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pastoral which retains the constant perspective of innocence. Unlike the river scenes in *Huckleberry Finn*, or the Salem to which Hawthorne's narrator returns in the introduction to *The Scarlet Letter*, the landscape of Dunnet Landing in *The Country of the Pointed Firs* represents the totality of the narrator's desired experience. The lasting achievement of the book stems, in fact, from the emotional ambiguity evoked in the reader towards this experience. Constantly aware of the impossibility of regaining such innocence, we are drawn in spite of ourselves into the charmed circle of Dunnet Landing and its inhabitants; unlike the narrator, we can never quite evade the poignant realization that we have already passed beyond it.

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**THE TORY LOVER, OLIVER WISWELL, AND RICHARD CARVEL**

*By Helen V. Parsons*

Early in her writing career Sarah Orne Jewett was asked to provide a novel to be serialized in the *Atlantic Monthly*, but she declined. She felt that she had no dramatic talent and could not sustain a plot. She adhered to this opinion when, twenty-six years later, she was urged once more to contribute a long story to the *Atlantic*. At this time, however, her old friend Charles Dudley Warner, editor of the Hartford *Courant* suggested that she consider writing an historical novel with Berwick for its setting. This idea appealed and, against her better judgment, she turned aside from her sketches of country people and everyday happenings in coastal Maine to produce *The Tory Lover*.

Although Miss Jewett was eager to preserve the historic Berwick names and places, they became pawns which she rearranged and shuffled to embellish a fiction. Hamilton House, actually built in 1787, was presented as a reality in 1777: Jonathan and Mary Hamilton became brother and sister instead...
of husband and wife; Madam Wallingford, with a stepson in the Revolutionary forces, became the head of a Tory household; Samuel Wallingford, married and the father of a child became Roger Wallingford, single, a Tory, and an admirer of Mary Hamilton; the Reverend John Tompson became an established Berwick pastor six years before he had resigned his Standish pastorate; beautiful eighteen-year-old Elizabeth Wyatt was resurrected from her early grave to dance with venerable men who might possibly have known her in their youth. Only two outstanding Berwick citizens retained their identity under her pen. Master John Sullivan, Berwick’s beloved teacher for forty years, and Margery, his peppery, staunch, but unlettered wife. Miss Jewett was sympathetically attuned to the gentle, studious Master Sullivan; she could sense in Margery the strong spirit of a Mrs. Todd.

It was almost incumbent on Miss Jewett that she choose John Paul Jones as the national heroic figure in *The Tory Lover* for during one portion of his eventful life he had been well-known along the Portsmouth docks while he had made ready the *Ranger* for its first crossing to France, in 1777. The presentation of Jones, however, is strictly romantic; a man of saccharine yearnings that were a far cry from his actual materialistic emotions.

Miss Jewett’s departures from accuracy in her depictions of Berwick, its people, or of Jones, were not the real reasons for the lukewarm reception accorded the novel. The violent temper of the times never explodes in *The Tory Lover*; the heart-breaking separation of two lovers never develops into a warm love story. Reared in a gentle Victorian atmosphere, Miss Jewett was quite unable to portray an unknown violence; embued with her cameo portraits of the elderly, she did not understand and could not realistically portray youthful love. These faults were the basis for unfavorable criticism of the novel when it appeared in 1901.

A later critic, John Eldridge Frost, observed that although *The Tory Lover* compared favorably with the fictionalized treatment of American history by Sarah Jewett’s contemporaries, “it would be forgotten because ‘Readers were soon to demand in historical fiction strict fidelity to fact based upon intensive research, and plots that followed a logical sequence
instead of turning upon coincidence.”¹ Throughout *The Tory Lover* the plot turns upon an act of fate, of providence, or by the hand of God. Riders appear to dispense the mob just in time to save Madam Wallingford and her property from harm; letters written by Master Sullivan, who had been in America for nearly fifty years, miraculously reach men in important positions in England’s government, men who just happen to be in positions that enable them to help Mary Hamilton; the hand of God leads Captain Jones and Mary to a particular English Church on a particular day; and luck, fate, or God enable the captain to locate Roger Wallingford within a few hours. Effortlessly and inexplicably the story unfolds.

Materials for Miss Jewett’s plot offered no problem, for the history of the colonies was filled with the Tory-Whig conflict. Stories of individual conflicts over the issues existed in every town and city on the Atlantic seaboard. These conflicts arose between three distinct groups. There were those people who had gained security and affluence in America and were reluctant to sever their allegiance to the mother country in exchange for an uncertain existence in a crude, unformed society. There were those who had achieved no great success; they found it easy to oppose the mandates of a ruler that threatened their very existence. Then there were those leaders in the young country whose allegiance to the country of their birth was much stronger than the remote ties with the mother country.

