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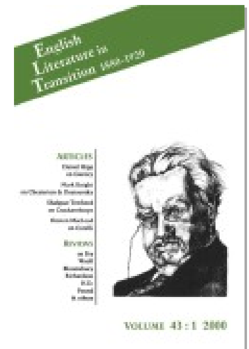

English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920, Volume 43, Number 1, 2000, pp. 37-50 (Article)

Published by ELT Press

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[18.97.9.173] Project MUSE (2025-01-22 09:25 GMT)

# Chesterton, Dostoevsky, and Freedom

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IN THE 1970s, Cardinal Albino Luciani, who was later to become Pope John Paul I, penned a posthumous letter to G. K. Chesterton as part of a series of articles he was writing at the time. In this letter he illustrated one of the points that he was making about Chesterton with reference to Ivan Karamazov from Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov.*[1] For many, the idea of connecting Chesterton with Dostoevsky is a strange one. While Chesterton is seen to have rejected the modernism of his contemporaries in favour of traditional values, Dostoevsky has been appropriated by some as a figurehead for the twentieth-century existential rebel. Although Gary Wills is willing to entertain the idea of linking the two authors, he concludes that such attempts will prove fruitless: "We look for 'modernity' and the popular pessimism even in the unlikeliest places and go away saddened when Raskolnikov is not found lurking in Flambeau (whose mere name should tell us how far these tales are in their intent from Dostoievski's)."[2] However, those who reject the possibility of a connection between Chesterton and Dostoevsky ignore the fact that Chesterton referred to the Russian novelist in glowing terms. This article will explore this further, beginning with an examination of the evidence that Chesterton had read some of Dostoevsky's work, and then moving on to consider one particular theme that resonates through the writings of both authors.

Chesterton made two direct references to Dostoevsky in his writing. The first is to be found in an article entitled "On the Unanimity of Opinion" in the *Illustrated London News*, 6 April 1912. The second is found twenty-two years later, in a review of Nicholas Berdyaev's study of Dostoevsky. At first we might be tempted to dismiss the two references. Chesterton wrote about a number of different writers and thinkers, many of whom he discussed at great length. Yet we cannot dismiss Chesterton's references to Dostoevsky so easily, for, in concluding his review



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of Berdyaev's book, Chesterton made a dramatic claim concerning Dostoevsky's significance: "He was one of the two or three greatest novelists of the nineteenth century."[3]

In contrast to France and Germany, Dostoevsky's reputation in England developed relatively late. One of the primary reasons for this was the time it took for his work to be translated into English. While many of his writings had been translated into French and German by 1890, the first complete set of English translations did not appear until Constance Garnett systematically translated and published Dostoevsky's work between 1912 and 1921. Although earlier English translations existed, they were not of a particularly high quality: "Vizatelly had issued translations of several of the novels by Frederick Whishaw in the 1880's, and two of them had gone into a third edition. But by the time Edward [Garnett] came to write about Dostoevsky in 1906 they were unprocurable and Dostoevsky almost forgotten. . . ."[4] The lack of an adequate English translation meant that Dostoevsky was largely restricted to those who could read his writings in another language. One of the people who encountered Dostoevsky in this manner was Robert Louis Stevenson. In 1886, after reading a French translation of *Crime and Punishment*, he wrote a letter to John Addington Symonds describing the impact that the novel had made upon him: "Raskolnikov is easily the greatest book I have read in ten years; I am glad you took to it. Many find it dull; Henry James could not finish it: all I can say is, it nearly finished me."[5]

Helen Muchnic has argued that Dostoevsky's popularity flourished in the wake of Constance Garnett's translations. Although not everyone liked Dostoevsky's work, the level of enthusiasm was sufficiently high to establish his reputation in Britain: "On the whole, admiration of Dostoevsky was ardent not to say excessive; within four years after the publication of *The Brothers Karamazov* [in 1912] it reached the proportion of a cult."[6] Colin Crowder elaborates:

> This Dostoevsky cult, which flourished between 1912 and 1921, was the product of a number of factors. It was partly due to the systematic publication of all the fiction, translated by Constance Garnett and spanning all these years; but it was more due to a build-up of forces at the end of the century—individualism, mysticism, idealism, symbolism, psychological interest, aesthetic experience, and decadence—which were fused under the intense pressure of the First World War.[7]

Muchnic is right to locate the rise of the Dostoevsky cult with Garnett's translations, but it is equally important to recognise the context which gave rise to this phenomenon. By the time that Garnett's translation of *The Brothers Karamazov* appeared in April 1912 there was a considerable level of anticipation among the literary public and it is instructive to consider the reasons for this.

