

AN ANNOTATED EDITION OF THE LETTERS OF
ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH TO HIS AMERICAN FRIENDS:
RALPH WALDO EMERSON, CHARLES ELIOT NORTON,
JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, FRANCIS JAMES CHILD AND
HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW, OVER THE PERIOD
1847–1861

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ABSTRACT

This is a textually complete and comprehensively annotated edition of the poet Arthur Hugh Clough's letters to five of the leading American poets and scholars of his day: Ralph Waldo Emerson, Charles Eliot Norton, James Russell Lowell, Francis James Child and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, over the period 1847–1861. Fifteen of these letters have not previously been published, and those that appear in published editions are largely incomplete and unannotated. The letters in this edition have been transcribed from the original manuscripts held at the Bodleian and Houghton Libraries. They provide a great deal of valuable information about the less well-known later period of Clough's life and have been extensively annotated to modern scholarly standards using information from primary literary and historical sources. The introduction to the thesis contextualises Clough's visit to America and the initiation of the correspondence with his American friends, highlighting the central importance of the 'American dimension' to Clough's life and work. I also discuss aspects of nineteenth-century letter-writing that have only relatively recently become the subject of critical attention, such as the impact of material factors – postage rates, steamship schedules, etc – on Clough's transatlantic correspondence. Clough's creation of an 'epistolary self' in his private letters, together with his distinctive habit of writing 'journal-letters' and the idea of letters as historical 'testimony' are the subject of detailed analysis, and I draw a number of parallels with his use of the epistolary form in his major poetry. Chapter 2 of the thesis evaluates existing 'theories' of annotation, reviews current practice in relation to the annotation of nineteenth-century correspondence and concludes with a reflection on my own experience of editing Clough's letters. The absence of a definitive version of Clough's American letters and the comprehensive introduction will make this edition an original contribution to scholarly work on nineteenth-century correspondence and poetry.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used throughout the Introduction and in the notes to the letters:

- C** Arthur Hugh Clough
- RWE** Clough's letters to Ralph Waldo Emerson (N.B. the subsequent numbers, (eg *RWE* 1, etc) refer to the letters to each correspondent and not to page numbers).
- CEN** Clough's letters to Charles Eliot Norton
- JRL** Clough's letters to James Russell Lowell
- FJC** Clough's letters to Francis James Child
- HWL** Clough's letters to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow
- Poems** Mulhauser, F.L., ed., *The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974).
- Boston 1862** Norton, Charles Eliot, ed., *The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1862)
- London 1862** Clough, Arthur Hugh, *Poems by Arthur Hugh Clough* (London: Macmillan, 1862)
- B** Bodleian Library
- H** Houghton Library
- Corr.** Mulhauser, F.L., ed., *The Correspondence of Arthur Hugh Clough*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957).
- PR** Mrs Clough, ed., *Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough* (London: Macmillan, 1888).
- Lowry/Rusk** Lowry, Howard F. & Ralph Leslie Rusk, eds, *Emerson-Clough Letters* (Cleveland: The Rowfant Club, 1934).
- Norton** Norton, Sara and M. A. DeWolfe Howe, eds, *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton*, 2 vols (London & Cambridge, Mass: Constable, 1913).

- Turner Turner, James, *The Liberal Education of Charles Eliot Norton*
(Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999)
- Phelan Phelan, J. P., ed., *Clough Selected Poems* (London & New York:
Longman, 1995)
- DNB* *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
- OED* *Oxford English Dictionary Online*
- CLO* Kinser, Brent E., ed., *The Carlyle Letters Online* (Durham, NC: Duke
University Press, 2007)

1. INTRODUCTION

- (i) Rationale
- (ii) Biography
- (iii) Letter-writing in the Nineteenth Century
- (iv) The Letter as a form of Life-Writing
 - The ‘Epistolary Self’
 - Journal letters
 - Letters as Historical Testimony
- (v) Clough’s Epistolary Art
- (vi) Conclusion

(i) Rationale

My main objective for this project was to produce a fully-annotated and textually complete edition of the poet Arthur Hugh Clough’s letters to five prominent American correspondents – Ralph Waldo Emerson, Charles Eliot Norton, James Russell Lowell, Francis James Child and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, during the period 1847–1861. Three published editions of Clough’s correspondence include some of his ‘American’ letters: *PR* (1888), *Lowry/Rusk* (1934) and *Corr.* (1957). The first (*PR*) was compiled by Clough’s wife and includes only a small number of the letters which are inaccurately transcribed and often wrongly dated, while *Lowry/Rusk* contains only the correspondence between Clough and Emerson. The most recent edition, *Corr.*, is incomplete – of Clough’s 125 ‘American’ letters, most are arbitrarily truncated or not reproduced at all, and they are only very sparsely annotated. Approximately one third of the total material in the manuscript letters, including fifteen complete letters, has never been published. These letters provide important information that has not previously been available to scholars about the relatively unknown later period of Clough’s life, his associates and the often turbulent times he lived through.

The research methods employed in producing this annotated edition were as follows: I first had to locate and catalogue all the letters Clough wrote to his five correspondents

which are held in various repositories; for the copy-text from which to edit the letters I visited the Bodleian Library to transcribe Clough's letters to Ralph Emerson and Francis Child from the manuscripts held there. For the Norton, Lowell and Longfellow letters I obtained digital copies of the manuscripts from the Houghton Library. The methodology in regard to the annotation of the letters is discussed in Chapter 2 below; it required detailed research in both primary and secondary sources, mainly contemporary journals, newspapers and publications, as Clough's letters cover a wide range of topics.

My second objective was to write a comprehensive introduction to the edition which would place the letters in the context of Clough's later life, explore the material and autobiographical aspects of letter-writing and make comparisons between Clough's personal letters and his epistolary poetry. The focus of the biographical section of the Introduction is on the important role that the 'American dimension' played in Clough's life, especially in regard to his publishing ventures, and it highlights the significant transatlantic literary exchange that took place between Clough and his friends. I have also noted examples of the influence of American writers on Clough's work, which as Robert Weisbuch has pointed out, was relatively rare in the mid-nineteenth century. The section on letter-writing in the nineteenth century applies recent research by David Barton, Nigel Hall, Rebecca Earle and others into the influence of material factors on letter-writers, to Clough's correspondence. My discussion of the letter as a form of life-writing builds on the work of commentators such as Liz Stanley, Esther Milne and Janet Gurkin Altman and explores ways in which life-writing theory can help to elucidate Clough's representation of himself in his 'American' letters. I also examine Clough's unusual propensity to write 'journal-style' letters, and in my discussion of letters as historical 'testimony', I engage with the research of Andy Mousley, Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson. Clough's creative work often echoed his private letter-writing practice and I use examples of this to highlight the central importance of epistolary communication to an understanding of his poetry.

My third objective was to discover whether there was a universally-accepted set of principles of annotation, particularly in regard to an edition of nineteenth-century

letters. In Chapter 2 I review my findings and reflect on my own practice of annotating Clough's letters.

This edition comprises only Clough's side of his American correspondence; to have included the large number of letters to him from his five correspondents would have made the project unmanageably large and blurred the focus on the poet's epistolary 'voice'. The letters to Clough from his American correspondents appear in several published editions and to counteract any impression of one-sidedness I have quoted from letters to which Clough is replying, or supplied contextual detail in the footnotes. The introduction to each section of the correspondence provides information about the five correspondents and their relationship with Clough. Focusing solely on Clough's letters brings into sharp relief the different personae that he adopts when writing to each of his American friends and helps to ensure that the sensation of his distinctive voice is not lost; both of these points are related to theoretical questions surrounding the notion of the epistolary self which are addressed in the section on life-writing below.

The transcribed letters are organised into five separate chapters – one for each of Clough's five principal American correspondents, in the following order: Ralph Waldo Emerson, Charles Eliot Norton, James Russell Lowell, Francis James Child and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. The twenty-three letters to Emerson have been placed first in the edition because his correspondence with Clough began some five years before his initial meetings with the four other Americans during his visit to New England in 1853. The remaining chapters are organised according to the date of the first letter to each correspondent: the eighty-two Norton letters, which comprise by far the bulk of the correspondence; the letters to James Lowell, followed by those to Francis Child, and, finally, Longfellow.

The letters have been arranged by correspondent, rather than chronologically, to ensure that the unique relationship with Clough, and the main topics of interest contained in each collection of letters – Chaucerian meter in the case of Child, the revisions to *Amours de Voyage* in the letters to Lowell, and Emerson's preoccupation with the American Civil War – are foregrounded. This arrangement also helps to bring the

construction of Clough's various 'epistolary selves' into sharper focus, highlighting subtle differences in the way he presents himself in the letters to each of his correspondents.

(ii) Biography

As the focus of this thesis is the period covered by Clough's time in America and the ensuing American correspondence, this introduction deals primarily with the last decade of the poet's life. There are a number of biographical studies of Clough, starting with the 'Memoir' in *The Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough* (1869). The most recent biographical study is *Arthur Hugh Clough: A Poet's Life*, by Anthony Kenny (2005), but Katharine Chorley's *Arthur Hugh Clough: the Uncommitted Mind* (1962) remains the standard full-length biography. None of these studies give a great deal of prominence to the importance of the American dimension to Clough's life. The timeline in Appendix 1 gives a brief chronology of Clough's life; additional information on his relationship with each of his five correspondents is provided in the introduction to each section of letters.

In January 1868, the associate editor of *Putnam's Monthly Magazine* took a look back at the most outstanding contributors to the periodical and its sister publication, the *Atlantic Monthly*, over the fourteen or so years since its inception. Among these, none was 'more significant and impressive', despite his modesty, than the late Arthur Hugh Clough, whose first article appeared in one of the earliest editions of *Putnam's*:¹ For George Curtis this 'mere fragment' of a letter – Clough's rather abstract and quirky musings on the purpose and result of artistic expression, stood out as being very different from the 'usual magazine literature'.² It was not only in America that Clough published his views on contemporary issues in letter-form. While still at Oxford he had written a number of letters to the *Balance* and the *Spectator* dealing mainly with socio-economic problems, such as the repeal of the Corn Laws and the extravagance and wastefulness of the upper

¹ 'Letters of Parepedimus', *Putnam's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science and Art*, 2 (1853), 72–75.

² George William Curtis, 'Introductory Letter', *Putnam's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science and Art*, 11 (1868), 5–8 (pp. 6, 7).

classes.³ As he was at pains to point out in the *Putnam's* article (p.72), Clough always regarded America as his home in some senses; he spent his formative years in South Carolina before being sent back to England in 1828 to attend school, first at Chester and later at Rugby, where he came under the aegis of the charismatic headmaster, Dr Arnold. Separated from his family at such a young age, his early correspondence with them anticipates some of the themes of his later 'American' letters, such as his representation of letters as a kind of physical link with his correspondents. One early effort visualises a letter making its way across 'the vast blue ocean' with the 'soft peaceful light' of the moon 'smiling upon it calmly', while another dwells on the details of a shipwreck which interrupted the post, thus underlining the impact of material conditions on letter-writing (*Corr.* 4, 13). In view of his obvious emotional attachment to the country, it was probably not surprising that, at a particularly low point in his life, excluded from a career at Oxford because he felt unable to assume responsibility for teaching the Thirty Nine Articles of the Church of England to his students, and having resigned his post as Principal of the quasi-collegiate University Hall, London, it was to his American friend and mentor, the renowned philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson, that he wrote, in 1852, enquiring about the prospects of earning his living in New England (*RWE* 7).

Clough had first made Emerson's acquaintance a few years earlier during the American's celebrated lecture-tour of England.⁴ And an effusive letter of congratulation from Emerson on the publication of Clough's poem *The Bothie* began the transatlantic correspondence between them (*Corr.* 232-3), with Clough at one point, newly arrived in London and experiencing loneliness and doubt about his vocation, even admitting to deliberately delaying a reply to his friend's letter because having 'a distinct claim on one for a letter constitute[d] a sort of connexion, even with the Atlantic between' (*RWE* 6). On receipt of Clough's letter requesting information about the prospects of employment in the New World, a delighted Emerson urged him to take the first ship to Boston where he could spend the first few months as Emerson's guest, familiarise

³ For example, 'Letter to the Editor', *The Balance*, 23 January 1846, p. 26; 'Political Economy', *The Balance*, 30 January 1846, p. 34; 'Expensive Living', *The Balance*, 13 February 1846, p. 50; 'A Few Practical Hints', *The Balance*, 6 March 1846, p.77; 'The Spirit of Trade', *The Balance*, 20 March 1846. pp. 9

⁴ See Introduction to *RWE* letters, p. 67.

himself with the surroundings and be ‘initiate[d] ... into all the atrocities of republicanism’ (*Corr.* 315–6).

Clough set sail for America on 30th October 1852 aboard the royal mail ship *Canada*; among his travelling companions were two other ‘renowned personages in the world of literature’: Thackeray and James Russell Lowell.⁵ Another fellow passenger, Eyre Crowe, remembers seeing ‘a burly form’, in ‘mustard-coloured inexpressibles, and a wideawake hat crowning a swarthy face’ climbing the ‘companion ladder’: ‘this was Arthur Hugh Clough, the poet and Oxford Don’.⁶ It was a rough voyage during which the ship was ‘[tossed] like fury’ and ‘[plunged] like a porpoise’, before finally docking in Boston on 12th November 1852 (*PR* 187–8). A poem Clough wrote while at sea sums up the apprehension he was feeling on embarking upon this adventure into the unknown: ‘Where lies the land to which the ship would go? / Far, far ahead, is all her seamen know, / And where the land she travels from? Away, / Far, far behind, is all that they can say’ (*Poems*, 342).

Clough spent his first night in Boston at the same hotel as Thackeray: ‘Tremont House’— a ‘hospitable shelter’- where, in the ‘huge banqueting-room’, they ate a ‘[con]gratulatory supper’ consisting of a large dish of oysters and a ‘straw-tickled sherry cobbler’.⁷ He eventually moved into his own apartments in Cambridge, Massachusetts, set himself up as a tutor of Greek and Mathematics (*RWE* 10), and gave his first lecture. Julia Howe, with whom he stayed soon after his arrival in Boston, remembers him at that time as ‘very shy’, but ‘a delightful guest in all societies’.⁸ Clough was, apparently, ‘the centre of [Cambridge] literary companies’, and was everywhere welcomed with an unparalleled warmth.⁹ It was during those early months of his stay in America that Clough first made the acquaintance of the distinguished Harvard poets and professors

⁵ Eyre Crowe, *With Thackeray in America* (London: Cassell, 1893), p. 14.

⁶ Crowe, p. 15.

⁷ Eyre Crowe, *With Thackeray in America* (London: Cassell, 1893), p. 20.

⁸ Julia Ward Howe, *Reminiscences 1819–1899* (Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1899), pp. 185, 187.

⁹ Katharine Chorley, *Arthur Hugh Clough, the Uncommitted Mind* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 270.

with whom he would maintain a lifelong correspondence: Charles Eliot Norton, Francis James Child and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

Despite numerous invitations to the homes of these Boston ‘Brahmins’, where he was introduced as ‘the celebrated author’ (*Corr.* 332), Clough did not much enjoy the endless round of social engagements, however, and was homesick for his fiancée Blanche. His main source of income – a translation of *Plutarch’s Lives* (*RWE* 10) – he found ‘mere drudgery’, and he disliked working purely as a means to ‘money-making’ (*Corr.* 375, 380); in his letters to Blanche he vacillated between a desire to bring her out to join him, though he could ill afford to support them both, and a recognition of the likelihood of returning to England, where Carlyle and Lady Ashburton were endeavouring to find a suitable post for him in the Education Office. His reaction to the pressure on him to settle down to hard work in order to arrive at a marriageable income is encapsulated in the following verse enclosed with a letter to Blanche: ‘Drive deep the furrow in the sluggish soil, / E’en to the rock force in the labouring share; / Earth, that with starveling ears mocks niggard toil, / To pain and strife will golden harvests bear’ (*PR* 203). The intention behind this poem was clearly to demonstrate his resolve and commitment, but the optimistic conclusion seems somewhat implausible given the grim description of the barren soil and the apparent hopelessness of the task – a point driven home by the predominance of negative imagery and adjectives (‘sluggish’, ‘starveling’, ‘niggard’) in the poem. This kind of self-undermining ambiguity is a characteristic trait of Clough’s poetry.

Clough was unable to adapt himself to American life; as another American acquaintance put it: ‘Alas and alas! how many of us have seen Englishmen who tried this great experiment, who made the great emigration, and then were obliged to go back to the leeks of Egypt!’.¹⁰ Edward Everett Hale thought this was also the case with Clough, who returned to take up a government post, ‘not perhaps, inspector of slate-pencils, but something not more edifying’. Somewhat ironically he contrasts Clough’s departure from America with Philip and Elspie’s escape from the ‘follies of feudalism’ to ‘a brave

¹⁰ Edward Everett Hale, *James Russell Lowell and his Friends* (Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1899), pp. 135–36.

new land' of freedom in *The Bothie*.¹¹ Back in England, Clough almost immediately started work as '3rd Examiner' in the Education Office of the Privy Council, a post which his influential English friends had procured for him. But, as he frequently wrote to Emerson, he continued to harbour dreams of returning to the United States (see *RWE* 20, for example). Meanwhile, his sudden departure caused a great deal of grief among the friends he had made during his short stay in New England, and thereafter Clough's circle of American correspondents widened to include, besides Emerson, Charles Eliot Norton, James Russell Lowell, Francis James Child and Longfellow. The numerous letters they exchanged over the next eight years, up until Clough's death in 1861, are the subject of this study; they have been extensively annotated and incrementally construct the story of the later, hitherto neglected, period of Clough's life.

A wealth of absorbing detail about his private and professional life emerges from a close reading of these letters; this was the period, for example, during which, to the delight of his American friends, he married Blanche Smith, and had three children with her. Marriage, according to Norton, brought Clough much-needed peace and contentment,¹² despite the heavy burden imposed by his opting to act as a sort of general factotum to his cousin-by-marriage, Florence Nightingale, whom he had the 'honour' of escorting as far as Calais on the first leg of her journey to Scutari (*RWE* 19). It was the report into the Crimean débacle, which Clough helped her compile for Queen Victoria (1200 pages in two volumes of morocco gilt), that led to a complete overhaul of the army's medical services (*CEN* 56). According to Clough, his job at the Council Office, combined with his family commitments, left him little time for creative work, but although he did not initiate much of note during this period of his life, he published *Amours de Voyage* for the first time (in the *Atlantic Monthly*) and made a number of amendments and additions to *The Bothie* and his earlier *Ambarvalia* collection for a projected American edition of his poetry (*CEN* 58 & 59). These publishing projects are the subject of several letters to Norton and his publisher, Lowell, and not only offer an insight into the creative process behind Clough's work, but also reveal how parts of *Amours* had to be omitted to avoid offending conservative American readers

¹¹ Edward Everett Hale, *James Russell Lowell and his Friends* (Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1899), pp. 135–6.

¹² *Norton* I, 139–40.

(*Corr.* 537). This period also saw the completion of a new translation of *Plutarch's Lives* and the writing of his last major poem, *Mari Magno or Tales on Board*, a verse narrative inspired by his voyage to America and reminiscent of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*; the final story was dictated to Blanche on his death-bed (*Poems*, 769).

The connection with America was, in fact, vital to Clough's continued productivity during this decade; the few months he spent in New England had seen a burst of creative activity with the publication of several articles in American magazines and the lucrative commission from the Boston publishers, Little, Brown, to revise Dryden's *Plutarch*, which was to occupy him for the next six years (Appendix 2). It was largely through the promptings of his American friends that many of his best-known poems first appeared in print as Clough often seemed to have little faith in his own work, telling James Lowell, editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, to postpone publication of 'his hexameters' [*Amours de Voyage*] as he doubted they would be popular, and stating that he had 'no great affection or even esteem for them' (*CEN* 46). His American friends, however, had enormous respect for his artistic judgement and were eager for his advice on their own literary projects during the period. He helped Lowell with the writing of some dialect and satirical verse (Introduction to *JRL* letters), Child was indebted to him for detailed advice on Chaucer's language and metre and the identification of characters in Thomas Moore's poems (*FJC* 1 & 2), while Emerson sought his assistance with his essay *English Traits* (*RWE* 21; *Corr.* 316). Had it not been for his workload at the Council Office Clough might well have been persuaded to accept Lowell's offer to become the London correspondent for the *Atlantic Monthly* (*JRL* 7).

Clough's letters are evidence not only of the kind of co-operative ventures that British and American intellectuals and writers were engaged in during the period, but also of the major role that American magazines and journals played in the transatlantic exchange of ideas. Their editors continued to commission work from leading British writers, while at the same time promoting home-grown American literature. *Putnam's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science and Art*, for example, which was set up in 1853, published several of Clough's articles, as did the *North American Review* (Appendix 2). Then in 1857 several of Clough's American friends, including Emerson,

Longfellow and James Russell Lowell, the first editor, collaborated in the inauguration of an ambitious new journal, the *Atlantic Monthly*, whose express purpose was to bridge the divide between Britain and America – to be, in Lowell’s words, ‘both an old and New England’ publication (*Corr.* 527). Clough welcomed the predominantly American character of the newly-launched *Atlantic Monthly*, ‘so little characterized by any mercantile importations from our side’ (*JRL* 8). *Amours de Voyage* was serialized in the first volume in 1858 to very favourable critical acclaim: according to Lowell, it was ‘caviare to the Generals’ of American society (*Corr.* 544). The poem would undoubtedly have been published in America earlier had it not been for a two-year hiatus caused by the Crimean war (Introduction, p. 24). Clough’s decision to publish for the first time in an American journal would appear to have been due to a combination of factors, not least the impressive array of prestigious contributors to the new magazine, who included Emerson and Norton, the fact that his own personal stock was much higher in the United States than it was in England, and what he described as the ‘handsome’ remuneration offered (*CEN* 54).

The influence of American literature on British writers during the middle part of the nineteenth century has received comparatively little critical attention. According to Robert Weisbuch, it only began to be felt in the 1850s; before that, British literary critics were, for the most part, dismissive of American writing.¹³ Indeed, the charge that Arnold levelled against Clough in his rather curmudgeonly criticism of *The Bothie* was that its modernity was ‘more American than English’.¹⁴ For although it was, in many respects, a quintessentially English poem about an elite Oxford reading party on a summer vacation in the Highlands, its experimental metre and democratic ideals – the critique of landed wealth and privilege, and a love-affair that crossed class boundaries – made it particularly attractive, as Norton recognised, to an American audience, who identified with the spirit of a poem ‘in sympathy with the most liberal and progressive thought of the age’.¹⁵ Clough acknowledged his artistic debt to Longfellow in writing *The Bothie*; he told Emerson in a letter that reading *Evangeline*, which was ‘very

¹³ Robert Weisbuch, *Atlantic Double-Cross: American Literature and British Influence in the Age of Emerson* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 30.

¹⁴ Letter dated November 1848, *The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by Howard Foster Lowry (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932, repr. 1968), p. 95.

¹⁵ ‘Arthur Hugh Clough’, *Atlantic Monthly*, 9 (1862), 462–69 (p. 464).

popular' in England, had inspired his 'outbreak of hexameters'. There are also less obvious borrowings from *Evangeline* in *The Bothie*; it could be argued that the open landscape of the American West is transformed into the Scottish Highlands, and the French colonists become Highland crofters.¹⁶ The influence of Emerson can also be found in some of Clough's poems; it has been claimed, for example, that Emerson's essay 'History' was the source for 'Natura Naturans', while the refrain in Clough's *Dipsychus and The Spirit* – 'And nothing's new and nothing's true' – is repeated more or less verbatim in Emerson's essay 'Montaigne; or the Skeptic'.¹⁷ This essay was, in fact, published in 1850, after Emerson had met Clough at Oxford, and the quotation is preceded by the words – "Ah," said my languid gentleman at Oxford, "there's nothing new, or true,- and no matter."", so it is quite possible that Emerson was repeating Clough's own words here.¹⁸ John Goode, meanwhile, finds echoes of the sentiments expressed in another of Emerson's works¹⁹ – that 'Travelling is a fools' paradise'²⁰ – in the first Canto of *Amours de Voyage*, where Claude expresses disappointment with Rome and muses on the impossibility of escaping from oneself (*Poems*, 95). Furthermore, the points Clough makes in his 1852 'Lecture on the Development of English Literature from Chaucer to Wordsworth' about Shakespeare's lack of originality, and his universality (*PR* 336–7) recall those in Emerson's 'Shakspeare [sic]; or, the Poet'.²¹

Besides showing the influence of American literature on Clough's literary output, his letters also contain his quite forthright opinions on the work of some of his more conservative fellow English writers. He did not, for example, 'at all agree' with his friend Matthew Arnold's poetics, as set out in the 1853 'Preface' (*CEN* 11), and although he used his influence to find an American publisher for *Sohrab and Rustum*, he personally thought it 'pseudo-antique', and disliked what he called its 'Pre-Shakespeare

¹⁶ Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Evangeline: A Tale of Arcadie* (Boston: William D. Ticknor, 1847).

¹⁷ *Clough Selected Poems*, ed. by J.P. Phelan (London & New York: Longman, 1995), p. 194.

¹⁸ Ralph Waldo Emerson, 'Montaigne; or, the Skeptic', in *Representative Men* (London: John Chapman, 1850) 109–38, (p. 113).

¹⁹ John Goode, 'Amours de Voyage: The Aqueous Poem', in *The Major Victorian Poets: Reconsiderations*, ed. by Isobel Armstrong (London: Routledge, 1969), pp. 275–97 (p. 279).

²⁰ Ralph Waldo Emerson, 'Self-Reliance', in *Essays* (Boston: James Munroe, 1841), p. 67.

²¹ Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Representative Men: Seven Lectures by R. W. Emerson* (Boston: Phillips, Samuel, 1850), pp. 139–63.

theory' (*HWL* 2). Arnold, for his part, had often criticised Clough's poems for what he called their 'deficiency of the *beautiful*',²² – even *Amours de Voyage*, he told his friend, was 'a thing [that] does not suit you'.²³ The professional rivalry between the two sometimes spilled over into what seems, from the tone of Clough's letters, to have been something more like envy: see, for instance, his observations on Arnold's appointment as Professor of Poetry at Oxford, for which Arnold would receive about £100 a year for just four lectures (*JRL* 9), or his rather grudging agreement to give Norton a letter of introduction to Arnold. Clough predicted that Norton would not like Matthew Arnold as much as his brother William, and, rather bizarrely, warned him in no uncertain terms not to go to 'Fox How' alone (*CEN* 34). Clough's literary circle also included Carlyle, Thackeray and James Anthony Froude, and he was a good friend of Tennyson, often reading the proof sheets of the Poet Laureate's poems and helping him with some Welsh translations (*FJC* 6). He did not, however, have a very high opinion of Tennyson's work, with the exception of *Maud*, which he found to be 'a change from his old mannerism' (*CEN* 29) and the *Idylls of the King*, which were 'maturer' and 'much the best thing' that Tennyson had done (*CEN* 66). In fact, Clough liked Tennyson personally more than he did his poetry, describing him as 'the most unmannerly simple big child of a man that you can find' (*FJC* 6). Carlyle also crops up regularly in the letters; Clough regularly updates his correspondents on the progress of the epic *Frederick the Great* and regales them with amusing tales about Carlyle's fruitless attempts to escape from the noise of 'cocks & hens & hurdy-gurdies' and incompetent builders (*HWL* 1).

Clough's American letters suggest that some of his earlier, quite radical, political views mellowed with age during the last decade of his life. In some respects he seems to have become more conservative or even reactionary in his later years. He condones what he calls Neill's 'outrages on the caste-feeling at Cawnpore' – the 'fearful' punishment meted out to the Indian rebels following the Indian Mutiny (*CEN* 45) – and writes admiringly of the rather extreme racial theories of a certain Dr Bodichon (*CEN* 44). He

²² Letter of late February 1848, *The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by Howard Foster Lowry (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932, repr. 1968), p. 66.

²³ Letter dated 21 March 1853, *The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by Howard Foster Lowry (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932, repr. 1968), p. 132.

did, however, continue to hold fairly liberal and progressive views on other subjects, particularly in regard to social reform and education. He supported John Bright, who was ‘scoffed at’ in the press and in the Clubs, in his fight for an extension of the franchise, believing that it would result in a ‘better and more National House of Commons’ (*CEN* 56 & 58). He was also enthusiastic about a cottage improvement society that provided new housing for the poor (*CEN* 71), and sympathetic to the plight of unemployed mill-workers (*CEN* 13). In the field of education, he was in favour of subsidies for secular schools, and thought that the study of Persian and other ‘Eastern’ languages should be put on a par with Latin and Greek for entry to the Indian Civil Service (*CEN* 26). On the subject of religion, what comes through most clearly from his correspondence is a rather cynical and apathetic attitude towards the established Church, in stark contrast to his youthful piety, matched by a continued interest in spirituality in the wider sense, and a strong antipathy towards what he saw as the prevalent spirit of ‘anti-mysticism’ and ‘dense, supercilious, narrow-minded common sense’ (*CEN* 81).

Clough’s letters have an interest and relevance far beyond that of the life and thought of the poet himself; because they range over so many different topics in the public arena, for historians and scholars of the period they are primary source documents that offer the kind of first-hand knowledge and candid comment that cannot be found in retrospective historical accounts (see Section [iv] below). His work in the Education Office in Whitehall, at the heart of government, made Clough privy to the all the latest political intrigue and gossip; one letter, for instance, sheds light on the shambolic series of events leading up to the infamous Charge of the Light Brigade (*CEN* 25), and he makes a number of acerbic and witty comments on the interminable Cabinet reshuffles and resignations that characterised the period. At the same time, as a member of the intellectual establishment, Clough not only kept a weather eye on reviews of new publications and the comings and goings of his fellow writers and artists, but also on scientific discoveries and religious controversies – the furore over Frederick Maurice’s *Theological Essays*, for example (*CEN* 10), and the lectures of Michael Faraday and Richard Owen. As an assiduous letter-writer, he kept his American friends fully informed on all these topics; indeed, because he often added to them on a daily basis before sending them off, they frequently constitute an up-to-the-minute commentary on

what was going on in the outside world (see *CEN* 55, for example, and Section [iv] below).

In addition to the latest literary and political news at home, Clough discussed world affairs in some depth with his correspondents – all the important topics of the day, from the discovery of the source of the Nile and the Falkland Islands to revolutionary movements in Russia and Germany. He agreed, in principle, with the idea that ‘Russia was ‘more hopeful than feudal Western Europe’, and that the life of the Russian commune was ‘pure democracy (*CEN* 12). Events on the other side of the Atlantic did not escape Clough’s attention either. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, as the son of a Charleston cotton trader, the ineluctable progression of events leading up to the American Civil War, such as the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and his friend Emerson’s fierce denunciation of the infamous Fugitive Slave Law (*RWE* 23) are extensively covered in the letters.

As far as Clough’s personal circumstances are concerned, we do not learn much from his explicit statements, but he often writes to Norton about his investments and the letters reveal his anxiety about the security of some of the banks and financial institutes where he kept his money. The parallels with our own times are quite striking – for example, when the suspension of the Bank Charter Act brought the country to the verge of financial meltdown (*CEN* 45). The letters also offer the occasional glimpse into how Clough spent his leisure time: his holidays on the Isle of Wight and in the Malvern Hills, and his fascination with books about travel and voyages of discovery, for instance (*CEN* 49). In a poignant last letter to Emerson only a few months before his death, Clough, although clearly weakened by a debilitating condition, still speaks fondly of America and his regrets at not having been able to return. Perhaps it was a premonition that prompted him to send four photographs of drawings of himself to be distributed among his American friends. Emerson later paid a fitting tribute in a letter to Clough’s widow – for him Clough was not only a ‘cherished poet’, but ‘the best American’ he had found in London (*Corr.* 611).

(iii) Letter-Writing in the Nineteenth Century

Clough's American letters contain valuable information about his life and times, his contemporaries and the transatlantic literary and cultural interaction that took place during the mid-Victorian period. They also reveal his interest in, and awareness of many of the material aspects of letter-writing – the weight, quality and price of the writing paper he uses (*CEN* 16 & 26), for example, and mailship schedules, the importance of which has only relatively recently begun to be appreciated. As Jeffrey H. Richards notes a letter is a 'situated document' which is shaped as much by 'a complex of cultural and technological practices' as by the writer's mind and experience.²⁴

Clough was writing at a time when a number of phenomena coalesced to create the optimum conditions for writing letters. The Penny Post Act of 1840 had drastically reduced the cost of postage and resulted in a huge increase in the number of letters sent – from 75.9 million in 1839 to an incredible 410.8 million in 1853²⁵ – not only within national borders, but to all corners of Britain's burgeoning empire. More post offices and 'receiving houses' were built to accommodate this phenomenal amount of mail, while the huge expansion in the rail network, with train speeds averaging 30 mph, obviated the need to send letters by coach, thus greatly increasing the swiftness of despatch and delivery.

It would seem from several references in his letters that Clough took them in person to one of the eight London branch post offices – probably Charing Cross, which was the nearest to the Council Office. They would then have been conveyed by red mail-cart in 'milk-white, cream-coloured and gingerbread-coloured bags', to the main post office at St Martin's-le-Grand, to await the frenetic sorting process which began soon after 8pm: great heaps of letters were date-stamped at a rate of 200 per minute and rapidly examined to check that sufficient postage had been paid, before having their stamps

²⁴ Jeffrey H. Richards, 'Authorship, Network, Textuality: Editing Mercy Otis Warren's Letters', in *Letters and Cultural Transformation in the United States, 1760–1860*, ed. by Theresa Strouth Gaul and Sharon M. Harris (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 223–37 (p. 236).

²⁵ *Letter Writing as a Social Practice*, ed. by David Barton and Nigel Hall (Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2000), p. 88.

‘obliterated by the right hands of 20 stampers’ who could ‘destroy 6–7000 Queen’s heads in an hour’. Foreign letters, such as Clough’s, would then be sorted into pigeon holes in the ‘Colonial and Foreign Division’ vestibule, and those for America despatched by rail to Liverpool to be forwarded by steam-packet to their transatlantic destination.²⁶ The iconic painting *The General Post Office, One Minute to Six*, by George Elgar Hicks (1860), depicts Londoners of all ages and classes gathering at the impressive entrance of St Martin’s-le-Grand just before the six o’clock closing time, showing how vital the postal service had become to Victorian life.²⁷

A major factor in the facilitation of international correspondence was the introduction of steamships on the Atlantic routes which could maintain a guaranteed average speed of 8–9 knots per hour from Liverpool to Boston, as compared with sailing ships which were dependent on the strength and direction of the wind. This, coupled with fierce competition between rival shipping companies – principally Cunard and Collins (*CEN* 4 & 24) – for the lucrative transatlantic mail and passenger business resulted in the sailing time from Liverpool to Boston being cut from 14 days and 8 hours in 1840 to just 12 days by the mid-1850s. Ultimately, it was the Cunard fleet of ‘the most splendid array of ocean steamers ever possessed by one company’ (six 1830-ton wooden paddle-steamers: *America, Niagara, Europa, Canada, Asia* and *Africa*) which triumphed, and it was contracted by the Royal Mail to make weekly trips to Boston and New York alternately, except during the period December to March when there was a monthly service.²⁸ Competition had the added effect of keeping postage costs down; prior to 1848, a postal war between the US and Britain had resulted in prohibitively high charges for transatlantic mail (with the American post office levying a surcharge of up to 8 cents for incoming mail). An agreement was eventually reached under the Postal Convention of 1848 which governed postal relations with the United States for nearly twenty years. A single rate of 1s 0d now prepaid a letter to its final destination with no extra charge expected from the recipient – so the cost of a stamp remained at just 1/- for every letter not exceeding $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. in weight, for the duration of Clough’s correspondence

²⁶ ‘Valentine’s Day at the Post Office’, *Quarterly Review*; 87 (1850), 69–115 (pp.75, 76, 77, 94).

²⁷ Reproduced in Catherine J. Golden, *Posting It: The Victorian Revolution in Letter Writing* (Gainesville Fl.: University Press of Florida, 2009), pp.107–8.

²⁸ ‘Atlantic Steam Navigation’, *Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal*, 21 June 1851, 390–92 (p. 391).

(compared with 2s 2d for a letter to New York in 1812), which must have encouraged the frequency of his letter-writing.²⁹ The composition of the single rate was as follows:-

3 cents (1½d)	British Inland Postage
5 cents (2½d)	US Inland Postage
16 cents (8d)	Sea postage for nation providing packet
24 cents (12d)	Total Postage ³⁰

As Rebecca Earle points out, the role of state-run postal services in ‘shaping the nature of letter writing’, has, surprisingly, been largely overlooked, especially as letter-writers since the eighteenth century were, apparently, ‘preoccupied’ by ‘official timetables for postal collection and delivery’.³¹ Clough’s preoccupation with delivery and collection times is clear from many of his letters; for example in *CEN* 18, where he writes that ‘it is Friday 5¼ pm & I must get this into the Post & do sundry other things before 6pm’, or the abrupt ending to a letter to Lowell – ‘Farewell – I must be off ... or else I shall miss the post’ (*JRL* 3). He visualises Norton’s letter ‘fresh from the Euston station traversing the streets not far off’ (*CEN* 15) and frequently refers to the name of the particular Royal Mail steamship (the *Arctic* [*CEN* 4] or *Niagara* [*CEN* 6]), which would transport his letters; on the envelope of letter *CEN* 32 to Norton, he has even written ‘per Africa’, with the date – ‘20th Jany’, underneath. Even as a youth, Clough’s interest in the more mechanical aspects of letter-writing is evident from a reading of his transatlantic correspondence with his family in Charleston, where he often includes the names of the steamship carrying his letters, including a reference to the *Silas Richards*, which was wrecked, along with a letter containing ‘important matter’ (*Corr.* 13). Clough would most likely have got his information about the ships carrying the mail from advertisements which regularly appeared in the *Standard*; a typical example is the one in the October 12th 1853 issue: ‘British and North American Royal Mail Steam ships appointed by the Admiralty to SAIL..... between LIVERPOOL and BOSTON to land

²⁹ Malcolm Beresford Montgomery, *The Postage Rates of the North Atlantic Mails (1633–1950)*, (Southampton: the author, 1991), p. 7.

³⁰ Jane & Michael Moubray, *British Letter Mail to Overseas Destinations 1840–1875* (London: Royal Philatelic Society, 1992), pp. 233–36.

³¹ *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter-Writers, 1600–1945*, ed. by Rebecca Earle (Aldershot & Vermont: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 9, 10.

and receive Passengers and Her Majesty's Mails'; this is followed by a list of the dates when the *Niagara*, *Africa* and *Europa* were scheduled to sail.³²

Liz Stanley underlines the fact that letter exchange always implies 'technologies of transport' and 'economies of communication',³³ and there is a substantial amount of evidence in Clough's correspondence to support this assertion. Postal delays – often due to Clough's missing the post (*CEN* 45 & 66) – lost letters (one containing a marked-up copy of *The Bothie* – [*CEN* 63]), and the requisitioning of eleven of Cunard's ships to serve as troop carriers during the Crimean War, which resulted in the service to Boston being suspended for two years in the autumn of 1854, all had a significant impact on Clough's letter-writing practice and on his published work.³⁴ This last factor led to a noticeable interruption in the regular rhythm of Clough's letters to Norton; previously he had written to his friend at least once, and often twice a month, but during 1855, the pattern became, on average, bi-monthly, while the letters tended to be longer. Clough himself noted this constraint on their communication in his letter of 18th November 1854 – 'as we write for economy here – My letter has tarried and I fear must tarry' (*CEN* 25). His letters were also frequently cross-hatched during that period, clearly in an attempt to fit more words on the page (*CEN* 23, 24 & 28 for example). This reduction in the transatlantic postal service might also help to explain why the fairly advanced plans for *Amours de Voyage* and other poems made by Clough and Norton in 1854 failed to result in publication.

Norton's concern about the time-lag in their communication is evident from the delight he expressed at finally receiving a letter from Clough; in his reply he joked that he had begun to think their correspondence was 'like small clothes before suspenders were invented, not to be kept up'.³⁵ Norton's letters seem to have been delayed too, judging by Clough's expression of relief in the opening paragraph of *CEN* 30: 'Many thanks for your letter. I was very glad to see your handwriting again'. It is a testament to the

³² *Standard*, 12 October 1853, p. 1.

³³ Liz Stanley, 'Epistolarium: On Theorizing Letters and Correspondences', *Auto/Biography*, 12 (2004), 201–35 (pp. 214, 216).

³⁴ Daniel Allen Butler, *The Age of Cunard: A Transatlantic History 1839–2003* (Annapolis, MD: Lighthouse Press, 2003), pp. 86–87.

³⁵ *Norton*, I, 130.

strength of their friendship, however, that Clough's correspondence with Norton resumed its old regular monthly pattern during the latter part of 1856, when Cunard's weekly sailings to Boston and New York resumed.

Transportation methods and postage costs are not the only neglected areas in the study of letter-writing; the actual implements and materials used for writing have also, as Nigel Hall points out, received far less attention than the meanings and products of the writing process.³⁶ Catherine Golden refers to how the huge increase in Victorian letter-writing in an 'age of production and consumption' was a stimulus to the large-scale industrial production of postal products which were displayed in the Great Exhibition of 1851.³⁷ Three of the most important material features that shaped letter-writing, according to Peter Stallybrass, were the kind of paper used, the practice of folding it into four sheets and the length of letters.³⁸ Clough wrote on single sheets of pre-folded, octavo-sized, or smaller wove paper, whose impressed guidelines were made by the weave of wire-cloth and dandy-roll which, by the mid-nineteenth-century, had superseded laid paper as the writing paper of choice.³⁹ Stallybrass, in exposing what he describes as the 'myth of the long letter', argues that Elizabeth Barrett Browning's letters were unusual for the period in that she generally wrote at great length, whereas most nineteenth-century letter writers struggled to cover all four sheets of the pre-folded paper. The length and regularity of Clough's letters, especially to Norton, would, however, tend to dispute this claim, as does his comment in letter *CEN* 8 that 'this [letter] is getting too long. I shall have no paper left'. He did, however, sometimes space his words out, particularly in the letters to Longfellow (*HWL* 1), in an obvious attempt to fill the page, and occasionally struggled to finish a letter – 'I hope I may get through one sheet at least before Friday next', although that might have been due to a heavy workload at the office (*CEN* 70).

³⁶ *Letter Writing as a Social Practice*, ed. by David Barton and Nigel Hall (Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2000), p. 83.

³⁷ Catherine J. Golden, *Posting It: The Victorian Revolution in Letter Writing* (Gainesville Fl.: University Press of Florida, 2009), pp. 5, 129.

³⁸ Conference: 'Writing Materials: Women of Letters from Enlightenment to Modernity', V & A Museum, 30 November, 2012.

³⁹ Adèle Millicent Smith, *Printing and Writing Materials: Their Evolution* (Philadelphia: the Author, 1901), p. 159.

The relationship between a letter and its envelope was, according to Esther Milne, a ‘crucial aspect’ of the epistolary process.⁴⁰ Representing the correspondent, the seal, especially if personalised, appeared to guarantee ‘the authenticity ... and intimacy of the message’, or, in Samuel Richardson’s words ‘friendship avowed under hand and seal’.⁴¹ Clough, however, wrote most of his letters while at work at his office in Downing Street, and sometimes sealed the envelopes with the seal of the Privy Council (*CEN* 32, for example). The first letter he wrote to Lowell from England was delayed by at least ten days because the official seal had apparently made it too heavy. Clough had then decided that ‘H M Coat of Arms wasn’t worth an extra shilling’ and, as he told Lowell, he was unable to change envelopes at the post office, so the letter did not go (*JRL* 2) – another example of how material factors impacted on epistolary relationships. In reply, Lowell joked that, in tying his letter together with red tape, ‘with an unconsciousness which [he was] sure was assumed’, Clough had trumped even the sealing of his letter with the royal Coat of Arms. And he was suitably impressed by Clough’s request to send his letters care of ‘Her Majesty’s Council Office, Whitehall’, declaring that he would write his initials on the corner of the envelope so that the American postmaster would know who it was that had such ‘august correspondents’ (*Corr.* 464-5). Clough’s use of these various material indicators of status – the red tape, embossed letter heading, seal etc, together with his tendency, albeit rather tongue-in-cheek, in the correspondence with Lowell, to sign himself off as ‘Arthur Hugh Clough’, ‘The English Poet’ (*JRL* 10) – ties in with the linguistic construction of himself as a ‘man of letters’, which I discuss in the next section (iv).

The material dimension of letter-writing manifested itself in the choice of other writing equipment, besides paper and envelope, which, according to David Barton, also reflected the self-image, as well as the ‘values, beliefs and practices’ of the letter writer.⁴² For much of the nineteenth century quill and steel pens existed alongside each other, but the cheapness of steel pens meant that they gradually became the preferred

⁴⁰ Esther Milne, *Letters, Postcards, Email: Technologies of Presence* (New York & London: Routledge, 2010), p. 46.

⁴¹ Esther Milne, *Letters, Postcards, Email: Technologies of Presence* (New York & London: Routledge, 2010), p. 47.

⁴² *Letter Writing as a Social Practice*, ed. by David Barton and Nigel Hall (Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2000), p. 11.

choice of writing implement. Choosing a pen soon came to represent as much an ‘aspiration’ or ‘value’ as the desire to buy a functional pen, with manufacturers competing to create the most decorative fashionable pens: one London firm, Perry & Co, stocked around 5,000 different styles of pen.⁴³ Besides pens, catalogues also contained a cornucopia of writing-related equipment, from stationery racks and inkwells to blotting paper and pen wipes. It is not clear which type of pen Clough used, but it is noticeable that in his ‘journal-type’ letters he used a variety of different coloured inks, demonstrating either a carelessness of choice or a desire to make each new section stand out. That he was also aware of the importance for clarity of expression of quality writing implements is demonstrated in a letter to a friend whom he adjures to discard ‘the worn stump’ of his pen and to get some ‘decent letter-paper’ and a new pen before replying to his letter (*Corr.* 36).

These various physical artefacts – paper, pen and ink – all, as James Daybell suggests, had an obvious effect on handwriting.⁴⁴ The capacity of Clough’s handwriting to seemingly embody his physical presence and the extra care he took when writing to his more august correspondents are included in my discussion of the creation of the ‘epistolary self’ in Section (iv) below, and highlight the interconnectedness of the material with the less corporeal dimensions of letter-writing. Samantha Matthews argues that ‘a nineteenth-century writer’s autograph was not neutral: its formation and interpretation were shaped by diverse physical, psychological and socio-cultural contexts’.⁴⁵ It is certainly the case that material circumstances frequently affected Clough’s autograph; the fact that he usually wrote during breaks snatched from his official duties in the Council Office, for example, would have affected the legibility of the script, and he sometimes comments on his ‘scribble’ (*RWE* 16), or the indecipherability of his handwriting (*CEN* 8). Another factor which accounts for variations in Clough’s normally intelligible handwriting is the periods of ill-health he suffered, during which it became more sprawling or shaky (*CEN* 59 & 71), or when he

⁴³ *Letter Writing as a Social Practice*, ed. by David Barton and Nigel Hall (Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2000), Barton and Hall, pp. 94, 96.

⁴⁴ James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing 1512–1635* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 90.

⁴⁵ Samantha Matthews, ‘Tennyson and Handwriting, a “clean, fair hand” and the “damn pen”’, *Tennyson Research Bulletin*, 9 (2012), 15–36 (15).

sprained his wrist, which also delayed his response to Norton's letter (*CEN* 24). James Russell Lowell's excuse for the long delay in writing to Clough – that 'when one is touched in the liver ... it is best to keep one's reflections in one's inkstand' underlines the effect of physical circumstances on a correspondence (*Corr.* 527).

Samantha Matthews also points out that handwriting in the nineteenth century had class connotations – a careless hand, for example, was widely believed to be a signifier of 'social distinction and independent wealth', although for Tennyson a legible hand was a 'marker of personal integrity' that denoted 'manliness'.⁴⁶ Clough's handwriting, being for the most part neat and readable, would, in Tennyson's analysis, put him in the latter category. Handwriting during the period also varied according to gender, something that Clough evidently recognised – in *Amours de Voyage*, for instance, Claude refers to Mary Trevellyn's 'feminine hand' (*Poems*, 125).

(iv) The Letter as a Form of Life-Writing

Material considerations clearly had a significant influence not only on the regularity of Clough's correspondence, but also on the image of himself that he projected in his letters, and in this respect they are closely tied in with some of the more abstract aspects of the letter-writing process, such as psychological motivation, social aspiration and the choice of language. Clough did not live long enough to write a formal autobiography, and although his widow prefaced her selected collection of his correspondence with a brief 'memoir', it is somewhat hagiographical in tone, and concentrates mainly on his early life, with less than a page devoted to his stay in America (*PR* 44–5). In recent years, however, the importance of personal letters as a source of self life-writing has increasingly come to be recognized. Autobiographical writing in general, and letter-writing in particular, have also been the subject of critical analysis and debate from a range of contemporary theoretical perspectives. Liz Stanley, for example, one of the foremost critics in the field of 'the epistolary', argues that whereas letters have traditionally been valued principally for their content – essentially the historical context

⁴⁶ Samantha Matthews, 'Tennyson and Handwriting, a "clean, fair hand" and the "damn pen"', *Tennyson Research Bulletin*, 9 (2012), 15–36 (20, 23).

and the factual details that could be gleaned about the writer's life – the focus has shifted in recent years more towards the 'performative, textual and rhetorical' aspects of the epistolary exchange.⁴⁷

The theoretical accounts of epistolary 'self-making' developed recently can illuminate aspects of Clough's American correspondence; and his practice as a letter-writer, in turn, raises questions which the theoretical models of communication developed in this field cannot always answer satisfactorily. Clough assumes different personae in his letters – each one, by Stanley's account, tailored to accord with the interests of his addressee – but he also manifests an extraordinarily acute self-consciousness, and his epistolary poetry shows that he was unusually aware of the various factors that have a bearing on the construction of a writing self. In this section I analyse the stylistic and linguistic characteristics that constitute Clough's 'creation' of himself in the letters, looking firstly at features the letters have in common, and then at the differences between those to each individual addressee. In the course of my analysis I address the tension between the notion of 'multiple selves' and of the self as a 'construct', both of which have connotations of invention and artifice, with the emotional response that Clough's letters so frequently aroused in his friends. I go on to highlight an important feature of Clough's letters – his marked tendency to write 'journal-style' letters, which has implications for their generic categorisation – and I conclude with an assessment of their value as historical 'testimony'.

One way of accounting for Clough's determination to continue his correspondence with his American friends is suggested by Jerome Bruner's hypothesis that 'self-making is based ... on the apparent esteem of others, and on the myriad expectations' that we acquire from the culture and society around us.⁴⁸ For Bruner the self is a 'social construction' that is constantly constructed and reconstructed according to the situations it encounters. I have already suggested that his visit to America was a considerable boost to Clough's self-confidence; resigning his Oxford fellowship had resulted in a

⁴⁷ Liz Stanley, 'Epistolarium: On Theorizing Letters and Correspondences', *Auto/Biography*, 12 (2004), 201–35 (211)

⁴⁸ *Selves and Identities in Narrative and Discourse*, ed. by Michael Bamberg and others (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2007), p. 182.

significant loss of status, and it is evident from his letters that the year or so he spent in London was miserable and unproductive (*RWE* 6). By contrast, in America he was treated as a poet of some considerable standing, in constant demand as an entertaining dinner-guest at the homes of leading Bostonian writers and intellectuals. Indeed, the exhilaration he felt on being caught up in a whirl of social engagements is clear from the breathless tone of his very first letter home after landing in Boston, and this resulted in an outpouring of prose writings as well as new lyric poems (*Corr.* 329). Unsurprisingly, then, on his return to England Clough made efforts to maintain his ‘American’ correspondence as a way of keeping alive the image of himself as a successful writer and ‘man of letters’. In fact, so anxious does he seem to have been to preserve and perpetuate this more successful ‘American self’ that hardly had he set foot back on English soil before he was despatching a flurry of letters to his closest American friends, attempting to explain away his sudden departure, and reassure them of his preference for America and determination to return. He even wrote that he would gladly have taken American citizenship had he stayed (*CEN* 8). And he is frequently reproachful to the point of petulance if he fails to get a swift reply: in one letter he tells Norton that ‘if [Child] had written earlier, I should have answered without delay, and now he must wait as *I* did’ (*CEN* 17). Similarly, on receiving a slightly delayed letter from Norton, his relief is palpable: ‘your long silence had had such an effect upon me that positively the night before I dreamt of being back at Shady Hill and finding myself forgotten by [everyone]’ (*CEN* 15).