With these three choices for the characters in her novel, Miss Jewett selected the prominent family of Wallingfords, known for their Tory sympathies, and another prominent family, the Hamiltons, whose patriotic sympathies lay with the country of their birth. Skillfully she introduces the thoughtful leaders of the community, whose patriotism for America superseded their loyalty to England. At the Hamilton House party which is being given in honor of John Paul Jones on the eve of his departure on the *Ranger*, Judge Chadbourne expresses the feelings of those present: “Our Country is above our King in such a time as this, yet I myself was of those who could not lightly throw off the allegiance of a life-time.”² Major Haggens,

¹ Sarah Orne Jewett (*Kittery Point, Maine, 1960*), 150-151.
² Sarah Orne Jewett, *The Tory Lover* (Boston, 1901), 16. Subsequent page references to this edition are parenthetically noted in the text.
speaking of Roger Wallingford's indecisiveness, adds: “I have always said that we must have patience with such lads and not try to drive them” (16). Later, the major rejects the common people with, “They have little to risk, some of the loudest of them . . . some of those daredevils in Boston have often made matters worse than there was any need” (16, 17). The Judge interposes: “We are not served in our struggle by such lawlessness of behavior, . . . General George Washington is our proper model, and not those men whose manners and language are not worthy of civilization” (17). Thus, Miss Jewett sets the tone for her novel, a tone of tolerance for people of position, regardless of their sympathies. This tone she maintains to the end of the story with little or no regard for the temper of the times.

The weakness of such a novel is made clearer by a comparison with two other novels written about the same period of history: Richard Carvel (1899) by Winston Churchill and Oliver Wiswell (1940) by Kenneth Roberts. The Tory-Whig conflict in these two novels is similar to that in The Tory Lover, but the handling of it is significantly different. There is a surface parallelism in the love stories, but the feeling and development of them is much more consistent than in The Tory Lover. Some similarities in style exist in the two nineteenth-century novels, but in general the style of both Richard Carvel and Oliver Wiswell is much more vigorous than that of The Tory Lover. The plots in the first two novels are worked out in great detail, whereas Miss Jewett's contains many unexplained situations.

The patriots, aroused to action by men like Sam Adams, were not passive in expressing their dislike of the Tory sympathizers. Yet, when there is an actual confrontation, Miss Jewett draws back from disgusting situations or physical violence. She makes it clear that many of the dispossessed Tories have fled to Halifax or to England where they exist under miserable conditions. She carefully describes their "sad faces" and "idle days" and concludes that "a poor page of English history was unfolded before their eyes" (342). Madam Wallingford comments: "I dreamed it was all different till we heard such tales in Halifax" (299). Miss Jewett does not enlarge upon those conditions in Halifax.
Kenneth Roberts clarifies the picture of Halifax: "He was ... always coming across a family of six or seven Loyalists wretchedly sheltered in a ragged tent, or an aged couple who had lived on half-rotten potatoes for a month, or some old gentleman who couldn't go out in the daytime because of lacking enough to cover his nakedness." He mentions eminent American loyalists in England as "living in rooms the size of dog kennels and hoping to God the government'll allow 'em just enough so they won't freeze to death" (424). Passages like these mean more to the reader than does Miss Jewett's didactic statement about the pages of English history.

When Madam Wallingford's house is threatened by a mob of patriots, Miss Jewett neatly turns aside from violence and destruction by having a group of elderly gentlemen, mounted on horses, come to their neighbor's rescue, although these gentlemen are staunch patriots. Even some of the town authorities are present: "The town constable was bawling his official threats as he held one of the weaker assailants by the collar and pounded the poor repentant creature's back" (258-260). The total damage to the Wallingford estate is one broken window.

The mob scenes in Oliver Wiswell are considerably different. Not only does the mob pillage and burn, it also tars and feathers a man, rides him off the premises on a rail, and then with fiendish glee cuts out the tongue of a horse which has been led from the burning barn (6-7). Another mob, composed of neighbors of the family, moves on the Wiswell house to force the young man and his sick father out into the night to seek what shelter they can find in Boston (48).

