened emotion of the mother, contrasting with the bizarre mutterings of the dying boy. Dickens would not have done this scene in quite the same way: he always shows more tenderness in his treatment of such deaths. But, then, Dickens loved his characters in a way that Kielland did not. Kielland saw the pity inherent in the scene, but placed greater emphasis on his protest against the system that led to the situation. The slight exaggeration in little Marius' characterization is in Dickens' style; it is just that Dickens probably would have toned down the absurdity for a more compassionate statement. Kielland, who had read so much Dickens for so long, could not have avoided influence of corresponding Dickensian death scenes while working on this end of little Marius. In addition to the deaths of Paul and little Nell, one is reminded of the blighting of childish fancy which resulted from Gradgrind's insistance on the "the facts"

in Hard Times; there is also a slight parallel between the description of the death of little Marius and Chuffy's mental collapse upon the death of Anthony Chuzzlewit, where he begins to mutter numbers in the breakdown of a mind worn out in the counting house.

The attack on the Latin school dominates only the first part of Gift. With the death of little Marius, Kielland again starts to expose the vice he most hated--hypocrisy. Francis Bull wrote that Kielland is said to have announced in the year of his debut that his works "always had two main sources: a great indignation and a great compassion;--indignation over the offical hypocrisy of the Victorian society of his day and compassion for the victims of such an hypocritical social morality."[65] Dickens worked from the same sources of indignation and compassion, and, like Kielland, fought a battle against hypocrisy--from Mr. Jingle to John Jasper. Hypocrisy is central to the works which followed Gift: its continuation, Fortuna (1884) and the shorter works, Sne (Snow, 1886), Sanket Hans Fest (A Midsummer Night's Feast, 1887), and Jacob (1891). The Reverend Morten Kruse, who is first introduced in Gift and developed in Fortuna, comes into his own in Sankt Hans Fest, is perhaps the most consummate hypocrite in Norwegian literature. He lacks the perfection of Pecksniff, but is a worthy addition to the class.

The position of Alexander Kielland in Norwegian literature is secure. He is considered one of the great stylists of Norwegian letters--one of "The Big Four "--his prose lives today in a way that Bjørnson's and Lie's dated efforts fail to do.

His "poetic life" found a major source in the works of Dickens; he shared the same moral values as his English favorite. He hated hypocrisy. He fought for social reform using his literary art as his weapon. He described his technique in a letter to Georg Brandes:

> I light a sort of bonfire in the middle where I want to burn some evil or other in society, and around this a flock of characters group themselves, and over whom the light from the bonfire falls brightly or dimly, but always the only source of light is the bonfire; this is why my characters are so one-sided--or as some say--superficial. But this is my method and I find it, therefore, absolutely effective.[66]

Dickens, also accused of the same faults, likewise lit bonfires to burn social evils; and Kielland lit many of his fires with sparks from those of Dickens.

With Kielland we can cease to look for further instances of Dickensian influence on Norwegian authors. The writers of the succeeding generation, the Neo-Romantics, Knut Hamsun (1859-1952), Tryggve Andersen (1866-1920), and Thomas Krag (1868-1913) found their models in other literature. By the turn of the century, Dickens' contributions to the art of the novel had been so completely absorbed into the mainstream of world literature that instances of immediate Dickesian influence become increasingly difficult to ascertain.

There remains, however, one work to be commented upon in this chapter, the critical biography, Charles Dickens: 1812-1912, written by Leonard Sandberg and published in 1912.[67] This book on Dickens is the second full-length work ever published in Norway which had as its sole subject the life and work of an English

author. The first such work had been Vilhelm Troye's Thomas Carlyle: hans liv og hans verk (1889). Sandberg's book was published by Aschehoug, the same publishing firm which was then issuing Hambro's translation of Pickwick Papers.

Fully utilizing all important material on Dickens available at the time, Sandberg relied heavily on Forster, Taine, Chesterton, and Gissing, in addition to books by minor critics and admirers of Dickens. His bibliography lists forty-seven titles; other works, not listed in the bibliography, are named in the text or in footnotes. Sandberg obviously knew his Dickens well. He was completely at home in most of the novels and referred with ease to appropriate comments by various critics. The first half of the book concentrates on Dickens' life up to the successful publication of Pickwick Papers. The remaining chapters trace his development as a writer and continue the story of his life up to the final days at Gad's Hill. Interspersed between the purely biographical chapters and those devoted to the discussion, in chronological order, of the individual novels, are several chapters which deal with the more general aspects of Dickens' literary achievement. There is one chapter on his technique of characterization, another which explores the reasons for his unique popularity and success, a third which discusses his method of working, and a concluding chapter which attempts to evaluate his position at the time of his centenary.

Sandberg's analyses of the phases of Dickens' life and work, while they do not strike today's reader with their originality or depth of penetration, are sensible and credible.

The book was directed more towards the general reading public than the literary scholar and adequately fulfilled the writer's stated goals:

> To throw light over Dickens' characters and to try to demonstrate out of what they have grown. At the same time it has been my purpose to present the most important results of Dickensian scholarship which by now is quite considerable.[68]

His discussions of the various works follow no obvious patterns. The most consistent aspect of his approach is that he focuses primarily on the characters and Dickens' technique of characterization. In his analysis of A Tale of Two Cities, for example, he devotes over half of his treatment to a study of Sidney Carton, whom Sandberg considers the most interesting character in the novel. One surprising aspect of Sandberg's evaluation of Dickens' works is the high regard in which he holds the later novels, which most readers had considered inferior to those written before David Copperfield. Sandberg makes the judgement that Dickens' "last books reveal a rise rather than a decline of power."[69] His appraisal of Edwin Drood demonstrates his admiration:

> The portion that Dickens managed to complete is more than enough to make the book one of his masterpieces. In certain aspects he never soared higher. The tale possesses an unique compactness of construction. It is not just an open playground for his characters, but is cleverly planned and rigorously executed. And all of the characters belong to life; they are portrayed with a powerful realism. The only exception is Mr. Sapsea, who is a monster in his earlier fantastic style.[70]

Wherever possible, he points to parallels between Dickens' novels and works by Norwegian authors. He was the first critic to observe the similarity of treatment of Dr. Blimber's school

and that in Kielland's Gift. He was also aware of the close relationship between Arbeidsfolk and Little Dorrit.