One of the most important figures in bringing Dostoevsky to the attention of the British public was Maurice Baring. Throughout the first decade of the twentieth century, Baring published various books about his experiences in Russia, culminating in *Landmarks in Russian Literature* (1910). Half of this book was devoted to Dostoevsky. It was full of praise for his work, and Baring was quick to explain why the majority of his readers had not previously heard of this Russian writer: "since there is at this moment no complete translation of Dostoevsky's works in England, and no literary translation of the same. Only one of his books, *Crime and Punishment* is known at all, and the rest of them are difficult even to obtain in the English language."[8] In her account of the enthusiastic reception that Baring's study enjoyed, Muchnic declares: "Maurice Baring . . . must be accounted very influential in promoting Dostoevsky's fame."[9]

1910 can be seen as a landmark year in the rise of Dostoevsky's reputation in England. In November, Laurence Irving had put on an adaptation of *Crime and Punishment* at the Garrick Theatre in London, entitling his production, *The Unwritten Law.* As was the case with Baring's book, the play provoked some discussion of Dostoevsky, including a letter from Constance Garnett that was published in the *Daily News* on 19 November 1910. It did not take long for publishers to take advantage of the popularity that Dostoevsky was beginning to enjoy. In March 1911, Everyman published a version of *Crime and Punishment*, which used "the occasion of Laurence Irving's play to push out an old translation."[10] It was around this time that Constance Garnett approached Mr Heinemann with the proposal that she systematically translate Dostoevsky's work. (Although he accepted her proposal, he did not want this to be made public at the time.) Constance Garnett's translation of *The Brothers Karamazov* was delivered to Heinemann in September 1911, and as we have already noted, was subsequently published in April 1912.



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It is interesting to speculate when Chesterton might first have read Dostoevsky. Whenever it was, Chesterton was obviously impressed, leading him to remark: "If it is to some extent true that we hear more of certain writers like Zola or Tolstoy than of greater writers like Barres and Dostoevsky, the reason is amusingly simple. It is because the opinions of Zola and Tolstoy happen to be the more fashionable opinions in the particular province of which we are provincials."[11] The publication of *The Brothers Karamazov* in April 1912 coincided with Chesterton's first direct reference to Dostoevsky and it seems reasonable to assume that this was not coincidental. However, Chesterton's article in the *Illustrated London News* was too early for him to have already purchased and read Garnett's translation of *The Brothers Karamazov*. This leaves us with three main possibilities. The first is that Chesterton was simply repeating the opinion of others and had not read any of Dostoevsky's work by April 1912. While this is possible, it seems unlikely: Chesterton's prolific reading habits are well known[12] and he appears to have held Dostoevsky in particularly high regard by 1912.

The second option is that Chesterton read Dostoevsky in the period between 1910 and 1912. This seems most likely since Chesterton was an integral part of the literary scene at this time. He was good friends with those who helped to popularise Dostoevsky in this country. Chesterton had first met Baring soon after moving to Battersea in 1901, and it is reasonable to assume that they conversed about Baring's interest in Dostoevsky at some length, especially around the time that *Landmarks in Russian Literature* was published. Chesterton also knew the Garnetts, having worked with Edward Garnett, the husband of Constance. Edward had been Chesterton's superior during his time at Fisher Unwin, and, after he left the firm in 1899, he continued to see Chesterton on a fairly regular basis. They shared friends such as Henry James, John Galsworthy and H. G. Wells, and collaborated on the publication of a booklet on Tolstoy in 1903. With many of his friends talking about Dostoevsky, it seems probable that Chesterton took the opportunity to read Dostoevsky during the period 1910–1912. He may either have read one of the Everyman translations published in 1911 (*Crime and Punishment* and *The House of the Dead*), or he may have been given a preview copy of *The Brothers Karamazov*, as Garnett's translation had been completed by September 1911.