This is consistent with Esther Milne’s observation that a ‘fundamental feature’ of life-writing, of particular relevance to letters, is the construction of an ‘imaginary presence’, and a ‘distinctive world’, past and present, by means of which writers convey a sense of ‘immediacy and intimacy’.⁴⁹ The material factors referred to earlier, such as his friends’ handwriting conjuring up their image for Clough and his visualising their letters making their way across the ocean to his door underpin this process. He and his correspondents often evoke a shared sense of place and time in their letters; Clough, for instance, imagines Emerson ‘gathering columbines on the banks above Concord’ (*RWE* 19), and

⁴⁹ Esther Milne, *Letters, Postcards, Email: Technologies of Presence* (New York & London: Routledge, 2010), p. 9.

on the second anniversary of his meeting with Norton recalls the pair of them walking the streets of Boston together (*CEN* 25). It is as if he feels the need to reconstruct a kind of ‘virtual’ epistolary community with shared reference points and perspectives within which he could continue to enact the important role he played while he was physically in America. Clough’s friends also liked to call up memories of the past, such as when Norton writes of leafing through his copy of *The Bothie*, in order to bring to mind a vision of Clough sitting on the couch in his study, under the engraving of Washington.⁵⁰

The broad community of writers and intellectuals into which Clough had so rapidly been assimilated during his stay in New England has been described as the ‘rarefied world of Brahmin Boston’.⁵¹ Clough’s closest American friend, the writer, art historian and liberal reformer, Charles Norton, was, according to Leslie Butler, the ‘prototype of the Harvard aesthete’; he and his exclusive circle of ‘liberal men of letters’ were concerned not just with their journalistic and publishing activities, but with the ‘reformation of American democracy’ and a ‘broadening of its cultural life’.⁵² Emerson, too, ‘preached rebellion against society as a principle’.⁵³ His friends must have recognised a fellow-spirit in Clough because soon after his return from America, to his great delight, they awarded him the honour of admission to the Harvard College Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa (PBK), the oldest academic honour in the country (*CEN* 7). The ‘epistolary self’ that Clough appears to want to project in the correspondence which followed on from his American experience would therefore seem, from the wide-ranging nature of the topics covered in his letters, to be designed to suit the expectations of this audience of distinguished polymaths. Taking just one letter, *CEN* 15, as a typical example, we can see that it covers a whole host of subjects from the worsening political situation in the United States and the build up to war in the Crimea, to news of Arnold, Longfellow and Thackeray, and the progress of his *Plutarch*. He also feels it necessary to give his own slant on events, expressing his support for the North, his justification for

⁵⁰ Letter from C E Norton dated 20 December 1853, Bodleian Library.

⁵¹ Leslie Butler, *Critical Americans: Victorian Intellectuals and Transatlantic Liberal Reform* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), p.1.

⁵² Leslie Butler, *Critical Americans: Victorian Intellectuals and Transatlantic Liberal Reform* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), p. 3.

⁵³ Evelyn Barish Greenberger, *Arthur Hugh Clough: The Growth of a Poet’s Mind* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 107.

the Crimean campaign, and so on. In this respect, the letters provide support for Donna Loftus's thesis that Victorian middle-class men habitually used their correspondence to represent their participation in public debates, their professional activities and their association with other successful and notable men in 'narratives of self-making', which functioned as 'rituals of recognition', confirming that the author had 'made it' into his chosen milieu.⁵⁴ Clough also occasionally seems to be withholding an opinion, as if waiting for his correspondents to express their views first before committing himself, or else revising his stance as events unfold, as, for example, when he asks Norton if they were 'all of one mind again about Slavery in the North' (*CEN* 18), or tentatively elicits Norton's opinion of Arnold's *Merope* (*CEN* 47). This tendency would seem to lend support to the idea of a consciously constructed 'epistolary self'; Clough's tentativeness is a sign that he wants to ensure he is not out of step with the consensus of opinion of his American friends on major issues.

This impression of a letter-writer constructing an epistolary self tailored to the expectations of his correspondents (and his own preferred image of himself) is reinforced by the style and language of Clough's letters. In many of his poems Clough explores the ways in which social groups develop their own language and members of the group assume their individual identities through that language. In *The Bothie*, for example, what Isobel Armstrong describes as the 'private heroic' language of the Oxford reading party, derived from a 'coterie access' to the classics, is set against the Scottish dialect of the Highland peasants.⁵⁵ There is a similar contrast in *Amours de Voyage* between the language of the high-minded Claude and that of Georgina Trevellyn's chatty and rather superficial letters to her correspondent Louisa (*Poems*, 96, 113). Clough's letters are full of this kind of 'coterie' language, with quick, allusive turns of thought backed up by a shared register of classical allusion:

I am pretty busy & have time for little else – such is our fate after 40. My figure 40 stands nearly 3 months behind me on the roadway – unswept, unhonoured and unsung –

⁵⁴ Donna Loftus, 'The Self in Society: Middle-Class Men and Autobiography', in *Life Writing and Victorian Culture*, ed. by David Amigoni (Aldershot & Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 67–85 (p. 78).

⁵⁵ Isobel Armstrong, *Victorian Poetry: Poetry, Poetics and Politics* (London & New York: Routledge, 1993), p.183.

an octavum lustrum bound up & laid on the shelf – “So & so is dead”, said a friend to Lord Melbourne of some author – “Dear me, how glad I am. Now I can bind him up” (CEN 60).

Well – I go on in the office – operose nihil agendo – very operose — & very nihil, too. (CEN 7).

London is dead - empty or nearly so – the Lords are scampering through the last bills – heaven knows how many per night – The Commons are off grouse-wards - & scarcely any one remains to ask me to dine – or anything else – (CEN 7).

The perversion, as the Anglican people call it, seems to me a very sad thing – it is, according to all experience, so irrevocable a change– I have known one or two instances of a Return out of this Babylonish Captivity, but they seem rarely to happen (CEN 55).

The same ironic wit and candid observation that characterise the fictional Claude in *Amours de Voyage* are also an integral part of Clough’s letters to his American friends. Much of the dry humour is directed at the Establishment or the Church: referring to *Of the Plurality of Worlds*, by the academic and Anglican priest, William Whewell, for example, he writes that it ‘shows Jupiter, Venus, etc are all pretty certainly uninhabitable strange washy limbos of places where at the best only mollusks ... could exist – Hence we conclude we are the only rational creatures, which is highly satisfactory and what is more, quite Scriptural’ (CEN 16). Irony, of course, depends for its effect on a suitably informed audience, which underlines the importance of this shared sense of a common language in the construction of the kind of exclusive identity personified by Clough and his circle.

Another striking linguistic quality of Clough’s American letters is their allusiveness: not only are they shot through with direct classical and biblical quotations, but he also humorously adapts them to his own purpose: shortly after moving into his marital home, for example, he wrote: ‘*post* householder sedens atra cura’ [behind the householder sits

dark care (*CEN 22*)], and he had earlier referred to Thackeray at Rome as ‘cum filiabus’, ‘scribblementing’ (*CEN 15*). Such obscure literary references also play their part in the dynamics of elite identity formation, as does the way Clough uses little poetic flourishes in his writing: his first letter to Lowell, for example, is a light-hearted, but heavily allusive exercise in hexameters (*JRL 1*), while Thackeray is described in another as ‘flourishing like a green bay tree’ outside the Athenaeum (*CEN 45*).

A knowledge of epistolary conventions helped to establish a writer’s status. In Susan Whyman’s words ‘the ability to speak politely through letters’ was ‘critical proof’ of one’s social standing – effectively a ‘badge of membership in elite society’.⁵⁶ It was vital, therefore, that the formal structure of a letter followed an approved rhetorical format where enquiries after the correspondent’s health were followed by acknowledgement of their last letter, and so on. Clough’s letters generally conform to this pattern, as does his use of phatic language whose function is to cement personal bonds and signal membership of a specific community. For example, the closing salutations in most of his letters vary only in the degree of formality. The letters to all his correspondents usually end ‘With kindest remembrances’ to various family members or friends; this is most often followed by ‘Ever yours’ for Emerson; ‘Ever yours affectionately’ in the case of Norton; ‘Ever yours sincerely’ for Lowell and ‘Ever yours faithfully’ to Child. The same pattern of variation applies for other paratextual elements: there is more informality in the letters to Norton, when Clough often omits his rather prestigious work address, or abbreviates it to ‘C.O.’, whereas for the other correspondents he uses headed paper or writes ‘Council Office’ followed by either ‘Whitehall’ or ‘Downing Street’. With Norton he is also more prone to leave out the year. Clough’s keen awareness of the significance of these epistolary conventions is highlighted by his subtle use of them in his poetry. In *Amours de Voyage*, for instance, Claude rarely addresses his correspondent Eustace by name, nor does he sign off his letters (see p. 40 below); by contrast the other letters in the poem conform to accepted social convention and are more formalised. They frequently use standard forms of opening and closing salutations, and different registers – ‘Dearest Louisa’, ‘evermore,

⁵⁶ ‘Paper Visits’: the post-Restoration letter as seen through the Verney family archive’, in *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter-Writers, 1600–1945*, ed. by Rebecca Earle (Aldershot and Vermont: Ashgate, 1999), pp.15–36, (p. 19).

my dearest, your loving Georgina' between the two young friends, and the more formal 'Dear Miss Roper'... your ever affectionate Mary', when writing to an older relation (*Poems*, 102, 122, 125, 127).

Besides these features in common, there are also some subtle differences in the language and style of Clough's letters to each of his five correspondents which adds weight to the notion of a dynamic 'epistolary self' created with a particular correspondent in mind. Letters do not just reflect a relationship, but also construct one, and Clough's letters to Norton become noticeably more familiar the closer the relationship becomes, and cumulatively begin to include more of his intimate thoughts and personal information. In regard to this last point, Clough was clearly aware of his letters forming a sequence – what Janet Gurkin Altman describes as a 'segment within a chain of dialogue'.⁵⁷ Just as events in *Amours de Voyage* are linked together into a coherent narrative by means of letters and the poem was serialised in the *Atlantic Monthly*, so in his personal correspondence topics and concerns recur and follow on from each other, with events sometimes being shaped into little stories over the course of a series of letters. An example of this is the way he turns the events surrounding the return of his personal possessions from America into an amusing story. The first mention of his 'things' comes in letter *CEN* 4 and he follows their progress in successive letters from his grief at their leaving America to their slow progress through Customs at Liverpool, where they 'enjoyed' their Christmas (*CEN* 12), culminating in his delight at their safe arrival in letter *CEN* 13.

By far the largest number of letters are written to Norton, with whom, despite the age difference – Norton was nearly nine years his junior – Clough obviously feels most at ease. Norton is the only correspondent whom he addresses by his Christian name – 'Dear Charles' (although Norton's customary form of address is 'My dear Clough'), whereas with the older and more distinguished Emerson, it is 'Dear Emerson' or 'My dear Sir'. And because of the much shorter intervals in the Clough/Norton correspondence, their letters are more dialogic, with each, in turn, replying to points in

⁵⁷Janet Gurkin Altman, *Epistolarity: Approaches to a Form* (Columbus: Ohio State Univ. Press, 1982), p.187.

the other's letters, thus conveying the impression of an easy flow of conversation between close friends. There is also more of a 'public/private' balance in Clough's letters to Norton, where political and literary topics are frequently juxtaposed with more personal detail (just like Claude's in *Amours de Voyage*). In *CEN 45*, for instance, Clough switches abruptly from a discussion of the latest journal articles to asking Norton's advice about his investments, without even a paragraph break, which resembles the often disjointed nature of personal conversation. By contrast, Clough's letters to his four other correspondents are mainly concerned with matters in the public sphere.

Clough also often uses his younger friend as a sounding board, not presenting a considered and coherent argument for and against returning to America, as he does in the letters to Emerson, for example, but giving free rein to his feelings on the subject, with repetitions and qualifications that recall the indecisiveness of his fictional hero Claude in *Amours de Voyage*: 'The family here had moreover all written in favour of [staying in America] and as I had simply wished to do what they liked, I considered the thing settled. However now I am here I find that they are so unwilling to do anything to decide me one way or the other, that I am offered assistance *here also* in case I take the place in the Privy Council Office. So that you see the case is altered a good deal – Still I like America best - & but for the greater security which one has on a fixed salary wo^d give up all thought of staying here, at once' (*CEN 4*). Clough's letters to Norton are also less 'studied', and more unselfconscious in their composition than those to his other correspondents. The persona he assumes is a more intimate and gossipy one than the more erudite self-construction that typifies his letters to Emerson, for example. The Norton letters are dotted with colloquialisms, as in *CEN 5*, for example: 'Will it be possible for you & Child to help me out of the scrape? I will write it as distinctly as I can; and you must take your share of the "spoil"'. And in the Norton letters he uses functional as well as expressive language, as when he is instructing Norton about his financial investments: 'Will you invest the whole in Massachusetts Bonds or something equally iron-like as a security' (*CEN 67*), or revisions to the poems for the edition Norton was collating: 'I have selected those I should wish to reprint from the little volume & will give you a list herewith' (*CEN 57*). But there is little evidence of this

sort of vernacular, uncalculated language in his other letters. There are also more of his ‘journal-type’ letters in Clough’s correspondence with Norton where he jots down events and observations as they happen (see p. 39 below); indeed they are so ‘of the moment’ that he writes one of his daily ‘entries’, for example, just a few minutes before going in to see some newly-painted Pre-Raphaelite murals in the Reading Room at Oxford (*CEN* 51).

It is also clear from the crossings out, ink blots, omissions and sometimes, by his own admission, ‘scribble’, that Clough did not always read through his obviously hastily-penned letters to Norton (*CEN* 24 and 57), as seems to have been the case with the more thoughtfully composed letters to his two older correspondents, Longfellow and Emerson, where the handwriting tends to be neater and there are new paragraphs for each new topic. Clough also generally fits more words onto the page in the letters to Norton, which are also often cross-hatched, whereas in the letters to Lowell and Longfellow the words on the page are more spaced-out in a clear effort to fill the page (see Section [iii], p. 26 above). Interestingly, in *The Bothie*, Philip’s manner of letter-writing echoes Clough’s own practice here – his letters being ‘written in scraps with crossings and counter-crossings / Hard to connect with each other correctly, and hard to decipher,’ which the Tutor attributes to a shortage of paper (*Poems*, 69).

Perhaps surprisingly, given their fairly sporadic correspondence, it is with his exact contemporary, Lowell, that Clough is most frank in his opinions. He uses the word ‘nigger’ (*JRL* 6), denigrates his national literature – ‘a fungoid vegetation springing up on the rotting remains of the giants of the old literary forest whose honours are no more’ (*JRL* 8) – and makes irreverent comments about Queen Victoria (*JRL* 9). He is also more ready to give an opinion on new publications such as Arnold’s *Merope*, which he describes as ‘indiscreetly long and tedious’ in places (*JRL* 9), whereas with Norton he seeks to elicit his friend’s reaction first. Perhaps this was an attempt on Clough’s part to project an image of himself in a way that would find favour with the person who was arguably the most radical American, both in terms of his politics, and of his commitment to the idea of a native American literature and culture.

As Ken Plummer notes, ‘every letter speaks not just of the writer’s world, but also of the writer’s perceptions of the recipient’.⁵⁸ In the case of Emerson, whom Clough was clearly keen to impress, the creation of self through the eyes of the other resulted in Clough’s frequent name-dropping, particularly his references to Thackeray and Carlyle. The letters to Emerson also tend to address more ‘serious’ topics: an in-depth reprise of a lecture by Faraday on gravitation, for example, or religious questions, without the levity that characterises his letters to Lowell on that topic. And while they are by no means devoid of Clough’s signature humour and irony, these are much less in evidence than when he is writing to his other friends. The picture thus projected of Emerson in Clough’s letters is that of a profoundly intellectual and rather unworldly character. The Emerson letters, which span a longer time period than those to his other correspondents, also illustrate the way in which epistolary style and content change over time: the more familiar register of letter *RWE* 5, for instance, written after Clough and Emerson had been to Paris together, is in noticeable contrast to the strict formality of letter *RWE* 3, written a year earlier. The letters to Child, too, which deal largely with Chaucerian matters, and the two friends’ respective current literary projects, are marked by a certain gravitas that is mostly absent from those to Lowell and Norton, and suggest a high degree of seriousness and dedication to work on the part of Child that contrasts with the impression given of Lowell by the lively and playful content of Clough’s letters. In contrast to the rather ‘professorial’ attitude in his letters to Child, Clough adopts a more relaxed and informal style in his letters to Norton, and the frequent ‘commissions’ that Clough asks of his obliging young friend – proof-reading his Plutarch or purchasing Massachusetts bonds, for instance – are illustrative of a good-natured generosity on the part of the younger man, who clearly looked up to Clough.

Clough’s ‘journal letters’

Having analysed some of the rhetorical and stylistic elements that are involved in the creation of an epistolary self and highlighted Clough’s awareness of these, I move on to look at another aspect of Clough’s letter-writing practice that does not appear to have been addressed quite so clearly in theoretical accounts of the epistolary. He was in the

⁵⁸ Liz Stanley, ‘Epistolarium: On Theorizing Letters and Correspondences’, *Auto/Biography*, 12 (2004), 201–35 (p. 202).

habit of keeping half-finished letters in his office drawers, and adding to them on a daily, weekly or even half-yearly basis (for example, ‘fragments amounting to a whole letter are somewhere in my drawer written in the autumn and withheld because correspondence seemed chimerical’ [RWE 17]).

The open-ended and self-reflexive nature of these letters means that their form often resembles that of a diary. It is not known whether Clough kept a journal in his later years, but while at Oxford he assiduously recorded his most intimate thoughts and struggles with religious doubts and a sense of sin.⁵⁹ Some of his American ‘journal-style’ letters appear to have had a dual purpose in that they are a form of ‘autocommunication’ – a sort of ‘dialogue’ with himself – as well as a means of social intercourse. Again, this feature of Clough’s practice as a letter writer is mirrored in his epistolary poetry. In *Amours de Voyage*, for instance, Claude’s letters to Eustace become increasingly fragmentary and eventually remain unsent – ‘Yes, it relieves me to write, though I do not send’ (*Poems*, 128). Claude’s letter-writing thus becomes more of a private therapeutic activity than a genuine attempt at communication. Some of the most apposite examples of Clough’s use of letter-writing for cathartic purposes are the ‘journal-letters’ he wrote to his fiancée, Blanche, while in New England, in which he gives vent to his hurt and anger at the neglect of his friends, none of whom had answered his letters (*Corr.* 365). He exercised more restraint when writing to his American correspondents; indeed, the reticence that often characterised his letter-writing prompted Norton to appeal to him to give more of himself in his letters, ‘just as if he were on the couch’ in Norton’s study; they contained everything Norton wanted to know, except for how Clough was and what he was doing besides his office work.⁶⁰

Diaries are not just an outlet for the emotions and a vehicle for self-exploration; their function is also to keep a daily record of events that can be shaped retrospectively into a narrative. In this respect many of Clough’s letters to Charles Norton do indeed read like typical journal entries. In *CEN* 51, for example, he seems at times to be unaware of his intended audience and slips into a kind of ‘diary speak’, using short sentences and

⁵⁹ *The Oxford Diaries of Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by Anthony Kenny (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 149, 178, 192–5, 201, 215, 251–52.

⁶⁰ Letter from C E Norton dated 20 December 1853, Bodleian Library.

omitting the subject: ‘Friday 21st May’ ... heard a lecture from Max Mueller Thence to the New Museum ...’ This habit of writing long continuous commentaries on what is going on in the world around him and keeping a daily account of his personal life resembles that of contemporary online ‘bloggers’. The ‘hybrid’ nature of Clough’s ‘journal’ letters where he is not participating in what Janet Gurkin Altman calls the ‘epistolary pact’ – that is, not writing with a correspondent in mind, or calling for a response, – poses a challenge to the traditional generic boundary between a letter and a diary.⁶¹ This is another aspect of Clough’s letter-writing practice which is inadequately theorised in the dominant model of epistolary communication. As Claude acknowledges in *Amours de Voyage*, a letter of this kind can end up as a form of ‘autocommunication’ in which the ostensible addressee becomes a mere ‘*ens rationis*’ of friendship (*Poems*, 129).

Letters as Historical Testimony

Another way of understanding the autobiographical value of letters is to view them as historical ‘testimony’ of the kind that it is difficult to find elsewhere. The import of Clough’s letters lies not just in what they reveal about the poet himself and his life and work, but also in what Andy Mousley describes as the ‘human testimony’ they provide – a first-hand account of what it actually felt like to live through a time of almost unparalleled social and political upheaval, and the reaction of individuals caught up in the sweep of otherwise impersonal historical forces.⁶² Drawing on the influential work of Louis Althusser, Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson propose that an autobiographical narrator is ‘historically and culturally situated’ so each is a ‘product of his/her particular time and place’, and a ‘subject of ideology’, in the broader sense of being shaped by the ‘pervasive cultural formations of the dominant class’.⁶³ While Clough is without doubt a ‘subject of ideology’ (as we all are according to this view), his letters reveal the personal effects of the ideologies by which he was constrained, as well as moments

⁶¹ Janet Gurkin Altman, *Epistolarity: Approaches to a Form* (Columbus: Ohio State Univ. Press, 1982), p. 89.

⁶² Andy Mousley, ‘Early modern autobiography, history and human testimony: *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne*’, *Textual Practice*, 23 (2009), 267–87 (276).

⁶³ Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives*, 2nd edn (Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), pp. 55, 77.

when they fail or partly fail to determine his ‘all too human’ reactions to such events as the outbreaks of cholera which occurred mid-century.

Donna Loftus emphasises the fact that, for the Victorian male, it was their public lives that were the primary focus of their autobiographical writings; their domestic surroundings could be recounted as a way of describing ‘domestic satisfaction’ without describing ‘private relations’, while the ‘carefully prescribed public nature’ of the life story is the reason why women are rarely mentioned in life-writing narratives.⁶⁴ This would account for the fact that, while Clough clearly feels comfortable when describing his move to a more prestigious address, for example, he rarely mentions his wife in his letters, and never by name, referring in one place to his marriage as ‘my event’, which he ‘believes’ will take place in three weeks time (*CEN* 18). But it is also the case that Clough’s correspondents were probably not so interested in his private life – their primary interest lay with matters in the public sphere. Donna Loftus argues, however, that despite efforts to maintain this public/private separation there are moments when the story ‘slips’, and the writer displays ‘awkwardness’ and anxiety’.⁶⁵ This might explain Clough’s brief, and rather matter-of-fact reference to the death of his mother (*CEN* 75), or his new-born child, after which he abruptly changes tack by asking Norton a series of questions about his financial affairs (*CEN* 28).

What comes across most clearly from this focus on the public sphere in Clough’s correspondence is the rigid nature of the social hierarchy that existed in Victorian Britain – or what he described as ‘our inveterate feudalism’ (*CEN* 13). There are references to the repeated attempts by various parliamentarians to introduce reform of the franchise or the educational system, which were usually frustrated by the combined efforts of landowners, ‘establishmentarians’ and a combination of ‘the aristocratic parties’ (*CEN* 18, 76). There is, however, little mention of the condition of the working-classes, apart from their declining church attendance, strikes in the coal fields or people’s worries about being ‘garrotted’ (*CEN* 42). By contrast, many of Clough’s

⁶⁴ Donna Loftus, ‘The Self in Society: Middle-Class Men and Autobiography’, in *Life Writing and Victorian Culture*, ed. by David Amigoni (Aldershot & Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 67–85 (pp. 72–73).

⁶⁵ Donna Loftus, ‘The Self in Society: Middle-Class Men and Autobiography’, in *Life Writing and Victorian Culture*, ed. by David Amigoni (Aldershot & Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 67–85 (p. 82).

descriptions provide a colourful snapshot of upper-middle-class life in Victorian Britain; in one he describes a gathering of the great and good at the Ashburtons' rather grand country house, 'The Grange', where the guests were treated to readings of Shakespeare (*CEN* 12). In another he gives an account of a typical Sunday morning in which he does the round of social calls: starting at Francis Newman's house, and finishing up at the Carlyles, he recounts the discussions they had on everything from Humanism to liberalism (*RWE* 16).

The letters also convey a vivid sense of the often precarious nature of mid-Victorian life. For example, London, in 1854, was repeatedly ravaged by cholera, which was no respecter of social class, but killed off lords as well as paupers (*CEN* 22). While the annotation gives official statistics of the death toll, it is the actual eye-witness accounts in Clough's letters – of the 'terror' that led to people fleeing the capital amid scenes of devastation reminiscent of the Great Plague of 1665 – which bring home the full horror of the outbreak (*CEN* 23). History is often written, in Lloyd Husvedt's words, 'with an emotional remoteness' that 'fails to capture the deeply human aspects of ... the sources cited in the footnotes'. Diaries and letters, though, are the 'human fires that smoulder underneath the footnotes'.⁶⁶

The mobility of perspective in Clough's letters also serves to unsettle some long-established views of the Victorian period, such as the belief that people were deferential towards their sovereign; some of Clough's dry comments – for instance, that the Queen on her way to open Parliament, was apparently 'afraid her loyal subjects might pelt her husband' (*CEN* 14), or that the Princess-Royal was 'much the cleverest of the familyMother included' (*FJC* 9) question that assumption. Many of Clough's letters underline the major role that religion, in particular the established Church, continued to play in the lives of his contemporaries, and the challenge to its authority posed by dissenting voices, such as F. D. Maurice, who was deprived of his living after the publication of his views on the 'future punishment of the wicked and the final issues of the Day of Judgement' (*CEN* 10). Sections of the press even campaigned against the

⁶⁶ Quoted in *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter-Writers, 1600–1945*, ed. by Rebecca Earle (Aldershot and Vermont: Ashgate, 1999), p. 46.

appointment of Florence Nightingale to go to Scutari, accusing her of being a ‘Puseyite’. But Clough’s letters are also evidence of a surprisingly widespread agnosticism, especially among the more sceptical intellectuals of Clough’s circle, and a growing interest in more pantheistic forms of worship, such as Emerson’s ‘brand’ of Transcendentalism, as well as a fascination with the more dubious popular pastimes of table-turning and mesmerism (*CEN* 10).

The decade during which Clough was writing was not only witness to major economic, social and political change at home, but on the macro-historical level it encompassed a number of cataclysmic events, including the build-up to the outbreak of civil war in America in 1861 and, closer to home, the Crimean War in Europe. Being close to the seat of government as well as to Florence Nightingale and her influential circle meant that Clough had ‘insider-knowledge’ of that ill-fated conflict. He does not pull his punches – describing the commander of the Baltic fleet, Sir Charles Napier as a ‘drunken old blackguard’, and the political machinations that went on behind the scenes as ‘deplorable’ (*CEN* 16; *RWE* 19). His letters reveal, too, how close the country came to a complete breakdown in the established social order in the wake of the recriminations that followed the exposure of the mismanagement of the war and the intolerable conditions in the hospital at Scutari (*RWE* 20). And again, whereas historical accounts can supply factual details of battles and casualties, Clough’s little anecdotes speak more tellingly of the human cost; he speaks, for example, of the ‘apprehension’ and ‘anxiety’ people felt about ‘our little army in the Crimea’; passing some recruits the other day, he overheard a man say: ‘They’ll all be killed, every man Jack of them. I’m sorry for it’ (*CEN* 25).

Clough’s correspondents, particularly Emerson and Longfellow were, as Leslie Eckel demonstrates, more than simply ‘American authors’; by virtue of their travels abroad and interaction with European intellectuals they were ‘influential transatlantic citizens’ whose non-literary pursuits, particularly their political activism, have been underestimated.⁶⁷ During the ‘ante-bellum’ period these Americans looked to Europe for moral leadership and were often ‘stridently anti-American’ in their condemnation of

⁶⁷ Leslie Elizabeth Eckel, *Atlantic Citizens: Nineteenth-Century American Writers at Work in the World* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), pp. 4, 6.

slavery, and what they regarded as other moral outrages.⁶⁸ What comes over most strongly from Clough's correspondence is the growing sense of dismay and incredulity at the escalation of hostilities between North and South, especially at the passing of the Kansas–Nebraska Bill which marked, in Emerson's words, 'the darkest passage' in American history' (*RWE* 17). In his last letter to Emerson in 1861 Clough, in prophetic vein, expresses his sorrow that 'this cruel war' had made itself felt even in peace-loving Concord, which, in response to Lincoln's call to arms, had sent her young men out to the fields and 'possible pestilence'; in England, meanwhile, people were apparently 'brutally ignorant and unfeeling' about the matter (*RWE* 23).

Clough's letters, then, particularly when they appear to be an unselfconscious and spontaneous reaction to the catastrophic events described above, are a form of history writing which gives us more than 'dry facts' or a 'description of faceless social forces'. In Andy Mousley's words, they put 'human flesh on the bones of historical narrative'.⁶⁹ At the same time, however, Clough was aware of the ways in which the same human event could be mediated through very different consciences and experienced in different ways by observers of differing temperaments. Even in the 'rarest' case of an honest, 'unbiased' reporter, there will always be, to quote Carlyle, a 'fatal discrepancy' between an event and the subsequent reporting of it; he points to the fact that things often happen simultaneously, whereas even the 'most gifted' writer can only ever record a 'series of his own impressions'; action is three dimensional and 'solid', he goes on to say, while narrative is 'linear' and two-dimensional.⁷⁰ Clough's awareness of this predicament is clearly indicated in the letters of 'reportage' in *Amours de Voyage*, in which Claude attempts to make sense of the chaotic series of events leading up to the alleged murder of a priest. Even though he uses the historic present to try and capture the immediacy of the experience on paper, the account is inevitably fragmented and disjointed: 'In the middle they drag at something. What is it?'; ... 'the swords aresmiting, / Hewing, chopping – At what?' ... 'Is it blood that's on them?' ... 'Of whom, then?' ... All around,

⁶⁸ Leslie Elizabeth Eckel, *Atlantic Citizens: Nineteenth-Century American Writers at Work in the World* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), p. 9.

⁶⁹ Andy Mousley, 'Early modern autobiography, history and human testimony: *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne*', *Textual Practice*, 23 (2009), 267–87 (268).

⁷⁰ Thomas Carlyle, *On History; A Carlyle Reader: Selections from the Writings of Thomas Carlyle*, ed. by G. B. Tennyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 59–60.

meanwhile, the crowds are ‘skipping and screaming, and dancing’. Despite being an eye-witness, Claude is unable to sum up his experience with anything more definite than ‘A man was killed, I am told; and I saw something.’ (*Poems*, 108).

The account of events given in the letters is also sometimes tailored to the interests and beliefs of the recipient, and is, in this respect, another example of the way in which the letters serve to construct a series of epistolary selves. Clough writes to two different American friends on the same day, informing them of the ending of the siege of Sebastopol; in the letter to Emerson, with whom he witnessed the 1848 revolution in Paris and who was highly critical of the ‘inequality of power and property’ in England that ‘shock[ed] republican nerves’,⁷¹ he focuses on the survival of the aristocracy and the ‘feudal’ system of officer recruitment (*RWE* 20). With Norton, however, who seems to have been more interested in world affairs, the emphasis is on the geopolitical consequences of Russia’s defeat (*CEN* 30).

Finally, Clough’s letters are also interesting for what Arthur Marwick describes as the ‘unwitting’ testimony they contain – their unspoken assumptions about race, gender and Britain’s place in the world.⁷² Victorian identity is, in David Amigoni’s words, ‘a complex compound derived from multiple sources’, ‘colonial and ethnic’, as well as gender, class and status.⁷³ As I have pointed out in the footnotes, many of Clough’s letters reveal widely-held unconscious preconceptions about Anglo-Saxon superiority (*CEN* 8 & *CEN* 45) and contain statements that would now be considered as quite blatant racism, or the product of unthinking prejudice. Clough and his correspondents might have been, to varying degrees, abolitionist in their convictions, but this did not preclude them from expressing opinions, such as Clough’s remark about Islam being a ‘crystallised theism’ which he doubted would be ‘good even for the Central Negro’ (*CEN* 45), that expose a deeply ingrained contempt for other races and religions. These views would not, however, have been shocking by the standards of the day and a reference in one of Clough’s letters to Carlyle’s polemic, “An Occasional Discourse on

⁷¹ Ralph Waldo Emerson, *English Traits* (London: Routledge, 1856), p. 97.

⁷² Arthur Marwick, *The Nature of History*, 3rd edn (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989), pp. 216 & 218.

⁷³ *Life Writing and Victorian Culture*, ed. by David Amigoni (Aldershot & Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), p.2.

the Nigger Question”, published out of contempt for Harriet Beecher-Stowe and her *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, only serves to highlight how polarised the slavery issue had become on both sides of the Atlantic (*CEN* 4). It must be said, though, that Clough’s earlier letters and diaries portray a more enlightened view of other religions, and even an interest in non-segregated schools for black children (*CEN* 12), but his position seems to have hardened in his later years, perhaps due in part to the Indian ‘mutinies’ (*CEN* 45), which produced such a profound change in Britain’s perception of its relationship with India and its other non-white colonies.

(v) **Clough’s Epistolary Art**

The similarities between ‘real’ and fictional letters have often been commented on and reading Clough’s private letters helps to further our understanding of one important dimension of his poetry. Letters play an important role as a plot device in many of Clough’s poems. In *The Bothie* they are used to fill gaps in the narrative; Philip’s absence is partly accounted for by letters from other members of the reading party, but speculation builds, the Tutor becomes ‘uneasy’, and resolution of the mystery does not come until the arrival of a letter from Philip himself (*Poems*, 57, 64). The impression of an authentic letter is achieved by the abrupt change of register from the classical metre and elevated language of the narrator to the informal staccato rhythm of Philip’s own first-person account: ‘I was walking along .../a girl went by.../ She had a cloak on, / ... I saw her eyes look at me’. But like Clough’s own ‘journal-style’ letters, Philip’s letters often appear to be more a dialogue with himself than with his Tutor: ‘I had seen her / Somewhere before I am sure, but that wasn’t it; not its import;/...Was it this? Was it perhaps?..../ (*Poems*, 68). The fragmentary nature of Philip’s letters adds to the impression given of a confessional diary: ‘There was another scrap, without or date or comment, / Dotted over with various observations ... Only think, I had danced with her twice, and did not remember’ (*Poems*, 76).

Letters in *The Bothie* also work to drive the narrative forward toward its conclusion; a letter from Philip brings the Tutor to Tober-na-vuolich (*Poems*, 76); and Hobbes’s final letter draws all the threads together by announcing Philip’s decision to emigrate, and resolving the earlier Rachel/Leah dilemma: ‘Go, be the wife in thy house both Rachel

and Leah unto thee!’ (*Poems*, 92). The ability of a letter to conjure up a vision of the writer and even to embody presence is also exemplified in *The Bothie*. The ‘grave’ Tutor is personified by his measured language and the sage advice he gives Philip in a letter: ‘Grace is given of God, but knowledge is bought in the market;’..... ‘You will henceforth seek only the good: and seek it, Philip, / Where it is’ (*Poems*, 69, 70). Clough also understood the important role of language in the construction of an epistolary self, another theme explored in Section (iv) above. ‘The Piper’, we are told, creates ‘a dialect new for the party’, and Hobbes’s letters illustrate the role this upper-class ‘coterie’ language plays in the construction of an exclusive group identity (*Poems*, 45). Just as the meaning of Clough’s heavily allusive letters would only have been fully grasped by his classically-educated clique, so Hobbes’s allusions, to Pugin and ‘Amaryllis’, for example, and the undergraduate humour: ‘She that is handy is handsome, good dairy-maids must be good-looking,’ would be lost on anyone outside the elite reading party (*Poems*, 73-74).

Clough makes specific reference in *The Bothie* to many of the material aspects of letter-writing explored in Section (iii); the physical actuality of letters is reinforced throughout the poem by the narrator’s repeated interventions: ‘What is it Adam is reading? What was it Philip had written?’; ‘This was the letter of Philip, and this had brought the Tutor’ (*Poems* 67, 76). The Tutor comments on the difficulty in deciphering Philip’s letter – ‘written in scraps with crossings and counter-crossings / Hard to connect with each other correctly’ – which recalls Clough’s own self-confessed tendency to ‘scribble’, and his habit of adding to letters on a daily basis (*Poems*, 69). The Tutor attributes the sad state of the letter to the fact that ‘Paper was scarce’, which emphasises the physical dimension of a letter, as does the reference to the ‘lasses’ peeping inside the envelope to see ‘a paper with E.’ inside (*Poems*, 69, 88). The mechanics of letter-delivery are also made explicit – ‘Letters addressed to David Mackaye’ arrived at Tober-na-vuolich ‘at least once a week’, while the family were awe-struck by the efficiency of the ‘Highland post’ (*Poems*, 88). The content of a letter – ‘mere post-office second-hand knowledge’ is compared to the recently introduced telegraph – ‘O Muse, that encompasseth Earth like the ambient ether, / Swifter than steamer or railway or magical missive electric’.

Clough's 'epistolary verse-novel', *Amours de Voyage*, consists almost entirely of a series of letters from the fictional hero Claude to his insubstantial correspondent Eustace, interspersed with those from the daughters of an English family staying in Rome during the French invasion. In *Amours de Voyage*, even more than in *The Bothie*, the plot hinges on the revelations contained in the letters and events are linked together into a coherent narrative by the use of letters. There is no omniscient narrator and it is only by piecing together nuggets of information contained in letters from the various correspondents – Georgina, Claude and Mary – that it is possible to make sense of Claude's fateful decision not to go to Florence with the Trevellyns. Lost and delayed letters lead to a series of misunderstandings which adds momentum to the narrative: Mary's letter to Claude telling of their departure for Como is lost; Mary's hopes are then raised by a letter from Miss Roper informing her that Claude was 'hoping to find [them] soon', only to be dashed when Claude writes that he 'cannot stay at Florence, not even to wait for a letter' (*Poems*, 124, 126, 131). The epistolary form of the poem allows for the subtle delineation of character – it is through Mary's letters, as much as through his own words, that the character of Claude is developed. Her initial impression of him as being 'superior' and 'frightfully selfish' is later qualified when she later describes him as being 'quite unaffected', 'expansive' and 'easy' when he 'talks of ideas' (*Poems*, 102, 114). The materiality of letters is also emphasised in *Amours de Voyage*. There are several explicit references to the act of writing: Georgina starts her letter with 'I take up my pen to address you' (*Poems* 96), 'Pen' is capitalised at the beginning of a line when Mary complains that it 'will not write any more' (*Poems*, 114), and Claude muses over whether he should 'incarnadine ever this inky pacifical finger' (*Poems*, 105). The transit of letters from Rome to Florence is also highlighted (*Poems*, 117).

Clough's epistolary poems suggest that he had an intuitive understanding of the complex factors involved in the construction of an 'epistolary self' which have only recently been theorised. He understood, for example, how letter-writers often, in a sense, reinvent themselves according to the situation, as I have suggested Clough himself did in his letters to his American friends (see Section [iv] above). Claude describes his

sense of relief at being away from his home country and thus rid of ‘All one’s friends and relations’ and the constraints ‘of having been what one has been, / What one thinks one is, or thinks that others suppose one’ (*Poems*, 95). Claude’s situation in Rome is in some respects the inverse of Clough’s in London; where Clough used his correspondence to keep his urbane and literary ‘American’ persona alive, Claude uses Eustace as a way of reflecting on and criticising the Oxford self he is trying to leave behind.

Claude’s fictional letters are similar to Clough’s in other respects. They show, for example, the extent to which a writer is influenced by the imagined response of his correspondent, and often by a desire for approval. Claude’s ultra-self-consciousness means that he is constantly aware of how his words might come across; in one letter, for instance, he admits to enjoying the company of the Trevellyn girls, but in the next breath he questions whether his friend will approve: ‘Pleasant, but wrong, will you say?’ (*Poems*, 99). Claude’s letters also resemble Clough’s ‘journal’ letters in that they are full of self-questionings, doubts and qualifications: ‘I am in love, you declare. I think not so; yet I grant you / It is a pleasure, indeed, to converse with this girl ... I am in love, you say; I do not think so exactly’ (*Poems*, 110-111). This indicates an understanding, on Clough’s part, of precisely those rhetorical and textual elements of letter-writing that have attracted the attention of recent theorists.

Letters also feature prominently in Clough’s last major poem, *Mari Magno, or Tales on Board*, which was influenced by his voyage to America. ‘The Lawyer’s First Tale’ opens with a letter from Emily to her cousin in the unaffected voice and syntax of a young girl: ‘Dearest of boys, please come to-day, / Papa and mama have bid me say,’ (*Poems*, 377). The mode of address and closing salutation – ‘Ever your dearest Emily’ – demonstrate Clough’s appreciation of the importance of these paratextual elements in the construction of an authentic ‘epistolary self’; in fact they echo the salutations in his more familiar letters to Norton, which I highlighted in Section (iv). At each stage in the narrative important news is conveyed by a letter from Emily to her cousin: her departure for boarding school (*Poems* 381); her invitation to him five years later (*Poems* 382), and finally the letter that breaks the news of her marriage (*Poems*, 393). References to the

materiality of letter-writing also recur in this ‘Tale’ - Emily’s recognition of her cousin’s handwriting, the physical act of writing and posting a valentine, and the significance of a postmark (*Poems*, 381 and 382).

‘The Clergyman’s Second Tale’ tells the story of happily-married Edward who goes abroad for his health and succumbs to temptation in the form of a dark-haired seductress. Shortly afterwards a ‘long delayed’ letter arrives from his wife, in which his little daughter in ‘a large hand’ sends ‘love and kisses’ to ‘her papa’ (*Poems*, 420). Wracked with guilt, Edward confesses all in a contrite letter to his wife and tells her he can never return. The letter device lends authenticity to his confession as he explains in his own words the reason for his self-imposed exile (*Poems*, 421). A later telegraph informing Edward of the dangerous illness of his daughter is the occasion for his hasty return home and the saving of the marriage. ‘The Lawyer’s Second Tale’ is similarly melodramatic, and letters again function as a narrative device: a girl is seduced and a ‘letter in an unknown hand’ brings news to Philip that she was being taken to Australia (*Poems*, 431). He sends a letter via the ‘swift’ ‘night mail’ telling her he would come and marry her, but, as in *Amours de Voyage*, through a series of mishaps and misunderstandings – including the fact that she was illiterate and unable to read his letter – she leaves for Australia without him (*Poems*, 432, 437). Several years later the woman, now married, writes Philip a long letter explaining the events that had led to their permanent separation. Writing the letter is therapeutic, she says, because in the way of a ‘journal’ letter, it serves to ‘take a load of grief’ from her (*Poems* 435).

Clough’s self-consciousness, both as a letter-writer and user of letters as literary devices in his creative work, raises another question which has not, perhaps, been adequately dealt with in theoretical accounts of life-writing – namely, the extent to which epistolary self-making, especially in the case of a literary letter-writer, should be regarded as an unselfconscious process. Most accounts of the construction of the epistolary self are based on the assumption that nineteenth-century letter-writers were writing ‘naively’, with no thought of ‘public consumption’, when letter-writing was, in fact, very often a

communal practice, with letters passed round to family members to add postscripts.⁷⁴ Indeed, Clough's wife sometimes added a few lines for Norton's sister at the end of his letters to Norton (*CEN* 51), a practice that he fictionalised in *Amours de Voyage*, where Mary Trevellyn adds no fewer than three PSs to one of her letters (*Poems*, 121-2), and also in *The Bothie*, where postscripts are inserted to add information vital to the plot, or to heighten dramatic tension (*Poems*, 70, 92). Clough no doubt knew that his letters would often be read aloud amongst his tight-knit circle of American correspondents; Child, for example, speaks of his pleasure in listening to Norton reading Clough's letters to him (*Corr.* 474) and Clough also frequently passed messages on to one of them via the other (*CEN* 11).

Another way in which letters at the time habitually exceeded the boundaries of merely private communication was through the knowledge that private letters were often published posthumously, even in cases where the person was not particularly well known. Clough himself was familiar with a number of examples of such 'Lives and Letters', most famously the 'Remains' of the proto-Tractarian Richard Hurrell Froude which caused such a sensation during his undergraduate years. Clough might well, then, have been aware, at least for some of the time, that his letters would have a public audience after his death, although he would have relied on the discretion of any future editor not to publish anything that would show him in a bad light. Clough's letters did in fact suffer this fate, forming part of the privately-printed *Prose Remains* edited by his wife.

That Clough was a strongly self-conscious letter-writer is apparent from his epistolary poetry; he instinctively recognised the fact that, at the same time as a letter-writer is, to an extent, unconsciously constructing a self for his recipient, he may also be watching himself in the process of doing just that. This clearly has implications for the dominant theoretical paradigm of an epistolary self as it not only posits the model of a constructed epistolary self, but also raises the possibility that it is often a 'divided', or 'fractured' self. The hyper-vigilance of a 'watching self' that is constantly monitoring or censoring

⁷⁴ Catherine J. Golden, *Posting It: The Victorian Revolution in Letter Writing* (Gainesville FL: University Press of Florida, 2009), p.15.

what is written would undoubtedly have an inhibiting effect on the spontaneity of a letter-writer. This is another area that Clough explores in much of his major poetry, most notably in *Dipsychus*. What we need to be aware of when reading Clough's letters is that far from being a spontaneous outpouring of feelings and opinions, they might often be carefully considered, and designed to produce a certain effect in their auditor – empathy, approval or even admiration. Moreover, what we read in the letters might be the result of the conflict between two competing and incompatible selves – one that wants to engage and one that draws back from such engagement.

(vi) **Conclusion**

Going to America and the friendships he made there clearly marked a turning-point in Clough's life. His American letters, many of them previously unpublished, together with the comprehensive annotations, will develop existing scholarly understanding of a neglected aspect of Clough's life and work. Clough's letters also increase our knowledge of the eventful historical period in which they were written, which encompassed the Crimean War and the build-up to the American Civil War, as well as the intellectual and scientific debates that characterised the period.

In this Introduction I have demonstrated how the 'American connection' led to the revitalisation of Clough's creative powers and the publication of his best poetry. Clough's letters are also clear evidence of the considerable literary and cultural interaction between writers on both sides of the Atlantic during the mid-nineteenth century that has not been fully appreciated until relatively recently.

My exploration of the material dimension of letter-writing found a good deal of support in Clough's letters for the theses of David Barton, Nigel Hall and others on the central, and often overlooked role that material considerations play in a correspondence, particularly a transatlantic one during the Victorian period. I pointed out the extent to which material circumstances – from mail-boat schedules to lost letters and his own ill-health – impacted on the regularity of Clough's letter-writing, and probably even resulted in the postponement of a projected edition of his poems. I also examined the

role that material artefacts – writing-paper, seals and so on – played in the image of himself that Clough projected in his letters.

This linked into my discussion of the letter as a form of life-writing and Clough's construction of an 'epistolary self' (or 'selves'), which owed much to the theoretical insights of commentators such as Liz Stanley and Janet Gurkin Altman. Guided by their analyses, I suggested that Clough created an 'American self' in his letters, which he also subtly adapted for each of the five correspondents. But I highlighted the fact that Clough demonstrates an awareness of this process in his epistolary poetry, which suggests that it needs to be more fully addressed in the theoretical paradigm of life-writing. Clough's habit of writing 'journal' letters – a hybrid form that is neither letter nor diary, and often appears to be more 'autocommunication' than dialogue – is another area which I feel has been inadequately theorised.

Andy Mousley's accounts of life-writing provided the focus for my discussion of Clough's letters from another perspective; that of regarding them as 'human testimony' – a personal account of someone who lived through the Crimean War, devastating cholera outbreaks and challenges to the existing social order. I agreed with Andy Mousley's analysis, but I raised questions about the reliability of eye-witness accounts, especially as they are often slanted towards the reporter's own biases and his conception of his audience. Indeed, the multi-faceted nature of 'truth' is a major theme of Clough's best poetry, notably *Amours de Voyage*. (*Poems*, 129).

My exploration of Clough's use of the epistolary form in his poetry highlighted examples of the various aspects of letter-writing – material factors, the epistolary self, 'journal letters' etc – which formed the basis of my discussions in relation to his private letters. It is indeed rare to find a poet in English who makes such a sustained use of letters as a plot device and for the depiction of character, in his work. What makes Clough's poetry truly unique, however, is that his use of letters demonstrates his understanding of the complex process of epistolary self-creation that we can see at work in his private letters.

2. PRINCIPLES OF ANNOTATION AND TEXTUAL POLICY

(i) Principles of Annotation

Annotation is an important aspect of scholarly editing that has been rather taken for granted; there is no systematic body of theory and the scant amount of material that has been written on the subject is more applicable to the annotation of literary texts than to editions of letters. In this section I review the existing literature and look at some examples of annotated editions of nineteenth-century letters to see how far theory and practice fit together. I also identify the main differences between the annotation of letters and the annotation of poems or novels, and conclude with an overview, informed by my personal experience, of the process of annotating an edition of letters – from considerations of authorship and audience to editorial practice.

Very little has been published on the subject of annotation – virtually nothing in the last two decades – and much of what was once available is now out of print. Arthur Friedman's 'Principles of Historical Annotation in Critical Editions of Modern Texts' (1941) was, in John H. Middendorf's words 'one of the few attempts to formulate guidelines' for the kind of annotation that aims 'to set a work in its historical context', and is therefore 'neither critical nor interpretive'. Friedman identified two classes of annotation – notes of 'recovery', which provide information that would have been familiar to a contemporary readership, and 'explanatory' notes, whose aim is to make the text 'more intelligible by showing its relationship to earlier works'.¹ Ian Small raises doubts over whether there can ever be a 'single adequate theory of the practice of annotation' because of the differing demands made on editors by disparate texts as to the scope and nature of the annotation that is required. Even texts within the same generic category vary considerably in regard to the number of references that need glossing in order to make them more comprehensible to a contemporary reader.

Clough's letters, for example, being mostly concerned with matters in the public sphere, require considerably more political and historical annotation than do many of Elizabeth

¹ John H. Middendorf, 'Eighteenth-Century English Literature' in *Scholarly Editing: A Guide to Research*, ed. by D. C. Greetham, (New York, The Modern Language Association of America, 1995), pp. 298, 299.

Barrett Browning's, which are often more concerned with familial and domestic affairs. On the other hand, Clough's letters are for the most part legible and complete, which therefore reduces the amount of annotation needed to highlight textual irregularities.

Ian Small concurs with what he sees as the generally accepted (but rarely stated) 'raison d'être' of annotation - that is to 'make explicit the cultural knowledge' which a writer assumed was 'implicit in the cultural assumptions' of his or her contemporary readers ('notes of recovery' in Friedman's classification). However, he points out the difficulties faced by editors in determining exactly how much information – or, in M. J. Abrams' definition, 'linguistic and literary expertise'² – is required for a modern reader to become 'competent' enough to understand a text in its original context, especially given the fact that historical context is 'constantly receding' as it is presented with 'a new audience with its new ignorance'. Small goes on to argue that any assessment of what constitutes a 'common cultural knowledge' will inevitably involve consideration of the controversial concept of 'authorial intention'. Although the focus of his discussion is on literary texts, it underscores the importance for an 'annotator' of having a clear idea of their ideal or 'implied reader' – in other words of being able to make an accurate assumption regarding the level of background knowledge of one's target audience.³ D. C. Greetham also confronts the vexed question of 'audience' and acknowledges the fine balance that needs to be struck in order to avoid either 'confusing' the reader by supplying too little information or 'patronizing' him/her by providing too much. He makes a similar point to Ian Small about the fluid relationship between text and audience – the former is often regarded as 'definitive' and unchanging (especially in the case of an edition of letters), while annotation is always 'contingent' and 'local', but he does not offer any solutions to the problem.⁴

For Donald H. Reiman, the notes in a scholarly edition, besides being 'absolutely precise and accurate', need to be either 'sparse enough' to keep the price of the edition down, or 'so extensive and thorough' that they remain useful to future generations of

² Richard Rorty, 'Idealism and Textualism' in *Consequences of Pragmatism: Essays 1972–1980* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1982, repr. 2003), p. 151.

³ 'The editor as annotator as ideal reader', *The Theory and Practice of Text-Editing*, ed. by Ian Small and Marcus Walsh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 8, 9, 187, 197, 200, 202, 206).