As a critical work, Sandberg's volume has been superseded by the numerous books which have appeared since 1912. It does provide, however, another estimate of Dickens' popularity in Norway in 1912; Aschehoug felt that a hard-covered critical introduction to his works was needed and that there was a large enough portion of the Norwegian reading public fond of Dickens to warrant its publication.

Dickens' popularity in Norway culminated in his centenary year. New translations of his works appeared, newpapers printed long commemorative articles written by outstanding critics, and a full-length popular critical introduction to his work was published. Dickens received tribute from Norway which is usually reserved for its most beloved citizens. Norwegians more than compensated for the delayed reception given Dickens in the 1830's and 1840's.

Dickens did not establish himself as an important public figure in Norway until his American journey in 1842. Wide-spread popular interest in Dickens was not apparent until the 1850's when the first respectable Dano-Norwegian translations of his works began to appear and the pages of Norwegian magazines and newspapers were filled with articles and stories taken from Household Words. One of the surprising discoveries made in this study is the important role Household Words and All the

Year Round played in sustaining and spreading Dickens' popularity in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Over 250 items have been found in the Norwegian press which were taken from Dickens' periodicals.

From the 1850's on, there is not a decade which does not bear evidence of the extreme popularity Dickens enjoyed in Norway. Magazines published articles on Dickens until the 1880's. His death was a major news event and evoked testimonials to his greatness in the Norwegian press. In the 1880's several of his novels appeared in serial publication in Oslo newspapers. In 1894 readers of Kringsjaa voted Dickens the most influential non-Scandinavian author in Norway.

Dickens was read and loved by many of the important figures in nineteenth-century Norway: Johan Storm, Andreas Munch, Henrik Wergeland, Ivar Aasen, and Olav Vinje. He was read in rural mountainous areas by Elise Aubert and Olav Wolff. He was read in small coastal towns by N.M. Aalholm and Frithjof Foss. His works were found in libraries above the Arctic Circle as well as in the library of the Naval Academy in the far south. He was the favorite English author of major writers of prose fiction such as Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Jonas Lie, and most importantly, Alexander Kielland.

Pickwick Papers was the most popular Dickens novel until the turn of the century when it was surpassed by David Copperfield. There was a sustained interest in Sketches by Boz and the Christmas stories. Even works like A Child's History of England could be found in private libraries. There was a

general belief that his later works were inferior to his earlier, more humorous novels--a belief not shared by two Norwegians most familiar with his works--Alexander Kielland and Leonard Sandberg.

It was not just in England and America that Dickens became a literary institution. Previous studies have revealed the extent to which Dickens was a cultural influence in Germany and France. It is not surprising to find that he was widely read in countries that have always been a part of the cultural mainstream of Europe. There have, however, been no extensive investiagtions made of the reputation of Dickens in smaller European nations. This dissertation has demonstrated the important role played by Dickens in the lives of Norwegians in the second half of the nineteenth century. The wide extent of Dickens' impact on Norway, a sparsely populated, provincial, mountainous, and geographically isolated country, is undoubtedly similar to that he had on the other small nations of Europe. The evidence presented increases our estimation of the importance of Dickens as a nineteenth-century literary force. Other evidence found during the compilation of material for this study suggests that Dickens' great popularity was not restricted in the north to Norway, but was paralleled in Sweden and Denmark. This study can, therefore, be taken as a case study of Dickens' popularity in Scandinavia as a whole.

Dickens brightened many a home during long, dark Nordic winters when his works were read aloud in family circles. His writings, through their influence on writers like Kielland,

and, more generally, through their wide-spread popularity, assisted in the creation of a climate for reform which eventually brought about the kinds of changes in Norway that he so desired in his own country. Because of this, it may be considered appropriate that the first queen of modern Norway, Maude, granddaughter of Victoria, considered Dickens her favorite author, could recite A Christmas Carol, and signed her gifts to charity: "From Tiny Tim."

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER THREE

[1]Paul Botten-Hansen, La norvège littéraire (Christiania: J. Chr. Gundersen, 1868), p. i.

[2]Wergeland, incidently, read Oliver Twist on his death bed. He mentions this in one of his last letters to his father. Cf. Henrik Wergeland, Samlede skrifter, Vol: Brev, ed. Halfdan Koht and Heimar Jaeger (Oslo: Steenske Forlag, 1930), p. 423.

[3]Fredrik Paasche, Norges litteratur fra 1814 til 1850-årene, Vol. III of Norsk litteraturhistorie, ed. Francis Bull et al. (2d ed. rev.; Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1959), p. 366.

[4]Theodor Reginald [N.M. Aalholm], Lys og Skygge (Arendal: L.A. Krohn, 1847), pp. 1-2.

[5]Illustreret Nyhedsblad, X, No. 25 (1861), 112.

[6]Agderposten, April 5, 1930.

[7]Israel Dehn [Frithjof Foss], Skizzer fra London (Christiania: H.J. Jensen, 1862), p. 86.

[8]Charles Dickens, Sketches by Boz ("New Oxford Illustrated Dickens"; London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 184.

[9]Jonas Lie, Jonas Lie og hans samtidige. Breve i udvalg, ed. Carl Naerup (Kristiania: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1915), p. 16.

[10]Nyt illustreret Tidende, June 19, 1881.

[11]Israel Dehn [Frithjof Foss], Høit og Lavt (Christiania: P.F. Steensballe, 1862), p. 3.

[12]Israel Dehn [Frithjof Foss], Et Aegteskab (Christiania: J.W. Cappelens Forlag, 1863), pp. 59-60.

[13]Den norske Rigstidende, April 14, 1863.

[14]Morgenbladet, April 11, 1863.

[15]"Frithjof Foss--Charles Dickens," Vikingen, I, No. 28 (1863), 110-111.