The third possibility is that Chesterton read a French translation of Dostoevsky many years earlier. Although Chesterton later claimed to

have little proficiency in French, this was clearly untrue. He won a school prize for his French while at St. Pauls, and subsequently took a course in French (among other subjects) during his course of study at University College London.[13] If Chesterton had read an early French translation of Dostoevsky, it is difficult to establish when he might have done so. It is equally difficult to identify who might have first encouraged Chesterton to pick up one of Dostoevsky's novels. George Gissing is the most likely candidate for this initial introduction.

In fact one of the earliest significant references to Dostoevsky in Britain is found in the writings of George Gissing. In the late 1880s his diary records him having seen a stage version of *Crime and Punishment* in Paris. His unfavourable comparison of the stage production with the book indicates that he had already read the novel in French by this point. Gissing subsequently described *Crime and Punishment* as Dostoevsky's "masterpiece" in his *Charles Dickens: A Critical Study*, published in 1898.[14] This book included a section comparing Dickens with Dostoevsky.[15] In 1906 Chesterton published his main critical study of Charles Dickens, which, at least in part, was a response to Gissing's earlier work on Dickens. While Chesterton disagreed with Gissing's general interpretation of Dickens, he was quick to acknowledge Gissing as "the soundest of the Dickens critics" and, "a man of genius."[16] Thus a speculative case can be put together, using circumstantial evidence, to argue that Chesterton first encountered Dostoevsky between 1898 and 1906. At the very least, one could argue that Chesterton first came across the name of Dostoevsky through his reading of Gissing.

It is difficult to establish the extent to which Chesterton was directly influenced by Dostoevsky when we remain unsure of what he read and when he might have read it. Although Chesterton may have encountered Dostoevsky at an early stage in his career, the lack of references to Dostoevsky before 1912 mean that it is virtually impossible to argue that any of the fiction written before this date was directly influenced by Dostoevsky.[17] By the time that Chesterton referred to Dostoevsky, he had already formed the basis of the *Weltanschauung* which he expressed in *Orthodoxy* (1908) and defended throughout his life. And yet, while the direct influence of Dostoevsky on Chesterton may well be marginal, an important kinship seems to exist between the two writers. In this respect, Chesterton's connection to Dostoevsky can be likened to his relationship with St. Thomas Aquinas. Discussing Chesterton's link with Aquinas, Quentin Lauer tells us: "Even with regard to Thomas Aquinas



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... he was not of the Thomistic school in any significant sense. . . . What Chesterton found . . . was that when he had thought his way through to a highly metaphysical view of the totality of reality, that view turned out to resemble in highly significant ways that of Aquinas. Whether we can call this the 'influence' of Aquinas is difficult to say."[18] A similar paradigm can be used to describe the connection between Chesterton and Dostoevsky.

Upon examination of the novels of Chesterton and Dostoevsky we discover many common themes: their use of the grotesque,[19] their interest in madness,[20] the recurrence of the doppelgänger motif,[21] and their alleged anti-Semitism.[22] An additional similarity, and one that I wish to explore further in the second part of this article, is their emphasis on the centrality of human freedom. Both writers affirmed its centrality, recognised its contingency, and emphasised its existential imperative.