⁴ D.C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (New York and London: Garland, 1994), p. 369.

critics.⁵ According to John H. Middendorf, meanwhile, the amount of textual annotation should ideally be determined ‘solely by the work being edited’, but he accepts that, in practice, factors such as ‘the editor’s understanding of the work’, his or her ‘sense of the audience’, as well as important financial and publishing considerations are usually the final determinants when it comes to the scope and detail of the annotation of a literary work. He goes on to say that any annotated work will often be criticized for either being too ‘lean’, or for not being full enough, which I think supports the argument for a more systematic approach to the subject, especially for the benefit of less-experienced editors. Virtually all I have been able to find with regard to what Friedman describes as ‘explanatory’ annotation is Middendorf’s wry observation that almost the ‘only limit on which modern editors can agree’, is the avoidance of too much discursiveness.⁶

Turning now to the differences between the annotation of an edition of letters and the annotation of a literary text: what they have in common is that both require contextual or ‘recovery’ annotation to make them more accessible to a modern audience. In addition, the notes to a poem or novel will often be ‘explanatory’ in that they point out the relationship of ideas in the work to earlier or contemporaneous works. Another difference between the two types of text is that the content of a letter is not normally open to subjective or conflicting interpretations; its ‘meaning’ is embedded in various ‘real-life’ contexts, and there are usually explicit or implied time referents. This means that the kind of interpretive or critical footnotes and headnotes that often accompany a volume of poetry or a nineteenth-century novel, for example, are not normally appropriate for an edition of letters. The notes to Joseph Phelan’s edition of Clough’s poems, for example, are for the most part contextual or ‘explanatory’, but they also refer back to the critical discussions in the Introduction.⁷ Finally, whereas in the case of a personal letter there is usually only one extant manuscript, there are often several drafts or ‘fair’ copies of a novel or poem - eight in the case of *Amours de Voyage*. Regardless

⁵ Donald H. Reiman ‘Nineteenth-Century British Poetry and Prose’, in *Scholarly Editing: A Guide to Research*, ed. by D. C. Greetham (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1995), 308–30 (pp. 322–23).

⁶ John H. Middendorf, ‘Eighteenth-Century English Literature’, in *Scholarly Editing: A Guide to Research*, ed. by D.C. Greetham (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1995) 283–307 (p.299).

⁷ Phelan, pp. 92, 93.

of which is chosen as the ‘copy-text’, therefore, significant variants or alternative readings will need to be noted.

I examined several recent print editions of nineteenth-century letters to ascertain whether the annotation was in any way governed by the theoretical principles outlined above and found that very few of them included any explicit principles of annotation. One of the few exceptions was Scott Lewis’s edition of *The Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning to Her Sister Arabella*, where the ‘Editorial Principles’ state that ‘explanatory’ notes have been provided for ‘conjectural dates, textual irregularities and foreign words and phrases’. There is a further statement to the effect that the annotation provides full biographical and bibliographical information for all the people and publications mentioned in the letters, and that embedded quotations and allusions are identified where appropriate.⁸ In Friedman’s categorisation these notes would be classed as primarily ‘recovery’, as ‘explanatory’ notes are not often relevant to letters, and there is very little of what could be described as ‘interpretive’ or ‘critical’ comment, save for the odd speculative comment – for example, a possible reason why EBB did not take communion one Sunday. The annotation is extensive but concise and would therefore seem to assume an educated ‘general’, as well as a specialist ‘ideal’ or implied reader.

The implicit approach adopted by the editors of *The Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle* in regard to annotation closely resembles that of Scott Lewis, and in some respects is even more thorough, in so far as almost everybody referred to in the letters is identified, biblical and classical allusions noted, and ‘coterie-speech’ and Scots dialect translated. In addition, similarities between the language of the letters and Carlyle’s literary works are highlighted. There is also extensive cross-referencing to other letters in the collection and also to external sources; for example, the footnotes to a letter from Carlyle to Clough regarding the post in the Council Office (see p. 14 above), include extensive quotations from Clough’s own letters and also those from Lady Ashburton and Lord Granville. The annotation, like that of the Elizabeth Barrett-Browning letters, can be classified as almost exclusively ‘recovery’. The often

⁸ *The Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning to Her Sister Arabella*, ed. by Scott Lewis, 2 vols (Waco, Texas: Wedgestone Press, 2002), p. xlvii.

substantial nature of the annotation, together with the fact that it is also an online edition, imply a more heterogeneous readership, perhaps reflecting the sense that there might be greater interest in the Carlyles than there is in the Brownings.

The most recent edition of correspondence I consulted was *The Collected Works of Gerard Manley Hopkins: Correspondence*, whose ‘Editorial Principles’ state merely that the editors ‘have annotated generously, taking account of the international readership which Hopkins now has; and have incorporated and built on the annotation of earlier editors’.⁹ The annotation is certainly fairly detailed, but is not always consistent as some interesting references, as Joseph Phelan has pointed out, have not been glossed and the notes are sometimes ‘digressive’ or ‘critical’, as well as being anachronistic in places.¹⁰ Moreover, the referencing system is not always consistent in that journal references and references to other source material do not follow an accepted academic format.

The implicit editorial policy of the three volumes referred to above, then, would appear to be the provision of almost exclusively ‘recovery’ annotation. However, the boundaries between ‘recovery’ and ‘interpretive’ or ‘critical’ annotation are often blurred, especially when it comes to annotating correspondence. In the notes to Clough’s letters I have not included any critical comment of my own with regard to the numerous works he refers to, but have summarised a representative sample of contemporary journal reviews. It could, however, be argued that my decisions as to *what* to annotate and which reviews to use have, in a sense, involved taking a critical stance, as has my choice of some colourful (and what would often be regarded today as quite shocking) quotations, which I thought would add interest and also highlight ingrained racial or gender stereotyping. A critical judgement was also involved in the comparisons I have made in the notes between Clough’s work and Tennyson’s or Crabbe’s poetry. As for ‘interpretation’, while I have not gone as far as certain of Clough’s biographers in making assumptions, or attributing motives, I have included,

⁹ *The Collected Works of Gerard Manley Hopkins: Correspondence*, ed. by R.K.R. Thornton and Catherine Phillips, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. ciii.

¹⁰ Joseph Phelan, ‘A Change of Mitres’, *Times Literary Supplement*, 11 April 2014, pp. 10–11.

for example, a note to the effect that following his return from America he seems to have adopted a more puritanical attitude towards Chaucer's racier tales. I considered this to be appropriate since a central theme of my thesis is the influence of America on his life and work. I also noted his rather disdainful attitude towards novels, which also seemed relevant as it showed that, despite their increasing popularity in the mid-nineteenth century, amongst Clough's circle at least, they had still not superseded poetry in the 'hierarchy' of reading matter. Finally, I have noted the tone of some of the articles cited.

From a survey of the literature, I agree that the annotation of an edition of letters should, on the whole, be neither critical nor interpretive. However, I find Friedman's terms insufficiently clear; notes of 'recovery' could be better described as 'contextual' notes, and, for the purposes of literary correspondence, the definition of 'explanatory' notes could be adapted slightly by adding that the aim is to make the text 'more intelligible' by intertextual reference either to the letter-writer's own published work or to that of their contemporaries.

I want to look now at the actual process of annotating a batch of letters with particular reference to my own experience. In regard to the length and quantity of the notes, although the financial constraints on a commercially-produced edition of letters did not apply, for a PhD thesis, I was, nevertheless, bound by the regulations established by De Montfort University. As for the 'implied author', in Booth's description, that was to be constructed in the annotation to Clough's letters, I decided that this would be one that assumed a broad level of background knowledge on the part of the reader, perhaps not specifically about nineteenth-century poetry, but certainly of the literature and history of the period.¹¹ The notes therefore imply a reader who is interested enough to know the main personalities referred to in the letters, but probably not fully conversant with, say, the precise set of events leading up to the Crimean War or the American Civil War – just two of the major topics covered in the correspondence. My main aim in relation to the annotation of Clough's American letters was to reconstruct the context in which the letters were produced by providing what Friedman calls 'recovery' notes – i.e. cultural

¹¹ Wayne C. Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, 2nd edn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

information that would have been common currency among Clough's intellectual circle, but would probably not be so familiar to the modern-day 'implied reader' of the letters.¹² The footnotes therefore provide contextual information of many different kinds – regarding the political situation in Britain and America, the state of education in Victorian England or the ongoing debates over religion, for example. I have also supplied biographical information – with the emphasis on the person's relationship to Clough – and summarised the large number of journal articles and new publications that he often briefly comments on. I have provided translations for Latin and Greek quotations, identified the source of the many classical and biblical allusions in the letters, and highlighted links between remarks in the letters and themes addressed in Clough's poetry. As Middendorf recognised, the actual scope of the annotation required is largely determined by content, and Clough's letters are a little unusual in that they are predominantly 'literary' in subject matter and deal mainly with the public domain, with very little mention of his private life. They contain numerous, often cursory, references to national and international news, literature and events, and therefore have required extensive annotation to fill the gaps in the narrative. The provision of this kind of annotation, which aims to reproduce as fully as possible Clough's life and times, implies that the meaning of a literary text is, 'dependent on reference' – in other words, it depends to a significant extent on a broad understanding of the historical and personal circumstances of its composition.¹³ Of course, the role played by the knowledge and expectations of the 'implied reader' should not be forgotten, especially bearing in mind that Clough's correspondents were members of an elite, and rather exclusive, group of literary men who shared the same interests and values, or 'interpretive strategies', to quote Stanley Fish,¹⁴ and some of the 'coterie speech' in the letters would have been opaque to outsiders. My second aim was to verify the information in the letters, to see how far Clough's views on certain subjects concurred with popular opinion (for example his views on Russia in *CEN* 30), and where necessary to expand on it, by reference to a reputable primary or secondary source.

¹² Wolfgang Iser, *The Implied Reader: Patterns in Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1974), pp.274–94.

¹³ 'The editor as annotator as ideal reader', *The Theory and Practice of Text-Editing*, ed. by Ian Small and Marcus Walsh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 9.

¹⁴ Stanley Fish, *Is there a Text in this Class?* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard, 1980), p. 14.

The process of annotation, then, involves making a number of informed choices and assumptions – relating to the type and length of the footnotes, the kind of information that the implied reader would ideally like to know and so forth. In practice, for each letter it means first deciding on precisely what needs to be glossed – in Clough’s case virtually every letter is a commentary on the political and cultural news of the day – and then researching the topic. The type of research will depend on the subject; where there is a reference to a review of a new book, for example, I will locate the relevant journal article, ascertain the author, where possible, by reference to the *Wellesley Index*, and summarise the main points. Similarly, when Clough recommends a book I skim through the earliest British edition and provide a brief précis, with bibliographic details, in the notes. For historical references, I would normally consult a reputable secondary source, and also a contemporary newspaper, as close as possible to the date of Clough’s letter. Clough favoured the *Morning Chronicle*, so I have used that fairly extensively, as well, of course, as *The Times*. Where a person is mentioned, the amount of biographical information will depend on their status and the relationship to Clough or his correspondents, but it will normally include their birth and death dates, verified by reference to the *DNB*. As I am annotating only one side of the correspondence, I usually make brief reference to the points in a letter to which Clough is replying, and as a considerable amount of the information in the letters to his five correspondents is duplicated, extensive cross-referencing has been necessary.

Looking back at the annotation I did at the beginning of my project, I can see that I did not have a clear enough conception of my ‘implied reader’; it was therefore slanted too much in the direction of an assumed ‘general’ reader. As the work progressed, I realised that figures of the stature of Thomas Carlyle or Matthew Arnold did not need to be identified in a lengthy footnote – only their connection with Clough needed to be highlighted. Moreover, I had sometimes strayed off the point and included a lot of superfluous detail, which later required fairly drastic editing. By comparison, my later notes are more focused and as concise as is consistent with clarification of the point in question – not an easy task when trying to summarise a lengthy and verbose article, or encapsulate a complex debate in a couple of sentences; Victorian writers were not noted for their brevity. I also appear to have adopted a more ‘academic’ register, to have been

more selective and resourceful in identifying appropriate primary and secondary sources and more meticulous in my referencing. I would also say that my use of language for the purposes of annotation has become more appropriate; it is more condensed and I now use a broader range of sentence structures and reporting verbs, have cut the length of my quotations and paraphrased more. I have therefore revised the earlier notes in the light of what I have learnt. Most important of all, I believe that the annotating skills I have learnt enable a clearer picture of Clough's personality, work and interests, as well of those of his correspondents, to emerge from a reading of his letters.

While I have clearly not resolved all the issues surrounding the topic of annotation or reached any definitive conclusions on the optimum length of footnotes for an edition of nineteenth-century letters, I feel that setting out some of the challenges I have faced might, perhaps, contribute to any future debate on the subject.

Footnotes have been provided as follows:-

- All foreign words and phrases have been translated using reputable sources.
- Definitions of unusual or archaic words have been obtained from the *OED*.
- All literary, biblical and classical references have been glossed in the footnotes using the earliest possible UK edition of any work cited, or one that was current at the time and bibliographical information provided where appropriate.
- Embedded allusions and quotations have been elucidated by reference, wherever possible, to works that would have been standard at the time.
- Biblical allusions have been clarified by the use of quotations from the *King James Bible*.
- Individuals have been identified at the first reference with full names, dates of birth, deaths and marriages, where relevant, by reference to the *OED*; any connection with Clough has been noted. (The headnotes to each section of letters provide biographical information on his five correspondents).
- I have quoted from or paraphrased from Clough's correspondents' letters where Clough refers to them.

- Any duplicate information has been cross-referenced to the annotation of the other correspondents' letters.
- The information in the letters has been verified wherever possible by reference to a reputable source.
- References to contemporary articles or publications have been expanded by summarising the main points and supplying full reference details, together with reviews from a variety of sources and the name of the author (from the *Wellesley Index*, or elsewhere, if there is any reason to doubt the accuracy of the information).
- Quotations are used as concisely as possible to encapsulate debates/concepts.
- Obscure references to British and American customs are clarified.
- The influence of other writers on Clough is noted.
- Parallels between Clough's life and his published work are drawn.

(ii) Textual Policy

The editorial principles for this edition are as follows:-

1. This is an edition of unique personal letters where most of the manuscripts survive, so decisions over the choice of copy text, variant readings or production of a variorum edition were not applicable. To ensure accuracy, all the letters have been transcribed from the original manuscripts held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, or from digitally-scanned images of the manuscripts in the Houghton Library where originals exist.
2. The location of the manuscript is indicated at the foot of each letter (either *H* or *B*). If a letter has been previously published, either in full or in part, this is also noted at the foot of each letter (*Corr.*, *PR*, *Lowry/Rusk*), with the relevant page numbers.
3. In the very few cases where it has not been possible to locate a manuscript, or where there is some doubt as to its authenticity, for example, a letter of condolence on the

death of Norton's father (*CEN 9*), I have had to rely on the best printed version and have indicated as much at the foot of the letter.

4. Where there is an extant envelope, this has been noted in square brackets at the top of the letter together with information about the addressee and postage paid, where relevant.
5. If the letter is written on Council Office headed paper this is also noted at the top of the letter.
6. There were no major transcription problems with regard to the substantive content as Clough's handwriting is for the most part fairly legible.
7. All the letters are presented in their entirety.
8. The letters are arranged within five separate sections in Chapter 3, according to correspondent, in chronological order. They are preceded by the Introduction and the Appendices are placed at the end of the thesis.
9. The letters for each correspondent are preceded by their italicised initials (*RWE*, *CEN*, *JRL*, *FJC* and *HWL*) and are numbered sequentially within each relevant section (*RWE 1* etc). These abbreviations are used for cross-referencing in the footnotes.
10. The following symbols have been used in the text:-
 - [] Square brackets indicate material inserted by the editor.
 - < > Angle brackets indicate that the manuscript has been torn or damaged in some way; an explanation is given within the brackets, or a conjectural reading supplied.

11. Every effort has been made to strike a balance between making the letters accessible and retaining the unique character and flavour of the manuscripts by minimising alterations or silent emendments to the original script.

- For the sake of consistency the address and date are always situated at the top right-hand side of the letter, except where Clough has written the date at the end of the letter. If there is anything unusual about the address or date, this is indicated in the footnotes.
- All dates have been reproduced exactly as C wrote them. Where the year has been omitted it is supplied in square brackets with a footnote stating how this has been established.
- Where letters have been added to over a series of days the relevant dates have been included in the text of the letter.
- Irregular paragraph indentations have been standardised to the left margin.
- The position of the end salutation has been standardised to the left margin.
- Where parts of the letters have been cross-hatched, this has been noted in square brackets at the top of the letter or in the body of the text.
- One of the most characteristic features of the letters is Clough's tendency to use dashes instead of full stops, sometimes to signal the end of a paragraph or change of topic, sometimes because he is evidently writing in haste – to catch the post, for example; these have been retained to highlight the sense of immediacy or urgency, and to preserve something of the appearance of the manuscript.
- Where there is no dash and a full stop or semi-colon has obviously been omitted, this has been inserted. Where a comma or an apostrophe (as in 'don't' or 'won't', or the possessive ['month's]) is omitted – these have been inserted where necessary to the sense of the sentence. Question marks have often been omitted but these have not been inserted. Where a semi-colon is used instead of a comma, or if a bracket is omitted, this has been silently corrected.
- C's customary abbreviations - co^d, sho^d, tho', wo^d, L^d, Feb^y, S^t, 'Xty' for Christianity and ampersands [&] have also been retained, as has his characteristic separation of words, such as 'to day', some thing, or to morrow'.
- Superscript letters in abbreviations and dates have not been lowered.

- A few archaic spellings have been retained and followed by [*sic*] in square brackets, eg ‘intreated’; ‘Shakspeare’; ‘negociate’, but in a few cases misspellings and errors such as a lack of capitalisation have been silently corrected.
- Where it has not been possible to decipher a word, either a conjectured reading or a space followed by a question mark is placed in square brackets.
- Where a word has obviously been inadvertently omitted, this has been supplied in square brackets.
- Underlined words are italicised in line with common editorial practice.
- All legible deletions and corrections have been included and enclosed in angle brackets.

12. All quotations from Clough’s poetry are from *The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by F. L. Mulhauser; translations ed. by Jane Turner, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974).

13. The academic referencing style adopted is the MHRA (Modern Humanities Research Association).

3. THE ANNOTATED LETTERS OF ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH TO HIS AMERICAN FRIENDS (1847–1861)

(i) Clough's letters to Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882)

Clough was well-acquainted with Emerson's work, having read his *Essays* 'Self-Reliance' and 'History' as an undergraduate,¹ but his first meeting with the American was not until March 1848, during Emerson's second visit to England. Prompted by his sister Anne,² who had met Emerson at the house of a family friend the previous autumn, Clough invited Emerson to Oriel College, where he was a Fellow and tutor. Emerson gladly accepted, having been much impressed by a reading of Clough's lecture 'A Consideration of Objections against the Retrenchment Association at Oxford during the Irish Famine in 1847' (*Corr.* 187), an appeal to Oxford undergraduates to reduce their excessive expenditure on champagne, claret and breakfast parties in order to relieve the sufferings of the English and Irish poor.³

The brief meeting, during which Clough gave Emerson a tour of the Oxford colleges (*RWE* 4), was the start of a life-long friendship; Clough saw Emerson again in London and they went to Paris together in May 1848, in the aftermath of the February Revolution which had seen the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a provisional republic. Clough was sympathetic to the socialist programme of the new government and hopeful of political progress. According to Emerson, Clough was also interested in the 'state of woman',⁴ and attended a women's meeting at the 'Club des Femmes', where he was disgusted by the gross behaviour of the men present (*Corr.* 213).

Back in England, in June 1848, Clough attended a series of lectures by Emerson, and noted that his friend was 'much less Emersonian than his Essays' and that there was 'no dogmatism or arbitrariness or postiveness' about him (*Corr.* 216). The

¹ *The Oxford Diaries of Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by Anthony Kenny (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 181.

² Anne Jemima Clough (1820–92), co-founder of Newnham College, Cambridge.

³ *PR* 283–301.

⁴ *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1845–1848*, ed. by Edward Waldo Emerson & Waldo Emerson Forbes, 10 vols (London: Constable; Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1913), VII, 560.

following month Clough accompanied Emerson to Liverpool and walked the deck of his Halifax steamer with him until it set sail for America.⁵ For Emerson, the ‘most real benefit’ of his English visit had been ‘this genius of Clough’. He wrote that he himself had a ‘new friend’ while the world had a ‘new poet’; Tennyson, he warned, must ‘look to his laurels’.⁶ Emerson had made a similarly strong impression on Clough, who wrote in glowing terms to Tom Arnold of his ‘perfect intellectual cultivation’ (*Corr.* 215). It was his friendship with Emerson, moreover, that probably swayed Clough in his decision to resign his Oxford tutorship.⁷

In January 1849 Emerson wrote to congratulate Clough on the publication of *The Bothie*, which he declared to be ‘a high gift from angels’, having listened to it being read aloud in the company of Longfellow, James Lowell and others, to unanimous praise (*Corr.* 232–3). Clough’s response was to send Emerson a copy of *Ambarvalia*, a collection of his poems written several years earlier but only recently published, with the news that he had finally resigned his Oriel Fellowship and accepted the post of Principal at University Hall, London (*RWE* 5). The references in Clough’s letters to the various members of Emerson’s Transcendentalist circle and his interest in early Persian poetry are an indication of the American philosopher’s influence over his young friend (*RWE* 6).

By the time Clough wrote again to Emerson, in June 1852, he had resigned his posts at University Hall and had been trying unsuccessfully to find alternative employment – a Classical Professorship at Sydney and various government appointments – for which he was turned down because of his religious views (*RWE* 7). As he wrote to Blanche Smith in May 1852, his chances of getting a job in the education profession in England had been jeopardized because of ‘the stigma of the abjured xxxix articles’ (*Corr.* 312). So it was to his American friend that he turned for help, tentatively broaching the possibility of work on the other side of the Atlantic. A delighted Emerson replied immediately,

⁵ Edward Everett Hale, *Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston: Brown & Co, 1899), p. 24.

⁶ *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1845–1848*, ed. by Edward Waldo Emerson & Waldo Emerson Forbes, 10 vols (London: Constable; Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1913), VII, 560.

⁷ *PR* 37–38.

urging Clough to come out as his guest, and assuring him that he would have no difficulty in securing a teaching post.

Now engaged and eager to get married to Blanche Smith, Clough seized the opportunity of brighter prospects in the New World. Soon after his arrival in Boston he set off for Emerson's house; Concord he found 'very bare' – a 'small-sort of village', consisting almost entirely of white wooden houses, set among 'somewhat scrubby' white and yellow pine trees (*Corr.* 329). Emerson gave a 'grand' dinner in Clough's honour, where he met all the Boston 'notables', including Longfellow, Hawthorne and Lowell (*Corr.* 333), and he dined with the Emersons frequently during his stay in New England.

After Clough's return to England in June 1853, he and Emerson continued to correspond with each other, albeit less frequently, until a few months before Clough's death in 1861. Their letters cover a wide range of topics, from the personal – Clough's marriage and the birth of his children – through criticism of each other's publications and literary gossip, to the Crimean and American Civil Wars. Emerson was much affected by Clough's untimely death; his letter of condolence to Blanche expressed deep sorrow, remorse for the gaps in their correspondence and delight in 'the rare talent' shown in Clough's poems (*Corr.* 611).

1.

Oriel College
Oxford
Novr 26th [1847]¹

Dear Sir

My sister² who has had the pleasure of meeting you in my friend Mr. Bulley's house emboldens me to take what otherwise I should consider an unwarrantable liberty.³

But Oxford perhaps may have some interest for you – Our University has not perhaps a very large influence in the world of letters and learning,⁴ but it has even now I think a good deal to do with the thinkings & doings of our Upper Classes: & at any rate has a good deal of character of its own.⁵

If you should think it worth while to visit the place it would give me very great pleasure to show it you. I have resided here ten years and am a Fellow & Tutor at Oriel College:⁶ so that I may account myself qualified as a cicerone.⁷

¹ Year dated by reference to Emerson's visit to England.

² For Anne Jemima Clough, see Introduction to this section, p. 67.

³ Samuel Marshall Bulley (1811–1880), prominent Liverpool cotton-broker and family friend of the Cloughs; Emerson first became interested in C after hearing Bulley read from C's 'Retrenchment' pamphlet (see Introduction to this section, p. 67 and *Corr.* 187). Bulley had also written to C the previous year about a possible appointment at a 'School at Birmingham', which did not materialise because C decided to 'stay out [his] time at Oxford' (*Corr.* 172).

⁴ Clough was severely critical of the intellectually undemanding and narrowly prescriptive curriculum at Oxford. In 1849 he wrote to the Provost of Oriel College expressing his approval of a proposed statute which would see the establishment of a new School in Modern History ('University Intelligence', *The Times*, 14 February 1849, p. 8); he regretted, however, that it did not include 'the stronger aliment of Political Economy' and wanted to see the 'Literae Humaniores' School separated from Theology (*Corr.* 248). He later wrote an article for the *North American Review* which advocated institutional reforms at Oxford (see Appendix 2).

⁵ The use of the word 'class' to denote relative social position was only just beginning to come into popular usage so this is a slightly self-conscious reference by C; in later letters C refers to the 'Upper and Middle People' (see *RWE* 21, note 6) or the 'working classes' (see *CEN* 58, note 10). He still uses 'aristocracy' in places for the 'upper class' (see *FJC* 3, note 15), predicting their displacement as the dominant force in British politics by the 'trading and manufacturing classes' in the event of another war (see *RWE* 20, note 5). Cp. Emerson's conclusion that Oxford and Cambridge were 'finishing schools for the upper classes' (*English Traits* [London: Routledge, 1856], p. 118).

⁶ C was at Balliol College Oxford from 1837 until 1842, when he was elected Fellow of Oriel College (See Timeline, Appendix 1, p. 448).

⁷ 'A guide' [Italian].

Your name is not a thing unknown to us⁸— I do not say it would be a passport in a society fenced about by Church Articles⁹— But amongst the juniors there are many that have read & studied your books, & not a few that have largely learnt from them, & would gladly welcome their author.

Our Vacation begins on the 19th Dec^r or perhaps two or three days before, & lasts till about Jan^y 20th.¹⁰ At any time before or after that interval any notice however brief would find me prepared to show you all the hospitality in my power.

Believe me

Yours respectfully

A. H. Clough

MS B

Lowry/Rusk Letter No. 1; *Corr.* 186–7 (published in full); *PR* 119 (part-published).

⁸ Emerson enjoyed a popular following in England; in 1841 Carlyle introduced him to British readers as a ‘spiritual Notability’ (R. W. Emerson, *Essays* [London: James Fraser, 1841], p. vi). The *English Review*, however, alarmed at the runaway success of his books, was scathing about his ‘transcendental’ philosophy, warning that the adulation this transatlantic ‘setter forth of new gods’ inspired was a matter for ‘grave reflection’ (‘The Emerson Mania’, 12 [1849], 139–152 [p. 139]).

⁹ To obtain a fellowship at Oxford required subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England. It was his reluctance to assume the moral responsibility for teaching the Articles to his students that led to C’s resignation of his Fellowship (see *RWE* 5, note 11). C’s loss of faith in institutional religion was soon to make his position at Oxford untenable and would perhaps account for his wish, in contacting Emerson, to extend his intellectual circle beyond the confines of the University orthodoxy.

¹⁰ The interval between the ‘Michaelmas’ and ‘Hilary’ terms at Oxford.

Oriel College, Oxford

March 12th [1848]¹

My dear Sir

I ought perhaps to have informed you before this,² that our Easter Vacation at Oxford begins by the 5th of April & continues for a full month.

During that time I shall be myself more or less resident here, and the University is by no means deserted in general.³ Still it wo^d be better worth your while to visit us in Term time.

I do not know whether I may hope to see you here, but I can only say that, if your arrangements will not allow you to come before April 5th or after May 5th, I shall feel great pleasure in doing the honours of the place in the interval of Vacation.

Believe me to be my dear Sir

Yours faithfully

A. H. Clough

R. W. Emerson Esq.

MS B

Lowry/Rusk Letter No. 3; *Corr.* 201 (published in full).

¹ Dated by reference to Emerson's note on the letter: 'A. H. Clough March, 1848'.

² Emerson replied to C's first letter on 3rd December 1847 declaring that he would 'esteem it a high privilege' to visit C and see the Colleges, but his engagements – a nationwide series of lectures – meant that it would not be until 'after the vacation' (*Corr.* 187).

³ C had resigned his tutorship in December 1847 and had been in negotiation with the Provost of Oriel over the question of whether or not he could continue to hold his Fellowship, given his inability to subscribe to the Thirty Nine Articles (see Introduction to this section, p. 68). He was undecided about his future and wrote to his friend Shairp: 'Another three weeks will see me at the end of these tutorial....what shall I call them? – wearinesses, But whither the emancipated spirit will wing its flight, can't be guessed' (*Corr.* 202).

3.

My dear Sir

I am glad to find that we shall have a prospect of seeing you here. I understood that you were likely to leave England in May or June, & I was afraid that in the Vacation I might possibly miss you.¹

But the later you fix your visit the better, within a certain point: for our Summer Term is our best time, lasting thro' May and June.²

I shall probably be away from April 5 to April 23, and then till May 1st, I shall be engaged with a College Examination.³ But if between April 5 and April 23 wo^d be your your most convenient time, my plans are very easily, & without inconvenience, capable of alteration. And it will be quite sufficient if I hear from you on the subject in a few days' time.

Believe me my dear Sir

Yours very truly

A. H. Clough

Oriel College

March 22d [1848]⁴

MS B

Lowry/Rusk Letter No. 4; *Corr.* 202 (published in full).

¹ C would appear to be replying to a letter, now lost, contained in an envelope addressed to C at Oriel College, in Emerson's hand, with a postmark dated March – apparently March 21 – 1848 (*Lowry/Rusk*, Notes to Letters 3 and 4).

² Trinity term.

³ During Emerson's visit to Oxford (see *RWE* 4), he looked over the Examination Papers of the year 1848 for the various scholarships and fellowships, copies of which were 'kindly given [to him] by a 'Greek Professor' and which he believed 'would prove too severe tests for the candidates for a Bachelor's degree in Yale or Harvard' (*English Traits* [London: Routledge, 1856], pp. 118–19).

⁴ Year dated by reference to Emerson's note on the letter – 'A.H. Clough March 1848'.

Friday 10 p.m.

[31st March 1848]¹

My dear Sir

Dr. Daubeny dines with me on Saturday; so will you allow me to keep you engaged for 6 o'clock on that day.² I shall meet you at breakfast tomorrow; but college engagements prevent me from being sure of showing you the way to M^r Jacobson.³ I shall be later. The house is in New College lane by Magdalen Hall: I dare say the boy of the house will show you.⁴

Yrs truly

A.H. Clough

MS H

Lowry/Rusk Letter No. 5; *Corr.* 202–3 (published in full).

¹ Both *Lowry/Rusk* and *Corr.* date this letter to Thursday 30th March. However there seems no reason to doubt C's dating: the letter mentions meeting Emerson for breakfast 'tomorrow', and C's diary for Saturday 1st April confirms that he did indeed have breakfast in the Common room with Emerson and Dr Daubeny on that date (*The Oxford Diaries of Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by Anthony Kenny [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990], p. 246).

² See *FJC* 2, note 16; Dr Charles Giles Bridle Daubeny (1795–1867), professor of Botany campaigned for reform of the Oxford University curriculum and was one of those responsible for establishing science as a subject of study alongside literature and the classics at the university (*DNB*). Emerson recollected in *English Traits* (p. 200) that he 'had introductions to Dr Daubeny' as well as to a 'valued friend, a Fellow of Oriel'; he was 'the guest of [his] friend in Oriel', and was 'housed close upon that College'.

³ William Jacobson (1803–1884), Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, with whom, according to C's diary, he and Emerson breakfasted on the morning of 1st April instead of the proposed dinner (*The Oxford Diaries of Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by Anthony Kenny [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990], p. 245).

⁴ Emerson finally arrived in Oxford at 11.30 am on 30th March and C noted that they walked around Magdalen and Christ Church. The following day C reports having tea with Emerson in his rooms at 5pm; Froude and Palgrave were also present and the talk turned largely on Carlyle, the Bhavagadghita [sic] and Plato. Emerson left Oxford at about 12.30 pm on 1st April so the dinner engagement was cancelled (*The Oxford Diaries of Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by Anthony Kenny [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990], pp. 245–6).

51 Vine St. L'pool

Feb^y 10th [1849]¹

My dear Sir

How could I tell you of my Pastoral-to-be when it had not been thought of?² –

It was only begun in September:³ & when I left you on the deck of your Steamer I had no thought of that or any other new poem.⁴

I hope ere this a little volume, half-belonging to me, & half to an old school-friend, will have reached you – this does contain old things, the casualties of at least ten years.⁵

But indeed I was not by any means clear as to the desirability of sending you either of these productions. You may fancy therefore how truly welcome all your kind praise of the first of them has been to me –: – so far as praise goes, I hardly venture to accept it, but as recognition I heartily feed on it.

Meantime in England I shall not be troubled with a very onerous weight of celebrity. A M^r Kingsley, who is a chief-writer in Fraser, devoted the whole of a cordial eulogistic

¹ Year dated by reference to Emerson's note on the letter – 'A.H. Clough Feb. 1849'.

² C was replying to Emerson's letter (*Corr.* 232–3), congratulating him on *The Bothie of Toper-Na-Fuosich*, subtitled 'a Long-Vacation Pastoral', first published in November 1848 (Oxford: Francis Macpherson; London: Chapman and Hall). C made several revisions to the poem before his death, which formed the basis for posthumous editions, and the title was changed to *The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich* because of a possible *double entendre* (*Corr.* 244).

³ *The Bothie* was written while C was staying with his mother and sister in Liverpool in September 1848, before returning to Oxford in October (*PR* 39). On 23 October he wrote to his sister that his 'little book' would be 'out in ten days' (*Corr.* 222). However, C must have been thinking about it previously as his diary entry for 15 August 1848 (*The Oxford Diaries of Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by Anthony Kenny [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990], p. 255) contains lines which appear with little change as lines II, 26 and 122–6 in *The Bothie* (Patrick Scott, *The Bothie: Arthur Hugh Clough: The Text of 1848* [St Lucia: Univ. of Queensland Press, 1976], p. 7).

⁴ C parted with Emerson on the deck of the *Halifax* steamer which took Emerson back to New England on July 17th 1848 (*Corr.* 215).

⁵ *Ambarvalia: Poems by Thomas Burbidge and Arthur H. Clough* – a collection of poems jointly published by C and his friend, the Anglican clergyman Thomas Burbidge (1816–1892), was published in January 1849 (London: Chapman and Hall; Oxford: Francis Macpherson). The poems by C make up the first 64 pages of the edition and are preceded by the title 'POEMS BY ARTHUR H. CLOUGH'. Twenty-five of the forty poems were reprinted in the posthumous 1862 editions (see Appendix 2).

article to the Pastoral, & has made it tolerably known.⁶ But the Spectator was contemptuous;⁷ & in Oxford though there has been a fair sale & much talk of it, the verdict is that it is “indecent and profane, immoral and (!) Communistic.”⁸ –

Will you convey to M^r Longfellow the fact that it was a reading of his *Evangeline* aloud to my mother and sister which, coming after a reperusal of the *Iliad*, occasioned this outbreak of hexameters. *Evangeline* is very popular here. –

Meantime you tell us nothing of yourself and beyond the fact which Carlyle announces that you are enjoying intensely the serenity of Concord none of your friends know anything. Today however I may add a somewhat meagre report of a lecture on England delivered in Boston, which is copied by M^r Ireland’s Newspaper from the New York Tribune.⁹ We have heard too of the loss of a box in the *Ocean Monarch*¹⁰ – containing it is believed your little boy’s rocking horse – & books. What books? – Not, I hope, with them the *Cast of Isis*. –

⁶ Charles Kingsley (1819–1875), clergyman and novelist wrote to C expressing his delight in *The Bothie* and asking for permission to review it in *Fraser’s* (*Corr.* 229). In his article he praised the poem’s ‘honesty’ and ‘reverence for facts and nature’, which indicated a ‘more poetic and more godly spirit, than any verses which [had] come out of Oxford for a long time past’ (‘The Bothie of Toper-Na-Fuosich’, *Fraser’s Magazine*, 229 [1849], 104–109 [p. 105]).

⁷ The *Spectator* found *The Bothie* to be made up of ‘trivial’, ‘unattractive’ ‘school-like incidents and persons’ and failed to understand why an uninteresting story could be improved upon by turning it into ‘prosaic verse’ (‘Publications Received’, 2 December 1848, p. 1166).

⁸ There were mixed reactions to *The Bothie* among C’s peers; for Matthew Arnold, listening to C’s friends ‘rave about’ the poem gave him ‘a strong almost bitter feeling’ towards ‘the age, the poem’ and even C (*The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by Howard Foster Lowry [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932; repr. 1968], p. 95), while Edward Hawkins, Provost of Oriel College, found parts of *The Bothie* ‘rather indelicate’ and greatly regretted ‘the parodies of Scripture’ (*Corr.* 247).

⁹ The article in the *New York Daily Tribune* entitled ‘Mr Emerson on England’ (6 January 1849), reported a lecture delivered by Emerson at Boston on 27 December 1848. Carlyle was impressed and sent it to Andrew Ireland’s newspaper, the *Manchester Examiner*, for repeat publication. It also appeared in *The Times*. Emerson appears to ‘have derived strongly favourable impressions of the English character’ – ‘the land and climate [were] favourable to the production and preservation of good men’ (‘An American’s opinion of England’, *The Times*, 14 March 1849, p. 8).

¹⁰ The American ship *Ocean Monarch* caught fire on 24 August 1848 en route from Liverpool to Boston and sank with the loss of 178 lives.

I have quitted Oxford,¹¹ & am to be settled next October in London in connexion with University College, Gower S^t;¹² meantime I am with my Mother in quiet. – I have made acquaintance with your friend Wilkinson.¹³ –

Feb. 20th

Also I have had a note from William Allingham.¹⁴ Espinasse,¹⁵ who took me the other day from Manchester to the Brights' mills, desired me to state the fact of his existence.¹⁶

M^{rs} Paulet is well & does not forget you.¹⁷

I do not think you will be troubled with any print of mine for some time. But I shall ask

¹¹ C gave up his Oriel tutorship at Easter 1848 because his inability to subscribe to the Thirty Nine Articles of the Church of England had made his position untenable (see Introduction, p.11; Introduction to this Section, p. 68, and *Corr.* 191); this was followed six months later by the resignation of his Fellowship (*Corr.* 219).

¹² In January 1849 C accepted the post of Principal of what he termed 'a new quasi-collegiate institution' – University Hall, London – on the understanding that he would not conduct or superintend any prayers (See Introduction, p. 11; *Corr.* 233 & 230–1).

¹³ Dr James John Garth Wilkinson (1812–1899), homeopath and writer, whose translation of Emanuel Swedenborg's *Outlines of a Philosophic Argument on the Infinite* was much admired by Emerson; in *English Traits* he wrote that Wilkinson had brought a 'native vigour' to metaphysics and physiology, 'equal to the highest attempts' (p. 141). Swedenborg was one of the topics discussed at tea during Emerson's visit to Oxford (see *RWE* 4, note 4).

¹⁴ William Allingham (1824–1889), the Irish poet; he wrote to C in February 1849, after Emerson had mentioned C in a letter, thanking C for a copy of his *Ambarvalia* (see note 5 above; *Corr.* 242). The pair continued to correspond until C's death (see *CEN* 56, note 4).

¹⁵ Francis Espinasse (1823–1912), journalist and biographer, remembered C as 'taciturn', fresh-faced and 'boyish-looking yet anxious', with his 'rather stalwart Lancashire figure, encased in a loosely-buttoned black frock coat', looking 'part-cleric, part-athlete' (Francis Espinasse, *Literary Recollections and Sketches* [London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1893], p. 363).

¹⁶ John Bright (1811–1889), MP for Manchester, and his brother, the radical politician, Jacob (1821–1899), owned Greenbank cotton-spinning mill in Rochdale and were enlightened employers, 'half-democratic' and 'half-patriarchal'; children were never allowed to be beaten and married employees' wages were increased (George Macaulay Trevelyan, *The Life of John Bright* [London: Constable, 1913], pp. 17–18). During C's visit Jacob Bright explained 'with hopeful enthusiasm' a scheme favoured by 'advanced Liberals' to 'substitute elective County Boards for the Quarter Sessions rule of the squirearchy' (Espinasse, p. 363). C later dined with Jacob and his sister who were 'very nice quiet people', and 'preferable' to the M.P. (*Corr.* 238). He later wrote to Tom Arnold that he 'still [put] his trust in master manufacturers' (*Corr.* 243).

¹⁷ Elizabeth Paulet (1806–1879), hostess and feminist, was in Paris in May 1848 (*Corr.* 204); Emerson's friends and admirers gathered at her mansion near Liverpool to bid farewell to him prior to his departure for America (Alexander Ireland, *In Memoriam: Ralph Waldo Emerson: Recollections of his Visits to England in 1833, 1847–8, 1872–3* [London: Simpkin Marshall, 1882], p. 18). C described her as Emerson's 'most pure disciple' – but 'almost too Hindooish' (*Corr.* 216).

you to look at a volume of verses by my friend Matthew Arnold which is soon to appear.¹⁸

Yours ever

A.H. Clough

MS B

Lowry/Rusk Letter No. 8; *Corr.* 240–1 (published in full); *PR* 140 (part-published).

¹⁸ Arnold's first volume of poetry *The Strayed Reveller, and Other Poems*, published under the initial A. in 1849 (London: B. Fellowes) contained sonnets possibly addressed to C: 'Religious Isolation' and 'To a Republican Friend' (pp. 56–58). Included in *The Strayed Reveller* are Arnold's responses to two of Emerson's essays: the first, entitled 'Written in Emerson's Essays' echoes Emerson's thoughts on free will and man's potential: 'Gods are we, Bards, Saints, Heroes, if we will', while the second, 'To an Independent Preacher' calls Emerson a 'Restless fool' for preaching that man should be in harmony with Nature, when she is 'cruel', 'stubborn' and 'fickle' (R. W. Emerson, *Nature* [Boston: James Munro, 1836], pp. 53, 54).

6.

University Hall
Gordon Square
London
July 22^d 1850

My dear Sir

Why I have let six months pass away without acknowledging the copy of your ‘Representative Men’,¹ which I received & read so thankfully, I do not know. Unless it be that I was not willing to put an end at once to the relation of debtor which resulted. To have a distinct claim on one for a letter constitutes a sort of connexion, even with the Atlantic between.

I am here at the end of my first Session in London, not much the worse, nor much the wiser.² I am on the point of going for my holiday to Germany or Switzerland – to return in October. Of your friends I see Carlyle, at times,³ Milnes, who talks of going over to your Country,⁴ & Wilkinson,⁵ who is fourrierizing with Doherty, sometime of the

¹ *Representative Men* consists of a series of lectures delivered by Emerson in 1845 on ‘great men’: Plato, Swedenborg, Montaigne, Shakespeare, Napoleon and Goethe (London: Routledge, 1850).

² C wrote often of his loneliness in London, his dislike of the people, the difficulty in making new friends and the uncertainty of his position at University Hall due to the lack of students (*Corr.* 278 & 282–3).

³ The first record of C’s contact with Carlyle, who lived in Cheyne Row, Chelsea, is in December 1845 when Carlyle wrote to thank him for the gift of ‘the worthy Dr. Beard’s old Book’ (*The Theatre of God’s Judgments ... Now thirdly printed, and encreased with many more Examples* [1631]), which he would keep as ‘a pleasing testimony’ of C’s ‘friendly relation’ towards him (*Corr.* 166). C also arranged the first meeting between Carlyle and Emerson on 1 May 1848 (Anthony Kenny, *A Poet’s Life* [London & New York: Continuum, 2005], p. 127).

⁴ Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton (1809–1885), poet and Liberal MP, had also met Emerson for the first time in London and was in Paris in May 1848 during C’s and Emerson’s stay there (*Corr.* 205–6). In 1847 he asked C for a copy of some verses of Keats for an edition of the poet’s life and letters he was preparing (*Corr.* 178).

⁵ Garth Wilkinson (see *RWE* 5, note 13) and Hugh Doherty were both proponents of the philosopher Charles Fourier (1772–1837); Doherty published an introduction to Fourier’s theory of ‘attractive industry’ and ‘the moral harmony of the passions’ (*False Association and its Remedy* [London: Phalanx, 1841]). Emerson was a founder of the ‘Brook Farm’ movement in Massachusetts, an experiment in communal living which sought to put into practice the Transcendentalist ideals of the union of mind and body and the spiritual benefits of manual labour.

Democratie Pacifique.⁶ – Froude is married, & all the better for it they say: I have not seen him except once for a few minutes, since that change.⁷ – I am not sorry myself to be where I am; in very many ways it is a greater seclusion than the academic shades you took pleasure in looking at, at Oxford. – By the bye I have learnt to delight in the Gulistan, since you went away.⁸ Just at present people are talking of an article in the Edinburgh (June) on Goethe. By whom it is not known: Carlyle guessed Coventry Patmore, but I think wrongly. – It is no great thing.⁹ – William Allingham, whose Pilot’s Daughter you shewed me, is printing his poems.¹⁰

I am going to trouble you with apologies to other people as well as yourself. First to your friend Thoreau, who sent me his book about the rivers; I found it here when I came from Italy last September, & it was I think the first book I read – I enjoyed it.¹¹ Will you thank him for me, & ask him to forgive my tardiness? –

Second, to Madame Ossoli, née Fuller, whose acquaintance I made at Rome, & to whom I owe a certain amount of letter – I don’t know how much, but not more than I

⁶ Hugh Doherty was a ‘writing master’ for the journal *La Democratie Pacifique*, considered to be ‘an organ of the communists’ and produced by followers of Charles Fourier (*Littell’s Living Age*, 10 [1846], p. 84).

⁷ James Anthony Froude (1818–1894), historian and friend of C, the scandal over whose controversial novel, *The Nemesis of Faith* (1849), forced the resignation of his Oxford fellowship. C considered the book, which depicts a young priest’s crisis of faith, to contain ‘a good deal’ of what he imagined ‘pervade[d] the young world in general’ (*Corr.* 248–9). In October 1849 Froude married Charlotte Maria Grenfell (d. 1860); (see *CEN* 67, note 17).

⁸ *The Gulistan* is a collection of poems by the thirteenth century Persian poet Saadi; for Emerson he was ‘the poet of friendship, love, self-devotion, and serenity’ (Musle-Hudden Sheik Saadi, *The Gulistan or Rose Garden*, trans. by Francis Gladwin ([Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1865], p. vii). He also wrote a poem in praise of Saadi (‘Saadi’, *The Dial*, 3 [1843], p. 34), and kept an ‘Orientalist’ notebook containing reflections on Eastern culture and translations of Persian poetry (*The Topical Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. by Glen M. Johnson, 3 vols. [Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1994], III, 53).

⁹ This is a reference to a review, attributed by the *Wellesley Index* to Herman Merivale, of four books on J. W. Goethe (1749–1832): *Das Göethefeier zu Berlin im Jahre* (Goethe’s Festival), (Berlin, 1849); *Goethe in Berlin*, (Berlin, 1849); *Studies in Goethe’s Work*, (Elberfield, 1849); *Goethe’s Briefe an Frau von Stein* (1848); (*Edinburgh Review*, 92 [1850], 188–220).

¹⁰ See *RWE* 5, note 14; ‘The Pilot’s Pretty Daughter’ was published in *Poems* by William Allingham (London: Chapman and Hall, 1850). C wrote an encouraging letter to Allingham assuring him that he had a ‘good many “fit” hearers’, including Tennyson, who had spoken ‘in the highest terms of the promise of his poems’. C advised him, however, not to ‘fritter] away [his] power in short things’ (*Corr.* 287).

¹¹ See *CEN* 7, note 29; *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (Boston & Cambridge Mass.: James Munroe; London: John Chapman, 1849), by Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862) describes a boat trip he took from Concord, Massachusetts to Concord, New Hampshire and intersperses verse with his musings on philosophy and history. He attributes the ‘proverbial moderation’ of Concord dwellers, during the Revolution and since, to the ‘gentleness’ of its current (p. 11).

hope to pay, – ultimately. Meantime – I am her humble debtor; & must for a while remain so.¹² –

Farewell, &

believe me, truly yours

A.H.C.

[P.S.] The Edinburgh, they tell me, is by Rogers, the Birmingham Dissenter who does Religion for the Edinburgh.¹³

Yesterday your friends the Storys wished me good bye. I have seen little of them, but like them.¹⁴ – Wordsworth's poem appears on Saturday. – In his best style & of his best years, one is told.¹⁵ Tennyson you know is married to a Sybilline-looking wife, I am told – Miss Sellwood, niece to Sir John Franklin.¹⁶

MS B

Lowry/Rusk Letter No. 9; *Corr.* 284–5 (published in full); *PR* 174–5 (part-published).

¹² Margaret Fuller (1810–1850), American writer and feminist, married to the Marchese d'Ossoli and one of the founders, with Emerson, of the Transcendentalist journal *The Dial*. C met Margaret Fuller in 1849 during the siege of Rome and evidently wrote to her the following year because in her reply she urged him to visit her in America, regretting she had '[thrown] away the chance of knowing' him in Rome (see *Corr.* 280–2 [p. 282]). When he wrote this letter C was clearly unaware that Fuller had died a few days earlier in a shipwreck on her way to America from Italy.

¹³ Henry Rogers (1806–1877), writer and nonconformist pastor, who held the chair of English literature and language at Spring Hill College, Birmingham and was a regular contributor to the *Edinburgh Review* (see note 9 above).

¹⁴ William Wetmore Story (1819–1895), American sculptor and poet, and his wife, Emelyn Eldredge (see *CEN* 33).

¹⁵ *The Prelude, or, Growth of a Poet's Mind; an Autobiographical Poem* (London: Edward Moxon, 1850) was, according to Wordsworth, written between 1799 and 1805, after he had 'retired to his native mountains', and was intended as a record of the 'origin and progress' of his powers (p. [v]). It was addressed to his friend Samuel Taylor Coleridge and published soon after Wordsworth's death in 1850 (pp. [v], [vii]).

¹⁶ Tennyson married Emily Sarah Sellwood (1813–1896), the niece of the explorer John Franklin (1786–1847), on 13 June 1850 at Shiplake, near Henley-on-Thames.

7 Caroline St Bedford Square

London

June 17th 1852

My dear Emerson

I hope a letter from me will not be a disagreeable visitor, though it is to be all about business, & that entirely my own business. The business is, that I entertain thoughts of emigrating to your side of the Water. University Hall has not flourished; I have left it some months; I am at present merely Professor of English Language & Literature at University College, here, the stipend for which honourable position amounts to some 30£ a year.¹ Meantime like the rest of mankind, I wish to be married and am as good or bad as engaged.² –

Is there any chance, do you think, of earning bread & water, if not bread and flesh, anywhere between the Atlantic & the Mississippi, by teaching Latin, Greek, or English.

Will you tell me also what people of decent habits think it possible in New England to marry upon? Here in London one is told – 500£ a year and £100 for life insurance at the least, & that not without imprudence. I am half-loth now after nearly three years apprenticeship to quit this great town; it is almost like beginning to go down from a high mountain top which it has taken long hours to get to.³ But I dare say it wo^d be for the best.

¹ C resigned his post as Principal of University Hall in December 1851 (see Introduction, p. 11), but was allowed to retain his rooms and his private pupils until the end of the following college session (*Corr.* 299–300).

² C met his future wife Blanche Smith, daughter of Samuel Smith (1784–1880), Examiner of Private Bills in the House of Commons, in 1850 at a house party at Fryston Lodge, the home of his friend Richard Monckton Milnes (see *RWE* 6, note 4). After their engagement, however, he was pessimistic about his future prospects and saw their separation as inevitable, especially as Blanche's father insisted on a minimum income of £600 a year before they could marry (*Corr.* 312, 436).

³ Despite his initial loneliness and lack of fulfilment at University Hall, C formed many 'new and valuable friendships' in London, notably with Carlyle (*PR* 41).

Carlyle is going over for as long as he can bear, to Germany, with a view to working upon Frederick the [Great].⁴ He lives entirely with the Ashburtons.⁵ Milnes is on the eve of being a father, being already a devoted husband.⁶ Tennyson likewise.⁷ Of Books we have had a singularly barren season – I think. There is a little set of 3 volumes on Northern Mythology by Thorpe, the first of which I read with much interest.⁸ Margaret Fuller⁹ & Lord Jeffrey¹⁰ have been the two most circulating books of the libraries, I think. – Do you know that I saw a good deal of M.F. at Rome that last year?