[16]Ny illustreret Tidende, III, No. 6 (1876), 46.

[17]Johan Vibe, Nogle Bemaerkninger i Anledning af Naturalismen (Christiania: Mallings Boghandel, 1884), p. 20.

[18]Ibid., pp. 49-50.

[19]Ibid., p. 64.

[20]Brian W. Downs, Modern Norwegian Literature: 1860-1919 (Cambridge: University Press, 1966), p. 38.

[21]Halvdan Koht, Henrik Ibsen: Eit Diktarliv (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1954), I, 32.

[22]M.C. Bradbrook, Ibsen the Norwegian: A Reevaluation (London: Chatto & Windus, 1966), p. 69.

[23]Ibid., p. 70.

[24]Francis Bull, Norges litteratur fra februar-revolusjonen til første verdenskrig, Vol. IV of Norsklitteratur, ed. Francis Bull et al. (2d ed. rev., 6 vols; Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1960), p. 424.

[25]Bradbrook, op. cit., p. 84.

[26]Signe Bjørnson, "Barndomsminner fra Aulestad," an unpublished manuscript read over Norsk Rikskringkasting (Norwegian Broadcasting Company) by Guri Stormoen on January 1, 1966.

[27]Letter to Hilmar Finsen, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Gro-tid. Brev fra årene 1857-1870, ed. Halvdan Koht (Kristiania: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1912), p. 128.

[28]Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnsons brevveksling med svenske 1859-1909, ed. Øyvind Anker, Francis Bull, and Orjan Lindberger (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1960-1961), II, 348-349.

[29]Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Magnhild, Vol. V of Samlede vaerker ("Folkeudgave"; Kjøbenhaven: Gyldendal, 1900-1902), pp. 85-86.

[30]Ibid., I, 75-75.

[31]Bull, op. cit., p. 722.

[32]Loc. cit.

[33]Morten, like Walter, a lad with a strong, industrious, optimistic air about him, loves Edel, but realizes that his economic and social position makes their marriage almost an impossibility. Through the industrious application of his talents and the reversal of the fortunes of Edel's family, he is eventually enabled to marry her. It should be pointed out, however, that this theme is a central one in the most popular

Norwegian forlk tales--wherein the poor hero, through the use of his wit, wins the princess and half the kingdom, But, then, Walter Gay is frequently referred to as Dick Whittington.

34 Baby Kielland, Min Far Alexander L. Kielland: belyst med erindringer og breve (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1929), p. 25.

35 Baby Kielland, Min Far Alexander L. Kielland (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1949), p. 90.

36 Georg and Edv[ard] Brandes, Brevveksling med nordiske Forfattere og Videnskabsmaend, ed. Morten Borup, Francis Bull, and John Lindquist (København: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1939), V, 85-86.

37 Brandes was later to write to a mutual friend, J.P. Jacobsen: "Kielland has finished his novel in five months, I'm curious as to whether you're again going to swing the sword of judgement over his head. There's a tempo in him that can make another jealous. He has begun reading his novel in Bergen in order to make money.--There is, you know, something Dickensian about him." Ibid., II, 347.

38 Ibid., V, 87.

39 Alexander Kielland, Breve (3 vols; Kristiania: Gyldendalsk Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1907), I, 79.

40 Harald Tveteraas, Den norske bokhandels historie (2 vols.; Oslo: Norsk Bokhandler-medhjelper-forening, 1950-1964), II, 296.

41 Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Breve til Alexander L. Kielland, ed. Francis Bull (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1930), p.200.

42 Alexander Kielland, Breve til hans Datter (Kristiania: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1909), p. 151.

43 Alexander Kielland, Breve, II, 141.

44 Alexander Kielland, Breve til hans Datter, p. 167.

45 A.H. Winsnes, Norges litteratur fra 1880-årene til første verdenskrig, Vol. V of Norsk litteraturhistorie, ed. Francis Bull, et al., (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1961), p. 55.

46 Gerhard Gran, Alexander Kielland og hans samtid (Stavanger: Dreyers Forlag, 1922), p. 147.

47 Harald Beyer, Norsk og fremmed (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1961), p. 140.

[48] Downs, Modern Norwegian Literature, p. 92.

[49] Nils Erik Baehrendtz, Alexander Kiellands litterära genombrott (Uddevalla: Forum, 1952), p. 240.

Edvard Brandes, after reading the proofs of Garman & Worse had commented: "Your secondary characters are wonderfully successful. A large and good gallery: "The Termite," Uncle Richard, the Swede, Mrs. Fanny-- and above all, Georg Delphin. You really know that kind of dandy. Are you surprised that I include Richard among the secondary characters? But, my friend, who are really the main characters? For the life of me, I can't find out. You have spread light and shadow over them all so very equally. I don't consider the correct Counsul very original, although I can't find any particular model for him. But all this about the merchant house is too English for my taste, too much Dombey."-- Brandes, op. cit., V, 121.

[50] Baehrendtz, op. cit., p. 243.

Baehrendtz also quotes an unpublished letter in a Micawber style written to Kielland's friend, Søren Falck, July 29, 1884: "Dear friend!--I wish I could afford to say that your letter was dearer to me than 3,000 crowns, but it was, at any rate, very dear. I am quite convinced as to your willingness and your friendship and since I am not in any great immediate need, we must not allow this money matter to cast even the shadow of a shadow. Don't let it worry you at all that you are unable to help me--at any rate. . . I will continue, like my great predecessor Micawber--in David Copperfield--with a hope that 'something must turn up.'" Ibid., p. 359.

[51] Ibid., pp. 122-124.

[52] Brandes, op. cit., V, 87.

[53] Baehrendtz, op. cit., pp. 123-124.

[54] Francis Bull, "Nils Erik Baehrendtz: Alexander Kiellands litterära genombrott," Edda, LII, No. 3 (1952), 190.

[55] A.H. Winsnes, Den norske roman i 1870-80 aarene (Kristiania: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1920), pp. 10-11.

[56] Francis Bull, Omkring Alexander L. Kielland (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1949), p. 48.