The centrality of freedom within Dostoevsky's novels has been recognised by critics for some time. In this vein, Zenkovsky wrote: "The theme of freedom, as man's ultimate essence, attains equal acuteness and unsurpassed profundity of expression in Dostoevsky. The conception of freedom which is so vigorously repudiated by the Grand Inquisitor is in fact the deepest penetration into the mystery of freedom as revealed in Christ. Dostoevsky is unsurpassed in this respect."[23] Moreover, it was Berdyaev's analysis of Dostoevsky on precisely this subject that attracted Chesterton's praise in the 1934 book review I referred to earlier. Chesterton shared Dostoevsky's belief in the importance of freedom and, like Dostoevsky, was keen to affirm human free will in the face of contemporaries who advocated deterministic philosophies. Chesterton defended the concept of free will in the Blatchford Controversies of 1903–1904 and regularly advocated the value of the Christian faith on this basis. In 1908 he wrote: "According to most philosophers, God in making the world enslaved it. According to Christianity, in making it, He set it free."[24]

As Zenkovsky suggests, the tale of "The Grand Inquisitor" is pivotal for anyone seeking to understand Dostoevsky's treatment of freedom. The parable is found in *The Brothers Karamazov* where it is told to Alyosha by his brother Ivan in an attempt to subvert his religious views. It is interesting to note that the dialogue preceding the parable concerns the question of human suffering. As a result, the parable itself can be seen as an exploration of theodicy vis-à-vis its treatment of the central

tenet of the Free Will Defence. The Free Will Defence, a theodicy that can be traced back to St. Augustine, seeks to excuse God from the responsibility of human suffering by arguing that evil results from humans who freely choose to do evil rather than good. Ultimately, this defence hinges on the assumption that the gift of freedom outweighs any evils that might result from the misuse of such a gift. Rather than arguing against the internal coherency of the Free Will Defence, Ivan Karamazov challenges its absolute belief in the value of human freedom. He declares: "It isn't God I don't accept, Alyosha, it's just his ticket that I most respectfully return to him."[25] In contrast, Chesterton defended the validity of the central tenet of the Free Will Defence: "I could not cease to think that a God who made men and angels free was finer than one who coerced them into comfort."[26]

Although "The Grand Inquisitor" appears to question the value of freedom as a foundation for theodicy, we should be cautious in drawing too many conclusions from this. The confusion that surrounds the interpretation of the parable in particular, and Dostoevsky's theodicy in general, may be due to what Bakhtin has described as the polyphonic structure of Dostoevsky's novels: "A plurality of independent and unmerged voices and consciousness, a genuine polyphony of fully valid voices is in fact that chief characteristic of Dostoevsky's novels."[27] Despite the ambiguity that pervades many aspects of "The Grand Inquisitor", its rejection of totalitarian rule seems clear. Whatever the merits of the Grand Inquisitor's argument, the juxtaposition of the Grand Inquisitor with Jesus leaves the reader in little doubt as to who the moral victor is—the Grand Inquisitor must be wrong by virtue of the fact that he is arguing with the second member of the Trinity. At the same time, the complex debate that ensues, concerning the merits of collective happiness and individual freedom, has left behind a significant legacy in the writings of other authors such as Yevgeny Zamyatin, George Orwell and Aldous Huxley. The theme of freedom and authority has been explored in considerable detail, under the twin signs of "The Grand Inquisitor" and the "Underground Man," by John Hoyles in *The Literary Underground* (1991).

An important parallel can be drawn between "The Grand Inquisitor" and a self-contained story within Chesterton's novel, *The Ball and the Cross.* In the chapter entitled "The Dream of MacIan," Evan MacIan meets a "white-robed figure" whom he initially mistakes for an angel. Like the Grand Inquisitor, the white-robed figure is an old man who



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feels the need to justify his part in the removal of human freedom. As their conversation develops, MacIan is told that people's freedom has been removed in order to maintain discipline. The white-robed figure explains: "The people must be taught to obey; they must learn their own ignorance."[28] He continues: "Discipline for the whole society is surely more important than justice to an individual."[29] As soon as MacIan hears the white-robed figure reject the primacy of human freedom, he recognises the true diabolic identity of this fallen angel. The argument that we hear from the white-robed figure clearly echoes the one that the Grand Inquisitor presents us with:

> At last they themselves will understand that freedom and earthly bread in sufficiency for all are unthinkable together, for never, never will they be able to share between themselves! They will also be persuaded that they will never be able to be free, because they are feeble, depraved, insignificant and mutinous. . . . They are depraved and mutineers, but in the end they too will grow obedient. They will marvel at us and will consider us gods because we, in standing at their head, have consented to endure freedom and rule over them—so terrible will being free appear to them at last![30]