Farewell

Believe me

truly yours

A. H. Clough

June 19th

I have sometimes thought that I might possibly make something of teaching English that might suit the tastes & wants of the American England – But both in this respect <and in> that of the Classics I dare say you have little need of strange teachers –

Farewell. Whatever happens, this will, I hope, give me the advantage of hearing how you are. –

MS B

Lowry/Rusk Letter No. 10; *Corr.* 314–5 (published in full); *PR* 184 (part–published).

⁴ After several years of painstaking research, Carlyle eventually published the first two volumes of his six-volume *History of Friedrich the Second, Called Frederick the Great* in 1858 (see *CEN* 48, note 6).

⁵ The literary hostess Harriet Mary Baring (*née* Montagu), Lady Ashburton (1805–1857), and her husband, William Bingham Baring, second Baron Ashburton (1799–1864), whose residence, Bath House, Piccadilly, became the meeting place for the leading literary figures of the day, including Thackeray and Carlyle. Lady Ashburton was instrumental in obtaining a post for C in the Education Office on his return from America (see Introduction, p. 13).

⁶ Milnes' first son was still-born.

⁷ Tennyson's first child Hallam (1852–1928) from his marriage to Emily Sellwood was born in August 1852.

⁸ *Northern Mythology, Comprising the Principal Popular Traditions and Superstitions of Scandinavia, North Germany, and the Netherlands*, compiled by Benjamin Thorpe (3 vols [London: Edward Lumley, 1851]).

⁹ See *RWE* 6, note 12; *The Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli* (2 vols [Boston: Phillips, Sampson, 1852]) were partly edited by Emerson. The Memoirs recount that during the siege of Rome she was put in charge of a hospital and witnessed the terrible sufferings of the wounded soldiers (II, 263–9).

¹⁰ *The Life of Lord Jeffrey* (Francis Jeffrey [1773–1850]), writer, judge, co-founder and editor of the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802, was published in 1852 by Lord Cockburn (2 vols [Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black]).

8.

My dear Emerson

Your letter came, a welcome surprise to me, on Saturday last.¹

My best way of thanking you is I believe simply to accept your kind proposal. You will I dare say not refuse to recognise thanks in that shape.

My first ship however cannot I fear be earlier than the very middle of October. Will that make me too late for your book [?]² College engagements detain me, but I would not willingly give way to them, if it really made the difference.

Come however I shall in October at latest: & if you have still anything that I can do, will at once set to work at it; & avail myself for the first three weeks or month, shall I say, of your proffered hospitalities. –

Farewell. This is very short, but I feel a good deal go to it [sic]. I shall write again when details are more determined. I write from a country house near Kingston, whence I could send you more thanks than mine;³ but 7, Caroline St, Bedford Square will continue to find me, if you should have occasion to send anything to seek me⁴ – for example, any further enquiries after Blackwood or Fraser.⁵ The Editor of Fraser is J.W.

¹ Emerson wrote on 14th July 1852 expressing his delight at C's 'American' plan and assuring him that with his excellent reputation and illustrious referees he would be able to find lucrative private tutoring, and possibly well-paid 'literary labor'. He urged C to take the first ship to Boston and to be his guest for the first two or three months during which he would initiate his friend into 'all the atrocities of republicanism' (*Corr.* 315–317).

² Emerson wrote that he was 'get[ing] his journal of 1848, and commentaries, in order' and needed C to 'answer a catechism of details touching England, revise [his] notes on that country, and sponge out [his] blunders' (*Corr.* 316).

³ Probably Blanche Smith's family home at Combe-Hurst Surrey (See *RWE* 17, note 1).

⁴ After resigning his post C moved from University Hall, Gordon Square, to 7 Caroline St. Bedford Square, London, in February 1852.

⁵ Emerson had asked C for the name of the editors of *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's* magazines so that he could promote his 'new star' – Delia Bacon, author of *The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakspeare* [sic] *Unfolded* (London: Groombridge, 1857).

Parker Jun^r himself, the bookseller's Son, & indeed, the *Acting* Publisher.⁶ I have always understood that Blackwood is in Aytoun's hands; but I will enquire further, & if I am mistaken let you know.⁷ At present I must not miss the Steamer. –

Believe me

Ever most truly yours

A.H.Clough

August 6th [1852]⁸

MS B

Lowry/Rusk Letter No. 12; *Corr.* 319–20 (published in full); *PR* 186 (part-published).

⁶ John William Parker (1820–1860), son of John William Parker (1792–1870) the London publisher, was editor of *Fraser's Magazine* from 1847.

⁷ William Edmonstoune Aytoun (1813–1865) was on the staff of *Blackwood's Magazine*.

⁸ Year dated by reference to Emerson's note on the letter 'A.H. Clough, Aug. 1852'.

7 Caroline St., Bedfd Sq.

October 1st [1852]¹

My dear Emerson

I have your second letter; many thanks for it: I ought to have answered it before.²

The packet of the 23rd goes, I find, to New York:³ I wait therefore till the 30th, which indeed is more convenient in other respects.

People are giving me sundry letters of introduction: & Lyell the Geologist promises to do anything that comes in his way, for me. He is to be in Boston I believe about the 20th of this month.⁴

I fear I am not much more accommodating & pliant in respect of “modes” than John Bull in general.⁵ However under your auspices I hope to see my way towards them. You know I have been in America before; between 3 & 9 years old; but at such an age one is not perhaps very cognisant of modes.⁶

¹ Year dated by reference to C’s departure for America.

² Emerson wrote on 26th August 1852 reiterating the unlimited opportunities for employment which awaited C and urging him to come as soon as possible; Emerson’s wife and family were eagerly awaiting his arrival and his chamber was prepared (*Corr.* 321–22).

³ A sailing ship, especially one which navigated the rough passage between British and American ports on a regular basis (see *CEN* 3, note 2).

⁴ Sir Charles Lyell (1797–1875), author of *Principles of Geology* (1830–33), whose early work on evolutionary change and the age of the earth was later developed by Darwin. On arrival in Boston, C had dinner with the Lyells and Thackeray, and Lyell later ‘show[ed] [C] to his magnates’ whom he saw several times during his stay in New England (*Corr.* 329–30).

⁵ Emerson wrote that ‘it costs a long enuring or wonting to make a genuine Englishman tolerate our modes’ (*Corr.* 322).

⁶ See Introduction, p. 11; when C was three the family moved to Charleston, South Carolina, where they lived in a ‘large, ugly red brick house near the sea’; they spent holidays in New York and Newport (see *PR* 3; *CEN* 23, note 7).

Carlyle has written half a volume of Frederic, I hear; & is surveying the battle fields with his own eyes in Silesia.⁷ Macaulay it is feared is breaking up.⁸

farewell

Believe me truly yours

A. H. Clough

MS B

Lowry/Rusk Letter No. 14; *Corr.* 323–4 (published in full).

⁷ See *RWE* 7, note 4; during the autumn of 1852 Carlyle toured Germany visiting Berlin and the battlefields of Bohemia and returning via Hanover and Cologne.

⁸ Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–1859), MP, essayist, and author of *History of England* (See *CEN* 5, note 4).

10.

Dear Emerson

This has been the third time I think that I have missed writing to ask if I could come to you for Sunday!¹— So I will take care to send in good time this fourth week; — & if it is convenient to you, will come over next Saturday.

You have heard I dare say that Felton is going to England.² On the 5th of next month.

I have got a little class of pupils (6 in n^o.) who come to me twice a week in Aristotle's Ethics.³ That & Plutarch is all at present.⁴

Ever Yours

A. H. Clough

Cambridge, Monday

March 28th [1853]⁵

MS B

Lowry/Rusk Letter No. 15; *Corr.* 405–406 (published in full).

¹ According to Emerson's journals for that year, C frequently spent Sundays at the Emerson family home where 'he was most welcome to the elders and the children' (*Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. by Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes, 10 vols [Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1912], VIII, 388).

² Cornelius Conway Felton (1807–1862), Professor of Greek at Harvard, whom C met shortly after his arrival in Boston and described as 'a thoroughly kind-hearted worthy man' (*Corr.* 397). He set sail for England in April with letters of introduction to C's friends, one of whom would help him find lodgings near the British Museum (*Corr.* 408).

³ On Felton's recommendation, C placed an advertisement in the Boston *Daily Advertiser* in November 1852 for private pupils in Greek and Mathematics, with a list of 14 eminent referees, including Felton, Emerson, Longfellow and Charles Norton (*Corr.* 339–40). His first pupil started on 7 December 1852 and he built his little class up to six (*Corr.* 339–40; 341; 399).

⁴ In January 1853 Little and Brown, the 'head booksellers' in Boston, commissioned C to revise the standard translation of *Plutarch's Lives* for a new edition, for the sum of \$350 (*Corr.* 367; 370). It was apparently Emerson who persuaded C to translate some of the 'Lives' (Edmund Grindlay Berry, *Emerson's Plutarch* [Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1961], p. 47). C's edition was published in five volumes in Boston in 1859 (see *CEN* 66, note 5; Appendix 2).

⁵ Year dated by C's reference to his Ethics class (*Corr.* 399).

Cambridge, Friday
[27 May 1853]¹

Dear Emerson

Sunday after next, then, if you please, which will suit me quite as well, except it is not quite as soon to come.

Farewell

Ever yours

A.H. Clough

MS B

Lowry/Rusk Letter No. 16; *Corr.* 438 (published in full).

¹ 'May 1853' is written on the back of this letter in Emerson's hand. If it was written on Friday May 27th, 'Sunday after next' would be Sunday 5th June. The following letter in this sequence (see *RWE* 12), breaking the engagement, was dated Saturday 4th June, and C is asking to come the 'next Saturday', ie 11th June. But then he writes again on Thursday 9th June cancelling the visit again, and saying he 'cannot come *this* week either'. May 27th seems, therefore, to be the most likely date of this letter.

Dear Emerson

Alas me. I must break my word: necessity is upon me.¹

But will you let me come to you next Saturday, or Saturday after that. Next, if you please.

Ever Yours

A. H. Clough

Saturday, June 4 [1853]²

MS B

Lowry/Rusk Letter No. 17; *Corr.* 442 (published in full).

¹ C had been busy packing prior to moving to Charles Norton's house where he was to have rooms for the summer (see *RWE* 13, note 4; *Corr.* 441).

² Year dated by Emerson's note 'A. H. Clough 1853' on the back of the letter.

Cambridge, Thursday

June 9th [1853]¹

My dear Emerson

I am afraid I cannot come this week either, as it turns out. I hope you will forgive my treating you so ill, but it is Schicksal² much more than eigene Schuld³, I believe –

I have been removing to the Nortons' house, where I am to have rooms for the summer,⁴ & this, chiefly, prevented my coming last week; for the *crisis* occurred just then⁵ – & I had to wait, amongst other things, to see Charles Norton. They're all gone to Newport.⁶

Item, there is a transatlantic negociation [sic] about my going home again to take a place in the Education office, which however will end I believe in my staying here – so do not mention it, please. I had a letter from Carlyle about it; & have had to write a dozen letters in answer⁷ –

Finally, this week the Lyells have just come, & leave for New York on Monday –

¹ Year dated by Emerson's note 'A. H. Clough, June 1853' on the back of the letter.

² 'Fate'[German].

³ 'my own fault' [German].

⁴ 'Shady Hill', the Norton family house in Cambridge, Massachusetts, which 'abounded in hospitality' and where Norton's friends, including C, Child and Lowell, were 'constantly coming and going' (*Norton*, I, 86.)

⁵ C's decision about whether to stay in America or return to England (see Introduction, p. 13; *Corr.* 438–441).

⁶ The Norton family's summer home in Newport, Rhode Island, which, with its distinctive charm, resembled a 'small Greek island' (*Norton*, I, 86). Norton returned to 'Shady Hill' to find C waiting for him dressed in a 'superb and radiant manner', and they walked 'warmly' to dine with the Longfellows. Norton noted that C's prospects were 'decidedly brighter' but was concerned about his 'delicate' health (*Norton*, I, 88–89).

⁷ See Introduction, p. 14; the 'transatlantic negociation' [sic] began with Carlyle's letter of 12 May 1853, enclosing a letter from Lady Ashburton (see *RWE* 7, note 5) regarding a post as '3d Examiner' in the Education Office – in Carlyle's words 'an Invitation to [C] to come home' (*Corr.* 430).

& for this reason I want to stay to see them at dinner on Saturday which is the only apparent opportunity⁸ –

So I will make no more rash promises, but I will hope to write again & ask [you] to take me in Saturday after next. I hope the columbines & andromedas will not have wholly disappeared from those heights which we traversed last time.

Carlyle had got your letter; have you heard from him; he says little or nothing of himself.

Adieu – & be merciful.

Ever yours

A. H. Clough

MS B

Lowry/Rusk Letter No. 18; *Corr.* 445–6 (published in full).

⁸ See *RWE* 9, note 4; Lyell had been sent to New York by the British Government as commissioner to the New York Industrial exhibition in New York, and also went to Boston (*Life, Letters & Journals of Sir Charles Lyell, Bart.*, ed. by Mrs Lyell, 2 vols [London: John Murray, 1881], II, 187–89). The Lyells received C at the Prescotts' house (*Lowry/Rusk*, Notes to Letters 17 & 18; see also *CEN* 59, note 28).

My dear Emerson

I will be with you on Saturday – perhaps not till the last train from Boston. But if you will have me, I think I can stay over Monday.¹

Ever Yours

A. H. Clough

Thursday [16? June? 1853]²

MS B

Lowry/Rusk Letter No. 19; *Corr.* 449 (published in full).

¹ C stayed over at Emerson's and came back on Monday morning after 'a pleasant Sunday'. He complained to Blanche, however, that 'Mrs Emerson never gives one any meat on Sunday', and that dinner was a 'sort of mess of cocoa, bread and butter, and strawberries and cream' (*Corr.* 450).

² Dated by the reference in C's letter to Blanche of 16 June [1853] to going to Emerson in two days' time, i.e. on Saturday (*Corr.* 449); the year is dated by reference to the note on the back of the letter in Emerson's handwriting: 'A. H. Clough 1853'.

London, July 22^d [1853]¹

My dear Emerson

Alas! – Upon my word that is the most natural ejaculation – and I don't know what more articulate form of words to add to it.

I have taken this place – a Clerkship or Examinership in the Education department of the Council Office, Salary 300£ a year, work 6 hours a day² – The only thing was that if I refused it, I seemed to have no further chance of England; whereas, in taking it, I do not forfeit all chance of America. At least I hope not³ –

I send you a passage from Sharon Turner quoted in Giles's life of Alfred.⁴

Pray remember me kindly to Mrs. Emerson and give my love to my young friends who I suppose will soon grow out of all recollection of me.⁵ I hope you will keep the items of clothing which I left with you as an auspice of a future coming –

I found Carlyle, it seemed to me, more than usually bilious. He says he has never recovered [from] knocking about in Germany – & as for Frederic, it is all useless – he can never hope to finish it unless he lets himself get into a regular rage – which

¹ Year dated by reference to C's acceptance of the Examiner's post.

² See Introduction, p. 14.

³ C's friend Frederick Temple (1821–1902), Principal of Kneller Hall, warned him that refusing the Examinership offer would be 'tantamount to goodbye to England for life' (*Corr.* 448).

⁴ The passage refers to Alfred the Great and comes from the historian Sharon Turner's *The History of the Anglo-Saxons: Comprising the History of England from the Earliest Period to the Norman Conquest* (6th edn, 3 vols [London: Longman, 1823], I, 599). It was quoted by Emerson in *English Traits* (see *RWE* 21, notes 2–5), (p.163).

⁵ Emerson's second wife Lidian (born Lydia Jackson), (1802–1892), and his three surviving children: Ellen (b. 1839), Edith (b. 1841) and Edward Waldo (1844–1930).

perhaps is hardly worth while⁶— M^{rs.} C. is away.⁷ —

I came off, as Chas Norton probably told you, on the very shortest notice, telegraphed, packed, & decided all between 9 a m and 5 p.m.⁸ —

I go to my work on Monday; & for the first two or three months I dare say it will take up all my attention.⁹ Don't treat me quite as silently as Carlyle — unless the spirit is *very* reluctant¹⁰ — — — —

farewell

Ever yours

A.H. Clough

Direct to the

Council Office

Whitehall

London

Extract —

“He was buried at Winchester in the Abbey he had founded there; but his remains were removed by Henry I to the new Abbey in the meadows at Hyde on the Northern quarter of the city, & laid under the high altar. The building was destroyed at the Reformation, & what is left of Alfred's body now lies covered by modern buildings or buried in the ruins of the old.” Turner I, 599’.

MS B

Lowry/Rusk Letter No. 20; *Corr.* 457–8 (published in full).

⁶ See *RWE* 7, note 4 & *RWE* 9, note 7. Carlyle had been complaining to Thomas Erskine of his ‘very miserable tour in Germany’ the previous autumn, when he had not had a single night of sleep and nothing beautiful to look at in compensation for all the ‘tormenting’ and ‘degrading’ ‘physical distress’ (9 July 1853, *CLO* 28:192– 3). As for Frederick, he told his wife, his “task” was a most dreary one’ and he was ‘too *old* for blazing up round this Fritz and his affairs’ (23 [22] July 1853, *CLO* 28: 216–7).

⁷ Jane Carlyle was with Carlyle’s mother who was gravely ill at her home in Scotland (see *CEN* 12, note16); (23 [22] July 1853 *CLO* 28: 216–7).

⁸ See *CEN* 2.

⁹ Soon after returning to England, C took up his new post in the Education Office and from then on was freed from ‘perplexing questions as to choice of occupation’. His business life was apparently ‘simple, straightforward, and hardworking’, but little more than ‘official drudgery’ (*PR* 45).

¹⁰ ‘the spirit indeed *is* willing, but the flesh *is* weak’ (Matthew 26.41).

16.

Sunday, Octr 9th [1853]¹

My dear Emerson

I have a half a sheet addressed to you which has been lying in a drawer at the office for a month or more – I am inspired to scribble another & that I hope may make a letter –

People are beginning to return to their beloved Metropolis² – Here is the sort of thing I used to try & represent to you. I went out this morning to do civilities – this being the only day of the week free for that object. I went first to Frank Newman,³ with whom a certain D^r Stamm, abroad on a mission to form a new Religious Union or League⁴ – he delivering himself of a sort of Anima Mundi Religion;⁵ Humanism I think they call it⁶ – – F Newman fraternizing from a Theistic distance⁷ – Thence I got to old Crabb Robinson with liberalism & Abolitionism and etc.⁸ Then I went across country and

¹ Dated by the reference to Froude's article (see note 15 below).

² At this time of the year people would be returning to London from their country retreats for the start of the London social and cultural 'season'.

³ Francis William Newman (1805–1897), classical scholar, brother of Cardinal John Henry Newman and first Principal of University Hall in 1848 – the year before C took up the post. Shortly before his correspondence with Emerson began, in 1847, C wrote two letters to the *Spectator* in response to Newman's lecture, *On the Relations of Free Knowledge to Moral Sentiment* ([London: Taylor and Walton: 1847]), questioning the requirement for Subscription to the Thirty Nine Articles and formal 'moral training' at the older universities (see Introduction, p. 11; *Corr.* 187–90).

⁴ August Theodor Stamm (1822–1892), German physician and early advocate of land reform in Germany, who founded a 'Society for Humanism' in 1874.

⁵ 'Soul of the World' [Latin] – the Platonic idea of an immanent world soul, revived by early German Romantic philosophers.

⁶ One of the earliest uses of the term to mean the realization of 'the principle and system of human liberty' in religion and society, and the rejection of theistic religion (*OED*, and *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 7 [1853], p. 571). For C, true religion manifested itself not in a slavish adherence to dogma but in service to others (*PR* 418).

⁷ Newman had abandoned the idea of biblical authority and revelation in favour of a belief in the religion of the heart and 'the sympathy of God with individual man' (*Phases of Faith: or Passages from The History of My Creed* [London: John Chapman, 1850], p. 201).

⁸ Henry Crabb Robinson (1775–1867), diarist and a member of the committee of University Hall (see Introduction, p.11). He was confident that in C they had made the right choice of Principal – he was 'modest', 'amiable' and 'full of talent' (*Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson*, ed. by Thomas Sadler, 3 vols [London: Macmillan: 1869], III, p. 346). Robinson was known for his Liberalism and commitment to Abolition (*Diary*, II, p. 361).

found myself at the Brookfields⁹ – where presently in came two ladies – one of whom Mrs. Brookfield’s little girl¹⁰ calls Miss Lord Lyttelton, being sister to Lord Lyttelton, I suppose¹¹ – a very fair specimen of aristocratic tradition. Thence I fell in my walk upon Carlyle – I omit two or three other casualties. – However these changes of atmosphere don’t affect me as they used to do: – nor do I think much of them now – –

Carlyle has been in rural solitude, by himself & well cared for, in one of L^d Ashburton’s places, while they were away in Scotland – and he certainly seems much the better for it. I have not seen him in such good animal spirits for some time.¹² –

Indeed on the whole I do not think there is much here that you have to envy; and there is a hopefulness and a belief-fulness, so to say, on your side which is a great compensation. –

Your woods are in full beauty I suppose about this time – There was something visible of autumnal richness even here in the Regents Park this morning.¹³ –

This paper on which I am writing is a new phenomenon. It is made of straw; & is sold at /4^d a quire. It wo^d be very useful I think for envelopes; for it *cracks* much less easily. It is rather elastic.¹⁴

⁹ William Henry Brookfield (1809–1874), Anglican clergyman, and Jane Octavia Brookfield (1821–1896), literary hostess; she described C as ‘un-understandable’, with ‘the most peculiar manner’ she had almost ever seen and extremely sharp eyes that ‘cut one through and through’ (Charles and Frances Brookfield, *Mrs. Brookfield and Her Circle*, 2 vols [London: Pitman, 1905], II, p. 295).

¹⁰ Magdalene Brookfield (b.1850); there is a full-figure photograph of her by Julia Margaret Cameron in the J. Paul Getty museum, LA.

¹¹ Caroline Lyttelton (1816–1902), sister of George William, fourth Baron Lyttelton (1817–1876), educationist.

¹² Carlyle had been staying at Addiscombe Farm in Croydon, the Ashburtons’ country home – in ‘perfect solitude’ – as ‘peaceable, lonesome, pensive, mournful, as those in the “Elysian fields”’, but it had done him good both physically and mentally (Letter to John A. Carlyle, 2 October 1853, *CLO* 28: 281–282).

¹³ C was living in lodgings near Regents Park during this time.

¹⁴ See Introduction, p. 25; in the 19th century straw was used for hand-made paper, but although it was more durable, it proved unsuitable for large scale production because it yields less pulp and has high water retention.

Froude has written in the Westminster on Job¹⁵ – & in Fraser on Queen Elizabeth's Morals.¹⁶ Leigh Hunt has published a Book of Devotions.¹⁷ – And Mr Alfred Bunn is writing on New England & Old England.¹⁸ Thackeray is off again to Paris. He seems restless & uneasy after his transatlantic travel. Europe feels small to him.¹⁹ –

Adieu.

Ever Yours

A.H. Clough

MS B

Lowry/Rusk Letter No. 21; *Corr.* 463–4 (published in full); *PR* 220 (part-published).

¹⁵ Froude questions why the English, despite their 'high pretensions' to a 'superior reverence for the Bible', have achieved so little in its exegesis in comparison with German historians. Analytical criticism of the Book of Job, for instance, the most difficult of all the Hebrew texts, had proved its authenticity. The 'theory of life' in Job had passed into Christianity, but the purity of its doctrine had been corrupted, as exemplified by the huge popularity of superstitious practices such as mesmerism and table-turning ('The Book of Job', *Westminster Review*, 60 [1853], 417–450 [pp. 417, 441, 442, 450]).

¹⁶ 'The Morals of Queen Elizabeth', attributed to Froude, looks at the many spurious attempts by historians over the years to smear the reputation of the Queen by publishing specious articles about her alleged persecution of Mary Queen of Scots, and her love affairs (*Fraser's Magazine*, 48 [1853], 373–387).

¹⁷ *The Religion of the Heart: A Manual of Faith and Duty* (London: John Chapman, 1853), by James Henry Leigh Hunt, poet and critic, (1784–1859); written in part to assuage his grief over Shelley's death, it was marketed as a prayer book, setting out forms of worship and prayers for use on every occasion.

¹⁸ Alfred Bunn (1796–1860), theatre manager and librettist; his *Old England and New England in a series of views taken on the spot* (2 vols [London: Richard Bentley, 1853]) takes a light-hearted and humorous look at various aspects of American life, from slavery to 'spiritual rappings'. Boston and its environs he calls the 'Athens' of America – 'highly refined', 'highly intellectual' and 'strictly religious' (I, 19–20).

¹⁹ See Introduction, p. 12; *CEN* 7, notes 25, 26; recently returned from Switzerland, Thackeray spent October and November in Paris before moving on to Rome for the winter (*Thackeray's Letters to an American Family* [New York: The Century Co, 1904], p. 102).

17.

My dear Emerson

Fragments amounting to a whole letter are somewhere in my drawer written in the autumn and withheld because correspondence seemed chimerical – It is now nearly a twelvemonth since I fled in that precipitate half voluntary manner from Massachusetts – another fortnight will I think complete the year, and another two days from this will in all probability see me married¹ –

You in the meantime are in all the turmoil of a renewed Slavery Contest. I was quite astonished to see after all that the Bill was passed by the Representatives – I had imagined it had already been virtually defeated there² – From this distance it almost looks as if this aggression wo^d be of more use in breaking down the idea of compromise than of harm in its actual results –

I heard of your lecture or speech whichever it was in New York, but saw no report of it.³

I am going on here working in the Office in the ordinary routine – which however after years of Greek tuition is really a very great relief – All education is in England & I think

¹ C married Blanche Smith on June 13th 1854. A notice in the ‘Married’ column of the *Morning Chronicle* read: ‘On 13th inst., at Wellow Church, Hants, Arthur Hugh Clough, Esq., M.A., late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, Examiner in the Privy Council office, to Blanch [sic] Mary Shore, eldest daughter of Samuel Smith, Esq., of Combe-hurst, Surrey’ (16 June 1854, p. 12). Frederick Temple, Principal of Kneller Hall officiated (see *RWE* 15, note 3), and the couple honeymooned at the Nightingales’ home, Lea Hurst, near Matlock (see *CEN* 18, note 13). C’s seven years of married life was, apparently, a period of ‘real rest and contentment’ (*PR* 46).

² The passing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act by the House of Representatives on 22nd May 1854, which created the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, opened new lands and allowed settlers in those territories to determine whether they would allow slavery within their boundaries, was a significant step towards civil war. The land lay north of the 36°30’ parallel – where slavery had been outlawed by the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and caused outrage in the North, which denounced the Act as a concession to Southern slave owners.

³ Emerson’s lecture on 7 March 1854, before the New York Anti-Slavery Society, was a powerful condemnation of the Fugitive Slave Law (1850), which required the return of runaway slaves to their owners on pain of a fine or imprisonment, and whose passing marked ‘the darkest passage’ in American history. For Emerson slavery was a crime equal to homicide and had become ‘aggressive and dangerous’; Emerson denounced ‘the disastrous defection’ of the educated elite who had colluded in its perpetuation, declaring that America could no longer call itself cultured or progressive (Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Miscellanies*, 11 vols [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1884], XI, 202–230 [pp. 214, 216.]).

in America so horribly mixed up with religious matters that it is a great difficulty. One does not want to parade opinions which indeed one cannot very well define – and yet it seems a treachery to the parents to teach their boys what they did not count upon⁴ – –

I always think of coming out to you again, but this will stand in the way of it. Having got work which leaves me independent in all these respects, & which moreover has no competition in it & may be done in, I sho^d think, as unmercenary a way as any daily labour at any rate in England – I don't doubt it will be difficult to quit it, so I don't plan anything –

Farewell –

I often look into Thoreau's River Book with gratification now because it brings up your country – I hope to see it again some day one way or other⁵ –

I don't think there is any news worth the telling –

Give my love to your young people please – specially my particular friend, if she is not grown too old to accept it⁶ –

Ever Yours faithfully

A. H. Clough
Council Office,
Downing St.

June 10th [1854]⁷

R.W. Emerson Esq.

MS B

Lowry/Rusk Letter No. 23; *Corr.* 485–6 (published in full); *PR* 225–6 (part-published).

⁴ The majority of schools in 19th century Britain were funded by the Church of England, which by 1851 had established 17,000 schools. It was not until 1870, with the establishment of 'board schools', that non-denominational religious teaching was introduced. In America, too, education in public schools, although nominally non-sectarian, included instruction in a Protestant version of the Bible. C's remark recalls his first 'Letter of Parepidemus: 'We submit ourselves for instruction to teachers, and they teach us ... their faults and mistakes' (*PR* 383 and see Appendix 2).

⁵ See *RWE* 6, note 11.

⁶ Edith Emerson (1841–1929), the youngest daughter of Emerson and his wife Lidian (Lydia) Jackson.

⁷ Year dated by the reference to C's marriage.

Council Office, Whitehall
 Augt 22d [1854]¹

My dear Emerson

Your letter, about a week ago, was very welcome, and the silver candlestick² which came in Felton's box of treasures was very much appreciated and I am to send the kindest possible thanks for it³ – I only hope fortune may indeed some day waft us over at least for a visit to your Northern Vinland⁴ & give my wife the opportunity of being made familiar with Concord –

I haven't seen Carlyle for an age – He is I believe ruralizing at Addiscombe, a few miles out of London, which always does him a great deal of good⁵ – I dare say we shall not meet till London begins to consider itself alive again in October – This country has as you say, its concentrated civilization to hold one to it – it seems waste of opportunity to leave such a mass of old knowledge – But I think you are better & more happily off in America, where the vastness of the machinery does not destroy the sense of individual moral purpose – The ship here is really so big that one cannot see that it moves, or that any one of the little petty services which people are for the dear bread's sake set to do, can have any effect one way or other on its motion. If one has a place or business here, one is only standing in some other person's shoes, who really could very likely do the thing as well –

¹ Year dated by the reference to Emerson's wedding present to C.

² Emerson sent C a silver candlestick 'emblematic of the light of Philosophy' as a wedding gift (*Corr.* 484).

³ Cornelius Felton (see *RWE* 10, note 2) sent a package of wedding gifts for C, including a pair of silver napkin rings from himself, a pin with mayflowers 'typical of poetry and its fragrant [aroma?]' from Longfellow, a salt-cellar from Child, 'expressive of the Attic Savor', a cream pot from Lowell 'to hold the richest product of human kindness', and 'Allston's Outlines' from Charles Norton 'to signify that the imagination ought to touch with its transfiguring light all practical and useful things' (*Corr.* 484).

⁴ Vinland' was a Viking settlement on North America's east coast in the early 11th century.

⁵ See *RWE* 16, note 12.

You are so infinitely more plastic again, as to opinion than, except in talk, the English are⁶ –

As for your politics, certainly they do not look well at present – & one is half afraid that New York may after all acquiesce in the fait accompli, and go back to its farm and its counting house without concerning itself further⁷ – I am afraid the English theory is when one has done a wrong thing, to forget it as soon as possible.
farewell –

With kindest remembrances at Concord

Ever yours

A. H. Clough

MS B

Lowry/Rusk Letter No. 25; *Corr.* 489 (published in full); *PR* 227–8 (part-published).

⁶ C was always in two minds about leaving America (see Introduction, p.13); had he stayed, he would, apparently, ‘have always regretted his exclusion from what he call[ed] “the deeper waters of ancient knowledge and experience” in the old country’. But his ‘genuine democratic feeling’, had, apparently, ‘rejoiced in the wider diffusion of prosperity and substantial comforts’ which he had found in America (*PR* 45).

⁷ The Kansas-Nebraska Act (see *RWE* 17, note 2) resulted in an escalation of hostilities on both sides of the Slavery Question. The ‘new Northern party’ held a number of ‘Anti-Nebraska’ rallies calling for the restoration of the ‘original principles of liberty’ in government, the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law (see *RWE* 17, note 3), and the prohibition of slavery in all the territories (*The Times*, 3 August 1854, p. 7).

19.

Council Office
 Whitehall, London
 7th May. [1855]¹

Dear Emerson

I have more than once begun a letter to you in some lull of official business, which has not lasted long enough to allow its completion. However this I hope will fare better –

You are by this time I suppose once more gathering columbines on the banks above Concord; and rejoicing in Spring which with us is so slowly given & so many half-recals [sic] that one never feels properly grateful when at last one gets it –

Since you heard of me probably, we have had & have lost a first little boy; – this I believe the only event in our domestic life.² We are settled in a part which you perhaps may remember, not very far from where the Carpenters used to live, just outside the Regents Park.³ I travelled five town miles yesterday to see Carlyle, and found him busy over Frederick in his high attic, among genealogies and maps⁴ – he was very well-tempered and placable and I think did not grumble about any one unless it might be yourself for your sins as a correspondent.⁵ Did you know that M^{rs} Carlyle numbers among her ancestry a certain son-in-law of Knox, who was sent out of Scotland for opposing James I's bishops, & was besieged in Rochelle by Richlieu's army, etc., etc. –

¹ Year dated by the reference to the death of C's son.

² See *CEN* 28, note 2.

³ William Benjamin Carpenter (1813–1885), biologist, Unitarian, and Principal of University Hall from 1853–59; the Carpenters lived at 56 Regent's Park Road, London, close to Clough's house in St Mark's Crescent (see *CEN* 24, note 10).

⁴ See *RWE* 7, note 4.

⁵ The last letter Carlyle had received from Emerson was 11th March 1854. On 13th May 1855 he wrote to Emerson: 'Last Sunday, Clough was here; and we were speaking about you (much to your discredit, you need not doubt), and how stingy in the way of Letters you were grown; when, next morning, your Letter itself made its appearance. Thanks, thanks. You know not in the least, I perceive, nor can be made to understand at all, how indispensable your Letters are to me. How you are, and have for a long time been, the one of all the sons of Adam who, I felt, completely understood what I was saying; and answered with a truly *human* voice,—inexpressibly consolatory to a poor man, in his lonesome pilgrimage, towards the evening of the day!' (*CLO* 29: 308–10).

a certain famous preacher, a D^r Welch. This piece of history apropos of something or other came out yesterday⁶ –

Here we are meanwhile publicly, as it seems to me, better for being at War; and for not being altogether as successful as we thought we should be.⁷ I hear occasionally of Florence Nightingale's proceedings at Scutari, where she is doing pretty hard work – controlling nurses, and contending with doctors & officials.⁸ – She is my wife's first cousin both by the father's and the mother's side; and I, as it happened, had the honour of being her escort as far as Calais.⁹ You know I dare say that Milnes was for a long time her suitor¹⁰ –

Farewell, for the present; the work has come in; so this first fytte must cease.¹¹ However it [I] hope it will be provided with a sequel before Saturday's steamer departs. –

Thursday 10 June [May]¹²

Another brief lull will I hope carry me on a little way towards the end of this –

Miss Jewsbury, with whom we consorted in the year of revolutions, is now living under M^{rs} Carlyle's auspices a street or two off from Cheyne Row¹³ – These continue firm friends, having broken with our other companion in Paris Mrs. Paulet¹⁴ – – – concerning

⁶ Jane Baillie Welsh Carlyle (1801–1866) claimed descent from John Welsh (1568?–1622), son-in-law of the Scottish religious reformer John Knox (c1514–72), (*CLO* 21: 235–236).

⁷ The conduct of the war in the Crimea was not going well and the government was being vilified in the press for its blunders and ineptitude. *The Times* castigated Lord John Russell for offering terms to Russia; it urged the Government to abandon peace talks and 'fight it out with a stout heart and a strong hand', otherwise the suffering of the soldiers: 'deadly malaria', starvation, overwork, lack of medicine etc, and the burdens of 'fresh taxation' would all have all been in vain (*The Times*, 4 May 1855, p. 9).

⁸ See *CEN* 24, notes 2–4.

⁹ See *CEN* 24, note 7.

¹⁰ See *RWE* 6, note 4; Milnes courted Florence Nightingale in 1849.

¹¹ A part of a poem or a song; a comical archaism (*OED*); C is comparing his letter to a medieval epic.

¹² See C's reference to '23rd May' later in this letter.

¹³ Geraldine Endors Jewsbury (1812–1880), novelist and journalist; C first met her during his visit to Paris with Emerson in May 1848 (see Introduction to *RWE* letters, p. 67), describing her as 'busy', 'active' and 'vehement' – an 'almost feverish and fidgety little body' (*Corr.* 216). Jewsbury moved to Chelsea to be near her close friend Jane Carlyle (see note 6 above) in 1854.

¹⁴ See *RWE* 5, note 17.

which the less said the better I suppose; the pretty Julia, who used to play tricks with Carlyle's pipe & with anything else that came in her way is married to some friend's brother.¹⁵ – Neuberg, who came with you to Oxford, lives here & does occasional assistance for Carlyle; & wrote by the way, an article in the *Westminster* of January – on some foreign political matter – he asked me after you the other day¹⁶ – Froude is busy writing a history of England under Henry VIII & Elizabeth¹⁷ – some echoes of which may be found in an article on History in a late *Westminster*,¹⁸ another on ditto in a new publication called “Oxford Essays”¹⁹ and in Kingsley's new novel of *Westward Ho*.²⁰ He is living down at Torquay in his native Devonshire,²¹ reconciled to the crusty Archdeacon his father, though not I believe to Mother Church²² –

¹⁵ Julia Paulet (b. c. 1830), daughter of Elizabeth and Etienne Paulet (d. 1850), who spent much of her childhood in the company of the Carlyles.

¹⁶ Joseph Neuberg (1806–1867), German-born writer; C's first meeting with him was in March 1848, during Emerson's visit to Oxford. Emerson introduced Neuberg to Carlyle and he became Carlyle's unofficial secretary. The article, attributed to Neuberg, is entitled ‘Poland: Her History and Prospects’ and traces the ethnic origins of the Polish people and the partition of the country by Prussia, Austria and Russia, ending with a plea for the restoration of Poland to her ancient borders (*Westminster Review*, 63 [1855], 114–154).

¹⁷ See *RWE* 6, note 7; Froude worked on his twelve-volume *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada* for over twenty years, consulting manuscripts in British and European government archives. The first two volumes were published in 1856 to critical acclaim. The *Westminster Review*, for example, praised the publication's ‘clear and effective’ style and ‘spirited’ narrative, declaring that it rescued ‘from oblivion’ that great ‘revolution in the thoughts and lives of men which, under the Tudor dynasty, divided modern from ancient England’ (‘Froude's History of England’, 66 [1856], 113–134 [p.113]).

¹⁸ The first article, attributed to Froude, was entitled ‘History: its Use and Meaning’ (*Westminster Review* 62 [1854], 420–448).

¹⁹ The second: ‘Suggestions on the Best Means of Teaching English History’ criticized the way history (only recently introduced into higher education) was taught in schools and colleges, with its over-reliance on the opinions of a few established historians; there was no original research, a lack of ‘intellect and imagination’ and no verification of references. Higher education had changed little since the Reformation – ancient history was taught in place of the constitution of the ‘British Islands’, while ‘school logic’ and metaphysics had ‘usurp[ed]’ the place which ought to be occupied by physical science. Froude advocated replacing ‘worn out Aristoteliansim’ and ‘philosophies of mind’ with ‘Baconian induction and philosophies of matter and real things’; the ‘old dead languages’ should be ‘decently buried’ and modern languages taught in their place. (in *Oxford Essays, Contributed by Members of the University* [London: John W. Parker, 1855], pp. 47–79 [pp. 48,49]). C put forward similar views in his review of the ‘*Oxford University Commission*’ report (see Appendix 2).

²⁰ *Westward Ho! Or The Voyages and Adventures of Sir Amyas Leigh*, by Charles Kingsley (see *RWE* 5, note 6); (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1855), was apparently inspired by Froude's essay ‘England's Forgotten Worthies’, which had appeared in the *Westminster Review* (58, [1852], 32–67). Set in Elizabethan times, the hero follows Francis Drake to sea, spends time in the Caribbean seeking gold and returns to England at the time of the Spanish Armada.

²¹ In October 1853 Froude and his family settled in a cottage in Babbacombe near Torquay, not far from Dartington where he grew up.

²² Robert Hurrell Froude (1770/71–1859), the stern, unbending Archdeacon of Totnes, cut off his son's allowance after Froude published *The Nemesis of Faith* and renounced his Oxford fellowship (see *RWE* 6,

This attempt was well meant but failed & here we are at the 23rd of May. However this, whatever it be shall go – and before twelve-months are over I hope I shall hear from you –

I hope you will not fail to commend to me anyone to whom it occurs to you to do so – that also being one means of communication –

I saw Wilkinson three days – He is in regular homoeopathic practice – & goes it seems to me too much into the quasi-quack line – as for example, he believes in the importance of table-turning²³ – There is a certain Hume here from your side who is doing great wonders²⁴ – George Sand's *Histoire de ma Vie* is I think worth reading – The letters of her father are certainly interesting²⁵ –

Our politics are I fear as you called yours in your last letter to me *deplorable* – If anything will upset Queen & Peers & Constitution it will be a shameful peace – or a shamefully managed War – And one or the other we seem likely to have²⁶ –

note 7). The pair were apparently reconciled after publication of the first two volumes of Froude's *History of England* (see note 17 above).

²³ See *RWE* 5, note 13; disillusioned with the 'crude practice' of medicine in those 'pre-antiseptic and pre-anaesthetic' days, and following his baby son's miraculous recovery from bronchitis after a minute dose of 'ipecacuanha', Wilkinson established himself as a homeopath in Wimpole Street London. By 1852 he was earning almost £2000 a year. He was also keenly interested in spiritual healing and 'Mesmerism', a form of hypnotism popular at the time; (Clement John Wilkinson, *James John Garth Wilkinson: A Memoir of His Life* [London: Kegan Paul, 1911], pp. 15, 16, 247–9).

²⁴ Daniel Dunglas Home (1833–1886), Scottish-born medium, who held séances in the United States during which there would be raps on the table, spelling out messages from the 'spirits', and the table would sometimes rock and rise off the floor. Home visited England in 1855 where he conducted hundreds of séances attended by the Brownings, Garth Wilkinson and other leading Victorian figures. Browning wrote a sceptical poem about Home entitled 'Mr. Sludge, "The Medium"' (1864).

²⁵ George Sand was the pseudonym of the French writer and feminist, Armandine-Aurore-Lucille Dudevant (1804–1876), daughter of Maurice Dupin de Francueil (1778–1808), a retired lieutenant in the French Republican Army. Sand played an active role in the new Republican government during the 1848 revolution, when C was in Paris with Emerson, but later retreated to the country. C wrote that 'the air of Paris seemed lourde to her, after hearing the a-bas's of the Nat. Guard, and after the arrests of so many generous-minded men' (*Corr.* 211). Sand's *Histoire de Ma Vie*, published in 1855, included fragments of letters written by her father in 1802–3, which paint a vivid picture of life in Paris under Louis Bonaparte with lavish soirées attended by the crème of European society (Paris: Victor Lecou).

²⁶ See *CEN* 28, note 10.

I go with my wife a little way abroad for the month of June – to Bonn perhaps or the Moselle – some where there perhaps I may meet Lowell – I wish it were an easier holiday-journey to cross the Atlantic. But we have only 48 days, Sundays excluded, allowed in the year, & it wo^d not be easy to get them all at once.
farewell –

Ever yours

A H Clough

MS *H*

Corr. 501–3 (published in full).

Council Office – Whitehall
14 Sept 1855

My dear Emerson

A few lines will be probably all I shall send – but they may go, as a remembrance – I was very sorry to miss your friend Mr. George Bradford, who had left his quarters in Golden Square only a few hours before I called¹ – I was very glad however to have your note – written a year before – but not much the worse for a year's wear, as it seemed.

Here I am at the desk still and on the whole preferring the desk to the old task of teaching Greek – I cannot say that I am fond of London, though I live quietly enough in it, not far from the house where in the year 48 you used to visit Dr. Carpenter; a good way out of sight of the pyrotechnical displays of the Season² – Something or other I still think will one day or other carry me over again at last for a visit to your side, though so long as I stay in this office, 8 weeks at a time is, though allowed in the year, not easy to obtain all together.

Thackeray goes out to you again to lecture on the 4 Georges, leaving us on the 13th Oct^r and due to his New York audience on Novr 1st³ –

We have taken our Sevastopol, as all newspapers will have told you, at last. The news came into London about 4 or 5pm on Monday, & was received, it seemed to me, with great unconcern – certainly with no demonstrations, nor have we had any Te Deums or

¹ Emerson had asked his friend George Partridge Bradford (1807–1890), a leading figure in the American Transcendentalist movement and member of Brook Farm (see *RWE* 6, note 5) to call on C (*Corr.* 480).

² See *RWE* 19, note 3; Carpenter's house in Regent's Park was a meeting place for his wide circle of distinguished friends, including Darwin, Francis Newman and Carlyle; Emerson attended Carpenter's lectures at the Royal Institution in 1848.

³ Thackeray sailed from Liverpool to Boston aboard the *Africa* in October 1855 to give a series of lucrative lectures on the first four Hanoverian monarchs (George I, II, III & IV). Although not as popular as Dickens, the 'genial', white-haired, bespectacled figure received a warm reception at his first lecture in New York (*New York Times*, 2 November 1855).

fêtes of any kind in consequence – Yet it is an immense relief in every way⁴ – Our Aristocracy will last now, I suppose, till another great War comes and forces the trading and manufacturing classes to take to fighting. At present our officers come from the gentry & our soldiers mostly from the peasantry or at least the day labourers, much in the old feudal manner. Still I think there has been some change even in this last year⁵ – I myself had to help to examine about 150 youths, candidates for Commissions in the artillery and engineers – about 40 or 50 of whom were accepted⁶ –

My wife's mother is gone out to Scutari to help her niece, Florence Nightingale, whose former protectors, Mr. and Mrs. Bracebridge, have come home⁷ – The Nurses in general have been only too faithful to their old metropolitan habits of drinking, thieving and the like – and numerous discharges & disgraces have been necessary⁸ – However, amidst all the vain éclat & the real troubles and difficulty, something I believe has been done – She herself was almost overthrown by her Crimean fever, which leaves people in a terribly weak state – suffering as she called it 'from a compound fracture of the intellects'⁹ – However she has staid on & though reputed far from properly strong again, is at work –

⁴ See *CEN* 30, note 8.

⁵ See *FJC* 3, notes 15, 19; a meeting of The Administrative Reform Association found that an 'enormous number of lives had been sacrificed' due to the 'incapacity' of their commanding officers – 'an army of lions had been led by a pack of asses'. There were calls for appointments to government posts by open competitive examination rather than by 'corrupt political influence' (*Morning Chronicle*, 27 February 1856, p. 5).

⁶ C examined candidates at Woolwich and at the Education Office; his report on the English Literature paper for 'the third competitive examination for Commissions in the Artillery and admission to the Royal Military Academy' stated: 'My impression is, that there has been a good deal of reading of short summaries and cramming books, but that there is not much real study.' ... 'There is a great deal of mediocrity in my papers'. The principle of open competition was eventually recommended (*Report of the Commissioners appointed to consider the best mode of Re-organizing the System for Training Officers for the Scientific Corps; Together with An Account of Foreign and Other Military Education* [London: HMSO, 1857], pp. lv; lvii).

⁷ See *CEN* 24, note 7; Charles Holt Bracebridge (1799–1872) and Selina Bracebridge (1800–1874) were close friends of Nightingale; they accompanied her to Scutari in October 1854, and acted as her assistants. They returned home to a heroes' welcome, reporting that, thanks largely to Florence Nightingale, there had been a huge improvement in the hospitals in Scutari, which had previously been 'little less than charnel-houses' (*Morning Post*, 4 September 1855, p. 5).

⁸ Several of Nightingale's nurses were drunken, promiscuous, and 'troublesome' (Cecil Woodham-Smith, *Florence Nightingale 1820–1910* [New York & London, McGraw-Hill, 1951], p. 93).

⁹ Quoted from a letter written to her family 18th June 1855 (*Florence Nightingale: Letters from the Crimea*, ed. by Sue M. Goldie [Manchester: Mandolin, 1997], p. 131).

Of Carlyle I have seen nothing lately, but am meditating a visit next Sunday¹⁰ – My kind remembrances, if you please, to Mrs. Emerson and your young people, whom some day I hope you will be induced to bring over here.

Ever yours affectionately

A. H. Clough

MS *H*

Corr. 505–506 (published in full).

¹⁰ On 19th September 1855 Carlyle wrote to Neuberg: ‘My sunday and monday in Chelsea were by no means so quiet as the days are here: Clough & his Wife had come down to us; Browning also was there,’ (*CLO* 30: 70).

Council Office,
Downing St
12 Sept^r [1856]¹

My dear Emerson

Your copy of the English Traits has just reached me² – I am very glad to have it, for it is a far prettier book than Mr. Routledge's – not to mention any other considerations.

I have already read most of the Traits in the green Routledge copy which I bought for myself a week or more ago in Faringdon S^t. I was not quite prepared [to] find your experiences defined into what may be called a series of lectures – but I do not know that I have to find any fault with the arrangement – I think you praise us too highly – I was anxious for more rebuke – and profitable reprimand³ – You have called Sir *Edward* Parry, Sir *William* Parry, I think: I am not aware of any other grievous error⁴ – I don't think your friend who said that no ill-dressed person ever came to church spoke within proper bounds. The labouring country population do to a certain extent come to church – & you may see old beggar-looking people in the cathedrals on week days. The rural populⁿ in agricultural parts belongs to the Church & attends "at times"⁵ – It is the Town

¹ Year dated by the reference to the publication of *English Traits*.

² The American edition of *English Traits* was published by Phillips, Sampson on August 6th 1856; the English edition was published by Routledge in the same month. The American edition was in black cloth, 'blind stamped' with gilt lettering on the spine, while the Routledge was in green leather with 'marbled boards'.

³ The *Daily News* found Emerson's account of the English people to be 'animated by a warmth', resulting from an 'honest admiration of the first of nations' and the national qualities of self-discipline, strength of character, independence and endurance. The 'shadowy' aspects of the English, however, included 'grossness', selfishness, arrogance, coldness and 'an oppressive presence abroad'. Emerson also criticised the apparent indifference to 'the most striking contrasts of wealth and poverty, civilisation and barbarism' (13 September 1856, p. 2).

⁴ This error was corrected in the 1857 edition of *English Traits* (p.73).

⁵ In the chapter on 'Religion', Emerson describes the English Church as 'the church of the gentry ... not the church of the poor' and claims that 'gentlemen' testified in the House of Commons that 'they never saw a poor man in a ragged coat inside a church' (*English Traits* [London: Routledge, 1856], p. 125).

church that is so entirely abandoned to the Upper, & Middle people⁶ –

I have been out upon an errand in the way of my trade to Paris, Berlin & Vienna, as Sec^y to a Commission sent to visit Military Schools.⁷ But I am now restored to the ordinary desk in Downing S^t. I saw Lowell for two or three hours⁸ – and have seen Dr. Palfrey several times⁹ – the Nortons are here touring over England.¹⁰ I just saw Dana,¹¹ who I suppose is now busy in your Elections¹² –

⁶ The 1851 Census uncovered an ‘alarming number [over 5 million] of non-attendants’ at Church and concluded that ‘a sadly formidable portion of the English people are habitual neglecters of the public ordinances of religion’. In large towns there had been a rapid increase in attendance by the ‘prosperous middle classes’, while only an ‘absolutely insignificant’ portion of the congregations [was] ‘composed of artisans’. The main reason for this was thought to be social distinctions – with pews reserved for the middle classes, and working men relegated to the ‘free seats’, which reinforced their feeling of inferiority (*Census of Great Britain, 1851: Religious Worship in England and Wales* [London: Routledge, 1854], pp. 65, 93, 94).