In each book the mobs are unruly, illiterate and rough; but whereas Miss Jewett's mob can be turned aside and is "repentant," the mobs in Oliver Wiswell riot unchecked, are pitiless, fanatic, and unrepentant. Nor are they hindered by any friends of the family. Anyone who assists a Tory can expect to have his own property destroyed, and can expect bodily harm. This is implied when young Wiswell's father speaks to him about the tarred and feathered man whom the boy has saved from the mob: "There isn't a lawyer or a

doctor—not a man of position or property in this neighborhood—who wouldn't do just what you’ve done; but if it got to be known, there’d be only one answer” (13).

In Richard Carvel a dramatic mob scene occurs when an Annapolis merchant returns from England invested with the office of Stamp Distributor. Protesting the Stamp Act, the mob burns his warehouses, and then drags “a stuffed figure” of the detested Mr. Hood “through the town on a one-horse cart,” bestows “nine and thirty lashes” on him, hangs him “to the gibbet and sets fire to a tar barrel under him.”4

All three authors choose to place their young lovers in prominent families with opposing political views. There is a marked parallelism, however, between Mary Hamilton and Roger Wallingford of The Tory Lover and Sally Leighton and Oliver Wiswell of the Roberts novel. Mary is the sister of a ship owner and a patriot; Sally is the daughter of a ship owner and a patriot. Roger is the son of a successful business man and is sympathetic to the Tory cause; Oliver is the son of a successful lawyer and also sympathizes with the loyalists. In both novels the young people have been friends and neighbors since childhood, and both young men have become romantically interested in the girls. Here the parallelism ends.

Roger returns to Berwick from Portsmouth to tell Mary that he has finally taken the patriot’s oath and is to sail on the Ranger. Mary is sharp and impatient with him. Willfully she refuses to listen to any protestation of love: “‘Stop; I must hear no more!’ said the young queen coldly . . . ‘Farewell for the present.’” When he begs to see her after he has proved his loyalty, she answers proudly: “‘Then you may come, Mr. Wallingford.’” She leaves him and “had not even given him her dear hand at parting” (33-39). The cold, unfeeling attitude of “the young queen” does not suggest a romance. Here is a girl more interested in herself, her position, and her popularity than in the future of a good friend. It is unbelievable that she would address an old and dear neighbor as “Mr. Wallingford.” This is the one romantic scene in the book, and it is totally lacking in warmth, to say nothing of passion.

Just the opposite is true of the young people in Oliver Wis-

Oliver has returned to Milton from school, called home by the illness of his father. He and Sally greet each other with real pleasure. "She caught my wrist and let her fingers lie along my palm—a way she had that made my heart thump like a drum. 'You never told me, Oliver! Why didn't you tell me you were coming home? Think if I'd been away!'" (25). The dangers of the times dim their reunion but she refuses to talk politics and cries, "'I can't bear to have such things come between us!'" (27). Later, when Sally risks her standing as a patriot to carry a warning to Oliver, it is distinctly in character.

After their inauspicious beginnings of a romance, Roger and Mary meet in an English inn, about a year later and at the end of the book, with these words: "'There was someone in the room with him [Roger], someone looking at him in tenderness and pity, with the light of heaven on her lovely face; grown older, too, and struck motionless with the sudden fright of his presence'" (401). Summarily, Miss Jewett returns the three—Madam Wallingford, Roger and Mary—to Berwick with a faint suggestion of an imminent wedding.

In *Oliver Wiswell* the war has ended when Oliver returns to Milton to ask Sally to marry him. She clings to his hand during a harsh scene as her father denounces Oliver. Then she faces her irate parent, saying: "'I'm an American and I'm free! ... I'm ready, Oliver! I've been ready for eight years, and I'm glad and proud that you love me still!'" (824). A wedding on shipboard follows, and Oliver and Sally sail to their new home in Canada, because English sympathizers are still not welcome in the colonies.

Winston Churchill places his hero and heroine, Richard Carvel and Dorothy Manners, in pretentious Southern mansions in Maryland. They play together as children, and Richard falls in love with Dorothy as she develops into an exceedingly beautiful young woman. Since her father wants her to marry a man with title and position, the family moves to England when she is sixteen. Shortly before they embark, Dorothy, the flirt, lightly answers Richard's protestation of love: "'To be sure. I know that, ... La ... I am not thinking of husbands, I shall have a good time, sir, I promise you, before I marry. And then I should never marry you. You are much too
rough, and too masterful . . . and then, you are a Whig. I could never marry a Whig’” (47). Yet, on the day of sailing, it is Richard whom she seeks out from the crowd, and it is his slightly faded lilies of the valley that she wears in preference to expensive roses presented by other admirers (115). In London she is courted by many titled gentlemen, but when young Carvel and Captain Jones are rescued from debtors’ prison by Lord Comyn and Dorothy Manners, Comyn says to Carvel: “‘Faith, but you are a lucky dog, . . . for there is no man in London, in the world, for whom she would descend a flight of steps, save you’” (242). The feeling between Richard and Dorothy progresses from childish loyalty to youthful flirtation to an appreciative understanding of the worth of each to the other, finally to develop into a deep love which brings them back to Carvel Hall to become husband and wife.