The similarities of *The Ball and the Cross* to "The Grand Inquisitor" extend even further. In the same way that Christ is arrested by the Grand Inquisitor, the characters in Chesterton's novel who defend human freedom—such as MacIan, Turnbull and Michael—are locked up so that they cannot incite a rebellion among the general population. Perhaps the most significant difference between the two writers is the speed with which Chesterton resolves his dialogues between the champions of freedom and those who uphold authority. Chesterton's didactic style stands in contradistinction to Dostoevsky's extended discussion, and this may in part explain the failure of critics to comment on the resemblance between *The Ball and the Cross* and Dostoevsky's parable.

For both Chesterton and Dostoevsky, it is not sufficient merely to be aware of human freedom: there is an implicit responsibility on the part of the author to affirm freedom through the characters that they portray. With this in mind, an interesting comparison may be drawn between Chesterton's *Manalive* and Dostoevsky's *Notes from Underground*. Both novels feature protagonists who take every opportunity to express their freedom. Innocent Smith's desire to "remind himself, by every electric shock to the intellect, that he is still a man alive,"[31] has a certain similarity to Dostoevsky's Underground Man, who states: ". . . it seems to me that the whole business of humanity consists solely in

this—that a man should constantly prove to himself that he is a man and not a sprig in a barrel-organ!"[32] Despite the fact that both characters take every opportunity to express their freedom, it would be unwise to carry the comparison too far: Innocent Smith seeks to remind himself of the wonder of existence whereas the Underground Man acts in protest at existence. Thus while Innocent Smith leaves his wife so that he may travel around the world to rediscover her, the Underground Man admits to Liza that he has used his freedom to humiliate and abuse her: "It was power, power, I wanted then, the fascination of the game; I wanted to get your tears, your humiliation, your hysterics—that's what I wanted then!"[33] Furthermore, while the Underground Man is typically seen as a precursor of twentieth-century existentialism, it would be wrong to locate Chesterton within the same tradition. The existential rejection of the metaphysical enterprise stands in opposition to the Thomistic metaphysical foundation underlying Innocent Smith's actions: "His eccentricities sprang from a static fact of faith, in itself mystical, and even childlike and Christian."[34] Existentialism begins with nothing and seeks to authenticate our existence, whereas Innocent Smith begins with a belief in the value of existence and simply tries to recall this belief throughout his life.

Although Chesterton and Dostoevsky sought to affirm the importance of human freedom, they recognised its contingent nature, both logically and morally. This is implied by the negative way in which absolute freedom is portrayed by Dostoevsky in his novels. For example, the Underground Man epitomises freedom with his willingness to stick out his tongue at the Palace of Crystal, and yet, he readily admits his own degradation: "I am a sick man . . . I am an angry man. I am an unattractive man."[35] As one might expect, Chesterton is more didactic when affirming the contingent nature of freedom: "Every act of the will is an act of self-limitation. To desire action is to desire limitation. In that sense every act is an act of self-sacrifice. When you choose anything, you reject everything else."[36] Chesterton illustrated this point in "The Yellow Bird," the first tale of *The Poet and the Lunatics*. In this story, the madman tries to liberate a goldfish by breaking its bowl and free a bird by releasing it from its cage. Gabriel Gale articulates the nature of the madness:

> Is it always kind to set a bird at liberty? What exactly is liberty? First and foremost, surely, it is the power of a thing to be itself. In some ways the yellow bird was free in the cage. It was free to be alone. It was free to sing. In the for-



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> est its feathers would be torn to pieces and its voice choked for ever. Then I began to think that being oneself, which is liberty, is itself limitation.[37]

This is a central theme of the stories in *The Poet and the Lunatics.* In "The Purple Jewel," Gabriel Gale reveals that a vain belief in freedom has led Phineas Salt astray: "The poet Phineas Salt was a man who had made himself master of everything, in a sort of frenzy of freedom and omnipotence. He had tried to feel everything, experience everything, imagine everything that could be or could not be. And he found, as all such men have found, that that illimitable liberty is itself a limit."[38]

