

Samuel Butler: A Rebel of the Victorian Age

Jianguo Liu

Department of English, University of Sanya, Sanya, Hainan, China

Abstract: Samuel Butler is, according to George Bernard Shaw, the greatest English satirist in the latter half of the nineteenth century. This paper intends to demonstrate the social function of literature by probing into Samuel Butler's moral and ethical values. His works are a challenge against the Victorian values as well as a miniature representation of the Victorian society. As a rebel against the Victorian society Butler attacks many of its vested interests and accepted ideas. In almost all his books the shallow inconsistencies and dubious values of the English society are mercilessly exposed. The paper is an attempt to explore Butler's treatment of the pernicious aspects of the Victorian family, religion, science and education in order to send some social message that Samuel Butler's works may bring to the world today.

Keywords: Samuel Butler; *The Way Of All Flesh*; Victorian Age

1. Introduction

The Victorian Age, dating from 1832 when the first Reform Bill was passed to 1901 when Queen Victoria died is, generally speaking, an age of expansion. Since the Industrial Revolution Britain had developed more rapidly than any period in her history. Radical changes, such as the use of the steam-engine for railways, iron ships, looms, printing presses, combines, and the use of telegraph, intercontinental cable, and the introduction of anesthetics and universal compulsory education, all these made the English expansionist movement the most marked and dramatic one and brought England to its highest point of development as a world power. The earliest beginning in the Industrial Revolution and the fastest development of its economy and military forces, made England capable of capturing the markets all over the globe. Her agricultural and manufactured products were sold to almost every corner of

the world in a large merchant fleet whose size was really unparalleled in other countries. The profits gained from trade aggression, looting, killing, and the selling of black people led to extensive capital investments in all continents, especially in India and Southeast Asian countries. The result was that England had become the world's workshop and its capital had become the world's banker from the seventies on. And the pivotal city of western civilization had moved from Paris to London whose population expanded from two million when Queen Victoria came to the throng to 6 point five million at her death. Things were changed in all fields. The way of life based on the ownership of land was shifted to the modern urban economy based on trade and manufacturing. Here it is very interesting to note what the American writer, Mark Twain, said on his visit to the capital of Britain during the Diamond Jubilee celebrations honoring the 60th anniversary of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne. He said, "British history is 2,000 years old, and yet in a good many ways the world has moved in ahead since the Queen was born than it moved in all the rest of the 2,000 put together"^[1]. Macaulay (1800-59), when celebrating the qualities of his fellow countrymen, said that they were the greatest and most highly civilized people that the world ever saw. In spite of all these there were many corruptions that did much harm to the English people. Tennyson, the representative poet of the Victorian Age, only felt that the leadership in commerce and industry was being paid for a terrible price in human happiness. The Victorians, like some Americans today, had the mixed feelings of satisfaction in material and anxiety in spirit. They suffered from an anxious sense of something lost, a sense of being displaced persons in a world made alien by technical changes which had been exploited too quickly for the adaptive powers of the human psyche. Yet only a few people had such a feeling. Most Englishmen and English women were anesthetic and ignorant. In the

ordinary life the Victorian Age was acquiescent and complacent-traits which were to be found in almost every part of national life. Material prosperity; increasing with the progress of the Industrial Revolution; national satisfaction after the successes in the Napoleonic wars; a blunt, adventurous type of prose writing which gave no heed to any of the deeper problems of life supplied the environment in which men found themselves. They were quite content it should remain as it was. They wished to see nothing changed in religion, family and education and so on. In the thought of the age we may trace a similar tendency. The first half of the century as far as the theory of the government was concerned was dominated by the old utilitarianism-the "great happiness principle", according to which the prospect of pleasure and the fear of pain were the guiding influences in the course of action. It was a convenient theory which Bentham worked out with the utmost psychological minuteness and it was a stepping stone to the typically Victorian attitude of laissez-faire, the distinctive creed of the second half of the nineteenth century. Individualism was enthroned, and state interference became anathema. Thus, the Victorian complacency was also nourished and fostered by the circumstances of the time. Such was the social background of the Victorian Age which was generally divided into three periods: the early Victorian period (1832-48),а time of troubles; the mid-Victorian period (1848-70), a period of economic prosperity and religious controversy; and the late Victorian period (1870-1901), a time of the decay of Victorian values. The life of Samuel Butler, one of the most outstanding figures in the history of English literature nearly paralleled the Victorian Age. He was born in 1835, two years before Queen Victoria came to the throne; and died only one year later than the queen. Yet, as a challenger against the Victorian values, Samuel Butler stood ideologically quite outside the Victorian system. He was outside the Victorian conventions in that his sympathies ran directly counter to those of his age and also that he was able to see the deceits of weakness of the society around him. Samuel Butler was, like Ernest in The Way Of All Flesh, christened with a bottle of Jordan water by his grandfather, Bishop Butler. He was born at