⁷ In the spring of 1856, C was appointed Secretary to a Commission appointed to inspect scientific military schools in France, Prussia and Austria; they compared officer training and education in those countries with that provided at Sandhurst and the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, which was found to be inferior in a number of respects. In France, for example, they found a higher proportion of officers were promoted from the ranks than in Britain, and extensive state assistance by means of ‘Bourses’ was provided. In Prussia, however, commissions were confined mainly to ‘the upper ranks and sons of officers’. C took evidence from British commanding officers on the subject of the ‘higher scientific training’ of officers; the recommendations were that this should not be purely theoretical but that equal importance should be given to practical skills such as the ability to ‘control and command soldiers’ and acquiring the ‘quickness of eye’ and knowledge of horses that proved so vital for field operations in the Crimea. Moreover, those unable to make the grade for the scientific branches of the services should be able to obtain commissions in other corps of the army. The authors of the subsequent report acknowledged the assistance ‘derived from the very valuable services of Mr A. H. Clough of the Educational Department of the Privy Council’ (*Report of the Commissioners appointed to consider the best mode of Re-organizing the System for Training Officers for the Scientific Corps; Together with An Account of Foreign and Other Military Education* [London: HMSO, 1857], pp. iv, 322, 394).

⁸ See *CEN* 33, note 3; Lowell had been in Dresden perfecting his knowledge of German.

⁹ Dr John Gorham Palfrey (1796–1881), American historian and editor of the *North American Review* from 1835 to 1843; he was an early spokesman for the anti-slavery movement and Professor of Sacred Literature in Harvard divinity school, 1830–39.

¹⁰ See *CEN* 34, 35, 36.

¹¹ See *CEN* 33, note 5; Richard Henry Dana (1815–1882); lawyer and anti-slavery campaigner, who represented the fugitive slave Anthony Burns (see *CEN* 19, note 1). C met Dana in Boston, describing him as the man who wrote *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840) – an account of a sea voyage round Cape Horn – and a ‘High Church, Puseyite, Anti-democratic, Free Soiler, a very queer mixture’ (*Corr.* 355, 408).

¹² See *CEN* 41, note 5; the 1856 presidential elections of the United States were about to be held. Largely written by Dana, the Republican Party’s pro-unionist manifesto concentrated exclusively on the issue of slavery, which it denoted the ‘paramount practical question in the politics of the country’ (William E. Geinapp, *The Origins of the Republican Party 1852–56* [Oxford: OUP, 1987], p. 219). The Democrats, however, fought and won the election on the rights of individual states on the slavery question.

Charles Norton just showed me *Leaves of Grass*, which certainly seems remarkable but is it not rather a Waste of power & observation – The tree is tapped, & not left to bear flower and fruit in perfect form as it should – This standing aside & looking on does not seem to me to be the thing that really produces¹³ – Of Carlyle I know nothing¹⁴ – I believe he is in Scotland –

Farewell

Ever Yours

A H Clough

MS B

Lowry/Rusk Letter No. 29; *Corr.* 519–20 (published in full); *PR* 236 (part-published).

¹³ The first edition of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (1855) was almost unanimously vilified; the *New York Criterion* described it as a 'vile' 'mass of stupid filth' (10 November 1855), while the *Critic* demanded to know whether the 'most prudish nation in the world' would 'adopt a poet whose indecencies stink in the nostrils' (1 April 1856, p. 170). Emerson, however, hailed *Leaves of Grass* as the 'most extraordinary piece of wit and wisdom that America has yet contributed' (*Walt Whitman's Leaves of Grass*, ed. by David S. Reynolds [Oxford, OUP, 2005], p. 161). It was withdrawn from the market in the wake of further hostile reviews and was out of print for the next three years. *Leaves of Grass* broke with tradition in formal terms as well as in its controversial content and to some extent resembles C's own poetic experiments – the attempt to reproduce the rhythm of common speech, the use of slang and the uneven line-length and stanzas.

¹⁴ Carlyle was staying in the Highlands with the Ashburtons (see *RWE* 7, note 5); he wrote to Emerson on 16 September 1856, complaining of the 'very loud' storms, that he could 'do nothing with Deer, not even eat them', and hoped soon to be back in Chelsea. He was expecting a copy of *English Traits* in the next "Skye Mail", and Emerson would 'hear soon all the faults [he had] against it' (*CLO* 31:227–228).

Council Office, Downing S^t
 March 23 [1857]¹

Dear Emerson

I send a few lines for no particular reason, but in general to offer greetings – The last thing I had from you was your book which I find to be much liked – and which I like much myself.² They tell me there is something about the Sutherland estates & the population.³ The whole popⁿ of Scotland is short of 3 millions – 2,888,740 at the last Census in 1851.⁴ –

There is not much to speak of, I think, on our side – Elections will rage for a month or more⁵ – Of books, I think I have liked Kane's Arctic explorations better than any.⁶ Owen is delivering some good lectures on Fossil Mammalia,⁷ & Faraday gave a remarkable lecture at the Royal Institution about 3 weeks ago – the result of long thinking, & curiously perplexing to his audience – It was on Conservation of Forces – no force is ever lost or lessened; it is only transferred. Heat expelled is equally by heat [sic] admitted elsewhere. If Magnetic power to a certain amount ceases to affect the

¹ Year dated by reference to the note on the back of the letter in Emerson's handwriting: 'A. H. C. 1857'.

² *English Traits* (see RWE 21, notes 2–5).

³ Writing about the wealth amassed by ancient families, Emerson states that 'The Duke of Sutherland owns the county of Sutherland, stretching across Scotland from sea to sea' (*English Traits*, pp. 102–3). During the early 19th century large swathes of the Highland population were forcibly removed in the controversial 'Sutherland clearances' ostensibly to reduce their susceptibility to famine (see CEN 78, notes 6 and 10).

⁴ C's statistics are correct; the population of Scotland according to the 1851 Census was 2,888,742 (Edward Cheshire, *The Results of The Census of Great Britain in 1851* [London: John William Parker, 1854], p.16).

⁵ In the March/April 1857 UK election the Whig party led by Lord Palmerston finally won a majority in the Commons; the pressing issue of the day was electoral reform (see CEN 49, note 9).

⁶ *Arctic Explorations: The Second Grinnell Expedition* is a personal account by Elisha Kent Kane of the arduous polar expedition to discover the fate of the British explorer Sir John Franklin, who had set out in 1845 to find the North West Passage. The US navy party suffered terrible privations: famine – on finding a seal they frantically mouthed 'long strips of raw blubber', frostbite – toes were amputated, and scurvy. Although they discovered Franklin's first winter camp, they failed to find out what had happened to the fatal expedition (2 vols [Philadelphia: Childs & Peterson, 1856], II, 288, 305, 312).

⁷ Professor Sir Richard Owen (1804–1892), comparative anatomist and palaeontologist, gave a series of lectures 'on the osteology and palaeontology, or the framework and fossils of the class Mammalia' in the Museum of Practical Geology, Jermyn Street, beginning 26 February 1857 (*Athenæum*, 14 February 1857, p. 197).

magnetometer, it is because it is all devoted to a bar of iron in its immediate neighbourhood. How does this apply to gravitation? The common theory describes it as existing between two particles of matter. If one particle is away, does the power cease to exist – If the planets were removed, would the Sun in respect of gravitation be inoperative? Can you destroy it by removing particles of matter and can you vice versa increase it ad infinitum by adding particles – Double the *no.* of planets, will the amount of gravitating power in the sun be doubled – This he says has always been an utter perplexity to him.

But if on the other hand you say that power is in the sun & operates independently of other particles exterior to it – then, if I understood him – he is content – but perhaps wants to know what gravitation is, or is doing, when it isn't pulling in these particles.⁸

People here have very generally been reading Olmsted's *Slave States and Texas* with satisfaction.⁹ Mrs. Carlyle has been long very poorly with bronchitis.¹⁰ Lady Ashburton has been dangerously ill and is still abroad very unwell¹¹ – I have not seen Carlyle for months. We went to the Isle of Wight in October & saw something of Tennyson – he is

⁸ The lecture 'On the Conservation of Force', given by Michael Faraday (1791–1867) on 27 February 1857, apparently 'excited a considerable sensation among the philosophers'; the reviewer quotes from Emerson who attributed the 'lifeless state of science' in Britain' to a 'slavish adherence to the method of induction', claiming that he would hail Faraday's lecture as a 'sign of shaking among the dry bones' – a 'revitalising reversion' to the ancient *à priori* method of enquiry. The reviewer criticises Faraday for adopting Emerson's 'subjective philosophy' and doubts that the 'received definition or law of gravity' will be altered by the discovery of an underlying causal agent ('On the Conservation of Force' *The Mechanics' Magazine*, ed. by R. A. Brooman, 66 [1857], 291–295 & 362–366 [pp. 291, 362, 363, 364]). The influence of Faraday's theory of the conservation of forces is evident in much of Emerson's subsequent work, for example, 'Perpetual Forces' (1862–63); (*The Later Lectures of Ralph Waldo Emerson: 1843–1871*, ed. by Ronald A. Bosco and Joel Myerson, 2 vols [Georgia & London: University of Georgia Press, 2001], II, 287–301).

⁹ An account of a saddle trip by America's foremost landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted (1822–1893), through Texas to carry out statistical research; Olmsted employs a number of economic arguments against the use of slave labour – Texas would have been far more prosperous, for example, had it allowed free immigration and prohibited slavery. The book includes interviews with planters and runaway slaves and an appendix showing a virtual doubling of the number of slaves between 1850 and 1855 – from around 58,000 to 106,000, with a corresponding huge increase in cotton and sugar exports (*Our Slave States II: A Journey Through Texas* [New York: Dix, Edwards; London: Sampson Low, 1857], pp. xiii, 476–8).

¹⁰ Jane Carlyle had had a 'very sickly' winter with nausea, incessant coughing and 'frightful pain' and was very 'weak and thin' (TC to Jean Carlyle Aitken, 5 March 1857, *CLO* 32: 96–97).

¹¹ Lady Ashburton (see *RWE* 7, note 5) – a 'noble English lady' – died in Paris on 4th May 1857; according to *The Times*, there was scarcely 'a man of any political or literary eminence' in the country who could not recall her 'intelligent sympathy' and 'just consideration' (7 May 1857, p. 8).

better than his verse¹² – There is a really excellent bust of him just completed by Woolner. You ought to buy it in America. I believe it is still unsold¹³ –

April 3rd

Woolner's bust of Tennyson is certainly in my judgement a real work of art; & if you of the Western side desire to carry off something out of our hands, you had better buy it. It is rather larger than life – which is not unsuitable to Tennyson's appearance –

It was a great pleasure to see Mrs. Ward in her way back, though it was but for the shortest time. However we trust she may come over here again.¹⁴ I was very sorry to miss seeing more of Mr. James, who was settled not very far from us;¹⁵ but I was swept away on a visit of inspection to Foreign Military Schools & when I came back, he was off, homewards.¹⁶ Have the ponderous volumes of Spedding's Bacon come across to you? I have not looked at them. *His* part is yet to come¹⁷ –

Farewell. Give my kindest remembrances to M^{rs}. Emerson and your young people – Some new chapter in the course of time may I hope find me suddenly on the banks of your river – but it is one, the commencement of which I do not foresee as yet.

Ever yours

A. H. Clough

MS B

Lowry/Rusk Letter No. 30; *Corr.* 526–7 (published in full).

¹² See *CEN* 36, note 3.

¹³ See *CEN* 56, note 7; the bearded marble bust of Tennyson by Thomas Woolner, now in Trinity College library, Cambridge; Ruskin apparently 'shook [Woolner's] hand violently several times', congratulated him on his great success and declared the bust to be 'a triumph of Art' (Amy Woolner, *Thomas Woolner, R.A. Sculptor and Poet: His Life in Letters* [London: Chapman and Hall, 1917], pp. 130–131). There is also a plaster cast of a bust of C by Thomas Woolner c. 1863 in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

¹⁴ See *CEN* 45, note 9.

¹⁵ See *FJC* 5, note 13.

¹⁶ See *RWE* 21, note 7.

¹⁷ Bacon's works were to be arranged in three separate 'divisions', each to be handled by an editor with the relevant skills: a scientist for 'The Philosophical and Literary' works, a lawyer to produce a correct text of 'The Professional' works and someone with the leisure to undertake 'tedious and minute researches among the forgotten records of the time' for 'The Occasional works' [James Spedding, 1808–1881]. However, Ellis was 'unhappily seized by rheumatic fever' in 1849 and was forced to relinquish his partially finished 'division' to Spedding for copy editing, which was how his name appeared in connection with 'The Philosophical' (*The Works of Francis Bacon* ed. by James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis & Douglas Denon Heath, 15 vols [London: Longman, 1857], I, pp. v–vi).

23.

[printed Council Office letterhead]

4 July 1861
30 Old Burlington Street,
[London] W¹

Dear Emerson

I have been invalided and ordered to go travelling about for some months,² one consequence of which has been that I wasn't at home when Miss Elizabeth Hoare [sic] forwarded your letter to me.³ However I have been so far fortunate as to arrive for an interval of stay-at-home just in time to see her before she leaves London – I should [have] been very sorry indeed to miss her. I have had today a fairly long talk with her about America in general & Concord in particular & possibly we may meet again to morrow.–

This London life has been rather too hard for me – though I have not gone into the hot fire of Society – In November I shall try & tackle it again in one way or other – I was almost tempted to come over to America, & if I could have staid there through September I think I should very likely have come. This cruel war makes itself felt, it seems, even in Concord – you too in Concord send out your young men to the fields &

¹ 30 Old Burlington Street was one of the town residences of Henry-Richard, Baron Holland; the other was Holland House, Kensington (see *CEN* 12, note 13; 67, note 5).

² C's health had never been strong and after 1859 it began to cause anxiety to his family when 'a series of small illnesses and accidents combined to weaken his constitution' (*PR* 51). In December 1859 he was 'sent' to Hastings after an attack of 'scarlatina' (see *CEN* 70, note 15). His usual autumn holiday in Scotland did not have the usual salutary effect, and he was forced to take six months' leave from the Council Office on health grounds. The 'water-cure' at Malvern appeared to have had a beneficial effect (see *CEN* 79, note 4) and he regained strength on holiday at Freshwater in February 1861. A further change of air and scenery was ordered, so in mid-April he set off alone to Greece and Constantinople, but unable to bear the protracted absence from his family, he returned to England for a few weeks. In July he took off again, this time to the Auvergne and the Pyrenees where he joined the Tennysons for part of the time (*PR* 51–54).

³ Emerson wrote on 16 April 1861, introducing his friend Elizabeth Hoar, who was visiting England; she was betrothed to Emerson's brother Charles at the time of his death in 1836, lived in Concord and was regarded almost as a member of the Emerson family.

the possible pestilence⁴ – People here are brutally ignorant & unfeeling about the matter – so far at least as they express their mind by the newspapers – But there is a vast deal of mute fellow-feeling with the North.⁵ –

I send by Miss Hoare four photographs from the drawing which Rowse made of me.⁶ Will you keep one & give the others as opportunity offers to Lowell, Norton & Child – I would send one to Rowse, but I am afraid he would think it a failure. I am afraid it is not a very successful photograph, but it may be acceptable in lack of a better. The likeness itself is to me satisfactory though perhaps not one of Rowse's very best.
Farewell

Ever Yours faithfully

A. H. Clough

⁴ The town of Concord was among the first in the state of Massachusetts to respond to President Lincoln's call to arms. Its military company left the town to take part in the defence of the national capital on 19th April 1861 and did not return until the end of the war four years later. At the unveiling of a monument in 1867 to the 32 Concord soldiers who lost their lives during the 'bloody struggle', Emerson gave an address in which he praised the valour of the young men who had served their country in the face of dreadful suffering and hardships. They had marched miles through mud a foot deep, survived for a time on nothing but liver, blackberries and pennyroyal tea, and sustained heavy casualties at Fredericksburg, Gettysburg and other major battles. (*Ceremonies at the Dedication of the Soldiers' Monument in Concord, Mass.* [Concord: Benjamin Tolman, 1867], pp. 3, 29–52).

⁵ While sympathetic to the North, *The Times* was not unequivocal in its support for the Unionist cause, describing the Northern Americans as 'foolish and ungrateful' for demanding Britain's support against the Confederates, when British opinion had been clearly voiced against the 'pretexts for secession' and Confederate vessels were forbidden to enter British ports. However, while the origin of the Confederate states was not very consistent with the 'laws of any morality', there was the 'logic of the facts': secession was a *fait accompli* and there was a government at Montgomery which commanded the obedience of eleven states of the American Union. Moreover, it might be 'inconvenient' if not 'dangerous' for England to anger the Confederate side who controlled 'the great crop' which fed three–four million Englishmen' (8 June 1861, p. 9). A letter in reply to this article seems fairly typical of public opinion on the topic: while not condoning slavery, the writer advocated recognition of the Southern states to end the 'horror of civil war' and to allow unrestricted commerce. He warned of the losses which Britain would suffer in the event of a protracted conflict: millions of factory workers thrown out of work due to a shortage of raw cotton; a depletion in revenue from the sale of tobacco and the risk to investors in Britain who held £60 million in American securities (*The Times*, 12 June 1861, p. 12).

⁶ Samuel Rowse (1822–1901); (see *CEN* 57, note 5; 75, note 8); a reproduction of the portrait is included in *Poems and Prose Remains*.

[P.S.] Let me add that to me the *Conduct of Life* was fully equal to any of the volumes preceding it & gave me much pleasure and edification.⁷ Also – I want very much to have, if it is to be had, a photograph called “The Virgil Lesson” (I am told) of which Miss Hoare showed me an example.⁸ Farewell.

5 July

MS B

Lowry/Rusk Letter No. 33; *Corr.* 586–7 (published in full).

⁷ *The Conduct of Life*, published in 1860, (London: Smith Elder; Boston: Ticknor and Fields) is a collection of essays by Emerson on such topics as power, wealth and behaviour, and represents for him a shift in emphasis from the mystical and transcendental to more pragmatic questions relating to the domestic sphere and societal relations. In a materialistic and sceptical age, Emerson stresses the value of ‘human virtues’ – mutual respect, courtesy etc, and obedience to one’s ‘moral perception’, rather than a reversion to ‘peacock ritualism’ and ‘Popery’ (pp. 183, 184, 187, 279). The value of hard work is also a recurrent theme in all the essays and, like the meditations on religion, finds an echo in C’s ‘Notes on the Religious Tradition’, probably written at around this time (1852–3). For C, since there was ‘no refuge’ to be found in ‘Rationalism or Rome’, true religion manifested itself in ‘work, in life, in action .. in service’ (*PR*, 415–421 [p. 418.]).

⁸ ‘A Virgil Lesson’ was a photograph of Emerson with his younger daughter and son taken in 1858, which is reproduced in the *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. by Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes, 10 vols [Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1909–], IX [1856–1863], 126).

(ii) Clough's letters to Charles Eliot Norton (1827–1908) – (CEN)

When he set sail for Boston in 1852, Clough took a letter with him from John Kenyon to the Cambridge art historian and scholar, Charles Eliot Norton, introducing Clough as ‘a Gentleman, a Scholar, and a poet, so say those who know his poems, among them the Brownings, of no mean mark’ (*Corr.* 324–5). Clough’s first meeting with Norton was on 13th November 1852 at Dr Howe’s office, the day after his arrival in Boston (*Introduction*, p. 12); they seem to have formed an immediate bond as that same day Clough noted that they ‘[swore] eternal friendship’. Norton took him off to the Athenaeum and his club, after which they ‘walk[ed] and talk[ed] together’ through Boston (*Corr.* 329). Norton was instrumental in introducing Clough to Boston society and Clough quickly became part of what he called Norton’s ‘rather exclusive tip-top conservative set’ (*Corr.* 335). He described his new friend, almost ten years his junior, as ‘the kindest creature in the shape of a young man of twenty-five that ever befriended an emigrant stranger anywhere’ (*PR* 196).

During Clough’s short stay in New England he spent a great deal of time in the company of the Norton family and attended soirées at their home, which included the acting-out of a play written by Clough.¹ It was a measure of their regard for him that he was invited to stay at their town house, ‘Shady Hill’, while they were in Newport for the summer. A window onto their friendship is given in a letter from Norton to his sister, in which he recalls a particularly enjoyable dinner at the Longfellows when he and Clough were ‘as usual’. They ‘walked warmly together’ to Craigie House and had such a good time that even Clough [characteristically taciturn at times] ‘was able to praise it’. Norton was also, apparently, solicitous about his friend’s ‘delicate’ health and took it upon himself to persuade Clough to take more care of himself, which Clough’s ‘sweet disposition render[ed] very easy’.²

It may have been for the most part a long-distant relationship – Clough only stayed in America for eight months, and apart from a brief visit by Norton to England (*CEN* 36;

¹ ‘Epilogue to Box and Cox’ (see Appendix 2, *Poems*, 339).

² *Norton*, I, 88–89.

FJC 6), they did not see each other again, but they were in regular correspondence right up until Clough's death. Norton's daughter summed up their friendship as one which was 'measured by essential sympathy rather than by time'; 'the cultivated, sensitive Englishman, of high-minded scruples, seeking for the truth through mists of dogma and conservatism', and feeling estranged from the Oxford intellectual establishment, apparently had a profound influence on Norton's rather 'traditional' world view.³ And his friendship with Clough may well have been the 'turning point' that eventually led Norton away from his orthodox Unitarianism into agnosticism.⁴

What is most striking about Clough's letters to Norton, as I have noted in the Introduction (pp. 35-36), is their unstudied spontaneity and lack of formality. Clough switches from one subject to another, and often gives free rein to his emotions, with none of the ordered attention to convention which is apparent in his letters to Emerson and Longfellow. From the regularity and in-depth nature of the correspondence between the two friends, we get an extraordinarily clear picture of Norton's generous-minded character and interests. He performed numerous acts of kindness for Clough, including arranging for his belongings to be sent to England following his abrupt departure for England, purchasing items of clothes, proof-reading his *Plutarch's Lives* and managing his investments for him. Over the long years of their correspondence the letters between Clough and Norton lost none of their easy familiarity and the epistolary exchange closely resembles a face-to-face conversation between two close friends. Clough's letters to Norton also read like a journal at times; so keen was he to keep his close confidante across the Atlantic up-to-date with everything that was happening in his life, that he jotted down events and observations as they occurred, and very often added to a letter over a period of several days (Introduction, pp. 38-9).

Clough and Norton shared an avid interest in English literature, politics and society; in their letters they address issues such as social reform and the provision of housing and work for the poor, and both were keenly interested in international affairs – notably the Indian uprisings and Italy's struggle for independence. From time to time they reviewed

³ Norton, I, 87.

⁴ Turner, p. 114.

each other's articles and publications and, even with the Atlantic between them, Norton went to extraordinary lengths to publish a collection of Clough's poems. In fact, it is quite possible that if he had not kept up the constant pressure on his rather reluctant friend to send him additions and corrections, and done the editorial work, the 1862 American edition of Clough's poems would never have materialised (Appendix 2).

Norton was an esteemed friend of most of the leading British writers and intellectuals of the day, including Carlyle, Ruskin and Mrs Gaskell, but on his rare visits to London, it was with Clough that he spent virtually all of his time. After Clough's death Norton corresponded with his wife, Blanche, and in the preface to the American edition of his friend's poems he wrote that 'to win such love as Arthur Hugh Clough won in life, to leave so dear a memory as he has left, is a happiness that falls to few men'.⁵

⁵ *The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough, with a Memoir by Charles Eliot Norton*, ed. by C. E. Norton [Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1862], p. xi).

1.

[7 December 1852]¹

My dear Norton

Your kindness quite makes me ashamed;² as indeed I have told you before. I am obliged to keep out of your way on that account I suppose.

I think however I shall come & look for you this afternoon. I expect my pupil³ whom I have seen attending church both these days.⁴

If you go [to] the Club to day,⁵ will you please look if there sho^d be letters for me there. There may be some; tho' I expect one here.

Ever Y^{rs}

A H Clough

MS H

No previous publication traced.

¹ Dated by the reference in C's letter to Blanche on Tuesday [7 December 1852] to his first lesson with Lindell Winthrop (*Corr.* 341). C's letter was enclosed in an envelope with no date-stamp or postage stamp, addressed to 'C. E. Norton Esqre Shady Hill'.

² Norton performed numerous acts of kindness for C during his early days in Boston and Cambridge – inviting him to dinner, introducing him to his exclusive Cambridge set, nursing him when he was ill and even posting letters for him (*Corr.* 335, 337, 447).

³ C's first 'Anglo-American' pupil – the 6ft 1", 17 year-old 'scapegrace', Lindell Winthrop, nephew to Robert Winthrop, and a descendant of the 'old Governor of Cromwell's times', came to him by personal recommendation prior to his advertising (*Corr.* 341). C was to teach him Greek for three hours a day for seven months, for a fee of \$300 (£63), (*Corr.* 341). In June 1854, C's six American pupils sent him a wedding present in remembrance of the 'valuable and delightful hours' they had spent with him in Cambridge (*Corr.* 484).

⁴ C attended church with the 'religiose' Unitarian' Norton (*Corr.* 338, 378) on a number of occasions; during one sermon, when his thoughts strayed to home and his fiancé, he apparently composed 'Come, pleasant thoughts, sweet thoughts, at will' (*Poems* 339, 748).

⁵ The Somerset Club in Boston where Norton would entertain friends and visitors; C asked Blanche to send his letters there to avoid delays (*Corr.* 331).

2.

[29 June 1853]¹

Cunard's Office

9^{am}

Dear Charles,

*Me voici.*² I have just been up per omnibus to the Crystal³ & back, to spend the time. And now will you call for letters for me in a week hence 326, box [sic], and keep them till further notice –

There is a gold pencil case belonging to Mordecai in the top-drawer in my bedroom.⁴ – You wo^d find some Retrenchment pamphlets with the Stationery which Pindar brought.⁵ Give them if you think it worth while to Lowell & Longfellow – & Bowen⁶ – e.g. [sic]. Adieu, I think this is all – —

Ever Yours

A.H. Clough

I will write as soon as I arrive – God bless you –

MS H

Corr. 453 (published in full).

¹ Dated by the postmark on the envelope, which is stamped 'New York, Jun 29 – 5 cts', and addressed to 'C.E. Norton Esq re, Boston'.

² 'Here I am' [French].

³ Probably the New York Crystal Palace in what used to be known as 'Reservoir Square', New York, a short distance from the offices of the Cunard Line in 5th Avenue. Opened in July 1853, it was an iron and glass exhibition building inspired by the London exhibition of 1851. Items on display included rifles and revolvers, saddles, skins and cotton (*Art and Industry as represented in the Exhibition at The Crystal Palace, New York, 1853–4*, rev. and ed. by Horace Greeley [New York: Redfield, 1853], pp.131, 156, 288, 346, 352).

⁴ Presumably one of C's pupils.

⁵ See Introduction to *RWE* letters, p. 67; *RWE* 1, note 3.

⁶ Francis Bowen (1811–1890), philosopher, writer and editor of the *North American Review*, 1843–54, and one of the 'professorial' family friends who frequently dined at 'Shady Hill' (the Nortons' family home in Cambridge), (Turner, p.45). So impressed was he by C's review of the report on Oxford Universities (see Appendix 2) that he apparently 'begged' C to write another article on any subject he liked (*Corr.* 409).

3.

July 7 [1853]¹

My dear Charles

Here we are on Thursday July 7th pretty well on our way across about 2200 miles from New York² — We have an NE wind however, though only a light one; & are going perhaps 12 miles an hour instead of 14 as we did yesterday with a brisk N.W.^{er} ³

This is to tell you please to send letters to the care of

S. Smith Esqre⁴
Combe Hurst
Kingston on Thames
London

I trust to goodness that I shall find nothing [unin....cable?] done by my friends: the utmost however that can happen will be one year's stay in the office after which I may consider myself to have a title to go — and indeed I see no reason for ever going into the office at all; as there are lots of men fit for the post & at least *as* eager as fit — — In this case Plutarch must stand over for another year.⁵ But I have no desire whatever for any such postponement —

We have a horrid dull set of passengers — commercial gents returning to their native England, — chiefly.⁶ Mr Slidell of Louisiana & a young man apparently his companion, called Stuart, are perhaps the most unexceptionable human beings that one sees. Some

¹ Dated by reference to the fact that 7 July 1853 was a Thursday, and by the subject matter of the letter.

² C returned to Liverpool on board the *Asia*, one of nine Cunard passenger ships which plied the Atlantic routes from New York or Boston to Liverpool each week.

³ In 1851 the voyage from New York to Liverpool averaged 11 days and 12 hours. A first-class cabin would have cost £120, and second-class £70.

⁴ Blanche Smith's father, the barrister Samuel Smith (1784–1880), Examiner of Private Bills in the House of Commons, who built Combe Hurst in Surrey, and lived there until 1881.

⁵ See *RWE* 10, note 4.

⁶ Cp. Claude's comment in *Amours de Voyage*: 'Middle-class people these, bankers very likely, not wholly / Pure of the taint of the shop;' (*Poems* 98).

Spaniards from Mexico & Cuba are also pleasant to look at, specially two little boys. A maiden Aunt & nephew she aged 50+ & he, say, 25 nigh – [Duane?] people from Burlington, New Jersey, sit near me; & are not so bad. She at any rate is rather a character – A horrid woman, nommée Dunlop, from New York, whines or rather whoines or whaines or even wharnes just beyond – whom it is misery even to think of — — I feel convinced there is a Purgatory for vulgar people⁷ – Farewell – for the present. We shan't be in time for Saturday's steamer – that's clear. Sunday morning about 11 o'clock I expect will land us – too late for the London train –

MS B

PR 216 (part-published).

⁷ C voiced similar sentiments in a poem: 'These vulgar ways that round me be', in which he urges acceptance, rather than scorn and disdain for 'vulgar ways' and 'shabby, sordid, mean' faces (*Poems*, 303).

4.

Combe Hurst, Kingston on Thames
July 15th [1853]¹

My dear Charles

I wrote on board the steamer & had I been wise enough sho^d have sent it by the Arctic² – This will go to morrow per Cunard.³ But I shan't be very long or very conclusive even yet.

Thus much however appears – which is enough to change things a good deal. When I came away, you know I thought the prospect of assistance which had been held out to me from here, if I staid in America was such as to make me think it quite clear that I had best stay in America. The family here had moreover all written in favour of that course & as I had simply wished to do what they liked, I considered the thing settled.⁴

However now I am here I find that they are so unwilling to do any thing to decide me one way or the other, that I am offered assistance *here also* in case I take the place in the Privy Council Office.⁵ –

So that you see the case is altered a good deal –

¹ The year is dated by the envelope which is date-stamped '15 JY 15, 1853'; the address on the envelope, written in C's handwriting, is 'Per Asia; C. E. Norton Esqre, Boston, Massachusetts', with a Crown stamp, which means C posted it the same day as he wrote the letter. It is also date stamped 'Boston Jul 24' – which means the letter took only 9 days. There is a '19 cents' stamp – so the letter was not not prepaid..

² The *Arctic* steamship was one of four US ships of 'extreme speed' subsidised by the American government to carry mail on 20 roundtrips per year and to 'run the Cunarders off the Atlantic' (Henry Fry, *History of North Atlantic Steam Navigation* [London: Sampson Low, 1896], p. 66). Although faster than the Cunard ships, they did not instil the same confidence in the British public, and the *Arctic* sank in 1854 off Newfoundland with heavy loss of life (see *CEN* 24, note 5).

³ The British and North American Royal Mail Steam-Packet Company (known as the Cunard Steamship Company).

⁴ For the protracted and convoluted negotiations that went on around the question of whether C should return to England or stay in America (see Introduction, p.13 and *RWE* 15). Even while Clough was still wavering between 'the English plan', which his friends were urging on him, and staying in America, where, as a last resort, he thought they could live cheaply in Concord, near to Emerson, Blanche had accepted the Examinership on his behalf, with the proviso that they could return to America if an Inspectorship did not materialise (*Corr.* 452–3).

⁵ The post of '3d Examiner' in the Education Office of the Privy Council (see Introduction, p 14).

Still I like America best — & but for the greater security which one has on a fixed salary wo^d give up all thought of staying here, at once.

On the whole without having quite decided – I shall do so on Monday – I think I most likely shall determine to take the place for one year & unless it proves much better than I expect then give it up & come out – I hope you won't all have forgotten me by that time — & that the chances of success in the Education trade will not be impaired. You see I don't like the hurry & precipitation which immediate return wo^d cause both to myself & others, and it is a temptation if I am to live the rest of my life chez-vous, to secure another year's schooling on this side first; *πολλὰ διδασκόμενος*⁶ – in short — —

Brown is away in Germany;⁷ but I saw Murray's⁸ cousin & co-adjutor the other day; he thinks there is no hurry about the Plutarch – & that Mr B. will make no difficulty.⁸ I think you had better if you please, speak to Mr Flagg⁹ about my probable intentions, that he may the sooner look out for something for those printers, who I don't doubt daily pray for me, as the B^p Of Exeter taught his children to do for his enemies¹⁰ –

I think I have nothing else to say that is essential – I got a *State room to myself* in the Asia and had a pleasant voyage¹¹ – with a lot of dull people. M^r Slidell of Louisiana

⁶ 'learning many things' [Greek].

⁷ James Brown (1800–1855), co-founder of the Boston publishers Little, Brown and Company, whom C described as 'a very worthy man' and a 'chief bibliopole' in America – 'wealthy and liberal withal' (*Corr.* 414). Brown commissioned C to revise the standard translation of Plutarch's *Lives* for a new edition (see *RWE* 10, note 4).

⁸ John Murray Brown, James Brown's son, took over the firm in 1884.

⁹ Augustus Flagg (1817–1903), a prominent figure in the Little, Brown & Co. publishing house from 1847–93.

¹⁰ An ironic reference to Henry Phillpotts (1778–1869), Bishop of Exeter from 1831 until his death. A conservative and intolerant High Churchman, labelled the 'firebrand of the Church of England' (*Bristol Mercury*, 30 March 1850, p. 5). He was involved in a number of controversial ecclesiastical court cases. Along with his bishopric, he also held a lucrative canonry at Durham, netting him a total income of around £7,000 pa, which he apparently needed to support his 18 children.

¹¹ A stateroom was a superior class of cabin for first-class passengers, measuring 8 by 6 feet, with two bunks, a settee and a commode containing a basin, water jug and chamber pot; a hurricane candle near the port hole provided light. Dickens was not impressed with the facilities, describing his stateroom as an 'utterly impracticable', 'profoundly preposterous box', in which was a very thin mattress 'spread like a surgical plaster on a most inaccessible shelf' (John Boileau, *Samuel Cunard: Nova Scotia's Master of the North Atlantic* [Halifax: Formac, 2006], pp. 69, 74).

was the only man worth anything¹² – Morris, by the bye, was there with young Clay, but Morris seemed to me stupid company – M^r Slidell I liked, but didn't do more than hear him talk. —

My kindest remembrances to your family – & to the Longfellows, & Lowell & Child when you see them.¹³ And to the Ticknors. I shall write to your Aunt¹⁴ – & to Edmund Dwight¹⁵ – the Twistletons are here.¹⁶ I hope to see them in a day or two —

Lorenzo Benoni is by Ruffini a Genoese of 1848. There were 3 brothers. Cesare killed himself in prison. The story is true¹⁷ – John Knox in the new West^r is Froude's.¹⁸ Archb^p Whately said to M^{rs} Stowe, that he desired to have written on his tomb that he had known her.¹⁹

¹² Possibly Senator John Slidell, 1793–1871, a prominent Louisiana politician, slave owner, and Confederate diplomat during the Civil War.

¹³ Norton was living at 'Shady Hill' with his mother, Catharine, father Andrews, and sisters, Jane and Grace. The Nortons' house 'abounded in hospitality' and friends were constantly coming and going; among them was Child, 'beloved classmate and lifelong friend', and Lowell, 'the friend of three generations at Shady Hill' (*Norton*, I, 86).

¹⁴ Norton's mother, Catharine Eliot's sister Anna was married to George Ticknor (of the Boston publishers Ticknor and Fields). Norton refers to them as 'my Uncle and Aunt Ticknor' (*Norton*, I, 209). They belonged to 'a rather exclusive tip-top conservative set' (*Corr.* 335). C was first introduced to the Ticknors by Lady Lyell shortly after his arrival in Boston in November 1852 (see *RWE* 9, note 4).

¹⁵ Norton's father Andrews Norton, George Ticknor and Edmund Dwight were married to three sisters; C was a guest at the Dwights' during his first few weeks in Boston (*Corr.* 332).

¹⁶ The British civil servant Edward Turner Boyd Twistleton (1809–1874), and his American wife, Ellen (1819–1862) – Norton's cousins.

¹⁷ *Lorenzo Benoni, or Passages in the Life of an Italian* (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1853), was the first novel in English by the Genoan-born poet, Giovanni Ruffini (1807–1881), an activist in the revolutionary 'Young Italy' movement. The character of Cesare in the book was based on Ruffini's brother Jacopo, who killed himself in prison to avoid betraying his friend under torture. Both the Ruffini brothers were close friends of Guiseppe Mazzini, the nationalist Italian leader, whom C met in Rome in April 1849, shortly after the proclamation of the short-lived Roman Republic (*Mazzini's Letters to an English Family 1844–1854*, ed. by E. F. Richards, 3 vols [London: John Lane, 1920], p. 266).

¹⁸ The *Westminster Review* carried the article 'John Knox', attributed by the *Wellesley Index* to James Anthony Froude, which praised the often vilified Scottish reformer as a man of the highest moral integrity, who by force of character alone had achieved the comparatively peaceful overthrow of Catholicism in Scotland, a Church 'dead to the root' and a 'mass of falsehood and corruption' (60 [1853], 1–50, [p. 1.]).

¹⁹ Richard Whately, (1787–1863), Archbishop of Dublin from 1831, was a consistent opponent of slavery in America. In a review of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, he defends Harriet Beecher Stowe (see note 24 below), whom he met during her visit to England in 1853, against charges of 'gross exaggerations' by citing eye witness accounts of the horrific punishments meted out to slaves in New Orleans, which 'should bring down the fate of Sodom upon the city' (*North British Review*, 18 [1852], 235–258, [p. 243]).

Carlyle is dreadful cross, – he has just published or reprinted “An Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question”.²⁰ Mrs Stowe²¹ is at Geneva,²² returns to England to visit the Duchess at Dunrobin, their place in Sutherland next month I suppose²³ — — I saw Kaye,²⁴ the Indian man who spoke of your friend B^p. Smith in high terms²⁵ – This was at breakf^t with Milnes,²⁶ who is well & happy apparently – Gladstone they say is *the one man* of the Ministry²⁷ –

²⁰ A review in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, attributed to Mansfield Horatio, of Carlyle's *Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question* (London: Bosworth, 1853) commended the ‘stirring pamphlet’ for its ‘portentous truth’, and quotes a passage where Carlyle fulminates against the West Indian slave: ‘Let him, by his ugliness, idleness, rebellion, banish all white men from the West Indies, and make it all one Haiti, with little or no sugar growing – black Peter exterminating Black Paul’, leaving it ‘a tropical dog-kennel’ and ‘pestiferous jungle’ (20 [1853], p. 504). Carlyle's disgust at the enthusiastic reception accorded to Stowe during her visit to Britain, following the phenomenal success of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (over 1.5 million copies sold in Britain up to 1878), (Charles Edward Stowe, *Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe*, [Cambridge, MA: Houghton, Mifflin, 1891], p. 190), is evident from the following letter to C: ‘The Beecher-Stowe concern is tumbling along, I believe, amid the May Meetings, like the carcass of a big ass in a dunghill tank which many men are stirring with long poles. There was a big foolish meeting of quality people about it, last week again, in ‘Aunt Harriet's Cabin,’ — so they now call the Duchess's grand palace’ (*Corr.* 431).

²¹ Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–1896), prominent abolitionist and author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), whom C ‘liked very well’ when they met at the Longfellows in 1852; he describes her as ‘small and quiet, unobtrusive, but quick and ready-witted enough’ (*Corr.* 382–3).

²² After her tour of England and Scotland, Beecher Stowe spent a month in Geneva and in the Alps, where she was almost overwhelmed by the same ‘demonstrations of regard’ as she had met in Scotland. Even the ‘secluded mountaineers’ had read ‘Uncle Tom’, and all expressed ‘such tender interest for the slave’ (Stowe, p. 244).

²³ Beecher Stowe wrote to the Duchess of Sutherland (1829–1888) and others, in reply to a massive anti-slavery petition the latter had helped assemble in January 1853, asking for their prayers for ‘the removal of this affliction and disgrace from the Christian world’ (Mrs Harriet Beecher Stowe, *A Reply to “The Affectionate and Christian Address of Many Thousands of Women of Great Britain and Ireland, to Their Sisters, the Women of the United States of America”* [London: Sampson Low, 1863], p. 63). The two women met in London in April 1853, but after leaving Geneva, Stowe continued on through Europe, before returning to America at the end of August, without visiting Dunrobin Castle (the Sutherlands’ ancestral seat in Scotland [see *RWE* 22, note 3]).

²⁴ Sir John William Kaye (1814–1876), British military historian and one-time officer in the Bengal Artillery, whose book the *Administration of the East India Company, A History of English Progress* (London: Richard Bentley, 1853), looks back over 60 years of British rule in India. While refuting the charge of ‘lust of conquest’, Kaye concedes that the continual wars in the cause of Imperial expansion and the ‘civilisation of savage tribes’ had thwarted ‘humane efforts’ to ‘confer upon the natives of India’ the benefits of ‘European wisdom and benevolence’ (pp. 5, 7, 16).

²⁵ Probably Captain Richard Baird Smith, army officer and irrigation engineer in India, who became such a close friend of Norton's that he named a son after him (Turner, p.111).

²⁶ Richard Monckton Milnes (see *RWE* 6, note 4); his breakfast parties, though ‘informal and unpretending’ were ‘memorable for the ‘choice treasures of wit, of paradox, of playful sarcasm’ (T. Wemys Reid, *The Life, Letters, and Friendships, of Richard Monckton Milnes, First Lord Houghton*, 3rd edn, 2 vols [New York: Cassell, 1891], I, 461).

²⁷ William Ewart Gladstone (1809–1898), an old College friend of Monckton Milnes, became Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Aberdeen's coalition of Whigs and ‘Peelites’ in 1852. His first budget speech in 1853 demonstrated a power of oratory acclaimed as ‘one of the grandest displays’ ever heard in the Commons, which had ‘raised Gladstone to a great political elevation’ and ‘given the country assurance of

Thackeray they tell me is full of the kind heartedness & generousness of the Americans & is faithful to his purpose of writing no book – I haven't seen him²⁸ – Tell me please what I had best do about my “things”. If I come out next summer, I think they had best stay for me. They won't be moth-eaten I suppose in that time.²⁹ Will you get those india-rubbers sometime for me from the Club where I left them that dinner — If you have an opportunity of sending a parcel what I want most is perhaps the Plutarch in 2 vols with the Latin:– & I sho^d like to have the 310 pages of Plutarch for Murray to see. I like America all the better for the comparison with England on my return. Certainly I think you are more right than I was willing to admit about the position of the poorer classes here – I hope you will be able to get along without any thing like it — & in any case you have a great blessing in the mere chance of that³⁰ — — Such is my first *re*-impression. However it will wear off soon enough I dare say – so you must make the most of my admissions.

Farewell –

I don't think I need say any more – & I am in a hurried condition of intellect at present -
Ever Yours

A. H. Clough

Have you heard anything of the Hopkins School?³¹

a man ... fit to lead parties and direct governments' (Charles C. F. Greville, *The Greville Memoirs (Third Part)*, 2 vols [London: Longmans, Green, 1887], I, 59).

²⁸ Thackeray's celebrated novel *The History of Henry Esmond* was published in November 1852 (London: Smith, Elder), just as he set sail for America for his first lecture tour, aboard the same ship as C (see Introduction, p. 12). Thackeray 'found a generous social welcome' from people who 'loving the author, love the man more' ('Thackeray in America', *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, I [1853], 638–642 [pp. 641–2]). His next novel, *The Newcomes*, was published almost a year later in 24 monthly instalments from October 1853 to August 1855 (see *CEN* 7, note 25).

²⁹ C was staying at the Norton's House, 'Shady Hill', prior to his sudden departure for England, which is where he left many of his belongings.

³⁰ In his *Considerations on Some Recent Social Theories*, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1853), which was reviewed by C (see Appendix 2), Norton writes in universal terms about the condition of the poor, but he finds the class divide most polarised in England where 'destitution and physical suffering' exist alongside 'fabulous wealth and modern luxury'. There were grounds for hope, but only if the great mass of the people could be lifted out of their 'ignorance', and the selfish aristocracy persuaded to do their duty by the poor. The prospects for the poor in America were brighter as far as the growth of material prosperity was concerned (pp.128, 129, 130).

³¹ In April 1853 the townspeople of Hadley Massachusetts voted to raise the sum of six hundred dollars to convert the existing Hopkins Academy into a free High School (The Trustees of Hopkins Academy: *History of the Hopkins Fund, Grammar School and Academy in Hadley, Mass., 1657–1890* [Amherst, MA: Amherst Record Press, 1890], p. 114).

Bowen, Mordecai, & Curtis can pay their debts over to you I suppose – Mordecai owes about \$15.³² — —

Will you tell me please how far it wo^d be possible or adviseable [sic] under present circumstances – (supposing me to marry next January) to invest in the Hospital Insurance or in other Massachusetts Securities.³³ The Hospital I suppose is *quite* quite safe, but *co*^d I invest these? & is any thing, like Massachusetts State Stock, safe enough?³⁴ — — —

Farewell. Pray write, you can't do so too often; for I shall be always wishing to hear from your parts. —

Can I pay your \$100 to anyone on this side? —

Farewell. I can't pay for this so don't pay for yours. —

It wo^d be rather awkward for me I find to venture on the step this year – & if I came out to America directly – I sho^d not like to come alone. Therefore in any case it seems best to wait —

The sum to be invested is £4000 and being in Trust ought to be in something like the same kind of securities as our English Funds — I understood from your uncle Ticknor³⁵ that the Hospital Insurance was as safe even as they [sic]. But the guarantee I suppose is only the personal character of the directors.

Ever Yours

A.H. C.

Is it worth while sending any of those verses to Putnam.

MS H

Corr. 454–5; PR 216 (part-published)

³² Presumably three of the private pupils C was tutoring in Greek and Mathematics (see *RWE* 10, note 3).

³³ The Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, whose policy holders included Charles Norton, was set up by wealthy New England philanthropists in 1818 as a 'socially conscious', but profitable enterprise to raise funds for Massachusetts General Hospital. Massachusetts insurance companies were strictly regulated, and, in contrast to the laws in other states, were required to have enough money to reinsure their risks (Sharon Anne Murphy, *Investing in Life: Insurance in Antebellum America* [Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2010], pp. 4, 165, 259).

³⁴ Massachusetts bonds were always in favour abroad, 'commanding higher prices than any other state in the union'; in 1855 'the 5 per cent sterlings were put up to 105' (Joseph G. Martin, *A Century of Finance: Martin's History of the Boston Stock and Money Markets* [Boston: J.G. Martin, 1898], p.178).

³⁵ See *CEN* 4, note 14.

5.

[Envelope addressed to C. E. Norton Esqre, Boston, Massachusetts; prepaid postage stamp with Queen's head – one shilling + a '5 cents' stamp.]

July 20, 1853

My dear Charles

The thing is done; & I am to try my hand in this place – I go to the office on Monday¹ –

I dare say you will agree that with the offer of such money-assistance as will enable us to marry within the course of a year I could hardly do otherwise² – Yet I co^d not venture with any comfort without the prospect of America beyond. – Not that I can profess to be certain when I shall come out. Do not however send my things over yet – I rather want the red Plutarch, & indeed the little Plutarchs too and I shall think of other things as I go on – but there is time enough –

I had your letter per Niagara & was very glad to see your hand again³ – I am all hurry at present, but I shall write more at length in a week or two.

I am going on with Plutarch while I may – but for the first two months in the office I fear I shall be occupied with learning my trade –

Pray make my kindest remembrances to your father & mother & sisters — —

Macaulay I hear is somewhat better & the History to the death of W^m III will appear in the course of next year⁴ – L^d Clarendon consoles himself in re Orientali⁵ with the

¹ C's post in the Education department of the Council Office (See Introduction, p. 14; *RWE* 15, notes 2 & 3).

² The starting salary of £300 pa, rising by £25 a year to £600 a year for the above post, set against the less certain prospects of income from setting up a school in America (See Introduction to *JRL* letters, p. 371 & *Corr.* 427).

³ The first published letter from Norton to C is dated 15 August 1853 (*Norton*, I, 91).

⁴ Thomas Babington Macaulay (see *RWE* 9, note 8). Publication of the eagerly awaited Volumes III and IV of his *History of England* (London: Longman) was delayed until December 1855, due to massive oversubscription. The *York Herald* forecast demand would exceed 40,000 copies, which, if piled on top of each other, would be ten times higher than the Great Pyramid, St Paul's, the Monument and Pompey's Pillar combined ('Mr. Macaulay's History of England', 27 October 1855, p. 4).

⁵ 'the East' [Latin].

reflection that in any case he shall have behaved like a gentleman⁶ – I sat at dinner at Milnes's⁷ last Sunday between Delane the Times Editor⁸ & a Lord Gifford, a youth from India,⁹ son of Lord Tweeddale¹⁰ – did you ever meet him.

Murray has advertised Plutarch in the Quarterly – I saw the Twistletons also at Milnes's. She looking extremely well, & he very happy. She seems to like England – My friend Matt Arnold is well pleased with the Review of him:¹¹ he is going to reprint Tristram & Iseult with corrections, & a new narrative poem on a Persian foundation

⁶ George William Frederick Villiers, fourth Earl of Clarendon (1800–1870) was foreign secretary in Lord Aberdeen's coalition government, and came under severe criticism over his handling of 'The Eastern Question' – the disputed guardianship of the Holy Places in Palestine, and the threatened collapse of the vast Ottoman Empire. A letter in *Reynolds's Newspaper* condemned the 'peaceful and timorous' Aberdeen and 'nervous and incapable' Clarendon for their policy of appeasement towards the 'terrible Czar'. In flagrant disregard of its 'solemn treaties', Britain was urging Turkey into an 'ignominious acquiescence' in the occupation of its territories by the 'bloodstained autocrat' ('The Foreign Policy of England', 17 July 1853, p. 7).

⁷ Monckton Milnes was as renowned for his society dinner parties as for his breakfast gatherings (see *CEN* 4, note 26); his house at 16 Upper Brook Street became famous in 'the annals of London hospitality'. The name of 'Mr. Clough the Poet' features prominently in the book of guests for the 1852 season, alongside Tennyson, Browning, and 'almost all the celebrities of the time' (T. Wemys Reid, *The Life, Letters, and Friendships, of Richard Monckton Milnes, First Lord Houghton*, 3rd edn, 2 vols [New York: Cassell, 1891], I, 472–3).

⁸ John Thadeus Delane (1817–1879), influential editor of *The Times* from 1841–1877, was, like C, a regular dinner guest at Monckton Milnes' house. Delane was also a close confidante of Lord Aberdeen and used his influence to ensure that the latter included at least one 'extreme philosophical Radical' in his coalition Cabinet (Arthur Irwin Dament, *John Thadeus Delane: His Life and Correspondence*, 2 vols [London: John Murray, 1908], I, 151). It was during Delane's tenure of office that *The Times* was apparently at the forefront of the 'popular clamour' which 'hounded' the government into declaring war on Russia in March 1854 (Sir Edward Cook, *Delane of the Times* [London: Constable, 1915], p. 62).

⁹ George, Earl of Gifford (1822–1862), eldest son of the Marquess of Tweeddale and later MP for Totnes, was an army captain stationed in India during the Sikh uprisings of 1845–9; he was commended for his part in the bloody battle of the Jhelum in the Punjab (*London Gazette*, 6 March 1849).

¹⁰ George Hay, eighth Marquess of Tweeddale (1787–1876), became Governor of Madras and Commander in Chief of the Madras Army in 1842.

¹¹ C is probably referring to his own review in the *North American Review* (77 [1853], 1–30), (see Appendix 2) of two volumes of Matthew Arnold's verse: *The Strayed Reveller, and Other Poems* and *Empedocles on Etna, and Other Poems*, published anonymously in 1849 and 1852 respectively (London: B. Fellowes). From the earlier volume C singles out 'The Forsaken Mermaid' for the highest praise, finding its title piece 'a little strained'. He is also critical of the 'pseudo-Greek inflation' of 'Empedocles', preferring its companion piece 'Tristram and Iseult', despite its being rather 'obscure' and faltering in places. Some of the minor poems also come in for criticism for their 'rehabilitated Hindoo-Greek theosophy' (pp. 16, 17, 20, 23). The only other review around the time was in the *North British Review* (attributed to George David Boyle), which was rather negative (19 [1853], 209–218).

with his name.¹² – I shall see M^r Brown on his return, of course: he is in Germany¹³ – I send you back one Boston note – to pay my washing bill.¹⁴ I believe I owe some money for coal, but they never sent their bill.