The moral contingency of freedom is a theme that Dostoevsky returned to in a number of his later novels. In *Crime and Punishment*, Raskolnikov believes that he is free to operate above the law, but he spends most of the novel coming to terms with the fact that he is not as free as he first thought. Indeed, the murder that he commits actually *restricts* his freedom by consuming his thought to the extent that he loses the ability to think and act rationally. Similarly, Ivan Karamazov eventually realises that not everything is permissible in *The Brothers Karamazov.* Chesterton addressed the moral contingency of freedom with less sophistication in his short story, "When Two Doctors Agree" (one of the tales that make up *The Paradoxes of Mr Pond*). In this story, Dr. Campbell tries to convince his young protégé that we are free to act outside of the moral framework provided by the Ten Commandments. When Dr. Campbell finally convinces Angus that such freedom exists, Angus uses it to murder Dr. Campbell and Chesterton's sermon on the necessity of a moral law needs little explanation.

In a fascinating article on Dostoevsky and freedom, Steward Sutherland has argued that freedom's inherent dependency on community is an important theme in *The Brothers Karamazov.* After surveying Dostoevsky's work and acknowledging that a "major question mark is set against attaching unconditional value to the notion of freedom,"[39] Sutherland develops the idea that the freedom to discover one's own identity comes from participation in community. He illustrates this by considering the solipsistic heroes (or anti-heroes) of *Notes from Underground* and *Crime and Punishment*, concluding that "the two Dostoyevskian 'heroes' do not understand themselves; nor, as the exploration of Raskolnikov's story makes plain, is he understood by those who are closest to him." Indeed, Raskolnikov's confession at the Haymarket, in which he recognises that he is a murderer, coincides with the realisation that Sonya has ended his isolation: "In that moment Raskolnikov knew in his

heart, once and for all, that Sonya would be with him for always, and would follow him to the ends of the earth, wherever destiny might send him."[40]

The value of community can also be seen in Chesterton's novel, *The Man who was Thursday: A Nightmare.* Syme only really discovers the freedom to express his own identity when he stops fighting against the other members of the Anarchist Council. Up until that point, Syme, like all the other members of the Anarchist Council, has to pretend to be somebody else. However, this all changes in the final chapter of the novel when the members of the Anarchist Council celebrate together amid "a vast carnival of people." In this communal environment Syme is free to be himself: "If Syme had been able to see himself, he would have realized that he, too, seemed to be for the first time himself and no one else."[41]

Ultimately, Chesterton and Dostoevsky believed that freedom could only really be understood within the context of the Christian faith. And yet, in their search for an appropriate expression of this faith, the two writers reached entirely different ecclesiological positions. Chesterton, who was an Anglo-Catholic before he converted to Catholicism in 1922, believed that freedom was to be found within the Roman Catholic church: "I have come to see in the complete Catholic view much deeper truths . . . truths concerned with will and creation and God's most glorious love of liberty."[42] In contrast, Dostoevsky was hostile towards Roman Catholicism. As Malcolm Jones notes: "Dostoevskii became in later life a devout Orthodox Christian with strong anti-Catholic views. These attributes are nowhere more memorably expressed than in his last novel, *The Brothers Karamazov.*"[43] This is particularly clear in "The Grand Inquisitor," where the Catholic church (symbolised by the Inquisitor) is diametrically opposed to the person of God (depicted in the character of Jesus). One critic has suggested that we might explain Dostoevsky's move towards Russian Orthodoxy in terms of his adoption of the following ecclesiological schema: "Catholicism, unity without freedom: Protestantism, freedom without unity; Russian Orthodoxy, freedom in unity and unity in freedom."[44]

Many of the similarities that exist between Chesterton and Dostoevsky can be explained by way of their Christian faith. Their religious beliefs had an increasing effect upon their writing and this is probably one of the reasons that Chesterton came to admire the Russian novelist as highly as he did. In his review of Berdyaev's book, Chesterton wrote of