Langar Rectory of Nottingham shire, the second child of the Rev. Thomas Butler and Fanny Worsley, preceded by a sister, Harriet, and followed by a brother, Thomas, another brother William who died in infancy and finally a younger sister named May. Brought up in a narrow, evangelical environment Butler was extremely unhappy in his childhood. This joyless upbringing left a strong souring effect on his personality. From his father or mother there was little real appreciative sympathy towards his aims and efforts and troubles. The uncomfortable feeling about his family lent such a distinctive colour to his thoughts that he hated marriage and had fear for family throughout his life. To be a clergyman was the tradition of his family. Yet he refused to enter the Church because he doubted the infant baptism after his graduation from Cambridge. After his wish to be a painter was turned down by his father he emigrated to New Zealand and established a sheep-run. He loved New Zealand much as he loved Italy, his second country. His sojourn in New Zealand was an escape from the corrupted England and as a result cut him loose from all the established English conventions. He got away from people to nature to his sheep and his own thoughts and began his literary career by publishing articles in the PRESS of New Zealand. He liked the rough vigour of the life there and the sturdy common-sense of the people in the new country. This memory of the new country helped him in the vigorous reaction against the materialism the English thoughts and life. He recognized the humbugs and deceits which served as the bases of that life and his satire was just directed against such bases. Parents, educators, people set in authority were those he chiefly attacked because he had suffered too much from their silly businesses. After he sold his sheep and made a lot of money he returned to London and settled in the Clifford's Inn for the rest of his life. Butler's study of the Victorian society was an interesting and sincere one. In a sense he stood for civilization, looking at itself and laughing in the realization of how funny it all was. It was funny because of its inconsistencies, its unreasonableness: because of the utterly anomalous laws, conventions; and institutions which man, a reasonable animal, had to put up with. Measured by his own standards of common-sense, man's practice tallied very ill



with his-reasoned theory. Many of his institutions admitted of no justification. Butler recognized all these, and his curiosity and responsibility drove him on to examine this strange phenomenon. Butler's time was a gloomy age of daily family prayers. The disease of complacency had eaten so far into English vitals that a satire like Butler's Erewhon was not taken seriously, not as a great ironic work, but rather as a very funny work. This maiden work enabled Butler to see where he stood in relation to the society in which he had to live. With this book Butler made his first tilt at conventionally accepted windmills. How could such a society bear such a rebel who attacked its conventional ideas and unreasonable deeds? When the true authorship of the anonymous book was revealed, and when also the revealed author was discovered writing other different books of a puzzling character, it was only then that the reviewers end the literary figures of the day believed that this man of Erewhon was too dangerous and unrestrained as a writer and must be severely left alone. In spite of all this, Butler was resolved to challenge all the false values and to articulate his own thoughts and convictions; otherwise he would not live well. In this sense Butler is just like the hero in Erewhon Revisited. Seeing a whole race led astray by those who were in fact exploiting it in their own interests (indicating priests), Higgs was at first a little disturbed in mind as to whether he ought to speak out the truth of the Erewhonian religion, the Sunchildism. He realized that time, circumstances and reasons of expediency were all against him. Nevertheless, in order to win his son's love, Higgs resolved to declare himself, which he accordingly did in particularly dramatic conditions. Butler's life is meaningful and of great significance to England, and, for that matter, to the whole world. In the year of 1902, England lost a great hero who fought alone but bravely for its own eternal benefit, for its own future, and for the future of the whole race. But it was only years later that the English people recognized the impact of this tragedy. As one of the most significant figures of the latter half of the 19th century, Samuel Butler won his fame chiefly after his death. His reputation swelled to immense proportions a few years after he died. His semi-autobiographical novel, The Way OF All Flesh, published in 1903, one year after his