As for Plutarch, do you think it will be possible for you & Child to help me out of the scrape? I will write it as distinctly as I can; and you must take your share of the “spoil” as you do of the trouble.¹⁵

I don’t know how I shall get on; but I go to this place in the express intention of doing other things — — —

Disraeli is getting thrown overboard by the Derby people¹⁶ – Sir John Pakington is a sort of new leader¹⁷ – However he & the young Tories have set up a weekly paper called the Press¹⁸ with squibs à la Theodore Hook, said to be witty enough.¹⁹

¹² The new narrative poem is *Sohrab and Rustum*, which in a letter to C dated May 1 1853, Arnold described as ‘a thing which pleases me better than anything I have yet done’ (*The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by Howard Foster Lowry [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932; repr. 1968], p. 136). In April 1853 he told his sister that he was thinking of publishing it the following February with the narrative poems of his first volume, ‘Tristram and Iseult’, and one or two more, with his name and a preface’ (*The Letters of Matthew Arnold*, ed. by Cecil Y. Lang, 6 vols (Charlottesville & London: University Press of Virginia, 1996 –), I, 262).

¹³ James Brown the publisher (see *CEN* 4, note 8). C was probably going to mention the possibility of an American edition of Arnold’s poems.

¹⁴ Before the civil war American banks and businesses printed and distributed their own currency in notes which could only be exchanged at the issuing establishment.

¹⁵ On August 15th 1853 Norton replied that it would be a ‘pleasure’ for him and Child to look over the proofs of C’s ‘Plutarch’, but to ensure his writing was clear; as for the ‘plunder’, Norton would not dream of ‘rob[bing]’ his friend of any share in the proceeds of his work (*Norton*, I, 92–93).

¹⁶ Disraeli was a member of Lord Derby’s Conservative Opposition in 1853, having served as Chancellor in the short-lived Derby government of 1852, but relations between them were often strained. In July 1853 the *Examiner* carried a scathing attack on ‘the Derbyites’, who were unhappy about Disraeli’s stance on protectionism; they had treated Disraeli with ‘gross and insulting ingratitude’, and sacrificed his reputation to their ‘stupid bigotry’ and ‘short-sighted prejudices’ (16 July 1853, p. 458).

¹⁷ Sir John Pakington (1799–1880) had also served in Lord Derby’s government in 1852.

¹⁸ The *Press* was a weekly journal, launched by Disraeli on May 7th 1853 in response to supposed ‘newspaper abuse’ of the Derby-Disraeli government, which he considered had been ‘inadequately defended’ in the ‘barbaresque’ press. ‘Tory, but progressive and enlightened’ in style, its aim was to expose an ‘unprincipled Coalition’, with ‘squibs and facetiae’ contributed anonymously by Disraeli and his ‘brilliant’ friends, which ‘made game’ of his political adversaries (William Flavelle Monypenny, *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, 6 vols [New York: Macmillan, 1914], III, 490–494).

¹⁹ Theodore Hook (1788–1841), founder of the satirical high Tory newspaper *John Bull*. The first edition carried a ‘toast’ to its success: ‘Long may it flourish, all humbug despising, / Laughing at blockhead, ass, goose, and num-scull;’ (*The John Bull Magazine, and Literary Recorder* [London: James Smith, 1824], I, 3). Disraeli considered *John Bull* had not maintained the position its founder had secured for it (Monypenny, III, 490).

Direct to me if you please at “Council Office, Whitehall” where I shall be from 11 am to 5pm every day — —

Send me any commissions that may occur — I can’t think of any news at present — but I will pick up gossip for you — I went to see Faust acted the other evening — Emile Deviant as Faust was middling; somebody as Mephistophiles was admirable.²⁰

Adieu —

Ever Yours

A. H. C.

MS *H*

Corr. 456–7 (published in full); *PR* (part-published).

²⁰ On July 16th 1853, Emil Devrient was given an enthusiastic reception for his ‘intellectual power and beautiful elocution’, by an audience at St James’s Theatre, comprising ‘some of the literary celebrities of London’. ‘Herr Dessoir’ played Mephistopheles with ‘force and vigour’ and was warmly applauded, but appeared ‘too fiendish’ (*Morning Chronicle*, 18 July 1853, p. 5). There are parallels between Goethe’s *Faust* and C’s *Dipsychus and the Spirit* (Phelan, p. 157).

6.

C.O. Aug^t 29, 1853

My Dear Charles

Coming down this morning to the office I found your letter by the Niagara,¹ for which a great many thanks – I have got ½ a letter already written for [you] up at my lodgings but I have spare time today here so I will go on – I hope you will keep up the laudable usage of writing – I don't think I shall break down – Really I may say I am only just beginning to recover my spirits after returning from the young & hopeful, & humane republic to this cruel, unbelieving, inveterate old monarchy –

There are deeper waters of ancient knowledge & experience about one here & one is saved from the temptation of flying off into space – but I think you have beyond all question the happiest & best country going. Still the political talk of America such as one hears it here is not always true to the best intentions of the country – is it? – I think you are right about Costa however & I considered Mr Brown's correspondence with Bruck to be quite to his advantage.

Is Pres^{dt} Pierce, as the Times avers, become unpopular?² I don't believe it the least on the averment of the Times – but of course it is a possible thing in itself. –

I am sorry you didn't send Greenough's Remains.³ Don't you remember introducing me to him at the Club the 1st day of our acquaintance. I talked a great deal with him, once or twice there – & rather fraternized.

¹ The *Niagara* was one of the Cunard fleet of 'splendid' steamships chartered by the Royal Mail for their North Atlantic postal service (see Introduction, p. 22).

² Franklin Pierce (1804–1869) won the American Presidential election in November 1852, just days before C landed in Boston (see Introduction, p. 12); again the main electoral issue was slavery and it was during Pierce's presidency that the controversial Kansas-Nebraska act was (see *RWE* 17, note 2; *CEN* 13, note 16).

³ Horatio Greenough (1805–1852), the American sculptor mentioned in Norton's letter of 15th August 1853, in which he describes the late Greenough as a man, though not 'of the highest genius', yet whose 'fresh' and 'vigorous' work bore comparison with Michelangelo (*Norton*, I, 91–2). He was one of the 'notables' at the dinner given in C's honour at Tremont House on 20th November 1852, shortly after his arrival in Boston (See Introduction, p. 12; *Corr.* 333).

Has Curtis printed Parepid. No. II. I haven't seen the Augt no; but I really shall go & enquire at the shop in Fleet S^t for it.⁴ Putnam has a regular agency there or in Ludgate Hill. I forget which –

Everybody is away from town, except a few stray lawyers & newspaper contributors. I took a long walk yesterday, calling by the way at the Horners,⁵ who were gone, with a young Morning Chronicle writer, cognomen⁶ Morgan, son of the Vicar of Conway, & a 1st class man at Oxford & Fellow of University Coll. He is rather 'the flippant' – & had just been doing a leader on the Earl of Stirling & the fisheries –

I hear nothing of Thackeray & "The Newcomes"⁷ – Disraeli, it is thought, has but one card left, viz. to join the Radicals.⁸ – Has "the Press" a young Tory-Radical paper which he writes lampoons in, ever come across to Boston. It is said to be clever, but⁹ –?– It is thought by some people that he and L^d Ellenborough, and young L^d Stanley, & a few others might set up a sort of Caucasian Radicalism, which might some day, by hook or crook, get into office, & play all sort [sic] of queer pranks. There is no doubt however I believe that had Dizzy remained in office he wo^d have introduced many valuable reforms in the management of the public offices etc.

Tuesday – This is full; so I will send it today via Southampton —

⁴ See Appendix 2, PR 381–96.

⁵ Leonard Horner (1785–1864), factory inspector and geologist; father-in-law of Charles Lyell and married to Anne Susan Lloyd (1789–1862); his observations on Dr. Richard Lepsius's geological discoveries in the Nile Valley and a table of the Egyptian dynasties were included in the reprint of Lepsius's *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia and the Peninsular of Sinai* (trans. by Leonora and Joanna B. Horner [London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853], pp. 499, 507).

⁶ 'Family name' [Latin].

⁷ See CEN 7, note 25.

⁸ See CEN 5, note 16.

⁹ See CEN 5, note 18.

I will write again soon – My kind remembrances to your family. Item to Child – We are having here a very *cold* summer, with no sun, & scarcely any heat. – I hope your crops of corn are good, for here the prices are very high – farewell –

Ever Yours

AHC.

MS H

Corr. 460 (part-published); *PR* 217–18 (part-published)

[August 1853]¹

My dear Charles

I got your letter yesterday – just before going out to Highgate hill² to dine chez les Horners³ to meet the Lyells.⁴ I met also old Babbage, who talked no end about picking of locks – having also been famous for his skills in the theory of lock-picking & having recently had his own locks at home extensively picked to his very considerable pecuniary damage by his servants⁵ – Murray also was there – the *ci-devant* American⁶ – just come from Egypt & starting for Berne where he is to have office – He is really very American⁷ –

The Pulslys came in in [sic] the evening; they don't emigrate as yet. Her father & mother have been over to see her. I have met Pulsly three times in the last twelve months perhaps⁸ – 1. in England before I came away. 2. at M^{rs} Howes South Boston with you.⁹ 3. yesterday chez M^{rs} Horner¹⁰ – – We meet with the most unconcern under the oddest changes of circumstances. It is really very cosmopolitan.

Well – I go on in the office – operose nihil agendo¹¹ – very operose – & very nihil, too — — —

¹ Dated by the reference to the publication of Theodore Parker's *Sermons*.

² See *FJC* 1, note 14.

³ See *CEN* 6, note 5.

⁴ See *RWE* 9, note 4.

⁵ Charles Babbage (1791–1871), pioneer of computing through his invention of the automatic calculating engine; he was also a founder member of the Statistical Society of London, whose meetings C attended (see *CEN* 76, note 1), and published papers which attempted to reconcile rational science with deism (*DNB*).

⁶ 'former' [French].

⁷ See *HWL* 1, note 25.

⁸ See *HWL* 1, note 18.

⁹ See Introduction, p. 12.

¹⁰ Susan Horner (Anne-Susannah Horner), 1816–1900, writer on Italian subjects, translator, and daughter of Leonard Horner (see *CEN* 6, note 5). She kept a journal of her travels in France and Italy during 1847 & 1848, which includes reference to incidents relating to the revolutions there (*The British Institute of Florence*, Susan Horner Collection, Ref. Code, HOR).

¹¹ 'laboriously doing nothing' [Latin– from Seneca, *De Brevitate Vitae*].

London is dead – empty or nearly so – the Lords are scampering through the last bills – heaven knows how many per night – The Commons are off grouse-wards – & scarcely any one remains to ask me to dine – or anything else¹² –

As for the future I know nothing as yet. I go on working without thinking. Only please, have you got my letter from the Cambridge post office? – – that's the only thing I care about much. —

Alex^r Smith has not really made much over here.¹³ Mrs Susan Horner, for example, had never heard of him! Except she said once in a shop, she saw Poems by A Smith, & asked if it was by Albert of that name – –

I am very glad to be enrolled among the ΦBK's¹⁴ – – What can I do to express my sense of the honour done me? — Is there any acknowledgement to be made – I assure you I am very glad of any tie with my sometime fellow citizens, if I may so call them – England – Lady Lyell¹⁵ & I agree, is more endurable because of one's knowledge of America as a refuge – However my employment in England is in one respect – namely in its entire freedom from all spiritual despotism or surveillance – more agreeable than what I used to have –

Never mind about the red Plutarch. Perhaps it may as well stay with you. But I sho^d like the sheets. –

M^r Brown bought two Sir Ferris Plutarch in Germany; & sent them out to America – I wish I had one of those.

¹² Parliament would be preparing for the summer recess.

¹³ See *CEN* 46, note 11; Appendix 2.

¹⁴ ΦBK – Phi Beta Kappa [Greek]; the Harvard College Chapter of PBK, established in 1779, is the oldest academic honour in America.

¹⁵ See *RWE* 9, note 4.

Raynouard's,¹⁶ [?] & Lexicon¹⁷ I wo^d willingly part with to any purchaser – But they cost here about \$30 each, [?]. – There is a Heynes Virgil¹⁸ also, last Edⁿ, & best, in Paper which I wo^d sell if any one wo^d give a very tip top price for it.

[next part cross-hatched over 1st, 3rd & 4th pages of letter]

Council office, Augt 31st

I have just been to Chapman's – the Plutarch is not come as yet.¹⁹ Chapman has just this day published Theodore Parker's new book about Atheism etc²⁰ – He, Murray & Longman,²¹ he says, are trying to do the American pirateers by printing articles by Americans which are supposed therefore to give them copy right in America.²² There came in while I was there an article from Froude for the next Westminster on the Book of Job.²³ There is a Devotional Book by Leigh Hunt coming out²⁴ — — Thackeray's book appears in October, I believe.²⁵ He is at Geneva at present²⁶ –

¹⁶ The French dramatist François Just Marie Raynouard (1761–1836), whose *Lexique roman ou dictionnaire de la langue des troubadours comparée avec les autres langues de l'Europe latine* (6 vols [Paris: Crapelet, 1836–1844]), explored the history and grammatical structure of the Romance languages.

¹⁷ The Greek/Latin *Lexicon Plutarcheum et Vitas et Opera Moralia Complectens*, by Daniel A. Wittenbach, (2 vols [Lipsiae: T. O. Weigel, 1843]).

¹⁸ Christian Gottlob Heyne et al, *P. Virgilii Maronis Opera Omnia ex editione Heyniana*, 9 vols (London: A. J. Valpy, 1819).

¹⁹ On 15th August 1853, Norton wrote that he was sending C's 'Plutarchs' to Chapman, 'the publisher in the Strand', the following day (*Norton*, I, 91). John Chapman (1821–94) was the unconventional publisher and editor of the *Westminster Review*, whose home at 142 [The] Strand had become a meeting place for the likes of Carlyle, Thackeray and Emerson, along with refugees from revolutionary Europe, including Mazzini, and radical feminists like Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon.

²⁰ Theodore Parker (1810–1860), Transcendentalist and fervent abolitionist; C had dinner at Dr Howe's with Parker in 1852, soon after his arrival in the United States, and later wrote that Parker had been 'preaching some very infidelical sermons', 'proclaiming disbelief in Miracles and all that' (*Sermons of Theism, Atheism, and the Popular Theology* [London: Chapman, 1853]), which had greatly disturbed the 'genteel Boston mind' (*Corr.* 354–5).

²¹ The Longman publishing house was established in England in 1724 and had extensive dealings with US publishers (see Introduction, p. 15).

²² Despite a Copyright Act in existence since 1790, until about 1852 American publishers pirated thousands of popular English works without obtaining permission from copyright holders across the Atlantic. A pirated version of *The Bothie* appeared in America in 1849 (see Appendix 2).

²³ See *RWE* 16, note 15.

²⁴ See *RWE* 16, note 17.

²⁵ Thackeray's epic novel *The Newcomes: Memoirs of a most Respectable Family* was published in 24 monthly parts by Bradbury and Evans; the first part appeared in London on 1st October 1853.

²⁶ On 7 August 1853 Thackeray wrote that he 'had been travelling to Geneva, Lausanne, Vevey ... and Berne', and that the tour had cost £80 for one month, for 3 people and a servant, 'travelling gently' and 'living soberly' (*Thackeray's Letters to an American Family* [New York: The Century Co, 1904], p. 89).

Ambrose Philips, the Roman Catholic who set up the new S^t Bernard Monastery in Charnwood Forest has taken to spirit rappings.²⁷ He avers *inter alia*²⁸ that a Buddhist spirit in misery held communication with him through the table and intreated [sic] his Confessor, Father Lorraine, to say 3 masses for him. Pray convey this through Lowell for example, to Thoreau for his warning²⁹ – For moreover it remains uncertain whether Father Loraine did say the masses, so that perhaps Thoreau’s deceased co-religionist, is still in the wrong place – Goodbye –

MS *H*

Corr. 461 (part-published); *PR* 218 (part-published)

²⁷ The Mount St Bernard monastery in Charnwood Forest, Leicestershire, designed by Pugin and opened in 1844 on land donated by Catholic convert Ambrose Lisle March Phillipps de Lisle (1809–1878), whose aim was to ‘root out all heresy and hatred’ from the Churches of Canterbury and York and ‘restore all Christ-worshipping Englishmen to their former ancient Catholic condition’ of union with Rome (Edmund Sheridan Purcell, *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillips de Lisle*, 2 vols [London: Macmillan, 1900], I, pp. viii, ix).

²⁸ ‘among other things’ [Latin].

²⁹ See *RWE* 6, note 11; Henry David Thoreau (1816–1862), American scholar and writer, helped popularise Buddhism in the West with his translation from the French of the *Lotus Sutra*, a 3rd Century Buddhist text. In 1844 he published ‘The Preaching of the Buddha’ in Emerson’s Transcendentalist journal (*The Dial: A Magazine for Literature, Philosophy and Religion*, 4 [1844], pp. 391–401).

8.

[August/September 1853]¹

For lack of news I send you inside a specimen of my labours – not very neatly copied I fear, but the Agenda sheets are well ruled² — —

When at full work one does about 15 or 16 schools besides some little other work — & Government assists the different Churches & Sects — — & their Education - Societies – the Nat¹ (Ch of E.) The British (Dissenting) the Wesleyan, the Roman Catholic, the Established & Free & Episc. Scotch Churches.... & now the Jews. All who read the Bible – or a portion of it — —

vc. means voluntary contribution.

Sp. School pence. a means good, f. fair, b bad, f? indifferent.

The names here are those of apprenticed or pupil teachers who get paid so much a year by Government with a gratuity to the Master for teaching them – S. means pay stipend, 4.3.2.1 are the years of their appr^{ship}, ad. means admit candidate, ref. refuse. atts means attainments insuff^t; age means too young, ie below 13. –

There will that interest you? –

I sho^d add that aug. means augmentation – viz. to Master's salary; which is paid when he has passed a certain Examination under Government management. There are 3 Classes, each divided into 3 divisions – 3/1 means 3rd Class, 1st Division, to which 18£ is paid. To 1/1 30£ is paid: I believe there is only *one* so qualified.

3

I sent a note to Child per a young renagate [sic] about a week ago. Don't let him *trouble* himself beyond a few words of advice to start him with. I rather approve of what he had done, but it's no good unless he takes the consequences without shrinking and without mitigation. His father is a clergyman in Kent, who I believe has rather played the ostrich's part with his offspring.

Do you see the Morning Post? I don't, but if you want to see Palmerston's news on

¹ Dated by reference to C's agenda of inspectorial duties, and his reference to the Calcutta Address in the letter.

² C enclosed his handwritten agenda with the letter.

Turkey, they are [sic] there propria manu³ in Foreign Affairs almost daily. The Times is in L^d Aberdeen's [favour?], the Chronicle, I presume in Lord Clarendon's -- in re Turkey.

Chapman told me he was going to notice your Volume at the end of the next Westminster;⁴ in which by the way Froude writes on the Book of Job.⁵

Tennyson has been touring about in the Scotch Highlands with my friend Frank Palgrave & is still from home.⁶ Cholera advances slowly; having got a most suitable starting place in the foul quarters of Newcastle. The Doctors, I was told by Tom Taylor who is in the Board of Health,⁷ all agree that the only chance is in taking medicines about the bad districts to be administered at the first moment of "premonitions"⁸ — — Did you notice anywhere, (in the papers of three days ago) the address of the Natives at Calcutta to the British Parliament praying for franchises⁹ - - - Young India is said by some people to be very revolutionary - - à la mode 48 -

Adieu – My kindest remembrances to your family. – Remembrance also to Child, - Lowell, & the Longfellows as they turn up –

Saturday – My friend Arnold has been here. He has just arranged to have a selection from his previous volumes of verse republished with some fresh pieces, Rustum & Zohrab, a story from Firdusi being the chief addⁿ, – by Longmans.¹⁰ Do you think that Ticknor & Fields wo^d be inclined to do anything in this kind, or is my friend too terribly European in his mind, matter & manner to bear crossing the salt water? – He publishes

³ 'Signed with one's own hand' [Latin].

⁴ See *CEN* 10, note 18.

⁵ See *RWE* 16, note 7.

⁶ Tennyson toured Glasgow and Edinburgh with Palgrave during July and August (see *HWL* 1, note 13).

⁷ See *CEN* 22, note 7.

⁸ Warning signs.

⁹ On 29 July 1853 a 'most crowded' meeting of the 'Native Community' of Calcutta petitioned Parliament on the proposed 'Ministerial Scheme for the Government of India' (*Calcutta Historical Journal* (2 vols [Calcutta: Calcutta University, 1977], p. 29).

¹⁰ On 22 October 1853 Longmans announced the publication in early November of 'a greatly altered New Edition' of poems by Matthew Arnold, with a Preface; more than a third of the poems would be published for the first time (*Examiner*, 22 October 1853, p. 688).

in November & Froude is to review him in the Westm¹¹ & perhaps Kingsley in the Fraser's.¹² And he is to announce himself by his proper name – instead of that meagre anatomy of an initial A. Perhaps as a son of Arnold's he might be of interest to vous autres Anglo-sauvages.¹³ –

I got the Putnam of Aug^t for the first time to day¹⁴ – My calligraphy seems to have puzzled the N.Yk compositors a little – – I think the letter is certainly better than the first; but that is all –

The fleet has entered the Dardanelles. So Lord Palmerston (no doubt) announces in today's Post. I wonder whether you will get the news by to day's steamer. It is only half-given in the Times.

Adieu

A.H. Clough

C.O. Sepr 21. '53

My dear Charles,

It seems long since any communication was transacted between us.¹⁵ So let this assure you of my continued existence in this sublunary¹⁶ red tape world¹⁷ – Beyond that I do not [think] that I have anything to say. I sometimes get overpowered by the burden &

¹¹ See *CEN* 13, note 9.

¹² The review, attributed by *Wellesley* to Charles Kingsley, appeared in the February 1854 edition of *Fraser's Magazine* and praised Arnold's 'quiet grace' and 'scholarly power' in handling 'classical' materials; it found 'Sohrab and Rustom' an example of 'masculine and truly heroic' poetry, 'worthy to be written ... and read by brave men' ('Poems by Matthew Arnold', 49 [1854], 140–149 [pp. 142, 144, 145]).

¹³ Cp. C's use of 'Anglo-savage' in his second 'Letter of Parepidemus' where he discusses the difficulties of translating Homer from classical Greek hexameters into the 'forward-rushing, consonant crushing' accentual metre of modern English (*PR* 389–396, p. 394). The assumption of Anglo-Saxon superiority over other races is illustrated by a quotation from *The Anglo-Saxon* magazine (London: Longman, 1849, p.4), where the whole earth is described as the 'Father-land' of the Anglo-Saxon race, which, as it spread, would afford 'shelter, and protection' to 'less favoured races of mankind' (quoted in Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Anglo-Saxonism* [Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1981], p. 74). Dr Arnold of Rugby, well-respected in America, is seen as a representative of 'high' culture and therefore only accessible to the Anglo-Saxon cultural elite.

¹⁴ The second of C's 'Letters of Parepidemus' was published in the August 1853 edition of *Putnam's Magazine* (see Appendix 2, *PR* 381–98).

¹⁵ Norton wrote on 17th September 1853.

¹⁶ 'Existing or situated beneath the moon; lying between the orbit of the moon and the earth' (*OED*).

¹⁷ See *CEN* 30, note 13.

weight of European metropolitan life & am driven in spirit to the solution of transatlantic new life, but as to the *letter* of such palingenesis¹⁸ I can't say –

Will you if you please send off my books & chattels as soon as your family returns to occupy the place they now are intruding upon – I am in no particular need of them – & do very well indeed without them, – And only occasionally am reminded of the absence of one or two of them : – so that there is no hurry.

I like the quill driving very well – I did not know how tired I had become of pedagogy or *boy* – driving, till I learnt something of it by the change – – Beyond however that mere fact of change I don't know that there is really much interest in composing sheets of agenda as they are called filled with summaries of the reports of the travelling inspection of schools.¹⁹

2.

Council Office –

My dear Charles

I wrote the first sheet before coming down to the Office this morning; so that I might be sure of reading something new. Now I come, I find your new letter. You are very good to write again so soon. I did not the least expect it.

I am very glad to hear something reasonable about politics. I thought Everett's letter (apart from the question of its *existence* at all.) well written & good²⁰ – As for Naturalization, it seems to me a little cloud that must cover a good space of the political heavens before long – I think the old Countries must abandon their present doctrine of

¹⁸ A chemical operation by means of which it is claimed, a plant or animal can be revived from its ashes (Jacques Ozanam and others, *Recreations in Science and Natural Philosophy*, rev. by Edward Riddle [London: Thomas Tegg, 1844], p. 800).

¹⁹ See note 2 above.

²⁰ The US Secretary of State, Edward Everett, wrote to Lord John Russell on 17th September 1853, describing as unreasonable calls by Britain and France, who were themselves 'pushing their dominions, by new conquests to the uttermost ends of the earth', for the United States to pledge never to admit Cuba – an island that formed a 'natural appendage to our continent', and whose people were presently under the despotic rule of Spain – into the Union (*Correspondence on the Proposed Tripartite Convention Relative to Cuba*, United States Dept. Of State [Boston: Little, Brown, 1853], pp.50–64 [pp. 61, 64]).

inalienable right.²¹ It seems fair however to allow some interval of time – & in case of “rebels” – I sho^d say no fully naturalized citizen far less a man going to be citizen can claim with any justice to return to his own old country & be protected by his new country – After full 5 years Kossuth co^d not without insult go to Vienna.²² – It wo^d be quite enough that he sho^d go to Turkey or the Canton Tessin which I wo^d claim for him.²³

The Old Classical System by which closer ties of relationship between this Country & that than between this and some third seems no bad one²⁴ –

Between England and America – between the British Amⁿ Colonies in particular, & the U. States, one wo^d be glad, if there could exist some Isopolity;²⁵ that a man might be a citizen in which he pleased; & change about as he chose – Treaties with different countries might establish different degrees of privilege, very naturally. Had I remained with you, I wo^d gladly have become an American citizen; but I sho^d have not liked to pledge myself to fight agst England, except in <self-> *defence* of my new country. It seems to me it wo^d be well if that degree of transfer were open to one - - - - But this is getting too long. I shall have no paper left – –

²¹ ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights ...’ (The Declaration of Independence in Congress, July 4, 1776).

²² Lajos Kossuth (1802–1894), who led Hungary’s struggle for independence from Austria and briefly became president in 1849 before being overthrown by the invading Russian army and fleeing to Turkey.

²³ The German name for the southernmost Swiss canton of Ticino.

²⁴ The Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 that ended the Thirty Years War of religion in Europe established a new structure known as the ‘classical balance of power’ where the member states shared a broadly similar ideology and short-term alliances could be formed for the duration of a particular conflict (*Introduction to International Relations*, ed. by R.J. Barry Jones and others [Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001], pp. 69–70).

²⁵ Equality of rights of citizenship between different communities or states; reciprocity of civic rights (*OED*).

Thanks for the news about Putnam – M^r Downing’s Essays appear to be attracting notice here²⁶ — — Thanks too about letters [sic]. There is no hurry about them: I only hoped that they had been rescued from the casualties of the P.O. —

It seems to be certain that the Sultan has declared that if the Principalities are not evacuated in a month’s time, he shall consider himself to be at War with Russia²⁷ _____ Meantime Cabinet Councils go on daily. It is *not* true, I am told: that any regiments are ordered for the Medⁿ.²⁸

I saw Mrs Rich last night who enquired about you – She had seen Felton at Paris²⁹ – Farewell –

I must set work at my “Agenda”³⁰ —

Ever Yrs

A.H. C.

MS H

Corr. 463 (part-published); *PR* 218–9 (part-published)

²⁶ *Rural Essays*, by the American author A. J. Downing, published posthumously in 1853, is a collection of essays on gardening and architecture. Visiting London, the author was greatly impressed by the squares ‘filled with trees, shrubs, grass and fountains’– ‘noble breathing spaces’ in the midst of the smoke and grime for the ‘daily health and recreation’ of its citizens ([New York: Putnam, 1853], p. 554).

²⁷ See *HWL* 1, note 20.

²⁸ See *JRL* 2, note 14.

²⁹ See *RWE* 10, note 2.

³⁰ See note 2 above.

[October 13, 1853]¹

To Charles E. Norton Esq.

The news your letter brought was no surprise.² The change in your father between the day when you first brought me to Shady Hill, and that when he bade me goodbye before going to Newport, was too great not to give some warning. And, quite recently, the accounts which I had had made me expect that your next letter would be to this purpose.³

My own feeling is really, rather than anything else, that of your happiness in having so long and so much enjoyed the blessing of your father's society. This is all the more striking to me, as I was parted from my father at nine years old, and hardly had begun to know him properly again before his death, soon after I had taken my degree at Oxford.⁴ Oxford.⁴ I am truly glad that my visit to America was early enough to let me know your your father.⁵

[The manuscript for this letter cannot be traced. It was published in full in *PR* (pp. 220–221), but there is some doubt over its authenticity.]

¹ Dated by the reference to the death of Andrews Norton and the date given in *PR*.

² The death of Charles Norton's father, the Unitarian preacher and theologian, Andrews Norton (1786–1853), on 18th September 1853; Norton wrote to C of his 'irreparable loss', and recalled memories from his childhood with the father who was 'the best of counsellors' and 'most loving of friends' (*Norton*, I, 94).

³ Norton wrote on 17 September 1853 that the decline in his father's health had been very rapid and that 'the end cannot be far off' (*Norton*, I, 93).

⁴ C was sent to school in Chester in 1828 and then to Rugby the following year, while his family remained in the United States (see *RWE* 9, note 6). Thereafter he was to see very little of the 'loving', 'lively' father, James Butler Clough (1784–1844), from whom his children received 'many of the smaller cares which usually come from a mother'. 'Shaken by grief' at the death of C's youngest brother George in 1842, James Clough himself soon succumbed to a lingering and terminal illness, during which he was 'tenderly nursed' by his family, including C, now a Fellow of Oriel (*PR* 9, 35).

⁵ C first met Andrews Norton at Shady Hill on 17th November 1852, shortly after his arrival in New England, describing him as a 'fine venerable old fellow, rather infirm' (*Corr.* 332). Their last meeting was when the Nortons left their Cambridge home for Newport, Rhode Island in early June 1853 (see *RWE* 13, note 6).

10.

Nov^r 29th [1853]¹

My dear Charles

It is an age or two since I have written to you & I have a dozen kindnesses, besides half a dozen letters, I think, to acknowledge² — —

It grieved me to the heart to think of my hostages being returned; & my books & clothes, (much as I want some of them) being already embarked.³ But I thank you very much for discharging that painful duty. I am only sorry you didn't keep all the Poems; pray do keep the *Bothie*, till I come for it⁴ — I hunted about at odd times for a Catalogue which I believe I have. I meant to send out word what I wished you to do with one or two things. Let the Oxford Report be presented, *if you please*, & if it is kept, (the President had it), to the College Library.⁵

I shall write a note to Lowell with this.⁶ Will you give it, please; & also present my felicitations to the Longfellows.⁷ I hope I may some day make acquaintance with the new little playfellow.

Matt Arnold's book was to go to Ticknor & Field; & I hope has gone; & come to your eyes amongst others.⁸ *He* is most ambitious about Sohrab & Rostum — (the story is in

¹ Year dated by reference to the articles in the *Quarterly Review* mentioned in the letter.

² Norton had written two long letters to C dated 14th October and 22nd November 1853.

³ The belongings which C left with Norton following his abrupt departure for England on 29th June 1852 (see *CEN* 2).

⁴ An American edition of *The Bothie* and other poems was published posthumously in 1862 (see Appendix 2).

⁵ C's article reviewing the parliamentary report on Oxford universities published in the *North American Review*, April 1853 (see Appendix 2; *PR* 399–404).

⁶ C's letter of condolence on the death of Lowell's wife (see *JRL* 3, note 2).

⁷ The Longfellows' fourth child Edith was born on 22 October 1853.

⁸ The American edition of Arnold's work, entitled *Poems by Matthew Arnold: A New and Complete Edition*, was eventually published by Ticknor and Fields in Boston in 1856; it included poems from *The Strayed Reveller* (1849) and *Empedocles on Etna* (1852), but omitted the title piece of the latter because of what Arnold called its 'morbidity' (p. 11).

Firdusi I believe).⁹ I myself think that the Gipsy Scholar is best. It is *so* true to the Oxford Country.¹⁰ I suspect you will like the P^t III of the Chapel of Brou.¹¹ I can't of course give any critical opinion as to republishing it chez vous. But – you will judge right I dare say — —

In the last Quarterly two articles. Holy Places,¹² & Tho^s a Beckett are by Arthur Stanley,¹³ Mesmerism by D^r Carpenter¹⁴ – Casaubon by I don't know¹⁵—

In the Westminster Italian Religion by Saffi, ex-Triumvir of Rome.¹⁶ Job by Froude.¹⁷

The remarks on you, with the exception of a bit about Somebody's Error, & one or two

⁹ Arnold used John Malcom's *History of Persia* and a French translation of Ferdousi's [sic] 11th century Persian poem as sources for 'Sohrab and Rustum' (*The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. by Kenneth Allott, 2nd edn, rev. by Miriam Allott [London and New York: Longman, 1979], p. 320).

¹⁰ *The Scholar-Gipsy*; for Arnold the 'freest and most delightful part of his life' was when he 'enjoyed the spring of life' in that 'unforgotten' Oxfordshire countryside (Allott, p. 356).

¹¹ Norton's judgement on Arnold's new volume as a whole was not favourable: it was 'too chiselled and cold, ... too sculpturesque' for American 'hot and hasty demands', which is why Fields declined to reprint it (*Norton*, I, 101). C was correct, however, in that Norton did like Part III of 'The *Church of Brou*', which has an elegiac quality, different in both form and tone from the earlier parts, as it envisages the entombed Duke and Duchess rising from their 'cold, marble beds' to a richly lit paradise. This would chime with Norton's preference for poetry of the imagination, rather than 'mere intellectualism', which characterises much of Arnold's poetry of that period (see *CEN* 11, notes 7–10).

¹² Article IV in the September 1853 edition of the *Quarterly Review* by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815–1881), clergyman, author and old friend of C's from his Rugby days, deals with the disputatious, and highly topical subject of the 'Holy Places' – now threatening to engulf the whole of Europe in war – from a different angle: that of evidence for the authenticity of sites in Palestine associated with the life of Christ ('Solution Nouvelle de la Question des Lieux Saints', 93 [1853], 432–462).

¹³ Article II in the same edition of the *Quarterly Review*, also by Arthur Stanley, reviews a book entitled *Vitae S Thomae Cantuariensis* and is a fairly balanced reappraisal of Becket's life and legacy, which attempts to steer a path between opposing views of the murdered archbishop: as either 'meek and gentle saint' or 'ambitious and unprincipled traitor' (93 [1853], 349–387 [p.386]).

¹⁴ Article VI in the above edition, by Dr William Carpenter (See *RWE* 19, note 3; 20, note 2) is a thorough-going and highly sceptical examination of mesmerism, table-turning and other such dubious practices, which had become fashionable amusements at evening parties around the time. The article concludes that all of these so-called supernatural phenomena could be accounted for by psychological factors: as when 'dominant ideas' or 'religious aberrations' took possession of credulous and excitable minds ('Chapters on Mental Physiology', *Quarterly Review*, 93 [1853], 501–557 [pp. 505, 509, 557]).

¹⁵ The article on Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614) is a review by Mark Pattison, author of *Memoirs of an Oxford Don*, of two new publications on the sixteenth-century French Classical scholar: a man of 'extraordinary learning' and 'uprightness', from whose example 'men of letters' could 'gather courage and cheerfulness'. The first is an edition of his monumental 'Ephemerides' or diary, published in its entirety for the first time ('Isaac Casaubon', *Quarterly Review*, 93 [1853], 462–500 [p. 500]).

¹⁶ 'Religion in Italy' in the *Westminster Review* is attributed by *Wellesley* to Saffi Aurelio (1819–1890), who took part in the short-lived Roman Republic in 1849, and whose defeat by the French forms the backdrop for *Amours de Voyage*. Aurelio's article looks at Italy's patriotic struggles against Empire and Catholicism, and argues in favour of replacing the old 'effete' papacy with a new, progressive model of Church and State (*Westminster Review*, 60 [1853], 311–341 [p. 341]).

¹⁷ See *RWE* 16, note 15.

misprints e.g. historic for unhistoric, by me at Chapman's request.¹⁸ In the Edinburgh, Grote is John Mill.¹⁹ Parli^y Reform by Greg,²⁰ & Church Parties by W^m Conybeare, son of the geologist²¹ & writer of the Art.on the B^p of Exeter some time ago²² — Haydon [is] by M^{rs} Jameson I believe.²³

Concerning Maurice you know all I dare say. He loses £500 a year they say which is a great deal for him – But he retains his Lincolns Inn Chaplaincy, & will not I think be otherwise attacked or urged to leave the Church to which I am sure he is sincerely

¹⁸ C's article entitled 'Contemporary Literature of America' looks at some unforeseen consequences of the 'ultra-democratic and high socialist doctrines' dealt with in Norton's *Considerations on some Recent Social Theories* (see *CEN* 4, note 30), whereby the labourer was now seeking 'his true exchangeable value' in the Californian or Australian gold mines, or 'demanding it in strikes at home'. Mass emigration had led to hardship in the American ports, and C notes that Norton favours philanthropy and charitable relief over European experiments in 'co-operative association'. Charity in New England, however, was different from that doled out in countries where 'extreme social contrasts' fuelled a 'burning resentment against injustice'. Finally, contrary to popular perception of America's expansionist intentions, many like Norton would, for the good of their country, be unwilling to accept the 'half-caste Spaniards of Mexico' or 'the semi-savages of the Sandwich Islands' into the Union (*Westminster Review*, 60 [1853], 593–609 [pp. 604–5]). In C's article he states that 'although [Norton] falls into Mr. Warner's error about "God's law", he happily avoids, in his practical conclusions, the mistakes into which that error might well have led him' (p.604). Line 5, of C's article reads: 'some historic totals of dollars' (p. 605).

¹⁹ The article, attributed by *Wellesley* to John Stuart Mill, is a review of volumes IX, X and XI of the historian George Grote's epic *History of Greece*. Mill admires the clarity with which Grote depicts the Greek mind, especially the 'omnipresence' of their religious sensibilities, and the 'moral aspect' of the events and people described (*Edinburgh Review*, 98 [1853], 425–447 [pp. 445, 446]).

²⁰ Article IX, attributed by *Wellesley* to William Rathbone Greg, is a review of seven new publications on the subject of parliamentary reform and bribery at elections ('Parliamentary Purification', *Edinburgh Review*, 98 [1853], 566–624).

²¹ Article I, by William John Conybeare (1815–1857), son of the geologist William Daniel Conybeare, looks at the three great 'parties' which divide the Church of England: 'the Low Church, the High Church, and the Broad Church'; he concludes that the 'civil discord' that is 'convuls[ing]' Anglicanism is causing her 'children' to abandon Christianity, with the 'diffusion of infidel opinions' among the lower classes and scepticism in the 'highest ranks' ('Church Parties', *Edinburgh Review*, 98 [1853], 273–342 [pp. 273, 341, 342]).

²² The article on the Bishop of Exeter (see *CEN* 4, note 10), also by William John Conybeare, is an excoriating attack on Philpotts – his excommunication of the Archbishop, the devious means by which he obtained his bishopric, his nepotism and his 'thirst for notoriety' – bore comparison with some of the most notorious prelates in history ('Bishop Philpotts', *Edinburgh Review*, 95 [1852], 59–94 [pp. 85, 93]).

²³ The review of *Life of Benjamin Robert Haydon, Historical Painter, with his Autobiography and Journals*, ed. by Tom Taylor, 3 vols (London: Longman Brown, 1853), attributed to art historian Anna Brownell Jameson, commends the remarkable self-portrayal of a man 'denounced as an absolute madman' and shunned as an 'unprincipled and shameless beggar'. According to the reviewer, the 'wonderful vigour' of his mind and the 'warmth' of his affections would reverse to some extent the harsh judgement of posterity ('Life of Haydon', *Edinburgh Review*, 98 [1853], 518–566 [pp. 518, 566]).

attached²⁴ –

I wish you wo^d tell me the exact name of your Hindoo friend at Calcutta²⁵ – in some early letter.

Leonora Horner is going to marry Dr Pertz, librarian of the Royal libr. at Berlin, she 35 he 58? with three grown up sons.²⁶ The Lyells²⁷ go very soon to Teneriffe with the Bunburys;²⁸ & the marriage takes place on their return — —

I have been taking holiday in Hampshire at the Nightingales²⁹ – & have been back about ten days — —

Plutarch does go on, although slowly – I declare I think I must come out to start it. I don't know how you will manage to keep the printers to it or get them through it – (i.e. the part I had already done before I came away.) I am more careful in what I do now —

²⁴ Frederick Denison Maurice (1805–1872), who was deprived of his Professorship at King's College London following publication of his controversial *Theological Essays* in 1853. It was decided by the King's College Council that his views regarding 'the future punishment of the wicked and the final issues of the day of judgement' were 'of dangerous tendency and calculated to unsettle the minds' of theological students (*The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice, Chiefly told in his own Letters*, ed. by Frederick Maurice, 2 vols [London: Macmillan, 1884], II, 191). In the Preface to the Second edition of *Theological Essays* Maurice mounts a vigorous defence, claiming that his views on eternal punishment were entirely consistent with belief in God's mercy and redemption (*The Concluding Essay and Preface to the Second Edition of Mr. Maurice's Theological Essays* [Cambridge: Macmillan, 1854], pp. xxii–xxiii). He received huge public support for his principled stand, including letters of sympathy from Tennyson, 'the co-operating working men of London' and his old pupils at Kings College (Maurice II, 212), and was not forced to relinquish his Lincoln's Inn Chaplaincy.

²⁵ Norton had a generally low opinion of Indians who 'united many of the vices of barbarism and civilisation'; the only 'native' that he respected was his Calcutta friend Rajender Dutt, with whom he carried on a long correspondence (*Norton*, I, 48, 57).

²⁶ Leonora Horner (b.1818), daughter of Leonard Horner (see *CEN* 6, note 5), and translator of German works, married Georg Heinrich Pertz, German Historian and royal librarian in Berlin, in 1854.

²⁷ Leonora Horner's sister, Mary Elizabeth (1808–1873), was married to Charles Lyell (see *RWE* 9, note 4). Lyell travelled to Madeira and the Canary Islands during the winter of 1853–54 to see evidence for Leopold von Buch's theory of craters of elevation, which contradicted his own view of the history of the Earth. Lyell found the islands formed by a long series of volcanic eruptions, rather than by a single explosive upheaval as described by von Buch (Charles Lyell, *On the Structure of Lavas* [London: Taylor and Francis, 1859], pp. 5–6).

²⁸ Sir Charles James Fox Bunbury (1809–1886), naturalist and diarist, and Lady Frances Joanna Bunbury (née Horner); (1814–1894), who made barometric recordings for Lyell on Madeira (*DNB*).

²⁹ The home of Blanche Smith's uncle and aunt, William Edward and Frances Nightingale.

Farewell. Remember me most kindly to your mother & sister – Also to the Ticknors, & the Mills³⁰ & Ed. Dwight. Also of course to Child – –

I will write again before long –

Ever yours

A H. Clough

Dec^r 2^d

Farewell — Give the enclosed to Lowell, please³¹ — — I wish you wo^d come over here some day — — —

I don't know of any more news, unless it is news, which perhaps it isn't, that Lockhart has given up the 4terly & is gone in utter bad health to Italy,³² leaving the Review to a young clergyman whose name I forget, but it is appended to the announcement of one or two of Murrays new Edit^{ns} of Poets.³³ I hope Mr Brown will have patience with me. I trust to get on pretty fast in time; but it is no use *sending* anything till I can see my way further.

MS H

Corr. 467–8 (part-published); *PR* 221 (part-published).

³⁰ Charles H. Mills – Charles Norton's cousin.

³¹ C enclosed a letter to Lowell (see *JRL* 3).

³² John Gibson Lockhart (1794–1854), influential editor of the *Quarterly Review* for twenty-eight years before resigning in 1853 to spend the winter in Rome. While on holiday with the Arnold brothers in 1845, C spent a pleasant day at the Lockhart family's country estate in Lanarkshire (*PR* 28–29).

³³ Whitwell Elwin (1816–1900), a Church of England clergyman, succeeded Lockhart as editor of the *Quarterly Review* in 1853 until 1860 (*DNB*). In 1854 John Murray published *Selections from the Writings of Lord Byron*, which was edited by Elwin.

[Decr 9th 1853]¹

My dear Charles

Thank you many times. Here is your letter and bill of lading per America; and before long I dare say the Parliament will disgorge my boxes² – Thanks also for the account. I will do your Commissions with pleasure – I pass Colnaghi's every morning & shall be glad of an excuse to go in³ –

All news from your side is very acceptable, political, personal, & first-personal — I do a little Plutarch continually – only a very little, I fear, but it always brings up some vision of the Common or Shady Hill or the Appian Way,⁴ or the road across from your gate towards Allen & Farnhams –

Things go on slowly & rather dismally here in the December fog. My work however at present is by no means overpowering – and I expect to have three or four days of perfect holiday just before Xmas –

Books I have not troubled myself much about of late – Miss Martineau's Comte is just out (The Examiner will have told you of this) & she has been staying here to see to it.⁵

.....

¹ Dated by the reference to the *Spectator* article.

² The return of C's personal effects (see *CEN* 4, note 29).

³ The London-based art dealers Paul and Dominic Colnaghi; Norton was a keen art-collector and contributed several articles on art history to the *Atlantic Monthly*.

⁴ The Appian Way is close to Harvard University in Cambridge, Mass.

⁵ Harriet Martineau (1802–1876), writer and journalist; the review of her translation of *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte* in the *Examiner* described the 2 volumes as forming 'a very able, conscientious, and judicious condensation' of Comte's work, omitting the 'original verbosity' and much that was 'faulty' or in 'bad taste' (3 December 1853, p.772). Martineau returned to London from Ireland immediately on publication of *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte*, where she gave lectures and visited 'so many hosts' and saw 'so much society' that she afterwards decided to settle in Ambleside (*Harriet Martineau's Autobiography*, ed. by Maria Weston Chapman, 3rd edn, 3 vols [London: Smith Elder, 1877], II, 410).

I have just heard through Murray from M^r Brown. Will you give him the enclosed which you can read & seal –

Will this reach you by Xmas day – If it does pray give a round of good wishes on my behalf. Lawrence the painter (whom perhaps you never heard of) is going over to your side – to New York however in the first instance, I believe. If you meet him, you will find him worth cultivating a little. He is much thought of by sundry intellectuals here.⁶

My friend Arnold is getting considerable notice – The Westminster, [and] Fraser will I believe both review him. I confess I out of a spirit of contradiction felt rather driven into opposition, & do not at all agree with the Preface, nor very enthusiastically admire *Sohrab & Rustum*⁷ –

The Leader has contested the one & admired the other;⁸ & the Spectator has given a long & acrimonious critique⁹ – I think there is great at any rate *merit* in the *composition* of *Sohrab*. I hope the book has got to you via Ticknor & Fields, to whom I directed

⁶ The portrait painter Samuel Laurence (aka. Lawrence), (1812–1884), who painted most of the leading Victorian writers and artists; he travelled to America in 1854 to take a portrait of Longfellow for an illustrated edition of his poems commissioned by George Routledge and remained until 1861 (see *CEN* 21, note 3).

⁷ As Arnold told C, the basis of his poetics was the kind of poetry that ‘*animates*’ and ‘*enobles*’, not merely, as in the case of ‘The Scholar Gipsy’, which C admired (see *CEN* 10, note 10), ‘to add zest to their melancholy or grace to their dreams’ (*The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by Howard Foster Lowry [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932; repr. 1968], p. 146). The Preface to the 1853 edition of his poems reinforced his rejection of Romantic subjectivism – the prolonging of ‘mental distress’, ‘unrelieved by incident, hope, or resistance’ – in favour of selecting an ‘excellent action’ in the style of the ancient Greeks on which to construct a poem designed to create a ‘moral impression’ (*Poems by Matthew Arnold* [London: Longman Brown, 1853], pp. viii, x, xxvi). In contrast to Arnold’s views, C thought that poetry should be more concerned with ‘ordinary feelings’ and ‘the actual, palpable things’ of everyday life (see *CEN* 5, note 11; *PR* 357).

⁸ The review in the *Leader*, by G. H. Lewes disagreed with Arnold’s Preface – that poets should turn to the Classics for guidance, counselling emulation rather than conscious imitation, which was a weakness. If a poet had something to say about his age, he should say it without recourse to ancient models. A minority ‘cultured’ audience would, however, be delighted with the poems in the volume, particularly *Sohrab and Rustum* (*Leader*, 4 [1853], 1146–7; 1169–71 [pp. 1147, 1170]).

⁹ Like C, The *Spectator* questioned whether a poet of the 19th century should ‘seek the subjects of his art in the facts he gathers out of ancient Greek books, rather than in the world of his own experience, action and emotion’, and accused Arnold of escapism in wishing to ‘neglect the work of the world for beautiful dreaming’ (Supplement, 3 December 1853, pp. 5–6).

Arnold to send it.¹⁰

Tell Child I shall be very glad to do any little literary commission for him & his poets. Tell him not to be *too* learned about his Chaucer – for my sake. And above all things, to *make* the verses scan.¹¹ – I hesitate about recommending any indications of the metre in the typography. But a set of simple directions emphatically & prominently given at the outset; – (e.g. for the sounding or silencing of the final e.) will I think be *essential*. People won't read Chaucer agst their ears.

MS H

Corr. 469–70 (part-published); *PR* 221–2 (part-published).

¹⁰ See *CEN* 10, notes 8-10; Norton agreed with C; he found 'Sohrab and Rostum' 'unnatural'; he preferred the Persian version of the story, and disliked the artificial use of scenery Arnold had never seen, and the 'discordant imagery' which did not preserve the 'couleur locale' of the Persian story (*Norton*, I, 101–2).

¹¹ Little, Brown, & Co published some 150 volumes of the title *British Poets* over the period 1853 to 1864, under the general editorial supervision of Child, but the planned inclusion of an edition of Chaucer by Child did not materialise. Child, however, turned his attention to a minute study of Chaucer's language, and C, who credited Chaucer with the transformation of 'homely', 'inarticulate semi-Saxon' English into a 'civilised and living speech' (*PR* 342), gave detailed advice on the metrical structure (see *FJC* 1, note 4; *FJC* 3, notes 4–8).

[26–30 December 1853]¹

My dear Charles

I have been paying Xmas visits to the Nightingales & the Ashburtons in Hampshire.² Meantime my boxes have been slowly proceeding through the Custom House at Liverpool & are still I believe enjoying their Xmas there. However they are all safe & will come in due time I don't doubt.

I shall send you your School of Design things very soon – I fear however not by this week's packet – but I hope by the next.—

Plutarch, 2 parts, went by the last Boston steamer & I hope you will find it legible. I took a deal of pains to make it so, but it's more than I can expect that it sho^d be quite right.

Here we have been going through our Xmas farce of a change in the Ministry, change & change back — I believe it is really true that the Reform Bill was the occasion of Palmerston's withdrawal³— L^d Aberdeen has, it is understood, followed *his* policy throughout the Eastern Matter – only at about “3 months after sight”⁴ — —

There is a curious notion afloat among the German extreme radicals that Russia is more hopeful than feudal Western Europe – that the life of the Russian commune is pure

¹ The first part of this letter was probably written circa 26/27 December, and was continued on 30 December 1853. The year is dated by reference to the review in the *Daily News*, 26 December 1853.

² On about 21 December 1853, C arrived at ‘The Grange’, Lord and Lady Ashburton's country seat, near Winchester, built by Inigo Jones (see *RWE* 7, note 5). He then went to Embley Park (see *CEN* 10, note 29), the Nightingale's home. On Tuesday 27th December, C's friend Monckton Milnes recalls reading poetry and talking science ‘all this snowy day’ with C and his fiancée – ‘Clough's Amy’ – ‘a clever-looking girl’, and ‘evidently a woman of much worth’. C himself was ‘in great favour’ there (T. Wemys Reid, *The Life, Letters, and Friendships, of Richard Monckton Milnes, First Lord Houghton*, 3rd edn, 2 vols [New York: Cassell, 1891], I, 490–491).