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Dostoevsky: "And he cared for nothing but Christ who made him free. It is worth thinking about."[45] Yet while there appears to be a considerable affinity between the two writers, it is important to remember that some significant theological differences remain, especially in the areas of ecclesiology and metaphysics. Similarly, while their fiction contains certain traits that are common to both writers, the fact remains that Dostoevsky's work contains a psychological depth and sophistication that Chesterton was unable to attain. Perhaps this is what Chesterton had in mind when he admitted the limitations of his didactic style: "In short, I could not be a novelist; because I really like to see ideas or notions wrestling naked, as it were, and not dressed up in a masquerade as men and women."[46]

## Notes

1. Joseph Pearce explains the circumstances surrounding this letter in his biography, *Wisdom and Innocence: A Life of G. K. Chesterton* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1996), 152–53. A complete copy of the letter can be found in Russell Sparkes's anthology of Chesterton, *Prophet of Orthodoxy: The Wisdom of G. K. Chesterton* (London: Fount Paperbacks, 1997), 361–65.

2. Gary Wills, *Chesterton: Man and Mask* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1961), 51.

3. G. K. Chesterton, "Revolutionists and Revivalists of the 19th Century," *The Listener* (14 November 1934), 836.

4. Richard Garnett, *Constance Garnett: A Heroic Life* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1991), 258.

5. Quoted in Helen Muchnic, "Dostoevsky's English Reputation (1881–1936)," *Smith College Studies in Modern Language*, 20: 3–4 (April & July 1939), 17. It should be pointed out that Stevenson was an author who Chesterton admired and wrote about on a number of occasions.

6. "Dostoevsky's English Reputation," 73.

7. Colin Crowder, "The Appropriation of Dostoevsky in the Early Twentieth Century: Cult, Counter-Cult and Incarnation," in *European Literature and Theology in the Twentieth Century: Ends of Time*, David Jasper and Colin Crowder, ed. (London: Macmillan, 1990), 18–19.

8. Maurice Baring, *Landmarks in Russian Literature* (London: Methuen, 1910), 126–27.

9. "Dostoevsky's English Reputation," 89.

10. *Constance Garnett*, 260.

11. G. K. Chesterton, "On the Unanimity of Opinion," *Illustrated London News* (6 April 1912; repr. *G. K. Chesterton: The Collected Works, Illustrated London News 1911–1913* [San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1988]), 269–70.

12. Chesterton's prolific reading habits are clear from his claim to have read ten thousand volumes during his time at Fisher Unwin. Although this figure would seem to be exaggerated, he challenged people to test him on it. Michael Coren has pointed out that when Chesterton was taken up on this challenge, he was invariably successful. See Michael Coren, *Gilbert, The Man Who Was Chesterton* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1989), 68. A further reference to this is made by Maisie Ward, *Gilbert Keith Chesterton* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1944), 146.

13. Amid some confusion among Chesterton's biographers, Denis Conlon has argued that Chesterton registered for a course as a book illustrator at UCL. This included courses in Art, French, Latin

and English Literature. See Denis Conlon, "A Book Review of *Prophet of Orthodoxy*," *The G. K. Chesterton Quarterly*, 6 (Spring 1998), 14.

14. George Gissing, *Charles Dickens: A Critical Life* (1898; repr. London: Gresham Publishing Company, 1902), 268.

15. Ibid., 267–70.

16. G. K. Chesterton, *Charles Dickens* (1906; repr. London: Methuen, 1943), 4.

17. It is probably revealing to point out that the booklet on Tolstoy, which Chesterton collaborated on with Edward Garnett in 1903, made no reference to Dostoevsky.

18. Quentin Lauer, *G. K. Chesterton: Philosopher Without Portfolio* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1988), 37.