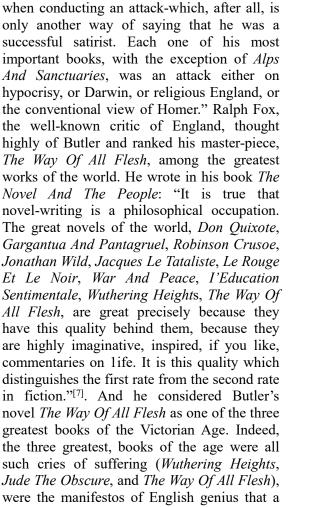
Economic Society and Humanities Vol. 1 No. 3, 2024

death was hailed as a master-piece. His devoted friend, Henry Festing Jones, wrote two-volume LIFE, in which his smallest savings were meticulously doings and recorded. His Note Books, in which he had jotted down his thoughts from day to day over a large number of years, were published and appreciatively received. Many of his scientific works which had been bitterly ignored were republished and shared in the general revival of interest in him. He was presented by many admirers as the first great attacker against Victorian hypocrisy, the pioneer rebel and as one, who successfully and courageously undermined the most cherished institutions of the day and who first laughed at the gods of Victorian England, and who, in portraying the life of a country clergyman, had exposed the appalling insincerity of family life as such. It is no exaggeration to say that Samuel Butler was like a wholesome wind blowing away the stuffiness of a hypocritical age, clean thought invading the dreary habitations of tepid superstition and self-interested humbug. Butler's master-piece, The Way Of All Flesh, upon which he had working for ten years, was not published until after the First World War, when the generation that suffered more from the war turned against its elders, who were quite responsible for it. The work became a classic of the 20th century and was a predecessor of A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man by James Joyce, Maugham's Of Human Bondage, and all the other novels written by the sensitive writers. In the thirties it still had a great vogue among the Left Wing because of its sensible, realistic temper, and a certain nostalgia for the working class life that runs through the novel (Ermnest marries a working-class girl; opens an old clothes shop and generally severs connections with his own class; he puts his children at the home of a bargeman). Through this novel Butler's original mind and wide horizon, his clear supple style, his insight, wit, and frankness were recognized by increasingly large numbers of people as the years went by. Besides, his other two satires found favour with the readers and were reprinted many times in the twenties and thirties of this century. Though Butler had his popularity among the readers, he became one of the most controversial writers among the critics. While most reviewers favoured him, such critics as F. R. Leavis, Malcolm

Muggeridge, and Philip Henderson had prejudices against him. F. R. Leavis puts a charge more formidably than anyone else. His remarks on the master-piece of Butler are: "a morbidly egotistic, self-ignorant and Pharisaical performance... small-minded, blind and odiously complacent, it has been a breeder and reinforce of small-mindedness, blindness and odious self-complacency."

2. Literature Review

It is very obvious that such a charge is really unfair, unreasonable and priggish enough. Now a great many encyclopedias and book reviews make favourable comments on Samuel Butler. The American Academic Encyclopedia describes him as "an English novelist and satirist who rebelled against the accepted ideas of his time."^[2]. And the following are the lines in the Encyclopedia Britania: "The certainties of the Victorian Age met their match in Samuel Butler, the English novelist, essayist, and critic, whose Erewhon (nowhere rearranged) foreshadowed the collapse of the illusion of eternal progress as later exemplified in the satiric utopias of Huxley's Brave New World (1932) and Nineteen Eighty-Four (1949) by George Orwell, while his The Way Of All Flesh helped turn the tide against excessive parental dominance and religious rigidity."[3]. The Way Of All Flesh is accounted by Columbia Encyclopedia as "brilliantly ironic and witty," and deserving to be "ranked among the great English novels."^[4]. Georgia Dunbar, an editor of Encyclopedia Americana, describes Samuel Butler as "an English novelist and essayist, who attacked the complacency, hypocrisy, and ignorance of the Victorian period. His satire is sharp and witty, and his refutation of the accepted attitudes of all kinds is scholarly and ingenious. Butler's fame rests principally on Erewhon (1872), a utopia novel satirizing English society, and The Way Of All Flesh (1903), a semi-biographical novel that "brilliantly mocks the hidden cruelties of family life. The latter is considered a manifesto freedom from parental of domination-an appropriate final comment on the Victorian Age."^[5]. Among all the critics of Samuel Butler, John. F. Harris is one of the best. In his book he has this to say of Samuel Butler: "It was England that he saw with new eyes... that awakened his restless satiric vigour.