[57] Ibid., p. 49.

[58] Ibid., p. 56.

[59] Loc. cit.

[60] Ibid., p. 55.

[61] For a discussion of Dickensian influence on Stringberg see: Goran Lindblad, August Strindberg som berättere (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & söners Forlag, 1924), pp. 85-112.

[62] Brandes, op. cit., V, 161.

[63] Bjørnson, Breve til . . . Kielland, p. 35.

[64] Alexander Kielland, Gift, Vol. II of Samlede verker (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1955), pp. 234-35.

[65] Bull, Omkring . . ., p. 10.

[66] Winsnes, Den norske roman . . ., p. 9.

[67] I have found it impossible to discover any information concerning Sandberg other than the fact that he took his university examinations in 1907 upon the presentation of his hovedfag oppgave [a thesis submitted at the end of one's formal study at the University of Oslo] which was written on Pickwick Papers. Judging from the dedication of his book on Dickens, Sandberg, appears to have been a student of Christian Collin. He presumably became an English lektor in a gymnasium.

[68] Leonard Sandberg, Charles Dickens: 1812-1912 (Christiania: H. Aschehoug & Co.), p. ii.

[69] Ibid., 297.

[70] Ibid., 292.

APPENDIX I

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WORKS OF CHARLES DICKENS PRINTED IN NORWAY: 1839-1965

The following entries are arranged chronologically according to the first appearance of a Norwegian edition.

I. Novels

Martin Chuzzlewit:

Martin Chuzzlewits Liv og Haendelser. Translated by C [harles] Smith. Christiania: Johan Dahl, 1843. (Only the first number of 64 pages was issued.)

Martin Chuzzlewits liv og oplevelser. Translated by Henrik Rytter. Oslo: Nasjonalforlaget, 1936. (Abridged.)

Martin Chuzzlewit. Translated by Tryggve Norum. 2 vols. Oslo: Dreyers Forlag, 1951.

Oliver Twist:

Oliver Twist: En Fortaelling. 2 vols. "Miniaturbibliothek for Romanlaesning." Kristiania: Alb. Cammermeyer, 1880. (Abridged.)

Oliver Twist. Translated by Henrik Rytter. Oslo: Nasjonal-forlaget, 1935. (Reprinted in 1962.)

Oliver Twist. Gjenfortalt for ungdommen. Translated by Hugo Gyllander. "Gyldendals Gøde Gutterboker." Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1940. (Abridged children's version.)

Oliver Twist. Translated by Herbrand Larvik. [Bergen]: John. Griegs Forlag, 1941. (Abridged children's version.)

Oliver Twist. Translated by Eivind Hauge. Oslo: Dreyers Forlag, 1949.

Oliver Twist. Translated by Torleif Goderstad. Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1950. (Abridged children's version; reprinted in 1962 as part of series "De aller beste [The Very Best].")

Dombey and Son:

Dombey og Søn. Kristiania: Centraltrykkeriet, 1883. (Printed first as a serial in Saturday numbers of Verdens Gang from January 6, 1883 to August 25, 1883; abridged.)

Dombey & Søn. Translated by C[arl] J[oachim] Hambro. 3 vols. Kristiania: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1916.

Dombey & sønn. Translated by Henrik Rytter. 2 vols. Oslo: Nasjonalforlaget, 1935.

Dombey & sønn. Translated by Eivind Hauge and Andreas Hoell. 2 vols. Oslo: Dreyers Forlag, 1951.

A Tale of Two Cities:

To Byer: En Fortaelling fra den franske Revolutions Tid. Kristiania: Verdens Gang's Trykkeri, 1888. (Printed as a cut-out serial in Verdens Gang.)

En fortaelling om to byer. Translated by Lilli Waage. Kristiania: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1906.

To byer. Translated by Hans Borre Ørbaek. Oslo: Helge Ericksen, 1946. (Abridged children's version.)

A Tale of Two Cities. "Oxford Progressive English." Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1947. (Dramatized English Reader.)

To byer. Translated by Torleif Goderstad. "Seks av verdenslitteraturens mestere [Six Masters of World Literature]." Oslo: Mortensens Forlag, 1949.

To byer. Translated by Ruth Nissen Drejer. Oslo: Ansgar, 1954. ("Edited for modern reading"; reprinted in 1965 by De Unges Forlag.)

David Copperfield:

David Copperfield jun. fra Blunderstone Kraakehjem hans Livshistorie, Eventyr og Iagtaggelser (som han aldrig under nogen Betingelse havde ment skulde offentliggjøres). Kristiania: Norske Intelligentssedlerne's Trykkeri 1900-1901. (Printed as a cut-out serial in Norske Intelligentssedler from April 7, 1900 to June 7, 1901.

David Copperfield. Translated into nynorsk by Ola Raknes. 3 vols. Oslo: Det norske Samlaget (Landsmaalslaget), 1912-13.

David Copperfields Livshistorie. Translated by C. J. Hambro. 2 vols. Kristiania: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1913.

David Copperfield. Translated by T. Vettlesen. Kristiania: "Barnenes Boksamling," 1913. (Abridged children's version.)

David Copperfield den yngres livshistorie. Translated by Per Wigholm. 2 vols. Oslo: Nasjonalforlaget A/S, 1929-30.

David Copperfield. Translated by O[lav] Thommessen. "Verdens beste romaner [World's Best Novels]." Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1929-30. (Reprinted in 1952 and 1958.)

David Copperfield. Translated by Tryggve Norum. 2 vols. Oslo: Dreyers Forlag, 1950.

David Copperfield. Translated by Knut Monrad. Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1954. (Norwegian translation of an abridged Swedish children's version: David Copperfield. Rewritten and abridged by Hilda Holmberg. Stockholm: Svensk Läraretidnings Förlag, 1941.)

David Copperfield. "Store klassikere [Great Classics]." Oslo: De Unges Forlag, 1961. (Abridged for teenagers.)

Barnaby Rudge:

Barnaby Rudge, eller Morderens Søn. Kristiania: Landsbladet's Trykkeri, 1900-1901. (Printed as a cut-out serial in Landsbladet from June 20, 1900 to April 22, 1901; abridged.)