Miss Jewett fails to develop a convincing romance. Her hero mouths the word ‘love’ but neither a physical nor a spiritual awareness between the two young people is evident. Mary Hamilton does sail to England with Madam Wallingford to begin the long search for Roger but the feeling is not so much one of love for Roger as love for his mother. Mary declares that she has told her brother that she will never leave Madam Wallingford and finally announces: “‘Dear friend, you must let me have my way. I could not let you go alone . . . I am going with you wherever you may go’” (276). Miss Jewett chooses to make her heroine queenly and imperious. She attempts to describe emotions by having Mary’s “heart beat fast” as she “listens sadly” with “eager bravery” to “words that are hard to bear.” At other times Mary exhibits “a majestic air,” “a proud indifference,” or “a great sweetness.” Frequently Mary “sighs,” her face “pales and flushes.” Eventually Mary’s great hidden love emerges in the “light of heaven on her lovely face” (401).

The detached approach to romance in *The Tory Lover* is neither as persuasive nor as realistic as the ardent rendition in *Oliver Wiswell* or the light progression in *Richard Carvel*. The sense arising from the pages of *The Tory Lover* is that the author is enamored with the idea of nobility and is slightly contemptuous of romantic weakness in the young male. When Roger is with Mary he appears to be callow, overwhelmed by
her beauty, tongue-tied by her presence, and completely submissive to her demands. However, as he prepares to board the Ranger, he is a “gallant-looking fellow . . . in his face all the high breeding and character of his house” (55). A curt greeting and harsh order from the captain sends him scuttling to his cabin, but he returns to the deck as the ship is leaving the harbor. In the words of the author: “He may have gone below a boy, but he came on deck a man” (57). Just how one sharp command can bring forth such a change is not made clear. But from that moment Roger is a man, jealous of his love for Mary, sometimes moody over his precarious romance, and always a man of honor, as befits his position as a gentleman. He becomes the confidant of the notoriously aloof captain; he suffers injury at the hand of a traitor. Courageously he experiences hardships which eventually lead him back to Mary so that at the end they can stand “hand in hand” waiting to step ashore at Hamilton House.

Roger, away from the regal Mary, acquires the stature of a man with a maturity that is more acceptable to the author. Throughout the book, however, Miss Jewett adheres to her own advice to Willa Cather about writing on a man’s character: “it is safer to write about him . . . and not try to be he!”5 Roger’s moods are faithfully described by her, but he comes alive as a real person only twice: first, when he is stabbed, captured and imprisoned; later, when he faces the villain at the Inn. In these two brief moments Miss Jewett refrains from dictating his reactions and allows him actually to experience hardship and suffering, and to express his own violent indignation when he faces Dickson, the villain (228-230, 236-238, 282-287, 378-381, 396).

There is little to be gained from comparing the literary style of a nineteenth-century novel with that of a twentieth-century novel; besides, the style employed by a woman is inescapably different from that of a man. Winston Churchill and Sarah Jewett were contemporaries, however, and each wrote an historical novel of the Revolutionary War period. Was it a trait of nineteenth-century writers to worship position and nobility? Was it necessary in that period for an author to

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5 Annie Fields, editor, Letters of Sarah Orne Jewett (Boston, 1911), 246.
introduce his own philosophical views through lengthy explanations of appearance, thoughts, and deeds?

Lively dialogue and vigorous action contribute to realistic characterization in Richard Carvel. The story develops logically, and the romance flowers as normally as possible in an atmosphere of intrigue, skullduggery, war, and politics. The views of the author never intrude. Certain phrases and words were standard usage in that period, although today they sound unreal, stilted, and overly sentimental. Miss Jewett uses them profusely; Churchill rather sparingly, as in this passage: "In truth, she was being transformed, and more wondrous fair than ever. And even then I pictured her in the brave gowns and jewels I would buy her when times were mended, when our dear country would be free" (520).