³ Palmerston resigned his post as Home Secretary in Aberdeen's Cabinet in December 1853 over Lord John Russell's plans to introduce a bill giving the vote to sections of the urban working-classes.

⁴ Usually used in relation to the payment of bills – see *CEN* 5, note 6; Aberdeen was under pressure from members of his Cabinet to take more aggressive action in the face of Russia's expansionist foreign policy in the Balkans.

democracy; and except that every member is bound to the soil & cannot quit it except by placing himself under the quasi-ownership of a seigneur⁵ — I believe there is some truth in the statement — However I don't think we can afford to try — and I suppose we shall really fight: & the only question is will France be faithful?

Of literary news I have not any great supply. Murray's Series has begun with his Goldsmith⁶ & I saw also Milman's Latin Xt^y, a continuation of his Xt^y, lying ready in the shop⁷ — along with Hillard's book — which I have not seen noticed however by the reviews as yet⁸ ———

Maurice stays at Lincoln's Inn Chapel: as the Benchers were *unanimous* in requesting him to resume — And I believe a new Address has been contrived with some hope of people agreeing to sign it.⁹ It is said to be Hare's composing; the former which people

⁵ C is summing up the ideas of Bruno Bauer (1808–1882), the German 'Young Hegelian' whose 'objectionable' views on the imminent downfall of 'old Europe', and the rise of Russia had recently been scathingly reviewed in the *New Quarterly Review and Digest of Current Literature* ('Russland und das Germanenthum', 2.7 [1853], 423–425 [p. 423]). The view of the Russian commune was probably derived from a fairly enthusiastic review, attributed to Humphrey Francis Mildmay, of Baron Haxthausen's *Études sur la Situation Intérieure, La Vie Nationale, et les Institutions Rurales de la Russie* in the *Quarterly Review*, which describes it as 'perfect self-government' (93 [1853], 25–46 [p. 36]). C, dubbed 'Citizen Clough' by Matthew Arnold, was known at Oxford for his progressive views, admitting to a reputation for being 'the wildest and most écervelé republican going' (*Corr.* 216).

⁶ See *CEN* 11, note 11; in 1853 the Boston publishers Little, Brown, & Co published *The Poetical Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, edited by Rev. John Mitford.

⁷ See *CEN* 21, note 5; *History of Latin Christianity; including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicholas V*, by Henry Hart Milman, Dean of St Paul's (3 vols [London, John Murray, 1854]) is, according to the Preface, a continuation of Milman's *The History of Christianity from the Birth of Christ to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire*, (3 vols [London: John Murray, 1840]). But because Latin Christianity appeared to 'possess such a remarkable historic unity', the author thought it fit to retrace its origin and early development in more depth (p. iii).

⁸ *Six Months in Italy* by George Stillman Hillard (2 vols [London: John Murray, 1853]); According to the *Examiner*, the book was 'exceedingly interesting' — 'the impressions of an educated and clever man of the new world ... passing through scenes ... of the oldest of old' (21 January 1854, p. 37).

⁹ See *CEN* 10, note 24; on offering to resign his position as Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn, Maurice received a 'most cordial' reply from the Benchers [senior members of the Inn], expressing their sympathy over his dismissal from King's College and their wish that he remain in post at Lincoln's Inn (*The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice, Chiefly told in his own Letters*, ed. by Frederick Maurice, 2 vols [London: Macmillan, 1884], II, 212, 223; *Examiner*, 17 December 1853, p. 807). On 27 December 1853, a festival was held at the Working Men's Association at which an address with 960 signatures from the 'working classes' of the metropolis was presented to Maurice, expressing their 'admiration', and 'regard', which his conduct had inspired (*Daily News*, 28 December 1853, p. 3).

split upon was Arthur Stanley's.¹⁰ But I don't believe even this will be universally signed. – The Lyells are gone you know, to the Peak, — & Leonora Horner is going to marry Dr Perty [sic] of Berlin; a widower more than 20 years her senior; but a worthy man no doubt¹¹ — In the next Edinburgh there will be an article by Senior on Thackeray;¹² & ere long another volume of Lord Holland's Memoirs will appear.¹³ Fox's Memoirs are rather read.¹⁴ — The Heir of Redclyffe is a Puseyitic story with some popularity.¹⁵ — I told you in my last [letter] I think that I had paid for the Arundel.

Friday [30 December 1853]. My boxes, I believe, have ere this arrived. I had a note yesterday announcing their departure from Liverpool. Carlyle has, like Emerson, just lost his Mother – like her I sho^d think, rather a remarkable woman – He left the Grange, that is the Ashburtons' house in Hampshire just after I got there – to go & see her at Ecclefechan in Annandale.¹⁶

¹⁰ Archdeacon Julius Charles Hare (1795–1855), Maurice's brother-in-law, had helped him prepare his defence against the charges brought against him by the Principal of King's College, Dr Jelf, as had Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815–1881), Dean of Westminster, also a strong supporter of Maurice.

¹¹ See *CEN* 10, note 26.

¹² See *CEN* 13, note 11.

¹³ The second volume of Henry Richard Lord Holland, *Memoirs of the Whig Party during My Time* covers the period from the death of Fox to the downfall of the Whig ministry in 1807, and sheds light on the Roman Catholic question and the 'private history of the Prince of Wales' (ed. by Henry Edward Lord Holland [London: Longman, 1854], p. 4). *John Bull* questioned the historical accuracy of the *Memoirs*, but found them invaluable for their portrayal of Whig statesmen's ruthless pursuit of 'ascendancy' (30 January 1854, pp. 59–60).

¹⁴ *A Brief Memoir of the Life and Public Character of George Fox* (1624–1691), founder of the Society of Friends [Quakers]; (Jacob Post [London: W. & F. G. Cash, 1854.]).

¹⁵ *The Heir of Redclyffe* was the first of Charlotte M. Yonge's (1823–1891) bestselling romantic novels. In part inspired by her friendship with John Keble, a leading figure in the Oxford Movement, whose adherents were often disparagingly referred to as Puseyites (see *CEN* 25, note 9), the book embodied Tractarian doctrine through the transformation of the hero Guy Morville from rake to chivalrous hero (2nd edn, 2 vols [London: John W. Parker, 1853]).

¹⁶ Carlyle left 'The Grange' on 21 December for his home in Chelsea, and then took an 'Express train' to Scotland, his heart 'crushed together as under mountain-roads' at the news of his mother's imminent demise (*CLO*, 28:344 to Jane Carlyle, 20 December 1853; and *CLO* 28:345 to John Carlyle, 22 December 1853). Margaret Aitken Carlyle, a woman of 'simple dignity, courage, generosity and human worth', died on 25 December 1853 (*CLO* 28: 357–8, to Neuberg, 27 December, 1853); Emerson's mother – 'Madame' – whom C met on his first visit to Concord (*Corr.* 329), died on 16 November 1853 – 'a lady of character and dignity, combined with sweetness and piety' (*Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed by Edward Waldo Emerson & Waldo Emerson Forbes, 10 vols [Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1909-], VIII, 427).

We had a variety of people there but no great celebrities,¹⁷ for I do not call either Henry Taylor van Artevelde,¹⁸ nor Senior the Economist,¹⁹ nor Kinglake of Eothen²⁰ *great* ones – H. Taylor I did not like – he read Shakspeare [sic] aloud. –

Do you ever see the paper called the Press in which Disraeli writes & which dull country gentlemen say “must be all by Disraeli; it’s so clever.” It is worth seeing²¹ –The Daily News of last Monday 26th – had three columns of unfavourable criticism on Arnold’s poems, which he says must have been written by me,²² — probably by Miss Martineau; who writes in that print continually, leaders, letters, critiques & everything.²³

I hope I shall hear from you again ere long with news of your winter’s proceedings. This Winter I am told is very severe with you, & it is pretty well here —

¹⁷ According to Carlyle there was a ‘truly wondrous miscellany of Bishops, Foxhunters, Lords ... and Ladies great and little’ staying at ‘The Grange’ that Christmas (*CLO* 28:338 to James Marshall, 11 December 1853).

¹⁸ Sir Henry Taylor (1800–1886), wrote a number of plays, including *Philip van Artevelde* (1834), a ‘dramatic romance’ in the Elizabethan style. After his marriage, ‘The Grange’ was the only country house he frequented where ‘much of society was to be seen’, and children were welcomed; among the ‘public men’ who were guests at the Christmas 1853 party, he records Lord Carnarvon, Robert Lowe and Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford (*Autobiography of Henry Taylor*, 2 vols [New York: Harper, 1885], II, p. 110).

¹⁹ Nassau William Senior (1790–1864), political economist, who contributed several articles to popular journals (see *CEN* 13, note 11). Like C, Senior was in Paris during the 1848 revolution and the siege of Rome in 1849, and published a journal of his experiences (*Journals kept in France and Italy from 1848–1852*, ed. by M.C.M. Simpson [London: Henry S. King, 1871]).

²⁰ Alexander Kinglake (1809–1891), historian and author of the popular *Eothen* (1844) – a record of his personal impressions of Turkey and the Middle East in 1834–5.

²¹ See *CEN* 5, note 18; a comment on Aberdeen in the *Press* (16 December 1853) during the build up to the outbreak of war: ‘he will betray the honour and the interests of our country – it is the law of his nature and the destiny of his life’, was attributed to Disraeli (*The Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, 6 vols [New York: Macmillan, 1914], III, pp. 525).

²² The *Daily News*’ judgement was that the poems in Arnold’s 1853 edition were generally ‘morbid’ and ‘monotonous’, and, as such, ‘utterly at variance’ with the strictures laid down in his Preface – that situations of ‘prolonged mental distress’, ‘unrelieved by incident, hope, or resistance’ should be avoided. The article ends by denouncing his ‘somewhat superciliously announced theories of poetry’ and ‘attachment to ancient models’, concluding that ‘he was not born a poet, and therefore never can be one’ (26 December 1853, p. 2).

²³ According to Dawson the article in the *Daily News* was written by Harriet Martineau (*Matthew Arnold: The Critical Heritage*, ed. by Carl Dawson, 2nd edn, 2 vols [London & New York: Routledge, 1995], II, p. 134); in a letter dated November 1853, Martineau writes: ‘Another of his friends came yesy, in high delight at the article, – having written to the Arnolds that it *must* be mine, and wanting leave to tell Maurice that it was mine, – which of course, I refused’ (*Harriet Martineau’s Autobiography*, ed. by Maria Weston Chapman, 3rd edn, 3 vols [London: Smith Elder, 1877], II).

I enclose a receipt for the Arundel²⁴ – I shall make no scruple about waiting & keeping your money for further commissions – which pray send as often as you fancy.

I want you some time to get me some of the Indian slippers. I bought one or two pair last winter in Boston, & wish I had got two or three pair more, — at a shoemaker’s in Washington S^t. Will you tell me please what is the amount of rate for schools in Boston & in Cambridge, as near as you happen to know – I am right, am I not, in telling people that “children of colour” attend the Cambridge Schools, but not the Boston.²⁵

Farewell – a happy new year to you & all your family –

Ever Yours truly

A H Clough

[This part cross-hatched across first sheet]

The last piece of news I have heard is that the hopes of Europe lie in Russian supremacy. The Russian system is, says Bruno Bauer the great Prussian Hegelian regenerator, the nearest approach in Europe to socialism. (In the Russian communes property reverts on its owner’s death to the Commune). Russia will destroy feudalism – & so we shall pass into the new era²⁶ —

MS H

Corr. 470–1 (part-published); *PR* 222 (part-published).

²⁴ Probably Edward Munro’s (1815–1866) *Basil, the Schoolboy; or The Heir of Arundel*, written to illustrate the fact that ‘a high tone of consistent morality and the diligent performance of simple religious duty is to be considered as the staple and healthy state of the religious schoolboy’ (London: Joseph Masters, 1854, (Preface).

²⁵ In September 1855 public schools in Boston were opened to all children ‘irrespective of complexional differences’, despite the fact that some had found having little children ‘of color’ sitting next to whites ‘repulsive’. These ‘bright little ones’ came to school as neatly dressed and were ‘as gifted’ as more privileged children (*Triumph of equal school rights in Boston: Proceedings of the Presentation Meeting held in Boston December 17th 1855*, [Michigan: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library], pp. 1, 12).

²⁶ See note 5 above; Bruno Bauer predicted that a new era of global imperialism, liberated from traditional forms and values, would be brought about by either war or collusion with Russia, whose cohesive society and unified church and state were seen as preferable to a bankrupt western individualism. Haxthausen’s *Études sur la Situation Intérieure, La Vie Nationale, et les Institutions Rurales de la Russie* refers to the practice of redistributing the land of deceased peasants. Reading David Strauss – like Bauer, a philosopher of the Tübingen School, who questioned the historical accuracy of the Bible – was one of the reasons for C’s loss of faith in traditional Christianity.

[January 1854]¹

My dear Charles

I have a letter of your to answer – but I don't exactly know where it is so I will begin at any rate, without it. I hope the School of Design papers, such as I have been able to get, hitherto, will be found to the purpose. If not, tell me what you want & I will try again – I mean them to go tomorrow to Chapman.² –

The books & clothes all arrived safe & gave me great satisfaction – You have sent me one of your own pocket handkerchiefs & an odd volume of somebody's Goethe. Whose? I will send it back by your cousin whom I shall be very glad to see whenever he comes – I was quite surprised at the small amount of remuneration I had [to]pay for the transit of my chattels over the sea per Parliament'.

Let me see what scraps of news I can put down for you. – “Overworked, overhurried Over-Crokered,³ over Murrayed.”⁴ Such was the monody⁵ uttered over himself by the invalided Ex Editor of the *Quarterly* on retiring for an Italian seclusion.⁶ In the Westm^r

¹ Dated by reference to the journal articles and to the continuation letter dated ‘Thursday 19th’ – January 19th 1854 was a Thursday.

² See *CEN* 11, note 3; among the publications sold by P. & D. Colnaghi was a series of facsimiles of original drawings entitled *The Italian School of Design (1808–23)*, by the most eminent Italian painters with ‘Biographical Notices and Observations’ by William Young Ottley (1771–1836), ‘Keeper of the Prints’ in the British Museum.

³ John Wilson Croker (1780–1857), politician and writer, was a regular contributor to the *Quarterly Review* and famous for his scathing reviews.

⁴ John Murray III, 1808–1892, head of the Murray publishing house in Albermarle Street, London, whose titles included the *Quarterly Review*, and who introduced the very successful series of red Murray travel ‘handbooks’; conservative in his views, he refused to print anything he considered irreligious or morally offensive.

⁵ A lyric ode sung by a single voice (*OED*).

⁶ See *CEN* 10, note 32; on his retirement from the *Quarterly Review*, Lockhart was reported to have uttered the words: ‘overdriven, over-worried, over-brokered, over-Mur-rayed’ (*Border Magazine*, 8 [1903], p. 51).

– On Foreign Politics by Harriet Martineau;⁷ on English Religion by James d[itt]^{o.8} It seems to me one of his best; on Arnold’s poems by Froude.⁹ In the Edinburgh on Parliamentary Procedure by May, an officer in the House of Commons.¹⁰ On Thackeray by Senior¹¹the rest I don’t know —

We live in all sort of rumours about Turkey & Persia. Prince Albert & Omar Pasha,¹² Palmerston & the rest of it – I suppose they’ll fight in the end. Palmerson seems certainly to have been taken at something less than his word; he merely said that it would be a question whether he was the person to carry out the Reform Bill, which L^d Aberdeen at once took as a resignation.¹³

You have not told me how James Lowell is getting on – nor much I think about many individuals – nor has Child written to me which I hope he will —

⁷ The article entitled ‘England’s Foreign Policy’, attributed by Wellesley to Harriet Martineau (see *CEN* 11, note 5) covers a broad swath of history, from the glory days of Elizabeth I to the origins of the present ‘inevitable’ conflict, arguing that in foreign policy moral principles had been sacrificed to commercial interest and strategic advantage, which had earned Britain a reputation for ‘caprice and perfidy’ (*Westminster Review* 61 [1854], 190–232, [pp. 202, 231]).

⁸ ‘English Religion: its Origin and Present Types’ by James Martineau (1805–1900), Unitarian minister and brother of Harriet (see above), is a review of several books, including Theodore Parker’s *Theism, Atheism, and the Popular Theology: Sermons* (see *CEN* 7, note 20) and F. D. Maurice’s *Theological Essays* (see *CEN* 10, note 23; 12, note 9). It looks at the various sects and types of religion in England and claims that the Church of England had become narrowly ‘insular’ in its attempts to marry religion with nationalism (*Westminster Review*, 61 [1854], 71–98 [p. 94]).

⁹ Froude’s article reviews three editions of Arnold’s poems: *The Strayed Reveller, and Other Poems* (1849); *Empedocles on Etna and other Poems* (1852); and *Poems* (1853); (see *CEN* 10, notes 8–10; 11, notes 7–10; 12, note 22). He finds an ‘inequality’ of ‘merit’ and ‘substance’ in the three volumes: *The Strayed Reveller* is too prose-like, but there is warm praise for *Empedocles*, apart from its ‘pièce de resistance’; *Sohrab and Rustum* is ‘remarkable’ in everything that is lacking in ‘Empedocles, Arnold having discarded ‘obscurity’ and ‘mysticism’. As for the Preface, Froude believes that young poets should look more to their own ‘Teutonic’ tradition for inspiration, rather than solely to Ancient Greece (‘Arnold’s Poems’, *Westminster Review*, 61 [1854], 146–159 [pp. 146, 149, 150, 155, 159]).

¹⁰ The article on ‘The machinery of Parliamentary legislation’, attributed to Sir Thomas Erskine May, author of *Parliamentary Practice* – the ‘Parliamentary Bible’, recommends changes to the ‘difficult’ and ‘complicated’ British legislative process – hitherto regarded as sacrosanct – to avoid exhausting all-night sittings and irregular attendance by members (*Edinburgh Review*, 99 [1854] 243–282, [p. 244]).

¹¹ Article VI in the *Edinburgh Review*, attributed to the economist Nassau William Senior, is a review of the novels and lectures of Thackeray, of which *Vanity Fair* was ‘by far the best’ – ‘the fullest of natural and amusing incident’, with boldly drawn characters and great attention to detail (99 [1854], 196–243, [p. 196]).

¹² Omar Pasha (1806–1871), the Serbian-born Ottoman general.

¹³ See *CEN* 12, note 3.

Plutarch 2 bits will have reached you. I meant to have sent two more bits before this – but we had rather a busier week than usual last week & I couldn't do it¹⁴— However it does go on & will go on – & I hope you'll be able to read it —

⟨Wednes⟩Thursday 19th

I gave your Sch. Of Dⁿ papers to Chapman yesterday & hope they will go on Saturday. As for myself whom you ask about – there is nothing to tell about me – I live on contentedly enough, but feel rather unwilling to be re-Englished after once attaining that higher transatlantic development – However *il faut s'y soumettre* I presume¹⁵ – though I fear I am embarked in the foundering ship. I hope to heaven you'll get rid of slavery – and then I shouldn't fear but you wo^d really “go ahead” in the long run¹⁶– As for us & our inveterate feudalism – it is not hopeful —

I wonder if these strikes will end in sending over our manufactures to your coalfields — If the operatives went wo^d they find employment? I defend them everywhere on the presumption that they wo^d.¹⁷ – (The Art. In the Westm^r is by W^m Forster who married Arnold's eldest daughter – a Quaker by birth & manufacturer in Yorkshire – who wrote

¹⁴ In his letter of 23rd January 1854, Norton acknowledges receipt of the first proof of the ‘recommenced “Plutarch”’, and praises C for the ‘great pains’ taken with the copy, which was fully legible (*Norton*, I, 104).

¹⁵ ‘One has to submit’ [French].

¹⁶ The introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in Congress in January 1854 prompted fierce opposition from prominent abolitionists (see *RWE* 17, note 2). Norton was extraordinarily prescient in his prediction that if the bill were passed it would be ‘the last and the fatal step of the Slave power’ in America and would force the North into action (*Norton*, I, 106).

¹⁷ There had been a number of strikes and ‘lock-outs’ in the Lancashire mill towns. For *The Times* the issue at stake was the right of mill-owners to set their profit margins, and they were advised to consider transferring their ‘capital, skill and energy’ to ‘foreign lands’ (2 November 1853, p. 8). A month later, a public meeting of working men passed a resolution in support of the Preston operatives’ ‘struggle’ against the ‘avarice’ of mill owners, calling for a national organisation of the working classes and a Labour Parliament to ‘free labour from the thralldom of capital’ (*Daily News*, 1 December 1853, p. 5). C was sympathetic to the plight of the working man, believing that he was ‘entitled to expect his [just] proportion’ in the fruits of his labour (*PR* 291).

about W^m Penn, if you remember).¹⁸

I wish you'd drop a few figures about your City population in some odd page of your letters. For I absolutely forget the numbers at Boston & at New York¹⁹ —

Young Acton is away at Munich I heard t'other day,²⁰ when I visited my chief, his step-father.²¹ —

Farewell —

for this evening

A.H.C.

MS H

Corr. 471–2 (part-published); *PR* 222 (part-published).

¹⁸ The article, ““Strikes” and “Lockouts””, attributed to William Edward Forster, looks at possible ways out of the current impasse in the long-running disputes between the ‘Trades’ Unions’ and the Lancashire mill-owners, including arbitration, a parliamentary enquiry, or a form of ‘partnership’ between ‘labourers, manager, and capitalist’ (*Westminster Review*, 61 [1854], 119–145 [pp. 129, 137, 143]). Forster (1818–1886), a Quaker philanthropist, was regarded as a ‘model’ mill-owner (*DNB*), who established mill schools and a local board of health in Bradford; in 1850 he married Matthew Arnold’s eldest sister Jane Martha Arnold (1821–1899). Forster’s book entitled *William Penn and Thomas B. Macaulay, Being Brief Observations on the Charges made in Mr Macaulay’s History of England against the Character of William Penn* is a rebuttal of accusations made against the ‘scrupulous Quaker’ by Macaulay – including a susceptibility to ‘flattery’ and ‘female blandishments’, which led him to use his influence for ‘purposes which a rigid morality must condemn’, and a passion for watching men be hung ([London: Charles Gilpin, 1849], pp. 4, 7, 8, 12).

¹⁹ According to the 1850 census, the population of Cambridge was 17,417; Boston: 136,657; and New York 515,507 (*Fanning’s Illustrated Gazetteer of the United States* [New York: Phelps, Fanning, 1853], pp. 65, 47, 262).

²⁰ John Emerich Edward Dalberg Acton, first Baron Acton (1834–1902), historian and liberal Catholic theologian; Norton knew no-one to equal the ‘amount and variety’ of his ‘miscellaneous and scholarly’ knowledge (*Norton*, II, 370–1). In 1850 he went to Munich for six years of private study under Professor Ignaz von Döllinger, the foremost Roman Catholic Church historian in Germany (*DNB*).

²¹ After his father’s early death in Paris, Acton’s mother married the Liberal statesman Granville George Leveson-Gower, Lord Leveson, later second Earl Granville in 1840. Lord Granville used his influence to obtain a post for C after his return from America (see *RWE* 13, note 7).

14.

[late January 1854]¹

My dear Charles

I will begin a letter to you being at present in the humour for it, & will take the chance of its getting completed at a fitting moment – Here we are enjoying cool weather with about as much light per diem as you get in mid winter – looking therefore very cheerful & sunny –

Meantime the Parliament is going to begin its parliamenteering of the new year – & the Queen who it was said was afraid her loyal subjects might pelt her husband, is it appears not afraid & is going to open the Session in person. Many people do you know really believed Prince Albert was actually sent to the Tower — & some repairs being in operation on one of the turrets a large number of people collected to look on in the belief that apartments were to be fitted up for H.R.H.² – I sho^d suppose there was very little truth, but perhaps *a* very little, in the whole matter³ —

I read your Art. on the Indian Canals with much pleasure & interest – I think it is very

¹ Dated by the reference to the opening of Parliament, John Bright's speech, Norton's article and the continuation letter below dated 'Feb. 3rd'.

² Queen Victoria, accompanied by Prince Albert, opened Parliament on 31 January 1854; Londoners, not normally 'very vociferous' in applauding their sovereign, seemed on this occasion 'bent on cheering and waving hats and handkerchiefs' as she passed, although a 'solitary hiss or groan' for Prince Albert by some 'pothouse politician' was heard. The Prince Consort seemed 'paler than usual', but 'preserved the calm and imperturbable *tenue*' which writers on 'princely accomplishments' held in such esteem (*The Times*, 1 February 1854, p. 3).

³ Lord Aberdeen later commented 'in indignant terms' on the 'monstrous imputations' made against Prince Albert and emphatically denied that he had ever interfered in 'the conduct of the business of the army' (*The Times*, 1 February 1854, p. 8). Albert had been accused of using his influence to try to 'separate [Britain] from an association with France' to appease his Uncle Leopold, King of the Belgians, who wanted an alliance with Austria (*The Times*, 14 January 1854, p. 8). Such was the strength of popular feeling against the Queen's Consort, for what was perceived as interference in foreign affairs, that there were reported to have been calls for him to be tried for 'high treason', or even executed (*The Times*, 25 January 1854, p. 8).

well done, & I hope it is all true.⁴ I fancy the C^o have rather gained in public estimation by their late ordeal of trial.⁵

Bright you see (or perhaps don't see) on the strength of his brother Jacob's travels has, for the first time, come out for the Secular System – It is a great accession to that cause, which however I myself [think] cannot prevail for our country in general⁶ — The clergy in the country parishes being almost always the only persons who really exert themselves – the population in general being at present too apathetic to think of managing these matters — But in the Municipal Towns some thing perhaps co^d be done. And certainly all thro' the land the Secular Schools sho^d receive Government subsidies, from which at present they are excluded⁷ ——

An important effort is being made in Scotland to get the Presbyterians of all denominations to combine in School-matters. It is chiefly made by the Free Kirk people, as they are at present cut out from the ordinary parochial endowments (peculiar to Scotland) but it is very desirable, I think on all grounds – and it may be a very reasonable concession to the not wholly unreasonable desire of the Scotch for *Scotch*

⁴ Norton sent C a copy of his article 'Canals of Irrigation in India' (*Norton*, I, 96), which is fulsome in its praise for the East India Company, under whose rule the country had enjoyed unparalleled prosperity. Their ambitious programme of canal building, which had eliminated famine and drought and promoted 'prosperity and civilisation', was only one example of the benefits British rule had brought to the country, in contrast to the 'utter disorganization' and 'perpetual strife' under Mogul rule. Norton heartily concurs with what the British saw as their 'glorious vocation' in India: to 'raise up a degraded race; to cure the plagues of past bad government and bad morals' and to 'prepare the way for real virtue and true religion' (*North American Review*, 77 [1853], 439–466 [pp. 439, 440, 441, 452, 466]).

⁵ During lengthy debates over the new India Bill in 1853 there had been calls for the East India Company to be shelved as a 'useless incumbrance' composed of 'corrupt and incapable men', in favour of a single governing body directly responsible to Parliament. In the event, however, the Company's charter was eventually renewed after ministers had been apprised of the extent of the improvements it had made to the country and its people (*Calcutta Review*, 21 [1853], 284–328 [pp. 298, 292]).

⁶ John Bright MP (see *RWE* 5, note 16) had recently spoken at a public meeting in favour of a proposal to set up a pilot system of state education in Manchester, financed by local rates, similar to the American model; 'liberty of conscience' and freedom of worship could, he argued, only be accomplished by a secular system, with religious instruction being no longer compulsory, but left to an invigorated voluntary sector. Far from 'sapping the religious feelings' of the community, educating the poorer classes might make them more inclined to attend church if they understood more of what was going on (*The Times*, 20 January 1854, p. 7).

⁷ The Committee of Council on Education was set up in 1839 to administer government grants of £30,000 to voluntary church societies for the setting up and inspection of elementary schools. Due to pressure from the established church, however, no government assistance was given to secular public elementary schools (*Minutes and Reports of the Committee of Council on Education 1839–1899*, Introduction by W. B. Stevens (Leeds, Microform Academic Publishers, 1985) pp. 3, 4).

administration. Lord Panmure (Fox Maule that was) is to bring in a bill this Session. He is a strong free Kirkite & a friend of the Whig Ministers. With Roman Catholics & Episcopalians the Kirks will have no dealings.⁸

Friday Feb 3rd [1854]

This letter has been taking its chance, & by this time its news will have all been anticipated. I wish your Cousin had been here on Tuesday, as from our windows he could have seen the Queen going to open Parliament & heard the occasional hisses of some members of the assembled town-democracy ag^t Prince Albert, with great advantage.⁹

Murray does not send anything to Little & Brown this time, so my Plutarch waits for the next —

The Ambassadors you will have heard per telegraph are gone, — Kisseleff from Paris certainly, & I believe Brunow from London — both are very popular in their respective capitals¹⁰ — Woronzow you perhaps don't know who commands in Georgia is brother to Lady Pembroke & thus immediately connected with Sydney Herbert the Sec^{ry} at War¹¹ — Altogether there has been the greatest reluctance on all hands in the Ministry to go to war — and I think myself, very rightly —

We are here in a pretty dense fog once more — with a slight frost. You I suppose are sleighing —

I hope I shall hear again from you before long. It seems a considerable time since any

⁸ See *CEN* 18, note 4.

⁹ See note 2 above; the Queen's journey from Buckingham Palace to the House of Lords would have taken her down The Mall and up Whitehall, from where C, in his office in Downing Street, would have had a clear view.

¹⁰ Having failed to receive a satisfactory explanation for the entry of the combined squadrons of Britain and France into the Black Sea, the Russian ambassador to France, M. de Kisseleff, demanded his passports and was to quit Paris on 2nd February. Count Philip von Brunnow (1797–1875), Russian ambassador to Britain, was reported to be 'on the point of departing' London (*The Times*, 3 February 1854, pp. 6, 8).

¹¹ Prince Woronzow, Governor-General of Georgia and the Caucasus, was the brother of the Russian-born Catherine, Lady Pembroke; her son, Sidney Herbert (1810–1861) — who is referred to in *Dipsychus and The Spirit* (*Poems*, 230) — was Secretary at War from 1852–1855, and his Russian connections led to accusations of a lack of patriotism (*DNB*).

letter came — This is a very shabby one but I think I will send by this evening's post, even if I don't manage to add anything — There's a book called the *Plurality of Worlds*, by Whewell I believe which some people are praising — It professes to prove that there are, most probably, no inhabitants in any of the planets, stars or other bodies¹² — . . . I fear I read nothing myself — except an occasional newspaper — & among them I believe the *Chronicle* is now thought to have the earliest intelligence¹³ —

Convocation, you will perhaps observe, is allowed to sit; & there really is to be an effort to set the Old Church agoing again — much to its own & other people's alarm.¹⁴ — The Census by which it appears that the church people, so far as attendance on Census Sunday went, are quite a minority has taken the world by surprise & is considered rather a blow to that time honoured Institution — which however I think people don't really care enough about to take the trouble to knock it down¹⁵

Farewell

I have nothing to add I believe,

Ever Yrs most truly

A. H. Clough

MS H

Corr. 472–3 (part-published); *PR* 222–3 (part-published).

¹² In his *Of The Plurality of Worlds*, William Whewell, (1794–1866), Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, argued that even if astronomy had opened up the possibility of a 'plurality of worlds' which could sustain life, the Earth was unique in that it was 'tenanted by a race who were the *special* objects of God's care' and the existence of another planet with inhabitants resembling human beings was extremely unlikely ([London: John W Parker, 1853], p.113). C explores the theme of the futility of scientific debate on a subject which was ultimately unknowable in his poem 'Uranus', where his position seems closer to that of Whewell (*Poems*, 193–4). Whewell was also a poet, who translated German poetry into English hexameters; he found the 'versification' in *The Bothie* so 'uncouth and licentious' as often to 'repel the most indulgent reader' ('English Hexameters', *North British Review*, 19 [1853], 129–150 [p. 143]).

¹³ *The Morning Chronicle*.

¹⁴ The Convocation of Church of England bishops and clergy met at Westminster on 1 February 1854, after a long period of prorogation. The Church had been lobbying for the revival of its ancient assembly, arguing that it was a 'necessary part of parliament', and ought to sit for the transaction of business, along with the Lords and Commons ("A Letter to a Convocation Man, concerning the Rights, Powers and Privileges of that Body", *Christian Remembrancer*, 28.86 [1854] 369–400 [p. 379]). *The Times*, however, took the Church to task for assuming powers that it had not been granted, especially in relation to conducting its own constitutional reform (3 February 1854, p. 6).

¹⁵ In response to a fall in church attendance (see *RWE* 21, notes 5, 6), and the 'great increase in population', the Convocation also discussed the necessity of their having the power to employ 'a missionary agency' to reach certain classes of the population (*The Times*, 2 February 1854, p. 7).

[c. 25 February 1854]¹

My dear Charles

I was delighted to have your letter two days ago² — your long silence had had such an effect upon me that positively the night before I dreamt of being back at Shady Hill & finding myself forgotten by your mother & sisters altogether & scarcely remembered by yourself — Is it not a melancholy vision to have had — Probably whilst it was passing before me your letter fresh from the Euston Station traversed the streets not far off.³ Today I have the Boston Daily — for which also many thanks. I do truly hope that you will get the North ere long thoroughly united against any further encroachments.⁴ I don't by any means feel that the slave system is an intolerable crime nor do I think that our system here is so much better — but it is clear to me that the only safe ground to go upon is that of your Northern States. I suppose the rich & poor difficulties must be creeping in at New York, but one wo^d fain hope that European analogies will not be quite accepted even there —

Well here we are going to war — & really people after their long & dreary commercial period seem quite glad;⁵ the feeling of the war being just of course is a great thing⁶ — The *enlightened* or *official* opinion of the Turkish troops meantime is extremely low — It

¹ Dated by C's later reference to 'two or three days ago' in the continuation section of this letter dated 'Monday Feb. 28th', and to the commencement of the Crimean War.

² Norton's letter to C, dated January 23rd 1854, also contained a later portion written on 31st January.

³ See Introduction, pp. 21–22; Norton's letter would have arrived at Euston Station by rail from Liverpool, where the mail was rapidly sorted in a huge carriage called a 'flying post office' (William Lewins, *Her Majesty's Mails* [London: Samson Low, 1864], p. 214).

⁴ The newspaper sent by Norton, carried a report on the proposed annulment of the Missouri Compromise (see *RWE* 17, note 2), which would permit slavery in the state of Nebraska. A 'demoralised' North was momentarily immobilised, but Norton believed 'public spirit [was] rising against this 'outrageous and disgraceful' bill, and the repercussions would be 'bloody' if it were passed (*Norton*, I, 105–6).

⁵ On February 20th a resolution was submitted to Parliament to the effect that, despite 'unremitting' efforts on the part of Britain and her allies to resolve the dispute between Russia and Turkey, the Emperor continued to hold 'by force of arms' two important provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The 'honour and best interests' of the country therefore required immediate action to 'repel [Russia's] unjustifiable and unwarrantable aggression' (*The Times*, 21 February 1854, p. 3).

⁶ The *Era* exemplified the general feeling of the press in claiming there was 'no alternative to war' — 'the aggression both justifie[d] and compel[led] resistance', and was analogous to shooting an intruder in the dead of night with a 'crape' over his face and a 'bludgeon in his hand'. War was as 'honourable' as it was 'exciting' and Russia could now expect the 'gripe upon her vitals' (26 February 1854, p. 8).

It is not believed that Omer Pasha can possibly maintain himself.⁷ Kalafat may be a week's work in the way of engineering & then Widdin will go. But the Balkan may be defended perhaps long enough to allow the English & French to make it good; — even if the Czar moves quicker than at present he appears to be doing⁸ — The Baltic fleet is to be the largest they say that England ever sent out⁹ — and not without some reason — Russia is said to have something of a good fleet there — and she may do a good deal I suppose with Denmark — perhaps, before we get there¹⁰ —
So much for war. —

Thus far two or three days ago — I proceed on Monday Feb. 28th [1854]¹¹ —

As for the poems — I really do think seriously of accepting your benevolent offer — but I don't think I can set to work to unravel my weaved-up follies at this present moment — There are very few indeed that I can at all feel pleasure in tasting again¹² — I think that Fields meantime was right about Arnold's poems — The critics here have been divided into two sets — one praising Sohrab highly, & speaking gently of the preface; the other

⁷ According to the *New York Times*, while the Turkish soldiers were 'unsurpassed' in 'endurance' and 'courage', and willing to bear the worst privations, their officers were 'far behind the age' in 'skills' and courage (26 May 1854, p. 2).

⁸ The Balkan peninsula in south-eastern Europe, below the River Danube, where it flows into the Black Sea, and peopled largely by Christians, over whom the Czar was seeking a religious protectorate. Britain had four battleships, alongside Turkish and French vessels, guarding the entrance to the Black Sea, 'in beautiful order' and ready for action, 'waiting anxiously' for the Czar's final reply to the Western powers (*The Times*, 14 February 1854, p. 7).

⁹ The portion of the naval forces ready for active service was reported to be assembling in 'the Downs', to proceed to the Kattegat early in March to await the opening of the Baltic, which was presently inaccessible (*The Times*, 28 February 1854, p. 8). The number of British ships, under the command of Sir Charles Napier, and preparing to set sail 'in aid of this holy war', was about 56, with dozens more being fitted in readiness; the French contingent, also under Napier's command, was to be 'ten sail of the line'. At least three regiments would serve on board the Baltic fleet (*Morning Chronicle*, 6 March 1854, p. 3).

¹⁰ The Russian Baltic Fleet comprised three divisions of about nine 'line-of-battle' ships, lying in three naval ports within the Gulf of Finland (*The Times*, 28 February 1854, p. 8). Despite Lord Clarendon's having received a 'declaration of neutrality' from the King of Denmark in the event of hostilities breaking out, there was widespread distrust of his true intentions (*Morning Chronicle*, 21 February 1854, p. 9).

¹¹ Monday fell on 27th February in 1854.

¹² A reference to Norton's repeated requests for C to send him some of his best poems for possible publication, promising a 'warm and hearty reception' for them among those who remembered him and truly loved Poetry' (*Norton*, I, 104).

disparaging the preface & the general tone, & praising Tristram — Sohrab I confess for myself too did not give me much pleasure, tho that might have been [an] accident¹³ —

Is it true or not that as is said by the Examiner or the Illustrious [sic] News, I forget which, Longfellow has resigned — If so, he will come over here & run the gauntlet of idolizing young ladies — will he not? — however he thinks he is adroit enough to steer through the Belgravian multitude without much damage¹⁴ —————

Farewell for another interval

March 2^d

This has lingered, — partly that I have had three days of a feverish cold, incident to the beginning of March — I left Plutarch, two more sections at Murray's on Monday, & hope it will go per Arabia on Saturday — I hope you will make it out without much trouble — I have gone over [it] pretty carefully I think, but one is sadly apt to leave things — I am rejoiced to hear of the other parts having gone off, thus far, without much trouble — I am now at work on Pyrrhus & Marius¹⁵ —

Friday Mar. 3

Today I have to thank you for another letter 17th Feb^y with statistics. Thank you very much for them — also for the news of Lowell & Longfellow which was very agreeable — I am very glad Lowell is at work — I think Dryden's Life sho^d not be printed at all¹⁶ — & it is not worth while I think having a life — as there is Smith's Dict^y so close at hand

¹³ See *CEN* 10, notes 9, 10; 11, notes 7-10; *CEN* 12, note 22.

¹⁴ Weary of 'going round and round for so many years in the same track' and with a 'Faust-like feeling of dissatisfaction with books, lectures and college walls', Longfellow, in 'humble imitation of [C's] exploit', resigned his professorship at Harvard University in 1854 to devote himself to full-time writing (*Corr.* 479). A review in *Fraser's Magazine* described him as 'by many degrees the most popular of the American poets among English readers', with a circulation only exceeded by Tennyson ('Longfellow', 47 [1853], 367-382 [p. 367]).

¹⁵ Norton had received the first proof of the 'recommended "Plutarch"', with which 'C had really taken great pains' with the copy, and Child was going to prepare the proofs (*Norton*, I, 104). Specimen pages of *Plutarch's Lives*, containing the opening of the Life of Pyrrhus, were published in 1855, in advance of publication of the five-volume edition in 1859 (see Appendix 2).

¹⁶ C published *Plutarch's Lives: The Translation called Dryden's*, in 1859 (see Appendix 2), and wrote in the preface that it was a revision of the version published at the end of the 17th century, with a 'Life of Plutarch' written by Dryden, whose name it was presumed, would 'throw some "reflected lustre"' on the 'humbler workmen who performed, better or worse, the more serious labor'. Dryden's 'Life' was 'hasty yet well written' and 'inaccurate but agreeable to read' (pp. xxi-xxii).

for most people¹⁷ – However I will just look again at Dryden’s Life – It is far from correct — & will write by next steamer & say – I didn’t mean to print it at all. – Where will Franklin’s statue be put up¹⁸ – ? –

As for my verses – have I said anything in answer to you in this letter? I think not – I dislike returning to old things – but I *sho*^d like to print something at Boston; – & if Fields comes over next summer that might be an opportunity perhaps, might it not?¹⁹ – Do you ever see Emerson – I suppose not – I never hear either of or from him²⁰— Boucicault I never saw – but I dare say he is worthy of unmitigated disregard.²¹ Alas – I must say good bye – without a word about Passion Flowers which have however not yet given me an opportunity²²—

farewell

Ever Yours

With kindest remembrances to your Mother & Sisters

AHC

¹⁷ *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* ed. by William Smith was first published in 1842 to enable readers to form ‘some conception of antiquity as an organic whole’, by giving a ‘comprehensive view’ of the ‘public and private lives of the ancients’ ([London: Taylor and Walton], p. vii).

¹⁸ Benjamin Franklin (1706–90), ‘the greatest of [Boston’s] native-born sons’, had the ‘eminently appropriate distinction’ of forming ‘the subject of the first Bronze, open-air, Statue’ erected near the site of his former school in Boston (Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, *Oration at the Inauguration of the Statue of Benjamin Franklin in his Native City Sept. 17, 1856* [Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1856], p. 5).

¹⁹ James T. Fields who, with William Davis Ticknor, founded the publishing house Ticknor & Fields, which published C’s first American volume of poems in 1862 (see Appendix 2); their ‘Old Corner Bookstore’ was the ‘Hub’ about which ‘literary new England revolved’ – a ‘galaxy of stars’, including Emerson, Longfellow and Lowell, ‘such as the nation had never before produced’ passed through its portals (Caroline Ticknor, *Hawthorne and his Publisher* [Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1913], p. 2).

²⁰ In November 1853 Norton wrote that Emerson had given a ‘very earnest’ lecture against slavery in New York (*Norton*, I, 99–100).

²¹ Dion Boucicault (1820–1890), an Irish dramatist known for his melodramas; at dinner with the Longfellows he amused the guests by claiming that ‘England had no drama’, and the ‘Anglo-Saxon mind had never produced a good play’; even Shakespeare’s plays were ‘beneath contempt’ in regard to form (*Norton*, I, 103).

²² *Passion-Flowers* (Boston: Ticknor, Reed and Fields, 1854); a volume of poems by Julia Howe, with whom C stayed when he first arrived in Boston (see Introduction, p.12); Howe apparently consulted C with regard to ‘the classic rhythms’ which she used in the collection (Julia Ward Howe, *Reminiscences 1819–1899* [Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1899], pp. 184–85). Norton was going to send C a copy; he found it more interesting as a character study as there was more of ‘chaotic thought’ and ‘troubled sentiment’ in it than poetry (*Norton*, I, 100).

I continue at the office – I am very glad M^r Putnam is going to put in my 4 Stanzas.²³ Lowell has got an Epithalamium of mine which I have no correct copy of – I rather like it myself²⁴ – but the manners & customs are modern English, not old-English = American, so I fear it wo^dn't suit the reader of Putnam. Procter asked much about Longfellow last night: item M^{rs} P.²⁵ – Thackeray I hear from her is at Rome cum filiabus in magnificent lodgings scribblementing at the poor Newcomes, whom I like & think an improvement on his old-Comes as Lowell wo^d call them – though there is certainly no story nor very much anything – He says he is as usual rather bored & wishes himself at home, & longs to be at Naples, but can't afford to leave his sumptuous lodgings & says he sho^d have done the Painter's life far better in Brompton than in his palazzo – and the like, and M^{rs} P thinks he will soon be back.²⁶

Have you seen the Gen^l Watson Webb's letter in the Times about privateering. I hope they'll put that down²⁷ –

Kenyon has disposed of his suburban at Wimbledon either by sale or by lease & is gone to the Isle of Wight to make himself another, quasi-suburban.²⁸

²³ C's (10 stanza) poem 'Peschiera' (*Poems*, 300), on the heroic resistance of the Piedmontese against the invading Austrians in 1848, was published in *Putnam's Monthly Magazine* (3 [1854], p. 522).

²⁴ Clough's 'Epithalamium' (*Poems*, 355–59.); a nuptial song or poem in praise of the bride and bridegroom (*OED*) was possibly written in 1853, although not published until 1951.

²⁵ The poet Bryan Waller Procter (1787–1874), who used the pen-name 'Barry Cornwall', and his society hostess wife Anne Procter (1799–1888).

²⁶ Thackeray had spent Christmas 1853 in a 'palace' in Rome, near the Brownings, with his daughters, Anne Isabella (Lady Ritchie, 1837–1919), and Harriet Marian (Minnie). Anne recalls her father writing *The Newcomes* and drawing pictures for 'The Rose and the Ring' in the 'great vaulted rooms' with marble tables and gilt armchairs (Lady Ritchie, *From Friend to Friend* [London: John Murray, 1919], p. 94). They left Rome on 9 February 1854. Clive Newcome, an aspiring painter, is one of the main characters in Thackeray's novel (see *CEN* 7, note 25).

²⁷ General James Watson Webb (1802–1884), US diplomat and newspaper publisher, made an impassioned plea for England and France to outlaw 'privateering' – the practice of private vessels 'preying' upon enemy commerce, which was a 'relic of a barbarous age' and 'hostile to the "law of nations"'. The letter ends with a pledge of American support for the mother country in her forthcoming struggle against 'the unscrupulous and reckless' Russian 'tyrant' (*The Times*, 9 March 1854, p. 9).

²⁸ See Introduction to *CEN* letters, p. 120; John Kenyon (1784–1856), patron of the arts, poet, and 'dear old friend' of Norton who was among the distinguished Americans he entertained at his renowned dinner parties (*Norton*, I, 341–2; *DNB*) He died at West Cowes.

Farewell. I don't think I have any more gossip to communicate – & I ought to be doing some “cases”.

Ever Yours

A H C

MS *H*

Corr. 476–8 (part-published); *PR* 223–4 (part-published).

16.

My dear Charles

This aboriginal fragment of paper¹ is to tell you that after mature consideration I have determined *not* to print Dryden's life. I must try & write one myself, & would rather of course wait & quietly pick up information, by occasional reading in the Opera Moralia & so on.² But if M^r Brown wants to pack up his 1st volume, then I must do it as I can, without further delay.

The title page I think should be – Plutarch's Lives

from
the translation
called Dryden's
revised & corrected
from the original
by AHC^{gh}

[next sheet of paper long & thin & divided into 2 sheets]

I hope Master Murray sent off my second couple by the Arabia; but I shouldn't wonder much if I heard they were still lying in Albermarle S^t.

I made acquaintance last night with the Proctors who enquired after you. I liked M^{rs} Procter better than I expected – I used to dislike her looks³ – What am I to tell you —? Kalafat *may* be taken but I hope it is not⁴ – Charley Napier is going to the Baltic on Friday morning – & some people say he is a drunken old blackguard & some people say – vide L^d Palmerston's speech at the dinner given to him⁵ – which is worth your reading

¹A long thin sheet; possibly laid paper (see Introduction, p. 25).

²Daniel Wittenbach, *Lexicon Plutarcheum et Vitas et Opera Moralia Complectens* (Lipsiae: T. O. Weigel, 1843) – A Greek/Latin index.

³See *CEN* 15, note 25.

⁴See *CEN* 15, note 8.

⁵'see' [Latin].

– Lowell wo^d like the stories in it.⁶ Some say the Russians have 30 ships in 3 pts of the Baltic & are cutting their way thro' the ice to combine – & that it is quite on the cards that Charley with his first detachment of 13 may be smashed – to our everlasting disgrace – other people, don't say so.⁷

The Queen goes down today to see the Ships tomorrow.⁸

People talk a good deal about that book of Whewell's on the Plurality of Worlds. I recommend Fields to pirate it – Have you seen it –? It is to show that Jupiter, Venus, Saturn etc are all pretty certainly uninhabitable – being (Jupiter, Saturn &, to wit) strange washy limbos of places where at the best only mollusks, or in the case of Venus salamanders co^d exist – Hence we conclude we are the only rational creatures which is highly satisfactory & what is more, quite Scriptural⁹ – Owen on the other hand I believe & other scientific people believe it a most presumptuous essay, conclusions audacious, & reasoning fallacious, tho' the facts are allowed,¹⁰ and in that opinion I, on the ground that there are more things in heaven & earth¹¹ than are dreamt of in the inductive

⁶ At a dinner at the Reform Club in honour of Sir Charles Napier (see *CEN* 15, note 9), Palmerston recounted some amusing incidents from the Vice-Admiral's career, such as when, after boarding a Portuguese ship, an officer ran at him with a sword: he 'parried the thrust' and merely gave his assailant a 'hearty kick behind' that sent him 'flying down the hatchway' (*Hull Packet and East Riding Times*, 10 March 1854, p. 7).

⁷ See *CEN* 15, notes 8 & 9.

⁸ Queen Victoria arrived at Portsmouth on March 10th and passed through the Baltic Fleet at Spithead on board the 'Fairy' yacht on her way to her rural retreat, Osborne House, on the Isle of Wight. When the salute began, the tremendous roar of artillery was loud enough to make the cheering crowds 'thank Heaven most devoutly that they were not Russians' (*The Times*, 11 March 1854, p. 9).

⁹ See *CEN* 14, note 12; Whewell claimed that there were the 'strongest grounds' for believing that there could be no conceivable form of animal life on any of the planets in the solar system as they appeared, with the exception of Mars, to be largely spheres of gases, water, clouds and vapour (*Of The Plurality of Worlds* [1853], pp.193, 194).

¹⁰ *Of the Plurality of Worlds* was widely criticised; the *North British Review*, for example, in an article attributed to Sir David Brewster (1781–1868), was incredulous that a man of Whewell's scientific standing could imagine that the Almighty had filled the vast universe with light only perceptible to the tiny inhabitants of one little star, but does concede some points of geological fact ('Of the Plurality of Worlds', 21 (1854), 1–44 [p.21]). In a later edition of his essay, Whewell appended a dialogue which attempted to counter the arguments of his friend Richard Owen (See *RWE* 22, note 7), for the existence of life on other planets (*Of the Plurality of Worlds: An Essay; Also a Dialogue on the Same Subject* 4th edn [London: John Parker, 1855], pp 19–92).

¹¹ Cp. *Hamlet* I. 5.159–160: 'There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, / Than are dreamt of in your philosophy' (*The Plays of William Shakespeare*, ed. by Isaac Reed, 11 vols [London: Vernon Hood, 1809], X, 286).

philosophy, incline to concur¹² –

Meantime it is thought possible that Whewell may rise to the Episcopate on the wings of the orthodox inductive philosophy – a see being now vacant by the B^p of Salisbury's death.¹³

Hooker's book on the Sikkim Himalayas is worth seeing — I don't mean his big Rhododendron book but 2 vols of travel¹⁴—

Did that careless Chapman ever send you the odd papers about the School of Design. There is a new Catalogue coming out soon which I hope to send you — farewell —

Ever Yours

AHC

March 10th [1854]¹⁵

MS H

Corr. 479–80 (part-published); *PR* 224 (part-published).

¹² Whewell wrote on the history and philosophy of science, exploring central issues such as the relationship between observation and theory, the role of imagination and hypotheses (The Rev. William Whewell, *The Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*, 2 vols [London: John Parker, 1840], I, xxxviii, xLiii, Lviii).