greatest books of the Victorian Age. Indeed, the three greatest, books of the age were all such cries of suffering (Wuthering Heights, Jude The Obscure, and The Way Of All Flesh), were the manifestos of English genius that a full human life in a capitalist society was impossible of attainment ... the love of man for his children brought them to that awful end in the oxford lodging-house... while honesty, intelligence and simplicity bring your nineteenth century hero to prison whence he can only be ransomed and given freedom by the unexpected gift of Aunt Alethea's €70,000 in North-Western Railway shares. Strictly speaking, Samuel Butler wrote only one novel in his life. And this single novel is The Way Of All Flesh. Unlike Erewhon and its sequel, The Way Of All Flesh is quite a realistic novel and, as Butler said in his Notebooks, it contained records of things I saw happening rather than imaginary incidents^[8]. The Encyclopedia Americana has every reason to say that it is a bitter indictment of the Butler family in particular and of the hypocrisy and subtle sadism of the Victorian middle-class family in general^[9]. Not only does the novel attack the



Ho reacted to the English scene as no one else in his century had reacted before."^[6]. And

furthermore, Samuel Butler was "at his best



Victorian middle-class family but also satirizes the English religion, education, economics, philosophy and many other social institutions. Some Chinese scholars regard Samuel Butler as one of Darwin's fiercest opponents. In the essay Unconscious Memory and Heredity: Evolutionary Ideas in Samuel Butler's The Way of All Flesh, Dr. Minghong Su and Professor Anbo Zhu believe that the theory of unconscious memory is not only Butler's unique contribution to Lamark's inheritance of acquired characteristics but also the core of Butler's theory of evolution^[9]. This is rectified by Samuel Butler's view in His Life and Habit that life is but qualifications in which physical lives engage in their memories and physical lives are alive that engage in memories while others are dead that have no abilities of memory. Another Chinese scholar, Professor Yajie Wang of Sichuan University, comments that the masterpiece of Samuel Butler shows whole process of the formation, the development and subversion of the individual unconscious memory of the main character Ernest who breaks the evolutionary chain of the unconscious memory to achieve reconstruction and regeneration^[10].

3. Message and Motifs

If we say that The Way Of All Flesh is a direct indictment of the Victorian values, Erewhon, then, is to indirect one. It seems to be a utopia work, but is actually a satire, like Gulliver's Travels, chiefly on religion, science and education. The country of Erewhon is nowhere but England, and the institutions it describes and satirizes are oblique counterparts of England. It is not a well-plotted novel, but rather a book of ideas of laws, religion, science, double currency, etc. The ideas have been well thought out and well digested and put forward clearly and coherently. There is nothing in the book that has not a wide meaning and application for the people for whom it was written. Erewhon was based on imagination. Right, but it was a kind of imagination working to shape, with the object of constructing a framework within which the satires on materialist science, on "musical bank" religion, on university education, etc, could be very sharp. It is a notable fact that these three things were the main substance of what Butler wanted to say at the stage. From The Book of Machines in Erewhon stem all his

Economic Society and Humanities Vol. 1 No. 3, 2024

later books on creative evolution; from The Musical Banks come his attacks on false religion; and from The World of the Unborn is derived the handling of the problem of parenthood in The Way Of All Flesh. Its sequel, Erewhon Revisited, is a well-plotted story about the falsehood and deceits of the Erewhonian religion, the Sunchildism. In this book Butler had his revenge on the persons of professors Hanky and Panky in the whole of the academic and scientific world which had either ignored or misrepresented him. Another book which satirizes religion is The Fair Haven, which is based on an essay The Evidence For The Resurrection Of Jesus Christ As Contained in The Four Evangelists Critically Examined. In this work the author deliberately made the hero, John Pickard Owen, give weak facts and flimsy evidences to defend the theory of the resurrection of Jesus Christ. When the book was published many young ladies read it with much enthusiasm and priests lent it to those young men who had doubts on religion. As The Encyclopedia International describes well, In The Fair Haven (1873) he (Samuel Butler) attacked the doctrine of the Resurrection with such subtle irony that some of the orthodox missed the point^[11]. The book was indeed very successful in its attacking religious doctrines. One book by Butler which was most favorably received by the upper English society was The Life And Letters Of Dr. Samuel Butler. After the book was published Queen Victoria sent her best regards and thanks to Butler. The Master and Fellows of St. John's College all appreciated the book Butler sent to them. Even Mrs. Gladstone, that old Prime Minister of the government, praised Butler by sending him a postcard. Besides his four books on evolution his three novels. The Notebooks of Samuel Butler, published ten years after his death, give the most vivid picture of Butler as a great writer; they are the most characteristic works of Butler, and are best examined as the after-piece of his unique career. Throughout his life Butler never ceased keeping notes. He once said: "One's thoughts fly so fast that one must often shoot them; it is no use trying, to put salt on their tails." Not only did Butler jot them down but he looked at them, sifted them and considered them from as many angles as he could, and always with the same aim to test their validity and permanence. All his notes,