Plot in Richard Carvel and Oliver Wiswell moves forward strongly and reasonably from the opening conflict of views, through historic events and fictional situations, to a happy ending. In The Tory Lover events are often unexplained. Colonel John Langdon, former member of the Marine committee of Congress and the local Navy Agent, appoints the officers who are to serve on the Ranger; from him Roger Wallingford receives his commission. Immediately after Roger tells Mary of his commission she pleads with Captain Jones to allow Roger to sail with him. Furiously, he refuses her request, but as he "watches her face fall and all light go out of it" (45), he reverses his decision. Why is it necessary for Mary to plead with the captain? Why is the captain so opposed to her request? Scarcely an hour had passed since he had cried out to the assembled Berwick men: "Send your young men to sea! . . . Send me thoroughbred lads like your dainty young Wallingford!" (19).

In England, Mary becomes very despondent over her fruitless search for Roger. On a late summer afternoon she goes into a church seeking courage to face her trial. How does it happen that John Paul Jones appears before her? Jones has been a wanted man in England ever since the Whitehaven incident in April. His picture is posted in public places and a reward is offered for his capture. How does he, a ship's captain, turn up in this particular church in broad daylight in a hostile city? His reason: "I do my own errands, — that is all" (351). Then
he attributes this most unusual encounter to “the hand of God” (351). All the logical questions are left unanswered.

During this brief meeting Jones learns for the first time the entire story of Roger Wallingford after his supposed desertion from the Ranger and realizes finally the probable duplicity of Dickson. That very night he appears under Mary’s window singing a Berwick sailor song to attract her attention. He promises that she will have news of Wallingford if she goes to Old Passage Inn the next night (356-366). How does Captain Jones find out so much about Wallingford in so short a time? If Miss Jewett had furnished answers to all of these questions concerning Jones’s activities in England, she would have had at least one chapter of her book filled with intrigue and excitement and danger. That would not have been consistent with her gentle art. Yet, by deftly disposing of these questions as machinations of fate, she strains credence.

Many doubts surround Madam Wallingford also. The mob is gathering for an attack on the Wallingford house but is apparently dispersed by the news that Roger is sailing on the Ranger (37). Later the mob does attack, screaming, “We want no Royalists among us, we want no abettors of George the Third; there’s a bill now to proscribe ye and stop your luxury and pride” (256). In spite of all this, Madam Wallingford sails from Portsmouth two days later in her own timber-laden vessel bound for Halifax, a British colony, and no effort is made to detain her or to strip her of all that will make her financially secure (268). One year thereafter, with the war still in progress, she sails back to Portsmouth in her own brig, the Golden Dolphin. Evidently she intends to take up her life on the Wallingford estate exactly as if nothing had happened. Earlier, when she had rejected the idea of taking the patriot’s oath, she had been advised to leave the country (260). Oliver Wiswell returns to Milton during the war for the purpose of alerting Sally and her family that they should make an effort to assist Soame, Sally’s brother, who had been taken prisoner and was being mistreated. Oliver creeps into Milton under cover of darkness and leaves the same way. Had he been recognized, he would have been shot (388-393). When Oliver returns for Sally after the war, her brother suggests that he ride with them to Boston to insure their safety because “It
beats all how word gets 'round when a Tory comes back to town!'" (825). How could Madam Wallingford have been so serenely unaware of the violence of the day?

The importance of family and good breeding governs the characters in The Tory Lover; gentle tolerance furnishes the tone; feminine distaste for violence curbs the action; unfamiliarity with romance restricts the love story; and only fate—exemplified in William Cowper's "God moves in a mysterious way/His wonders to perform"—ties sections of the story together to create a semblance of unity of plot.

JEWETT TO GUINEY: AN EARLIER LETTER

By Edward H. Cohen

The extant letters of Sarah Orne Jewett to Louise Imogen Guiney,1 dating from 1894 to 1899, indicate that the two New Englanders were genuine friends and frequent companions in Boston's literary circles.

Just when their acquaintance began is not certain. During the 1880s, when Miss Jewett's reputation as an accomplished author of local color sketches was secure and Miss Guiney's promise as a sensitive poet was apparent, mutual friends—such as Annie Fields and Alice Brown—would have provided any needed introduction. Thus, the letter here recorded is offered as evidence that Sarah Jewett and Louise Guiney may have corresponded and met as early as 1891.

The letter itself bears the watermark of G.B. Hurd & Co., and is folded once on black-edged mourning stationery—signifying, perhaps, the death of Miss Jewett's mother, in the autumn of 1891. Words inserted above the line by Miss Jewett have been lowered and bracketed.