The Old Curiosity Shop:

Lille Nelly og hendes bedstefar. Translated by Ingeborg von der Lippe Konow. Kristiania: Alb. Cammermeyers Forlag, 1901. (Abridged; issued by "Centralstyret for De norske Folkeskolers barne-og ungdomsbibliotheker.")

Nelly og hennes bestefar. Translated by Aimée Sommerfelt. "Gyldendals Gode Pikebøker [Gyldendal's Good Books for Girls]." Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1941. (Abridged children's version.)

Vesle Nelly. Translated by Petrine Ramstad. Oslo: Norsk Barneblads Forlag, 1948. (Abridged children's version; nynorsk.)

Den gamle antikvitetshandleren. Translated by Jo Ørjasaeter. 2 vols. Oslo: Dreyers Forlag, 1950.

Pickwick Papers:

Pickwick-Klubb. Translated by C. J. Hambro. 2 vols. Kristiania: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1912. (Reprinted in 1937 under the title Pickwick-klubbens efterlatte papirer.)

Pickwick-klubbens efterlatte papirer. Translated by Tryggve Norum. 2 vols. Oslo: Dreyers Forlag, 1956.

Hard Times:

Hårde Tider. Translated by Henrik Rytter. Oslo: Nasjonalforlaget, 1935.

Little Dorrit:

Vesle Dorrit. Translated by Henrik Rytter. Oslo: Nasjonalforlaget, 1934.

Our Mutual Friend:

Vår felles venn. Translated by Henrik Rytter. 2 vols. Oslo: Nasjonalforlaget, 1935.

Vår felles venn. Translated by Tryggve Norum. 2 vols. Oslo: Dreyers Forlag, 1951.

Nicholas Nickleby:

Nicholas Nickleby. Translated by Henrik Rytter. 2 vols. Oslo: Nasjonalforlaget, 1935.

Bleak House:

Bleak House--Ødegården. Translated by Henrik Rytter. 2 vols. Oslo: Nasjonalforlaget, 1936. (Abridged; reprinted in 1962)

Great Expectations:

Store forventninger. Translated by Eijert Bjerke. Oslo: Dreyers Forlag, 1948. (Reprinted in 1951.)

II. Short Stories, Essays, and Sketches.

Pickwick Papers:

"Et Juleeventyr," Christiansandsposten, December 27, 1839. (Chapter XXIX, "The Story of the Goblins who stole a Sexton [Gabriel Grub].")

"Graveren," Dølen, August 28, 1859. (Nynorsk translation of chapter listed above; abridged.)

Sketches by Boz:

"Engelske Saeder: Den rige gamle Pebersvend--Laerdrengene--De elegante Botlere," Den Constitutionelle, October 11, 1839. (Based on "Thoughts about People" and "Shabby-Genteel People.")

"Dandseskolen," Nat og Dag, I, No. 4 (1840), 208-217. ("The Dancing Academy.")

"Et Julemaaltid," Den norske Rigstidende, December 22, 1844. ("A Christmas Dinner.")

"Et Besøg i Newgate," Den norske Rigstidende, December 25, 1844. ("A Visit to Newgate.")

"Nyaaret," Den norske Rigstidende, December 31, 1844. ("The New Year.")

"En Drankers Død," Stavanger Amtstidende, August 12-13, 1852. ("The Drunkard's Death.")

"Fattig-Fornemme Folk," Hver Ottende Dag, I, No. 6 (1868), 61-65. ("Shabby-Genteel People.")

"En Streg i Regningen," Hver Ottende Dag, I, No. 12 (1868), 45-51. ("The Mistaken Milliner.")

Drankerens Død. Kristiania: Det norske Totalafholdselskabets Forlag, 1879.

Dickens' Skizzer i Udvalg. Ed. Jakob Løkke. Christiania: J. W. Cappelens Forlag, 1881. (Contents: "The Curate. The Old Lady. The Half-pay Captain," "The Ladies' Societies," "Our Next-door Neighbour," "Shops and their Tenants," "The River," "Public Dinners," "The Parlour Orator," "Sentiment," "The Tuggses at Ramsgate," "Horatio Sparkins," "The Steam Excursion," "The Great Winglehy Duel," "Mrs. Joseph Porter," "The Bloomsbury Christening," "The Boarding House"; printed in English with notes and glosses.)

Mesterverker. Noveller. Translated by Otto Minde. Oslo: Ansgar, 1964. (Contains "A Pasage in the Life of Mr. Watkins Tottle.")

American Notes:

"Boz om Amerikanere," Den Constitutionelle, January 3, 6, 1843. (Chapter XVIII, "Concluding Remarks.")

"Charles Dickens Besøg i Bodsfaengslet i Philadelphia," Den Constitutionelle, January 26, 30, 31, 1843.

Amerikanske Antegnelser. Translated by A. Autenrieth and M. Nissen. Vol. 1. Christiania: Johan Dahl, 1843. (Only the first volume of 192 pages was published.)

Household Words:

"Et Barns Drøm om en Stjerne," Stavanger Amtstidende, March 27, 1852. ("A Child's Dream of a Star.")

"Et Barns Drøm om en Stjerne," Bergens Stifttidende, April 4, 1852. (Reprint of above translation.)

"Opdagelsespolitiet i London," Aftenbladet (Krydseren VII), February 16-17, 1855. ("The Detective Police.")

"De syv fattige Vandringsmænd," Christiania-Adresse-Tidende, February 24-April 11, 1855. ("The Seven Poor Travellers.")

"En Natterunde med Politiet i London," Skilling-Magazin, XXIII, No. 30 (1857), 234-236. ("On Duty with Inspector Field.")

"Politiet og Tyvene i London," Illustreret Folkeblad, II, No. 43 (1857), 215-216. (Contains excerpt from "The Detective Police.")

"Mr. Richard Watts Stiftelse," Illustreret Folkeblad, III, No. 19 (1858), 73. ("The Seven Poor Travellers"; heavily abridged.)