either slightly altered or in their original form, are the best materials for his books. In his notes which are perfectly free from affectation, Butler acted with a remarkable power as a spectator observing the actions of the men of the world. Butler never wrote anything before he thought it out well. Throughout his literary career he never published a book that was not the result of careful thought and deliberate criticism. Butler was a man of ideas. His mind was a well filled storehouse of ideas and references, each one of which had its own particular relevance. In his works frequently come across the same idea or allusion, clothed in a slightly different form, which reveals a mental compactness, yet, with it a width of range and vision unequalled in any writer of the Victorian Age. In Erewhon, for example, we see that notion of the World of the Unborn, a world peopled by disembodied beings who could only gain admittance to this other world we know, by taking a drug, losing their memory. This notion appeared again in the Notebooks, in which Butler wrote about an imagining son who was always begging him to bring him out into the world, and whose pleadings he sometimes could hardly resist. And so it was with each one of his books: when painting or composing musical pieces or what not they came to him and forced themselves upon him and pestered and worried till they got themselves written down. Butler's life in New Zealand was a very important period in the development of his spiritual life. It was of the utmost value in helping to lead him away from common and established conventions. It made him more practical, more self-reliant, less willing to trust to hear-say and accepted opinions. The lack of cultured society there left room for thought and for the increasingly necessary effort for the exile to discover exactly what was in his mind, what it was that had expelled him from the society in which he had lived quite unhappily, and how his fortunes had taken so strange a tum to divert him from the sound of men to the eyes of sheep. In tho eyes of those who had prejudice against him he was wicked, but he was conscious of no wickedness, rather of an access of goodness and a sense of liberation. Butler was an erudite scholar with interests in many fields. A classic by training, he was also a man of science. In addition, he was a philosopher and a translator of The Illiad and



Osyssey. Furthermore, he devoted much of his life to composing music, painting and drawing. To everything he undertook, provided it interested him, he gave the complete attention, working with a conscientious care quite unusual in those who find that they can obtain attractive results with undertook, provided it interested him, he gave the complete attention, working with a conscientious care quite unusual in those who find that they can obtain attractive results with little labour. He never traded upon his own great natural abilities. Yet, in spite of his versatility, it is as a satirist that he stands out in the history of English literature. It is in his works that uncommon force and flair is to be found. Butler was a unique thinker. Many of his ideas and opinions were hard to be understood by his contemporaries. They dismissed his sayings as nonsense and described him as a man of another world. Yet it is just this inscrutable quality that distinguishes him from other writers of his time. And Indeed, his nonsense is more precious than his sense, a more palatable and richer food to the mind^[12].

4. Conclusion

Butler was not only a man of ideas but also a man with a strong sense of humour. As Henry Festing Jones remarked in his Sketch Of The Life Of Samuel Butler, to veil his own earnestness, turned naturally to humour, employing it in a spirit of reverence, as all the great humorists have done, to express his deepest and most serious convictions. But this most vital part of Butler's intellectual equipment led more than anything else to distrust and misunderstanding. They could hardly believe that a man who was writing thus humorously could have any serious, sincere opinions about anything either in heaven or on the earth. Yet, to Butler, humour was so real and vital that it nearly coloured all his conceptions; he lived with it and in it as an intimate part of himself. Thus only when humour is considered as an integral part of his makeup can we hope to understand him better. Nearly on every page he wrote this clement was present, as in The Way Of All Flesh, Erewhon, Erewhon Revisited, Alps And Sanctuaries, The Fair Haven. The tradition of English literature must be a great, necessary help to Butler. Besides Shakespeare whom he admired with much enthusiasm, he was surely