19. John Coates has discussed Chesterton's use of the grotesque in "The Return to Hugo, A Discussion of the Intellectual Context of Chesterton's View of the Grotesque," *ELT, 1880-1920*, 25:2 (1982), 86–103. Also, see M. J. Knight, "The Concept of Evil in the Fiction of G. K. Chesterton: With Special Reference to his Use of the Grotesque" (University of London: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 1999). Dostoevsky's treatment of the grotesque is discussed by Donald Fanger in *Dostoevsky and Romantic Realism: A Study of Dostoevsky in Relation to Balzac, Dickens, and Gogol* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), especially 228–40. Also, see George Gibian "The Grotesque in Dostoevsky," *Modern Fiction Studies*, 4:3 (Autumn, 1958).

20. Some of the novels in which Chesterton addressed this issue include *The Poet and the Lunatics*, *The Ball and the Cross* and *Napoleon of Notting Hill*. An overview of Chesterton's treatment of this theme can be found in Russell Kirk's "Chesterton, Madmen, and Madhouses," in *Myth, Allegory and Gospel*, John Warwick Montgomery, ed. (Minnesota: Bethany, 1974). The idea of madness is also central to a number of Dostoevsky's works, including *Crime and Punishment*, *Notes from Underground*, and *The Double*.

21. Examples of the literary double can be found in *The Ball and the Cross* (MacIan and Turnbull) and *Napoleon of Notting Hill* (Wayne and Quin). Dostoevsky famously considered the issue in *The Double*. For a good piece of secondary criticism on Dostoevsky's use of the doppelgänger motif, see the article by Dmitri Chizhevsky, "The Theme of the Double in Dostoyevsky" in Rene Wellek, ed., *Dostoevsky: A Collection of Critical Essays* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1962).

22. Chesterton's anti-Semitism has been debated in many circles and was the subject of Gerald Kaufmann's talk at the Chesterton Society's 1997 Annual Lecture (given in London). For a detailed analysis of Dostoevsky's anti-Semitism, see David Goldstein, *Dostoevsky and the Jews* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 1981).

23. V. V. Zenkovsky, "Dostoevsky's Religious & Philosophical Views" in *Dostoevsky: A Collection of Critical Essays*, 140.

24. G. K. Chesterton, *Orthodoxy* (1908: repr. London: The Bodley Head, 1927), 141.

25. Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, David McDuff, trans. (1880; London: Penguin Books, 1993), 282.

26. G. K. Chesterton, *The Catholic Church and Conversion* (1926; repr. London: Burns & Oates, 1951), 86.

27. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, Caryl Emerson, trans. (1963; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 6.

28. G. K. Chesterton, *The Ball and the Cross* (1910; repr. Buckinghamshire: Darwen Finlayson, 1963), 191.

29. Ibid., 191

30. *The Brothers Karamazov*, 291.

31. G. K. Chesterton, *Manalive* (1912; repr. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1947), 184–85.

32. Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Notes from Underground*, Jessie Coulson, trans. (1864; Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1972), 38.

33. Ibid., 115–16.

34. *Manalive*, 142.

35. *Notes from Underground*, 15.

36. *Orthodoxy*, 68.

37. G. K. Chesterton, *The Poet and the Lunatics* (1929; repr. London: Darwen Finlayson, 1962), 48.

38. Ibid., 165.

39. Steward Sutherland, "The Philosophical Dimension: Self and Freedom," in *New Essays on Dostoevsky*, Malcolm V. Jones and Garth M. Terry, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 183.

40. Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Crime and Punishment*, Jessie Coulson, trans. (1866; Oxford: World's Classics, 1980), 506.

41. G. K. Chesterton, *The Man who was Thursday: A Nightmare* (1908; repr. Oxford: World's Classics, 1996), 156.

42. Chesterton, "Why I am a Catholic," *The Thing* (1929; repr. London: Unicorn Books), 69.

43. Malcolm V. Jones, "Dostoevskii & Radstockism," in *Dostoevskii & Britain*, W. J. Leatherbarrow, ed. (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1995), 159.

44. A. Boyce Gibson, *The Religion of Dostoevsky* (London: SCM Press, 1973), 187.

45. "Revolutionists and Revivalists of the 19th Century," 836.

46. Chesterton, *Autobiography* (1936; repr. Kent: Fisher Press, 1992), 298.