"Den Gylne Marys' Forlis," Christiania-Posten, December 7, 1858-January 1, 1859. ("The Wreck of the Golden Mary.")

"Fødsler. Mrs. Meeks er nedkommen med en Søn," Morgenbladet, September 17, 1861. ("Birth. Mrs. Meeks, of a Son.")

"Opdagelsespolitiet i London," Skilling-Magazin, XXVIII, No. 35 (1862), 550-554; No. 37, 574-575. ("The Detective Police.")

"Juleaften for de AEldre," Morgenbladet, December 21, 1862. ("What Christmas Is as We Grow Older.")

All the Year Round:

"Høg over Høg," Christiania-Posten, November 3, 4, 6, 1869. ("Hunted Down.")

"Befrieren," Skilling-Magazin, XXVII, No. 1 (1861), 2-6. ("Italien Political Prisoner.")

"Gode Toms Guldmark," Throndhjems Stiftavis, March 30 to May 14, 1862. ("Tom Tiddler's Ground.")

"Mugsby Faellestation," Morgenbladet, December 28-30, 1866. ("Mugsby Junction.")

"Vertshus i Doncaster," Christiania Intelligentssedler, October 8-12, 1866. ("The Lazy Tour of Two Idle Apprentices.")

"Spaerret!," Throndhjems Stiftsavis, August 27 to October 22, 1868. ("No Thoroughfare.")

"Mrs. Lirripers Leiere," Dagbladet, February 22 to May 5, 1870. ("Mrs. Lirriper's Lodgings.")

Hittebørnene. Translated by Karen Sundt. Kristiania: Olsens Boghandel, 1906. ("No Thoroughfare.")

Sidespor Nr. 1. Translated by R. T. "Spokelseshistorier og forbunderlige Oplevelser [Ghost Stories and Strange Experiences]." Kristiania: Alb. Cammermevers Forlag, 1919. ("Mugsby Junction," Chapter IV, "No. 1 Branch Line: The Signalman.")

III. Christmas Books:

En julesang paa prosa. Translated by Hans Brekke. Fagerstrand pr. Høvik: Bibliothek for de tusen hjem, 1887. (A Christmas Carol.)

Siressen i peisen. Fagerstrand pr. Høvik: Bibliothek for de tusen hjem, 1887. (The Cricket on the Hearth.)

Klokkekimene. Translated by Th. Blackstad. Fagerstrand pr. Høvik: Bibliothek for de tusen hjem, 1888. (The Chimes.)

Livets strid. Translated by Jo Meyer. Kristiania: Wahls Bøker, 1920. (The Battle of Life.)

Julesangen. En julesang i prosa. Kirkeklokkene. Siressen på åren. Livets strid. Gjengangermannen. Translated by Henrik Rytter. Oslo: Nasjonalforlaget, 1934. (The complete Christmas books.)

IV. Miscellaneous

"Nogle Erindringer om Thackeray," Illustreret Nyhedsblad, XIII, No. 10 (1864), 197-198. (Cf. Charles Dickens, "In Memoriam," The Cornhill Magazine, IX (February, 1864), 129-132.

"Det hvide Skib," Stavanger Amtstidende, February 2, 1870. (Selection from A Child's History of England.)

Frelserens Liv. Translated by Ronald Fangen. Oslo: Jacob Dybwads Forlag, 1934. (The Life of Our Lord.)

APPENDIX II

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE MAJOR ARTICLES ON CHARLES DICKENS IN NORWEGIAN PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS: 1839-1912

I. Periodicals.

"Charles Dickens," Skilling-Magazin, XI, No. 48 (1845), 377-79.

"Charles Dickens som Forelaeser," Illustreret Nyhedsblad, VII, No. 35 (1858), 146-47.

"Charles Dickens," Skilling-Magazin, XXV, No. 9 (1869), 129-31.

"Charles Dickens's Sidste Oplaesning," Norsk Folkeblad, V, No. 15 (1870), 97-98.

"Charles Dickens," Almuevennen, XXII, Nos. 26-28 (1870), Cols. 201-203, 210-11, 219-20.

"Charles Dickens's Bolig i Gadshill," Skilling-Magazin, XXXVI, No. 32 (1870), 502.

"Dickens Ungdom," Skilling-Magazin, XXXVIII, Nos. 10, 11 (1872), 154-58, 162-66.

Hillebrandt, Karl. "Charles Dickens endnu engang," Skilling-Magazin, XLV, Nos. 2, 3 (1880), 22-27, 34-43.

Sauer, C. M. "Dickens som Forelaeser," Ny illustreret Tidende, VII, No. 30 (1880), 298-99.

"Charles Dickens i sit Hjem," Skilling-Magazin, LII, No. 1 (1886) 2-11.

II. Newspapers.

"Boz (Charles Dickens)," Den Constitutionelle, December 28-29, 1842.

"Charles Dickens's Theater i London," Bergens Stiftidende, February 20, 1850.

"Thackeray og Dickens," Christiania-Posten, March 11, 1853.

Gutzow, Carl. "Charles Dickens," Bergenske Blad, March 30, 1853.

_____. "Engelske Skribenter," Morgenbladet, April 6, 1853.

"Charles Dickens's Indtaegter af sine nyeste Vaerker," Romsdals Budstikke, November 13, 1853.

"Necrolog," Aftenposten, June 13, 1870.

"Charles Dickens," Throndhjems Stiftsavis, June 16, 1870.

"Charles Dickens," Dagbladet, June 17, 1870.

Cabiro (pseud.). "Charles Dickens," Aftenposten, June 22, 1870.

"Charles Dickens's Familieforhold," Aftenbladet (Krydseren XXII), June 27, 1870.

"Charles Dickens's Familie Forhold," Aftenposten, June 28, 1870.

"Charles Dickens," Throndhjems Stiftsavis, June 28, 1870.

"Charles Dickens's Familieforhold," Dagbladet, June 29, 1870.

"Charles Dickens," Morgenbladet, July 10, 1870.