somewhat influenced by the author of Gulliver's Travels. Swift was a writer, or a satirist whose work Butler, quite early in his life read and assimilated. Indeed the mental attitude of the great English satirist must have appealed to him as none other could do with the possible exception of Henry Fielding. This great dramatist and novelist's personality interested Butler more than his works, whereas with Swift it was the quick terseness of the which particularly claimed his writing, attention. There are also points of contact between Butler and Defoe; the great master of realism. On many occasions Butler's method reminds us of this 18th century writer. The successful affectation of reality, as opposed to fiction, which Butler practised with complete success, is in the best tradition of Defoe. But most important of all Butler was an independent mind. On every subject that engaged his attention he came to an independent decision. Particularly he had the gift of seizing the vital connection between varieties of unconnected things, focusing and showing the relevance between widely different points of view of thought and life, and he made it a practice to view things from new perspectives, not for the mere novelty of the process, but because it often led to some new discoveries. Butler was never hindered by no useful encumbrances; things which he thought carried no value or meaning for him he discarded; whether they were doctrines, dogmas, books or people. He was the one great writer, the social satirist who saw through the humbug and deception of the Victorian life. In his freedom and freshness he stood as the completest counterweight to the foolish sentimentalism of certain of the Victorians. His biographer, Jones wrote of his uncompromising sincerity: "If a subject interested him, he took infinite pains to find out all he could about it at first hand; thought it over and formed an opinion of his own, without any reference to what anyone else thought or said." By temperament and training he was curiously a mixture of the synthetic spirit which enabled him quickly to reach a new point of view and of the analytical habit by which he could examine objectively to the position he had arrived at. In brief, the composition of his temperament made everything he studied fit systematically into his own general outlook. With a strong

independent character Butler never ran after fashions. He developed an aversion to society people because they were generally affected and unpleasant in one way or another. This can be exemplified by his dispute with Darwin over something fundamental in his own point of view and in the Darwinian teachings. Butler was quite convinced that intelligence has a place in the evolutionary process, and he felt himself bound to criticize vehemently anyone whatever his prestige or his position, who would oust intelligence from the universe. He expressed the difference between himself and Darwin quite briefly in the title of one of his scientific books, Luck, or Cunning. His scientific theories which are finding justifications today, may be ranked among his most important intellectual contributions. Besides Darwin, Butler disliked and distrusted many of the society men or women of his time. For example, his opinion of D. G. Rossetti can be found in his letter to his love, Miss Savage. When asked about Rossetti, Butler disliked his face, and his manners and his work, and hated his poetry and his friends. George Eliot's Middlemarch appeared in the same year as Erewhon. This is surely a very good novel. But Butler didn't like books of this kind. After Miss Savage read it she sent it to Butler as an example of the kind of intellectual novel she was finding favour with the general public. Butler, however, found it "a long-winded piece of studied brag." This is an unfair charge of prejudice. But it is nothing strange that a writer with such an independent mind and such an obstinate personality could have some prejudices against other people of his day and before his time. In the history of English literature many writers became well-known at one time and then was ignored forever. But Samuel Butler is a writer of not of one time but of all ages.

References

- [1] Mack, Maynard, et al. *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* (Fourth Edition). New York: Norton Company, 1979.
- [2] *American Academic Encyclopedia*. New Jersey: Arete Publishing Company, 1980.
- [3] *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., 1988.
- [4] Harris, William H. and Levey, Judith S. *Columbia Encyclopedia*. Columbia:



Columbia University Press, 1975: 628.

- [5] Rines, George Edwin. *Encyclopedia Americana*. Crolier, 1988.
- [6] Harris, J. F and Samuel B. *Author of Erewhon, The Man and His Work.* London: Kesinger Publishing, 2007.
- [7] Fox, Ralph. *The Novel and The People*. New York: International Publishers, 1945.
- [8] Hones, Henry Festing. *The Notebooks of Samuel Butler*. London: Fifield, 1918.
- [9] SU Minghong and ZHU Anbo. Unconscious Memory and Heredity:

Evolutionary Ideas in Samuel Butler's The Way of All Flesh. Foreign Literature Studies, 2019 (2): 87-98.

- [10] WANG Yajing. The Shaping, Subversion and Reconstruction of Unconscious Memory: A Case Study of Ernest in The Way of All Fresh. Journal of Hubei Politechnic University, 2021 (5): 57-62.
- [11] Connish, George A. *Encyclopedia International*. Crolier Incorporated, 1966.
- [12] Cannan, Gilbert. Samuel Butler, A Critical Study. London: Sunwise Turn Inc., 1985.