Sauer, C. M. "Charles Dickens som Oplaeser af sine Vaerker," Bergens Aftenblad, July 19-20, 1880.

Storm, Thora. "Charles Dickens: 7de februar 1812--7de februar 1912," Nidaros, February 6, 1912.

Kr. [Kringen, Olav] . "Charles Dickens 1812--7. februar--1912," Social-Democraten, February 6, 1912.

"Charles Dickens 100 aarsdagen," Den 17de Mai, February 6, 1912.

R., J. "Charles Dickens født 7de februar 1812," Trondhjems Adresseavis, February 6, 1912.

"Charles Dickens' Hundreaarsdag," Vestlandsposten (Stavanger), February 6, 1912.

"Charles Dickens 1812-1912," Dagbladet, February 7, 1912.

[Hambro, Carl J.] "Charles Dickens 7-2-1812--7-2-1912," Morgenbladet, February 7, 1912.

Lie, Erik. "Charles Dickens 7. februar 1812--7. februar 1912," Norske Intelligentssedler, February 7, 1912.

Naerup, Carl. "Dickens 1812-1912," Tidens Tegn, February 7, 1912.

Øksnevad, Reidar. "Charles Dickens 100 aar," Verdens Gang, February 7, 1912.

Lassen, Helene. "I andledning av Dickens' hundreaarsdag," Norske Intelligentssedler, February 25, 1912.

APPENDIX III

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF STORIES AND ARTICLES FROM HOUSEHOLD WORDS AND ALL THE YEAR ROUND PUBLISHED IN SKILLING-MAGAZIN

Household Words:

"Stentøi-og Porcelaensfabriktionens Historie," Skilling-Magazin, XXI, No. 5 (1855), 37-39; No. 6, 47-48.

"Reise over Landtungen ved Panama," Tillaegs-Blad til Skilling-Magazin for 1855, XXI, No. 1 (1855), 1-6.

"Southampton," Skilling-Magazin, XXIII, No. 2 (1857), 12-16.

"Alkemister," Skilling-Magazin, XXIII, No. 27 (1857), 209-211; No. 28, 218-223.

"En Natterunde med Politiet i London," Skilling-Magazin, XXIII, No. 30 (1857), 234-236.

"San Francisco før og nu," Skilling-Magazin, XXIV, No. 17 (1858), 131-135.

"Fortaellinger om Hugenotterne," Skilling-Magazin, XXIV, No. 20 (1858), 158-160; No. 21, 162-166.

"En Katolsk Mirakelhistorie," Skilling-Magazin, XXIV, No. 32 (1858), 254-256; No. 33, 261-263.

"Vandringer i Tyrkiet," Skilling-Magazin, XXV, No. 10 (1859), 74-76; No. 11, 81-84.

"Taskonspilleren som Statsmand," Skilling-Magazin, XXV, No. 23 (1859), 178-180.

"Mit spanske Kigeglas," Skilling-Magazin, XXV, No. 27 (1859), 210-215.

"Perugias Plyndring," Skilling-Magazin, XXV, No. 38 (1859), 298-302.

"Traek af Livet i Japan," Skilling-Magazin, XXV, No. 39 (1859), 311-312; No. 40, 313-315.

"Insekter," Skilling-Magazin, XXVI, No. 4 (1860), 29-32.

"Telte," Skilling-Magazin, XXVI, No. 5 (1860), 39-40; No. 6, 42-43.

"De patagoniske Brødre," Skilling-Magazin, XXVII, No. 36 (1861), 558-562.

"Hendes kongelige Højhed," Skilling-Magazin, XXVII, No. 42 (1861), 654.

"De indiske Muggere," Skilling-Magazin, XXVIII, No. 15 (1862), 229-231.

"Opdagelsespolitiet i London," Skilling-Magazin, XXVIII, No. 35 (1862), 550-554; No. 37, 574-575.

"Min franske Laerer," Skilling-Magazin, XXXI, No. 1 (1865), 10-14; No. 2, 26-30.

"En Fisketur," Skilling-Magazin, XXXIII, No. 34 (1867), 534-537; No. 35, 550-554.

"En Ildprøve," Skilling-Magazin, XXXIII, No. 42 (1867), 663-666; No. 43, 678-682; No. 44, 694-697.

"Fra den gamle Mands Ungdom," Skilling-Magazin, XLVII, No. 43 (1881), 678-683.

All the Year Round:

"Befrieren," Skilling-Magazin, XXVII, No. 1 (1861), 2-6.

"Naeringsmidlers forvandlinger," Skilling-Magazin, XXVII, No. 20 (1861), 316-319.

"Under Havet," Skilling-Magazin, XXVII, No. 22 (1861), 345-350.

"Nordamerikanske Samfundsforhold," Skilling-Magazin, XXVII, No. 23 (1861), 359-363.

"Kongen af Yvetot," Skilling-Magazin, XXVII, No. 28 (1861), 435-436.

"Østers," Skilling-Magazin, XXVII, No. 28 (1861), 438-440; No. 29, 450-451.

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APPENDIX IV

ARBEIDSFOLK, LITTLE DORRIT, AND THE RED ROOM:

THE OPENING PARAGRAPHS

Arbeidsfolk, by Alexander Kielland

The sky was clear and bluish white in the southwest and out over the fjord. The strong sunshine twinkled on the ripples on the surface separated by long strips of becalmed water.

There was no definite wind.

At one moment a gust of wind came from the south; then the scorching air would be moved from the valley out over the town, where it made a feeble stir in the direction of the main island before expiring in the hopeless warmth.

Every afternoon thunderclouds threatened in the east only to disappear towards evening.

The people thought, "If only it would rain." But things remained the same, day after day, throughout August: the sun baked, the wind stirred here and there--moving the heat around without dispersing it, and thundershowers rose up, keeping all of nature in a condition of trembling expectation, and then just disappeared.

All the wide streets which ran towards the south and southwest were full of sunshine. The shade crept completely under the walls of the houses, making itself so small that it could not be walked on.

It was best on Carl Johan's Street in the morning. You could then get all the way up to the Storting unscathed. But the sun had gathered its strongest forces above Eidsvold Square and up towards the palace.

Leaves, laden with grey dust, hung from the young trees; the poplars bent over squinting, looking for their shadows. And the people glided from bush to bush like birds, while the birds sat quietly as close to the branches as possible, blinking at the sun or took dustbaths in the dry flower-beds.

A few unfortunate men, with opened umbrellas, hats in hand and handkerchiefs drooping like wet cloths, toiled up the hill by the palace. A withered group of the year's students stood beneath the University clock and sweated Latin. A little gust of wind came unexpectedly down University Street, whirling a tornado of dust up into the air, spreading it across the square; while the water from the water carts lay like a coat of grey pearls on the thick warm dust on the streets.

You were blinded if you looked up towards the palace, which stood in the middle of the sunlight with drawn curtains. Out in front, Karl Johan sat on his bronze horse; he held his hat in his hand to shade himself. But down in the town the air hung quivering as if over the site of a fire. Far below, smoke from chimneys had gathered together into a brown splotch;

and in the east the thunder clouds began to form yellowish-white billows like the smoke from huge cannon.

Little Dorrit, by Charles Dickens

Thirty years ago, Marseilles lay burning in the sun, one day.

A blazing sun upon a fierce August day was no greater rarity in southern France then, than at any other time, before or since. Everything in Marseilles, and about Marseilles, had stared at the fervid sky, and had been stared at in return, until a staring habit had become universal there. Strangers were stared out of countenance by staring white houses, staring white walls, staring white streets, staring tracts of arid road, staring hills from which verdure was burnt away. The only things to be seen not fixedly staring and glaring were the vines drooping under their load of grapes. These did occasionally wink a little, as the hot air barely moved their faint leaves.

There was no wind to make a ripple on the foul water within the harbour, or on the beautiful sea without. The line of demarcation between the two colours, black and blue, showed the point which the pure sea would not pass; but it lay as quiet as the abominable pool, with which it never mixed. Boats without awnings were too hot to touch; ships blistered at their moorings; the stones of the quays had not cooled, night or day, for months. Hindoos, Russians, Chinese, Spaniards, Portugese, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Genoese, Neapolitans, Venetians, Greeks, Turks, descendants from all the builders of Babel, came to trade at Marseilles, sought the shade alike--taking refuge in any hiding-place from a sea too intensely blue to be looked at, and a sky of purple, set with one great flaming jewel of fire.

The universal stare made the eyes ache. Towards the distant line of Italian coast, indeed, it was a little relieved by light clouds of mist, slowly rising from the evaporation of the sea, but it softened nowhere else. Far away the staring roads, deep in dust, stared from the hillside, stared from the hollow, stared from the interminable plain. Far away the dusty vines overhanging wayside cottages, and the monotonous wayside avenues of parched trees without shade, drooped beneath the stare of earth and sky. So did the horses with drowsy bells, in long files of carts, creeping slowly towards the interior; so did their recumbent drivers, when they were awake, which rarely happened; so did the exhausted laborours in the fields. everything that lived or grew, was oppressed by the glare; except the lizard, passing swiftly over rough stone walls. and the cicada, chirping his dry hot chirp, like a rattle. The very dust was scorched brown, and something quivered in the atmosphere as if the air itself were panting.

Blinds, shutters, curtains, awnings, were all closed and drawn to keep out the stare. Grant it but a chink or

keyhole, and it shot in like a white-hot arrow. The churches were the freest from it. To come out of the twilight of pillars and arches--dreamily dotted with winking lamps, dreamily peopled with ugly old shadows piously dozing, spitting, and begging--was to plunge into a fiery river, and swim for life to the nearest strip of shadow. So, with people lounging and lying wherever shade was, with but little hum of tongues or barking of dogs, with occasional jangling of discordant church bells, and rattling of vicious drums, Marseilles, a fact to be strongly smelt and tasted, lay broiling in the sun one day.-- ("New Oxford Illustrated Dickens; London: Oxford University Press, 1953), pp. 1-2.

The Red Room, by August Strindberg

It was an evening in the beginning of May. The little garden on "Moses Height," on the south side of the town had not yet been thrown open to the public, and the flower-beds were still unturned. The snowdrops had worked through the accumulations of last year's dead leaves, and were on the point of closing their short career and making room for the crocuses which had found shelter under a barren pear tree; the elder was waiting for a southerly wind before bursting into bloom, but the tightly closed buds of the limes still offered cover for love-making to the chaffinches, busily employed in building their lichen-covered nests between trunk and branch. No human foot had trod the gravel paths since last winter's snow had melted, and the free and easy life of beasts and flowers was left undisturbed. The sparrows industriously collected all manner of rubbish, and stowed it away under the tiles of the Navigation School. They burdened themselves with scraps of the rocket-cases of last autumn's fireworks, and picked the straw covers off the young trees, transplanted from the nursery in the Deer Park only a year ago--nothing escaped them. They discovered shreds of muslin in the summer arbours; the splintered leg of a seat supplied them with tufts of hair left on the battle-field by dogs which had not been fighting there since Josephine's day. What a life it was!

The sun was standing over the Liljeholm, throwing sheaves of rays towards the east; they pierced the columns of smoke of Bergsund, flashed across the Riddarfjord, climbed to the cross of the Riddarholm church, flung themselves on to the steep roof of the German church opposite, toyed with the bunting displayed by boats on the pontoon bridge, sparkled in the windows of the chief custom-house, illuminated the woods of the Liding Island, and died away in a rosy cloud far, far away in the distance where the sea was. And from thence the wind came and travelled back the same way, over Vaxholm, past the fortress, past the custom-house, and along the Sikla Island, forcing its way in behind the Hästarholm, glancing at the summer resorts; then out again and on, on to the hospital

Daniken; there it took fright and dashed away in a headlong career along the southern shore, noticed the smell of coal, tar, and fish-oil, came dead against the city quay, rushed up to Moses Height, swept into the garden, and buffeted against a wall. (Translated by Elsie Schluessner; New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1915), pp. 1-2.

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