¹³ Edward Denison (1801–1854), Bishop of Salisbury, died on 6th March 1854. The Rev. Walter Kerr Hamilton succeeded to the very considerable living (£5,000 a year); (*Morning Chronicle*, 23 March 1854, p. 6).

¹⁴ The botanist Joseph Dalton Hooker (1817–1911) wrote an account of his travels in Sikkim, a small impoverished state bordered by Tibet, Nepal, and British India in *Himalayan Journals; or Notes of a Naturalist in Bengal, the Sikkim etc* (2 vols [London: John Murray, 1854]). While in India he had published illustrations of the rhododendrons of Sikkim, which he later introduced into England.

¹⁵ Year dated by the reference to the death of the Bishop of Salisbury and Queen's visit to Portsmouth.

17.

Council Office, May 9. 54.

Tuesday

My dear Charles

You will think I am perfide Albion itself¹ – However the fact is, my two colleagues took it into their heads to take holiday together & I have been overpowered with work & imaginary responsibility – They come back tomorrow & I now feel myself through it – alas me – I have often wished myself back again – & yet I believe for the present at least, this is best –

Well, Plutarch goes on, tho' with huge interruptions – and I was very glad to see Felton² – and I obeyed your vermillion edict & sent some verse by him³ – I believe there is some more which will go with the next Plutarch. I put in also the old Cambridge Lecture⁴ which I thought might, if you chose, be a make-weight⁵ – for the book will be but a very little one at best – Passion Flowers have reached me⁶ – but I confess I haven't read above a page yet – Thank Child for his letter at last – if he had written earlier, I sho^d have answered without delay, & now he must wait as *I* did⁷———

As for news here – I don't know much – there is a great scandal about Ruskin & his wife – who are separated, & it is said there will be a divorce – – he was profoundly

¹ 'perfidious, treacherous'[Latin]; Albion was the original name for the island of Britain (*OED*). C compares the laxness of his letter writing with Britain's reputation for treachery in international affairs (*OED*).

² See *RWE* 10, note 2.

³ A Chinese imperial decree: Chinese emperors in the Qing dynasty would express their endorsement of a proposal by means of 'zhupi', or vermilion comment, so called because of the vermilion coloured ink reserved for their sole use. Norton had repeatedly requested poems for the proposed American edition of C's poems he was putting together (see Appendix 2). This he said was to be regarded as a 'vermillion edict' (*Norton*, I, 99, 108).

⁴ Probably the lecture C gave at Harvard in December 1852 (*Corr.* 349).

⁵ A comparatively small quantity added to make up a certain weight (*OED*).

⁶ See *CEN* 15, note 22.

⁷ Child's letter was dated February 20th 1854 (*Corr.* 473).

indifferent — & she it is said being a poor girl at Perth, whom his mother was acquainted with, married him that she might go abroad⁸—

There is a story that to take Sebastopol two of the largest ships must be sacrificed & that one French & one English, the Hannibal & the Agamemnon have volunteered — but this I imagine is cock-&-bull⁹ —

Ere this reaches you, you will perhaps have left Shady Hill for some summer quarters — Have you noticed in the Papers the death of the Dean of S^t Asaph — which occurred about a week ago. — I believe most probably an Uncle of mine will succeed him — the Bishop appoints.¹⁰ —

My *event* is to take place in all probability about the 15th June — perhaps on the 13th. I wish you were to be there — I don't know anyone I wo^d rather, but you can't come over for the purpose I am afraid. — I then take a short holiday, but letters will be forwarded if directed here¹¹ —

I do not know how many letters of yours I ought to acknowledge. Your last is dated April 14 & was written shortly after Lowell spent “all Tuesday evening with you” —

⁸ John Ruskin (1819–1900) married Effie (Euphemia Chalmers Gray), the daughter of a family friend, in 1848, but on 15th July 1854 the marriage was annulled by an ecclesiastical court on the grounds that it had never been consummated. The following year Effie married the painter John Everett Millais. Norton published two volumes of letters received from Ruskin, from their first meeting in 1855 until just before the latter's death, which constituted ‘a tragic record of the perplexities of a great and generous soul ... and at last the failure of exceptional powers’ (*Letters of John Ruskin to Charles Eliot Norton*, ed. by Charles Eliot Norton, 2 vols [Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1904], I, p. ix).

⁹ *The Times* reported that, after having destroyed the defences of Odessa on 22 April 1854, the combined fleet had set sail for Sebastopol (6 May 1854, p. 9). *HMS Hannibal* and *HMS Agamemnon* were two of the largest ships in the Black Sea and Baltic Fleets respectively: each weighed around 3000 tons, and carried 91 guns (in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 16 April 1854, p. 16). The siege of the beleaguered city began in September 1854 and was to last a year, with, however, no major Allied losses at sea (see *RWE* 20, note 4; *CEN* 30, note 8).

¹⁰ The Very Rev. Charles Scott Luxmoore, Dean of St Asaph Cathedral in Llanelwy, North Wales, known as a ‘gigantic pluralist’, died on 27 April 1854; his ‘ecclesiastical patronage’ exceeded £2,000 per year (*Standard*, 3 May 1854, p. 1). On May 27 1854, the *North Wales Chronicle* announced the appointment of the Venerable Archdeacon Charles Butler Clough, Vicar of Mold, as Dean and Chancellor of St Asaph (p. 1).

¹¹ C's wedding took place on 13 June 1854 (see *RWE* 17, note 1). On May 30 Norton wrote that he wished C ‘joy most heartily’, and that his sisters had been trying to persuade him to take a steamer to Liverpool, returning on the next, in order to be at the wedding, but his work load made it impossible (*Norton*, I, 109–10).

Thackeray by the way has come back from Rome¹² – but I have not seen him yet – I like the Newcomes myself & know a live “Colonel” the very original, baring [sic] a son, of *the Col.*¹³ –

I am glad your Poets are proceeding¹⁴ – as for my doing anyone, it is out of the question I fear, besides I don’t like any of them, you know, except perhaps Chaucer – Do your Editors see the small Ed^{ns} (of Dryden, Cowper, Surrey....) publishing [sic] by J. W. Parker, edited by Bell. They seem to be good.¹⁵

I have been looking into Lieut. Cunningham on the Bhilsa Topes. I wish you wo^d tell me whether his history of Buddhism is true.¹⁶ – Have you read *Oakfield* by W^m Arnold (son of Thomas Arnold) – said to be a libel, on the Indian Service.¹⁷ –

We all however read nothing else but the Articles about the War & the Latest Intelligence. Leonora Horner is to be married on Tuesday next to Dr Pertz the Berlin Librarian – My young lady and her sister are to be bridesmaids.¹⁸ I do not go myself. –

¹² See *CEN* 15, note 26.

¹³ See *CEN* 7, note 25; Colonel Thomas Newcome – ‘a most gallant and distinguished officer’ in the East India Company (*The Newcomes, Memoirs of a Most Respectable Family*, 2 vols [London: Bradbury and Evans, 1854], p. 34). He was probably modelled on Lady Ashburton’s husband, William Bingham Baring, second Baron Ashburton (1799–1864); see *RWE* 7, note 5.

¹⁴ The series *British Poets* (see *CEN* 11, note 11), which Child was editing; there is some evidence that Norton edited Keats and Shelley for this series (Turner, p. 428).

¹⁵ *Poetical Works of John Dryden*, ed. by Robert Bell (London: John W Parker, 1854); also *Poetical Works of William Cowper* and *Poetical Works of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey*, published in the same year and also edited by Robert Bell; volumes also on William Cowper and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. C admired the ‘elegant diction’ of the ‘closing eighteenth century’, exemplified by Cowper, and credited Dryden with ‘renovat[ing]’ the English language, which had been ‘corrupt[ed]’ during the Restoration period (*PR*, 309, 327).

¹⁶ *The Bhilsa Topes or, Buddhist Monuments of Central India*, (London: Smith, Elder, 1854), on the history of Buddhism, by Brev. Major Alexander Cunningham of the Bengal Engineers, who discovered some of the topes – massive funeral mounds that recalled the ‘Druidical colonnades of Britain’ – around Bhilsa in 1854 (Preface). In an early poem C had written that Buddhism was an atheist doctrine that ‘fostered sloth’ (‘Salsette and Elephanta’, *Poems*, 139–146), but later declared Buddhism to be ‘reasonable and comparatively un-ceremonial’ (see *CEN* 45, note 23).

¹⁷ William Delafield Arnold (1828–1859), director of public education in the Punjab, fourth son of Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby, and brother of Matthew. Originally published in 1853 under the pseudonym ‘Punjabee’, *Oakfield, or Fellowship in the East* is an attack on sections of the British officer class in India, whom Arnold describes as ‘mere animals’, whose gross behaviour and ‘appalling ribaldry’ had shocked him during his stint as assistant commissioner in the Punjab (2nd edn, 2 vols [London: Longman, 1854], I, 40–41).

¹⁸ See *CEN* 10, note 25.

I see by today's news that the Nebraska Bill is abandoned¹⁹ – q.e.f.²⁰ I suppose it will have done the people's temper some good to have had the attempt made – I had no idea till I studied the Pamphlet you sent me of the immense extent of the area dealt with by it.

Farewell for the present. I shall add some more before Saturday.

Ever Yours

A H C

Friday May 12th '54

My dear Charles –

This letter will be but short compared with the time that passed; however such as it is it must go. Pray alter any little matters that occur to you in the Plutarch – I quite agree that a new translation was the right thing – however we must make the best of this – I believe it wo^d do admirably for a *boy's* book; but for grown scholars it will be distasteful. As for my verses – they are really hardly worth printing, but if you do think it worth while & M^r Fields or any one else will be at the trouble – I will not be ashamed. I have some few Hexameters & Elegiacs written in Rome during my visit there in the time of the siege which will go I believe with the next issue of Plutarch.²¹ I send on the other side a few verses which you may add to the collection²² – And so farewell. My kindest remembrances to your mother & sisters & to all others.... Lowell, Child, Longfellow, Felton, Dwight...

I hope I have not frightened you out of writing by my long taciturnity – Leonora Horner's marriage is to be positively on *Thursday* next – I do not attend it, but I go to

¹⁹ See *RWE* 17, note 2.

²⁰ 'which was to be done' [Latin].

²¹ A fair manuscript copy ('*E*') of *Amours de Voyage* (in Mrs C.'s handwriting) entitled 'Roman Elegiacs and Roman Hexameters April to July 1849', which omits the love plot, was sent by C to Norton in 1854 (Phelan, p. 75.); the poem was eventually published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1858 (see Appendix 2).

²² [Nothing on the other side of letter, but at the end of the letter is written 'The verses next week'. In letter *CEN* 23 dated 12 September 1854, C wrote 'I have also enclosed some Roman hexameters and Roman Elegiacs'].

the Lyells' in the Evening²³ – One of the Bunsen family was to have been a Bridesmaid; but they are [disunified?] you know²⁴ – though I believe they will in the end if not at once, reside in England.–

Farewell

Ever Yours affectionately

A H Clough

MS *H*

Corr. 480–2 (part-published); *PR* 225 (part-published)

²³ See note 18 above; on May 18 1854 at Little Portland-street Chapel, Leonora Horner married Chevalier Pertz, 'his Prussian Majesty's principal librarian at Berlin' (*Morning Chronicle*, 20 May 1854, p. 12).

²⁴ See *FJC* 7, note 15.

18.

C.O. May 15th, 54

My dear Charles

I have just received your letter by the Asia – very welcome. Alas, none from me wo^d reach you [by] the Pacific, but I hope you wo^d be patient & long suffering. I never told you how sorry I was your cousin from India did not come to look for me.

I went to a pre-nuptial party at the Horners on Saturday & saw the Lyells – but I shall see more of them on Thursday.¹ The Bunsens go to live at Heidelberg for the present: & leave England shortly.² The King it appears is wholly governed by some clever Russianites immediately about his person.³

Politics here are rather colourless – Scotch Education Reform is thrown overboard by a coalition between the Land-owners, Establishmentarians, & Voluntaries who have defeated Government by 8 votes.⁴ The Oxford Bill will pass, with a few scratches in Committee, rather damaging to it, but not very momentous.⁵ Gladstone *I think* has done himself great honour by refusing to borrow for the War, but the bankers & great

¹ See *CEN* 17, note 23.

² See *FJC* 7, note 15.

³ According to *The Times*, there was no immediate danger of a Prussian-Russian alliance; even the ‘most Russianly-disposed Prussian [was] aware of the immense dangers’ of such a course (3 May 1854, p. 11).

⁴ The Education (Scotland) bill was an attempt to establish a non-sectarian, publicly-financed educational system in Scotland to ‘cure the injustice of a monstrous inequality’ whereby a small minority of schools belonging to the Established church received a monopoly of all the ‘patronage’ and ‘national finances’. However, the ‘heritors, the established kirk and the Carlton club’ combined to defeat the bill on its second reading (*Daily News*, 15 May 1854, p. 4).

⁵ Despite having been beset by ‘bewildering discussion of constitutions, congregations, enfranchisements’, and numerous amendments (*The Times*, 8 May 1854, p. 8), the Oxford University Bill was eventually passed on 13 July 1854, making it possible for ‘Dissenters’ to be admitted to ‘the advantages of a University education’ (*Hansard*, HL Deb, 13 July 1854, vol 135 cc135–6), and implementing the main recommendations of the Royal Commission with which C was closely involved (see Appendix 2). Subscription to the ‘Thirty Nine Articles’ as a pre-requisite to graduation, the stumbling block over which C resigned from Oriel College, was abolished (see Introduction, p. 11).

capitalists have been abusing him furiously.⁶ I am very glad of your account of Lowell. I haven't seen Putnam lately, but the next time I go to Ludgate Hill, I shall call at Sampson Low's for some of it⁷ –

Your Latin advertisement is wonderful What classic almer mater reared the illustrious [Corner?]?⁸

Farewell for the present. My day's work is just done & I think I must really make my exit from these official purlieus. Things are pretty smooth at present with me. My colleagues [sic] (thus the translators of Plutarch write & I think more correctly than we). My colleagues or colleagues having returned makes the work feel much less burdensome. –

I will write to Child in good time – or bad time, one or other – – I was very glad of his letter. If he hadn't written, I *sho^d* have done so; to let him rejoice in the generosity of his position⁹ –

Adieu –

May 17th

I will add a few lines – Pray is Emerson's New York discourse on Slavery printed?¹⁰ And are you all of one mind again about Slavery in the North? – I have been

May 19th

This laudable attempt failed & now it is Friday 5¼ pm & I must get this into the Post & do sundry other things before 6pm – Leonora Horner is married & is on her way to Berlin – not the most auspicious of metropolitan residences at present.

⁶ There was considerable opposition in the Commons to Chancellor Gladstone's war budget and 'astonishment' that the Government had not tried to vindicate its request for £2.5 million in extra taxes. Tory members were particularly exercised at the proposal to raise the extra money by doubling income tax from 7d to 1s 2d in the pound, and raising the duty on whisky (*The Times*, 16 May 1854, p. 8).

⁷ Sampson Low (1797–1886) the publisher, whose office was in Ludgate Hill.

⁸ Possibly a reference in *CEN*'s letter to C's poem 'Peschiera', which he mentions will be published in *Putnam's* that month (see *CEN* 15, note 23).

⁹ Child wrote on February 20th 1854 (*Corr.* 473).

¹⁰ See *RWE* 17, note 3.

My Uncle has become Dean of S^t Asaph in the place of your friend Dean Luxmore.¹¹ My *event* is I believe to take place on the 13th June – scarcely more than 3 weeks hence.¹² – If you write about that time you may direct to Lea Hurst, Matlock, which is a country house belonging to the Nightingales, one of whom Felton saw.¹³ My kind remembrances to Felton. I missed him once or twice, in the last three days of his stay & had a good intention of writing to greet him on his arrival chez vous. But he wo^d have greetings enough without. By this time you are all scattering to the seas & the hills – & Boston will be getting hot & empty, – & the shadow of pines an object of exceeding desire, but for the mosquitoes. We have a holiday tomorrow & illuminate ourselves in honour of the Queen who this year is born on this day.¹⁴ – Farewell. I will send more verses as I can & more Plutarch. Ever Yours

AHC

MS H

Corr. 482–3 (part-published); *PR* 225 (part-published).

¹¹ See *CEN* 17, note 10.

¹² See *RWE* 17, note 1.

¹³ Cornelius Conway Felton (see *RWE* 10, note 2).

¹⁴ Queen Victoria was born on 24th May 1819, but her birthday was formally celebrated on Saturday 20th May 1854, when the ‘loyalty of the people was manifested with unusual fervour’. To the ‘merry peals’ of church bells, thousands of spectators watched the long procession of horse guards, ‘gay equipages’ bearing the ‘*elite* of the land’ and princes and Rajahs, to congratulate their sovereign on another year added to her ‘prosperous and fortunate reign’ (*The Times*, 22 May 1854, p. 10).

19.

Lea Hurst

Matlock

My dear Charles

I shall write to you more at length before many days pass, but I just send this by way of thanks for various very acceptable communications – including a newspaper & a pamphlet just arrived about the Fugitive Slave Case.¹

Your letter of congratulation arrived, curiously enough, on the very morning of the ceremonial, & was a very pleasant incident of the day.² Felton's letter announcing a variety of kind remembrances came three or four days after, & was, I assure you, a very pleasant surprise indeed.³ I shall wait to acknowledge your 'Outlines' until I have actually seen them; but the announcement has already given a great deal of pleasure – not to me only.⁴ –

This place strangely reminds me of Shady Hill last summer. It is not very like it – being a house on a broad open bank, a considerable height above the river Derwent, the valley

¹ Norton mentions sending this pamphlet in his letter of May 30th 1854; C is referring to the case of the runaway slave Anthony Burns (1834–1866), who escaped from slavery in Virginia and found a job in a clothing store in Boston. He was seized by his owner on his way home from work, under the authority of the Fugitive Slave Law (see *RWE* 17, note 3). On 26th May 1854 a meeting of abolitionists was called, where, according to the *New York Herald*, the people were 'harangued' in the 'usual treasonable and inflammatory style' before joining forces with a large crowd of 'negroes'. The 'mob' 'stormed' the courthouse where the case was being heard with a battering ram; order was finally restored but New York was 'in a ferment' for several days while Burns was returned to slavery (*Morning Post*, 9 June 1854, p. 5). It was a time of 'painful suspense' and 'conflict'; Norton believed that, while 'everybody regret[ted] the slave [had not been rescued]', the law as it stood had to be carried out because violent resistance would make it even more difficult to repeal' (*Norton*, I, 111).

² In his letter Norton wished C 'joy most heartily', and sent Miss Smith 'the most cordial and kindly greetings and regards' (*Norton*, I, 109–110). C's marriage took place on June 13th 1854 (see *RWE* 17, note 1).

³ See *Corr.* 484.

⁴ Norton's wedding gift was Washington Allston's *Outlines and Sketches*, (Boston: Stephen H. Perkins, 1849) – a collection of the painter's sketches, published after his death, and consisting mainly of biblical and classical figures, including 'Jacob's Dream' and 'Dido and Aeneas'. It was intended to 'crown' the more practical offerings – Lowell's cream pot and Child's salt cellar – with 'the glory of high art' (*Corr.* 484).

of which it looks down, as it flows from Matlock to Derby.⁵ – Nor have we any of those scorching heats which had already begun before I left you, now almost exactly a twelvemonth ago. I am doing Plutarch, that is one thing – & living in an in-and-out-of-doors sort of way –

We leave this retirement I am sorry to say in about ten days, & in ten days after that, again, shall be in London.

With kindest remembrances to your Mother & Sisters

Ever Yours

A. H. Clough

June 28th [1854]⁶

MS H

PR 226 (part-published).

⁵ Lea Hurst was the Nightingales' summer home.

⁶ Year dated by the reference to C's wedding.

Council Office, July 21st [1854]¹

My dear Charles

Your letter of July 7th met me here, the first thing on my return yesterday to the desk;² and your kind present³ is at this moment in my wife's hands at Combe Hurst, her father's house, where we shall spend perhaps a month, while looking about for a house.⁴

I wrote a hurried letter from Derbyshire; & my wife gave me a scolding for letting it go without sending a message from her, both to your mother & sisters & to yourself – whom I am sure she already numbers among her unseen, not unknown, friends. It is rather visionary for me to expect to cross the seas again, but one way or other I hope that some time I shall have the pleasure of introducing her to you not by letter alone.

Yours is as yet the only one of the presents announced in Felton's letter that has reached me. I suppose Fields is somewhere about, & that I shall see him sometime,⁵ but in this huge metropolis it is a matter of time to find every one, & I am at present only in Town just for my day's work, coming in at ½ p.10am & retreating at 6 pm, much as you may be doing at Shady Hill – and just at present in a state of the temperature which somewhat reminds me of the last June before this – Next Monday will complete my year of official work, or indeed, tomorrow will, as I came in on Monday.⁶

¹ Year dated by C's reference to his marriage.

² Norton wrote that he, along with the Longfellows, Felton and Child, had celebrated C's wedding day at 'Shady Hill' (*Norton*, I, 112).

³ See *CEN* 19, note 4.

⁴ See *CEN* 3, note 4.

⁵ See *Corr.* 484; C's friend Cornelius Felton (see *RWE* 10, note 2) sent a package of wedding presents via James Fields (see *CEN* 15, note 19), who was visiting England that summer.

⁶ C started work in the Education Department of the Council Office on Monday 25th July 1853, soon after returning from America (see Introduction, p. 14, and *Corr.* 456). This would indicate that C finished his letter on Saturday 22nd July.

I must now set to work having exhausted the margin of idleness allowable at the beginning of the day – Farewell – I doubt whether I shall be able to finish this before post time today – but if not, it will be the longer for the delay –

MS *H*

Corr. 486 (published in full).

21.

Wednesday 26th July [1854]¹

My dear Charles,

Field's box arrived, to our great delight, yesterday, & displayed its agreeable contents. They have given a great deal of gratification already I assure you, & will continue [to] do so when in actual use, which I suppose will be their case before very long, – as we are commencing the task of house hunting, or at any rate sho^d be, were it not for these overpowering heats – the thermometer being actually 82 in the shade!²

I am very glad you have seen & have liked Lawrence – & that he has been successful with Longfellow.³

As for Plutarch, what point have you stopped at? – perhaps it may be I & not Murray who is in fault, but I have two of the small books very nearly completed – & do a little every morning.⁴

I do not know of anything to recommend for your reading in this summer weather – Milman's Latin Christianity is rather heavy for such a time, but I found the one vol. which I read, sufficiently interesting⁵ –

¹ Year dated by the reference to the arrival of the wedding gifts from America (see *CEN* 20, note 5).

² On Wednesday July 26th the *Standard* reported the closure of Drury Lane Theatre until further notice due to the intense heat (p.1).

³ Samuel Laurence (see *CEN* 11, note 6); on 7th July 1854 Norton wrote that the English painter, a 'loveable man of delicate observation and feeling', had come to Cambridge to do a portrait of Longfellow, which was to be engraved in London, and that it was an 'admirable likeness' – 'full of life, natural and thoroughly characteristic' (*Norton*, I, 112–13).

⁴ In his letter of 7th July 1854, Norton wrote that he had 'transferred the charge of the "Plutarch" proofs' to Frank Palfrey (the historian Francis Winthrop Palfrey [1831–1889]) – a 'good scholar' and 'not unused to literary work' – as he would be away for the summer and Child was too busy with 'his poets' (*Norton*, I, 114).

⁵ See *CEN* 12, note 7; the first volume of Henry Hart Milman's *History of Latin Christianity* traces the growth of Christianity from its earliest beginnings to the conversion of Constantine, and up to the death of Pope Gregory in AD 604, encompassing the conversion of the Germans, Spain and Britain, and the establishment of ritual, doctrine and church law.

Did you see the Examiner of Mrs Howe's Sunny Memories;⁶ *quite* a severe article - & *quite* unnecessarily I sho^d say.⁷ – The use of quite is a peculiarity which I quite remarked myself, but I think you have quite a right to use it – as a substitute if you please for our less exact “very” – & in colloquial writing no one ought to object – I don't see that the old-country English are to have the exclusive right of introducing new expressions. –

I am stealing time out of my work, & must really leave off, but will try & obtain a few more minutes, in, clam, precario,⁸ before Friday's night's post.

Ever Yours

With kindest remembrances

A. H. Clough

MS H

Corr. 487–8 (part-published).

⁶ The *Examiner* described *Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands* by Harriet Beecher Stowe (see *CEN* 4, notes 19–23) as a series of ‘carelessly composed’ letters written in a ‘slipslop way’, which ‘abound in bad grammar’ and ‘corrupt diction’. The reviewer finds fault with almost every aspect of the book, from the ‘incessant repetition’ of ‘annoying Americanisms’, like ‘slump’ and ‘loafer’, to the ‘incessant abuse’ of words like ‘quite’ (‘The Literary Examiner’, 2425 [1854], 455–7 [pp. 455–6]).

⁷ C's comment cleverly embodies two different uses of the word: the American-English meaning of ‘very’, followed by the standard English ‘completely’ or ‘entirely’ (*OED*). *The Glossary of Supposed Americanisms* (Alfred L. Elwyn [Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1859].) endorses the standard usage; using it to mean ‘quite a considerable number’ was ‘corrupt’ and ‘absurd’ and an example of how words from ‘ignorance become fastened to a language’ (p. 88).

⁸ ‘secretly granted’ [Latin].

C.O. Augt 19 [1854]¹

My dear Charles

It seems long both since I wrote & since I heard – I have been very busy & so I dare say have you– I writing *Agenda* the whole burden whereof rests at present on my [a?] official shoulders – and you doing a hundred things I dare say of various kinds —

I have never told you how glad I am to [receive] Alston's [sic] book² – I shall enclose with this a note to Edward Guild in answer to his, which gave me great pleasure.³ Alas, however, the gift that sho^{od} have come with it remains I presume in the portmanteau of the to-me-unknown traveller who conveyed it – Mrs Howe's book, from herself, was the only parcel that was left with the note so far as I can find out⁴ – certainly the only parcel that came to me –

I have almost chosen a house & in 6 weeks expect to be an householder – with goods & chattels & the *post* householder sedens atra cura⁵ –

I had a note from Emerson three or four days ago – and I ought to write to Child – he is away I suppose so don't tell him I have written to you first – Cholera is amongst us as you see & laying low lords even, – Lord Beaumont but not by Cholera! in the last three

¹ Year dated by thereference to the death of Lord Jocelyn.

² The landscape painter, Washington Allston's, *Lectures on Art, and Poems*, ed. by Richard Henry Dana, Jr. (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1850). His poems included a eulogy of his close friend Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and sonnets on Michelangelo's work and Rembrandt (pp. 273, 276, 346).

³ Norton's cousin.

⁴ See *CEN* 15, note 22.

⁵ 'Black care sits behind the horseman' (Horace, *Odes* 3.1.40).

days besides Lord Jocelyn⁶ – Tom Taylor is just appointed chief Sec^{y7} under Mr Benjⁿ
Hall our new Health Min^{r8} –

Is there no chance of any of you whom I know, coming over here. I thought I saw one
of my Aristotelian pupils at a railway one day – but perhaps was mistaken –

There is a little book Psychological [sic] Enquiries by Sir Benjⁿ Brodie⁹ sine nomine¹⁰
which is perhaps worth your reading, not for the philosophy, but for the experience –

Farewell for the present

Ever Yrs affectionately

A H Clough

[This part cross-hatched] With official red ink I may venture to cross a little bit – Will
you give the enclosed to Edward Guild whose address I don't feel sure of, though I
suppose Beacon S^t, Boston might do – Forgive this brief scrawl – after a while my
scrawls will get longer again, I dare say – At present am I not house-hunting – ? – Will
Mr Brown be over here this summer? & where is one to find Fields – at [Bogues]?
You have been having the cholera bad in your State Boston I see by the paper¹¹ – And
are you going to buy Sitka, & believe Dr Coltman – & enter into a Russian alliance

⁶ According to the *Daily News*, cholera deaths in London had risen from 1,008 the previous week to 1,219 for the past week (2 August 1854, p. 7). Lord Beaumont died from 'an attack of fever' on August 16th, and Viscount Jocelyn, MP 'died suddenly from cholera' on 12th August (*Examiner*, 2429 [1854] p. 523). In a letter commenting on the 'shocking' death of Lord Jocelyn, which had 'powerfully arrested the public attention', the writer demanded to know why similar concern had not been expressed for the 'cholera-stricken' victims of the 'rural hovel', or 'close foetid cellar', poisoned by 'bad water, bad smells and adulterated food', whose families starved while they were ill (*Daily News*, 15 August 1854, p. 2).

⁷ See *HWL* 1, note 14; in 1854 Tom Taylor was promoted to secretary of the reconstructed General Board of Health under the presidency of Sir Benjamin Hall.

⁸ Benjamin Hall, Baron Llanover (1802–1867); appointed President of the General Board of Health in August 1854, he was responsible for many environmental and sanitary improvements in London. In 1856 the bell for the clock tower of the new Palace of Westminster ('Big Ben') was inscribed with Hall's name.

⁹ See *CEN* 51, note 17; *Psychological Inquiries* was a series of essays by Sir Benjamin Collins Brodie, 'intended to illustrate the mutual relations of the physical organization and the mental faculties', and included 'dialogues on the 'Evils of an ill-regulated imagination', 'moral insanity' and the 'evil effects of opium and gin on the morals' ([London: Longman, Brown: 1854], pp. 4, 94, 248).

¹⁰ 'Without a name' [Latin]; Brodie's essays were originally published under the signature 'B. C. B', but appeared under his name in 1862.

¹¹ On 2 August 1854, *The Times* reported that cholera had spread to nearly all parts of the United States, with deaths in some cities averaging over 100 a day, due mainly to the extreme heat (p. 7).

against the Anglo-Mosquito confederacy¹² – and was Senator Douglas bribed by Nicholas to bring in the Nebraska Bill? – There are Hungarians I believe who believe it – However – farewell.

With Kindest remembrances,

Ever Yours

A H C.

MS H

PR 226-7 (part-published).

¹² Russia had reportedly offered to sell Sitka (present-day Alaska) and other portions of ‘Russian’ America to the United States. ‘Despotic Russia was courting republican America by all the means in her power’ (*Morning Chronicle*, 15 August 1854, p. 6). There were fears that the sale of Sitka would be regarded by Britain as a hostile act, and, according to the *New York Herald*, the British fleet in the Pacific had been ordered to take the province (*Standard*, 8 August 1854, p. 1).

Sept 12th [1854]¹

My dear Charles

Is Mr Brown coming over to the Booksellers Parliament or has he discharged his senatorial functions already in the manner of an English Peer, by proxy?² I have two sections of Plutarch containing Pyrrhus Marnie, Lysander, Sylla, Cimon, & a bit of Lucullus which I hope will go[to ther?] through Murray or Longman.³ I have also enclosed some Roman Hexameters & Roman Elegiacs for your edification – to these I will add three more pieces to come at the end of the volume if indeed it be really destined to have either end or beginning or dimensions of any kind. There is a piece on Napoleon & Wellington which appeared in Fraser of Feb^y March or April 53 while I was with you.⁴ There are one or two misprints in it, but with these corrected I think it might appear –

My books are all in confusion partly packed, partly heaped up, at my old lodgings. Otherwise I wo^d look it up at once. I have also put in this packet a bit of Homer which I thought might take its chance –

I have this moment received Felton's address. Will you give my kindest remembrances & thanks for it. I am very glad to have it – Item there is a little volume, Scaligers Poetics, with Johnson's autograph, (pretty certain, I believe) which is for your own antiquarian appropriation if you will have it. I found it the other day in a book shop in Holborn⁵ –

¹ Year dated by reference to the report of the cholera outbreak.

² See *CEN* 4, note 7; James Brown made his final visit to England in 1853.

³ See Appendix 2.

⁴ See Appendix 2.

⁵ *Poetics (Poetices libri septem)*, by the Italian scholar Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558), based on the poetics of Aristotle, was first published in 1561. It was not only the 'literary canon of the later Italian Renaissance', but also 'exerted a determining influence' on English 'men of letters' such as Sidney and Ben Jonson (Frederick Morgan Padelford, *Select Translations from Scaliger's Poetics* [New York: Henry Holt, 1905], p. v). When thanking C for his present Norton, a keen book collector, noted that Samuel Johnson quotes from Scaliger in the preface to his famous Dictionary (*Norton*, I, 115).

This is Tuesday, & I don't know whether a Collins goes tomorrow or only a Bremen or Havre boat – However I will take my chance. I have never acknowledged yet, except per Professor Child Ph.D. your letter from Newport.⁶ Your description was somewhat amusing, as in point of fact I have been in Newport & have not been in the Isle of Wight – I was at Newport at the age of 6 or 7, & passed by it moreover, scarcely however recognizing the scenes of my infancy, in that swift transit commenced under your auspices from Boston via Fall River to New York & the Asia Steamer – We stopped off the little town in the Bay State or whatever it called itself – the Fall River Steamer, on the evening of that critical day – However truth to say my knowledge of Newport is very much = 0⁷ –

I shall be delighted to be done by Lawrence, specially for you⁸ – We shall meet however I hope face to face in the actual life some day or other – on this side or that. –

Here is no great news – London is empty of course & only excited by the terrors of cholera which however is I believe subsiding⁹ – Positively for two or three days last week – in the district between Leicester Square & Oxford S^t, N & S, & Soho Square & Regent S^t E & W, there were scenes not unlike those of the Old Plague.¹⁰ It has often been asserted that this was one of the great burying places of the old 1665 plague and this outbreak is by some ascribed to this. However virulent as it was, it was as brief: &

⁶ Norton wrote to C from his summer residence in Newport, Rhode Island, on 7th July 1854 (*Norton*, I, 112–14).

⁷ In the summer of 1825, C and his family made the journey from their home in Charleston (see *RWE* 9, note 6) to New York, and then on to Newport (*PR* 3). He would also have bypassed Newport en route from Boston to New York, from where he had returned to England the previous year, aboard the *Asia*. He holidayed in the Isle of Wight in 1856 and 1861.

⁸ See *CEN* 11, note 6; *CEN* 21, note 3.

⁹ There were 2,050 deaths from cholera in London during the week ending 9th September 1854, bringing the total number of victims to 6,120 in the nine weeks since the outbreak of the disease. However, it was anticipated that the epidemic would gradually subside due to the 'active measures' adopted by the Board of Health, coupled with the cooler weather (*Standard*, 13 September, 1854, p. 1).

¹⁰ There had been a particularly virulent outbreak in parts of St James's parish, and nearby Soho, with scenes 'of a most distressing character' (*Morning Chronicle*, 6 September 1854, p. 3). There was reputed to be a huge 'plague pit' next to the Covent Garden – Saint Martin 'pest house', where thousands of victims of the Great Plague were buried (A. Lloyd Moote and Dorothy C. Moote, *The Great Plague: the Story of London's most Deadly Year* [Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2006], p. 188).

fortunately perhaps it came just at the beginning of a new Health Report week – so that it did not get into the Papers till it was pretty well over¹¹ –

Of Sebastopol & Bomarsund I know no more than what you see in the Papers. I am rather glad, for my own part, that we are not to have the honour of Austria's more immediate alliance.¹²

Farewell –

Ever Yours

A H Clough

[This part cross-hatched]

Tell me a *little* about Politics as the weather gets cooler. I am at the mercy of the Times – & don't believe that it knows much about anything. Are there any "Know nothings" & is it really a matter of importance.¹³ That the Whigs will not as a body join as yet in political alliance with the Free Soil party, I suppose is true.¹⁴ Is it they who are attempting the Emigration Scheme? The Horners are just returned from visit to Leonora's now Madame Pertz at Berlin.¹⁵ The Lyells are busy changing their house —

MS H

PR 229–30 (part-published).

¹¹ So severe had the cholera outbreak been in the 'Golden Square' district – Regent Street, Oxford Street and the Soho area – that the Registrar General published a special appendix to his weekly report on the 'Health of London' for the week ending 9th September, 1854, extending to three columns and detailing all the deaths (*Standard*, 13 September 1854, p. 3).

¹² See *CEN* 17, note 9.

¹³ The 'Know-nothing' party; according to a report in the *Morning Post*, the 'Know-Nothing' movement was becoming 'formidable', both in 'numbers and influence', in San Francisco and many other 'interior' towns (25 September 1854, p. 6). Child found them 'foolish' and 'narrow-minded' and put their success down to a 'rather vulgar hostility to foreigners' (*Corr.* 493). Norton approved of the aims of the 'Know-Nothings' – to make naturalisation less easy, exclude foreign-born citizens from office and check the political influence of the Catholic Church, but the 'Know-Nothings' were pressing them too far and the secrecy that surrounded the organisation meant that they were unlikely to become a serious political force (*Norton*, I, 116–17).

¹⁴ *The Times* reported that Northern politicians in America were making great efforts to disband the Northern Whig party and organise a 'great Northern anti-slavery party'. To this end, a convention had been organised at Saratoga by leading Freesoilers and Conservative Whigs, but the move was unlikely to be successful (21 August 1854, p. 8).

¹⁵ See *CEN* 10, note 26.

Saturday Oct 21 [1854]¹

[extensively cross-hatched]

My dear Charles

I have strained my wrist & can hardly write in the service of H M S & so write a little in yours –

I fear I have greatly tried Messrs L & B's patience but I believe if they will allow the trial, they will find things go much faster now – I gave the parcel to Murray in September but his parcel was gone & so was Longman's –

My wife's cousin, Florence Nightingale, sails tonight for Scutari.² Read about her in the *Morning Chronicle*³ – She had written to 'Sydney Herbert the Sec'y at War for advice as to going & he at the same time had written to her asking her to go⁴—————

You meantime must be thinking more of the Arctic than of the Crimea – I hope the Canada has brought in a further n^o of rescued passengers⁵ – When I came over fr. N.Yk last year I remember the probability of some such calamity happening being discussed

¹ Year dated by reference to Florence Nightingale's departure for Scutari.

² Florence Nightingale (1820–1910) was the niece of Blanche Smith's mother – Mary Shore Smith ('Aunt Mai'), (1798–1889), who later went to Scutari to help her (see *CEN* 30, note 15).

³ The article entitled 'Who is Mrs Nightingale?' sang Florence's praises, listing her many accomplishments in art, science, literature and modern languages, and recounting how, while others in her privileged circle were enjoying the London season, she was sitting by the bedsides of destitute, dying and 'querulous' governesses in a 'dreary' London hospital. She had immediately accepted the request to 'form and control' the entire nursing establishment' for wounded soldiers in the Levant, where she was, even now, 'rendering the holiest of woman's charities' to the sick and dying (*Morning Chronicle*, 30 October, 1854, p. 3).

⁴ Sydney Herbert's letter dated October 15th 1854, pleading with Florence to take on the task of finding 'courageous' and 'knowledgeable' women capable of working under the horrific conditions in the military hospital at Scutari, was published in the *Daily News* (28 October 1854, p. 2). This letter had apparently crossed with Nightingale's own letter to Herbert's wife dated October 14th offering to lead a small private expedition of nurses to the Crimea (Irene Cooper Willis, *Florence Nightingale: A Biography* [London: George Allen, 1931], pp. 87–89).

⁵ The US mail steam ship the *Arctic* (see *CEN* 4, note 2) sank in dense fog on September 27th 1854, after colliding with a French merchant vessel off the banks of Newfoundland, with the loss of over 300 passengers and crew. While commending the 'resolute and self-possessed' conduct of the captain, the *Morning Chronicle* raised questions regarding the lack of a safety compartment and the inadequacy of the lifeboats, and regretted that the crew appeared to have shown more concern for their own safety than that of their passengers, only fourteen of whom survived. Searches for survivors by a 'Church Ship' headed by the Bishop of Newfoundland, and by the crew of the *Canada* proved fruitless (16 October 1854, p. 4).

on board the *Asia* when we met for example the *Andes* right upon our track, fortunately on a clear day⁶ ———

Tuesday – Oct^r 24

I went over to Calais on Saturday night⁷ to see Florence Nightingale on her way⁷ – She has 10 sisters of mercy, proper, 8 of Miss Sellon's all but – RC, 6 of a sort of Via Media Institution, & 10 other sisters under her charge.⁸

You at Boston as well as elsewhere seem to be suffering from Commercial Embarrassment – I hope I shall hear from you soon, & know all your news⁹ –

I am to get into the new abode in S^t Marks Crescent I believe next Saturday¹⁰ – As for wars & rumours of wars, are not these things written in the *Times* & *Chronicles*.¹¹

I hear privately that the War Minister expects a severe attack from without on our position – another Alma in point of probable bloodshed – According to Lord Burghersh, the aide de camp who came home with despatches,¹² Lord Raglan is

⁶ The *Andes* was one of four 'iron screw steam ships' added to the Cunard fleet in 1852, which were the first vessels to be fitted with accommodation for emigrants (John Haskell Kemble, *History of the Cunard Steam Ship Company*, (England: Cunard, 1886, p.10).

⁷ On the evening of 21st October 1854, Florence Nightingale and her 'Angel Band' set out quietly under cover of darkness to avoid any 'flourish of trumpets'. They were escorted by a parson, a courier and her friends, the Bracebridges (see *RWE* 20, note 7). After an enthusiastic welcome at Boulogne, they caught the train to Paris (Annie Matheson, *Florence Nightingale: A Biography* [London: Thomas Nelson, 1913], pp. 164–5). *The Times* reported that Miss Nightingale and her party of 34 trained nurses, would join a party of 30 medical men bound for Constantinople, via Marseilles, on board the *Vectis* the following morning to 'attend on the sick and wounded' at Scutari (25 October 1854, p. 8).

⁸ Nightingale's party of nurses included Catholic sisters from the Bermondsey Convent in London and an orphanage in Norwood, plus six nuns from a 'high' Anglican sisterhood. A further eight Anglo-Catholic sisters belonged to the much maligned 'Sisterhood of the Holy Cross' and the 'Society of the Most Holy Trinity' founded by Pricilla Lydia Sellon, known collectively as 'Sellonites', whose spiritual director was Edward Bouverie Pusey (see *CEN* 25, note 9), (*Florence Nightingale: Letters from the Crimea*, ed. by Sue M. Goldie [Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997], p. 64).

⁹ According to the *Morning Chronicle*, there had been a huge slump in American exports to Europe, especially of 'specie' or coined money, which had caused 'much uneasiness' in the US money markets and would lead to a clampdown on bank lending. Shipments of 'specie' from Boston were only half the anticipated \$600,000 (24 October 1854, p. 2).

¹⁰ C moved to 11 St Mark's Crescent – 'the distant regions of the further Regent's Park, not far from the 'Zoological Gardens' around the beginning of November 1854 (*Corr.* 496).

¹¹ And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars: see that ye be not troubled'. (Matthew 24.6).

¹² Major the Lord Burghersh arrived at the War Department on October 8th with Lord Raglan's despatch dated 23rd September 1854, which carried news of the Allied victory in the first battle of the Crimean War at Alma three days earlier, which established their undoubted superiority over the Russian troops, despite the loss of over 2,000 men (*The Times*, 9 October, 1854, p.7).

everything out there – Neither S^t Arnaud nor Canrobert at all compare with him.¹³ His advice carried it for landing where they did, both the Frenchmen I believe being for other places, which experience afterward showed wo^d have been impossible – His character has risen greatly in reputation – In the middle of the <battle> fighting when he rode up into very dangerous places – looking after things – his aide de camps remonstrating & were answered by “Be quiet – I’m busy” – fortunately he is so wise as to wear nothing but a plain foraging cap & so is scarcely observed. –

My dear Charles

I am delighted to see yr handwriting once again. I have been troubled with a sprained wrist or my letter wo^d have been finished long ago.

The package has at last gone from Murray’s – there is another section of Plutarch ready, but he doesn’t send this month –

We are all in the dark as you see about Sebastopol¹⁴ – but most probably all is going on fairly well – That L^d Dunkellin is taken prisoner seems probable – otherwise how wo^d his name be known.¹⁵

In great haste

With kindest remembrances

Ever Yours

A H C.

3 Nov^r

MS H

Corr. 489–90 (part-published); *PR* 230–1 (part-published).

¹³ Marshal St Arnaud and Marshal Canrobert, commanders of French forces; the former was in very poor health and *The Times* thought it inevitable that the ‘real command’ would fall on Lord Raglan (see *CEN* 25, note 6), who was ‘highly esteemed’ in the French army and had gained a reputation for ‘skill and caution’ (*The Times*, 5 October 1854, p. 7).

¹⁴ See *CEN* 17, note 9.

¹⁵ Ulick Canning de Burgh, Lord Dunkellin (1827–1867) was captured at Sebastopol.

25.

My dear Charles

About this time two years we were very likely walking about the streets of Boston together – at present I may call myself just re-established in London¹ – We took possession of our abode at 11 S^t Mark's Crescent two nights ago – last night we went together to a party at the Lyells² – who enquired after you – –

There is a spare bed which I hope some day you will come & occupy, the sooner the better, for example, next Summer. I received Parson's poems, which I like.³ I have no distinct recollection, I am sorry to say, of who he is, nor of having seen him – Pray enlighten me –

Politics are to me very interesting on your side [of] the water –

Saturday – 18/11/54

as we write for economy here – My letter has tarried & I fear must tarry – We are scarcely settled in our small home & are not sorry not to be known to be there – There is immense interest or rather anxiety about our little army in the Crimea – I passed some recruits the other day, and a man looking on said “they'll all be killed, every man Jack of them. I'm sorry for it –” Generally the feeling is of apprehension or even more on the arrival of any untoward news⁴ – I am told however that the belief at the Military Club is that if they can hold on against the relieving army another fortnight, they will carry the place – I suppose because it is believed that Russian reinforcements cannot be sent through Perekop beyond a certain date⁵ –

¹ C and Norton first met on 13th November 1852 in Boston (see Introduction to *CEN* letters, p. 120).

² Sir Charles and Lady Lyell (see *RWE* 9, note 4).

³ Dr Thomas W Parsons, whose translation of ten cantos of Dante's *Inferno* Norton had previously shown C. He was a dentist, which is apparently how he had learnt the secrets of poetry: ‘the use of the file and compression’ (*Norton*, I, 119).

⁴ *The Times* called on the government to respond to ‘the vastness of the present crisis’ by sending immediate reinforcements to bolster the beleaguered British troops at Sebastopol, who were ‘fairly worn out with incessant and excessive work’ (14 November, p. 6; 15 November 1854, p. 6).

⁵ The isthmus of Perekop connecting the Crimean peninsula to the Ukrainian mainland through which Russian reinforcements were routed.

The missing despatch from L^d Raglan, which was found, after an interval of 10 days, in the Lyon Railway Station at Paris,⁶ was given originally to Kingslake [sic] (Eothen):⁷ on his arriving at Constantinople a steamer was just going off with despatches for L^d Stratford, & he was ordered to hand his over to Lieut^t. Henderson – who had the bags already in charge. Lieut H. was addicted to brandy & water – & at Paris on his arrival, carried his own bags safely off, leaving behind him this extra package which was more important than all the rest put together⁸ —

Florence Nightingale has been heard of, as out at Constantinople – Her steamer has returned to Marseilles after a rough passage both ways. The Protestant papers raise an outcry agst her I believe as a Puseyite – & true it is, she has some Puseyite ... friends.⁹ – Lady Maria Forester, the Protestant heroine who ought, say these papers, to have been preferred to her, originally came to her, & asked her to take out some Nurses whom she had got together; she was willing herself to go, but she asked Fl. Nightingale to do so for her.¹⁰ This was the first beginning of it –

⁶ Lord Raglan's dispatch on the charge of the Light Brigade, which took place on October 25th 1854, was 'mislaidd by accident' on its way through France (*Examiner*, 2442 [1854], p. 736), and not published until 12th November 1854, in a special edition of the *London Gazette*. Raglan blamed his Lieutenant-General, Lord Lucan, for the ill-fated action, claiming that 'from some misconception of the instruction to advance', Lucan considered that he was bound to 'attack at all hazards', and he accordingly ordered Major-General the Earl of Cardigan to move forward with the Light Brigade' (*Bulletins and Other State Intelligence for the year 1855*, Part 2 [London: Harrison, 1855], p. 1606).

⁷ Alexander William Kinglake (see *CEN* 12, note 20); he joined the invasion fleet off the Crimean coast on 10 September 1854, and saw the charges of the heavy and light brigades on 25 October near Balaklava, but was then invalided back to England.

⁸ The now famous leader in *The Times* – the inspiration for Tennyson's poem – reported the ill-fated charge of the Light Brigade, which resulted in its 'disastrous annihilation'. As a result of some 'hideous blunder', the 700 cavalymen had advanced into that 'valley of death', pounded by a 'murderous flank fire' of muskets and shells from the hills on either side, and only 191 returned (13 November 1854, p. 6).

⁹ Puseyites – adherents to the doctrine of Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800–1882), a leading figure in the Oxford Movement – were vilified as synonymous with papists in the popular press; the *Standard*, for example, attacked the 'culpable supineness' of Anglican bishops who had allowed Dr Pusey to 'teach and promulgate his abominable heresies' which threatened the 'complete destruction' of the Protestant character of the Church (25 November 1854, p. 2). C had briefly taken a 'Puseyitic' position while at Oxford (*Corr.* 24).

¹⁰ See *CEN* 24, note 8; Nightingale was widely accused of recruiting her nurses from a 'Romish' establishment', and a particularly venomous article in the *Belfast News Letter* denounced Herbert for rejecting Lady Maria Forester, 'daughter of the excellent and chivalrous champion of Protestantism, the Earl of Roden', in favour of 'the thorough Puseyite' Nightingale and her 'miserable Popish "Sisters of Mercy"' (1 November 1854, p. 2). In fact, it was Forester who had first contacted Nightingale offering to finance an expedition and asking her to head it (Irene Cooper Willis, *Florence Nightingale: A Biography* [London: George Allen, 1931], pp. 86–87).

19 Dec^f – Why has this lingered so long – I really have no good reason to give for a month’s delay – You have not given me the sight of any [of] your friends & acquaintances who have been over here, & I have been quite charmed to lay eyes on a veritable transatlantic face in George Sumner – who came up to see me here the other day.¹¹ How is it you can spare him to Europe? – I have also had the pleasure of a letter from Child – for which pray thank him & tell him I *hope* to acknowledge it somewhat under three months after sight but – considering all things, do not promise to be more speedy than he was¹² –

Here is no news stirring I believe – though our Queen has opened our Parliament.¹³ City men & the Horse Guards I have been told anticipate Peace – but I believe it is No Peace, nor likely to be – We hear briefly of Florence Nightingale from Scutari now & then – She gets on admirably by all accounts – and (there is no doubt), amidst great difficulties & deficiencies – probably not so great as there used to be in old wars & old military hospitals, but certainly, very considerable.

Farewell – This must go as it is, if I do not add more
Ever Yours

A H Clough

MS H

Corr. 490–92 (part-published); *PR* 231(part-published).

¹¹ George Sumner, brother of Senator Charles Sumner, the anti-slavery campaigner (see *CEN* 42, note 15).

¹² Child’s letter to C, thanking him for his ‘kind advice about Chaucer’, was dated ‘Dec 2, 1854’ (*Corr.* 492).

¹³ On December 12th 1854, *The Times* announced that the Queen would call Parliament to ask for its endorsement of measures to be taken for the prosecution of the war ‘with the utmost vigour and effect’, and the augmentation of the troops in the Crimea. She would also make reference to the ‘general prosperity of the country and the satisfactory state of the revenue (p. 8).

[Headed paper] *Education Department,*
 Council Office, Downing Street, London:

18 Jany 1855

My dear Charles

This distinguished piece of paper is too heavy for my purpose I fear, but I cannot write a great deal at present – I was very glad to hear from you the other day & have also to thank Child for a letter – I have not had any tidings of the arrival of various mss, in prose & verse, 2 sections of Plutarch, a lot of verse mss & a small book for you – I have this [day?] despatched per Ocean Parcels Delivery C^o 4 Agar St Strand – another package. Murray fails me altogether & I suppose there is no great risk in this proceeding. It contains two more sections of Plutarch & two or three odd vols – The Angel in the House by Coventry Patmore has some merit I think:¹ & so also I think has Scott's Maryanne² – I forget whether Longfellow has the long book of Hexameters³ – I think *Lockharts* are really very good indeed – I don't know whether the Plutarch is corrected any longer by you, or whether indeed it is going on. I sho^d have liked to see the printed sheets – proof or otherwise hitherto – I go on pretty steadily with it now & I hope Messrs L & B. will not despair. This packet completes $\frac{3}{5}$ of the whole –

¹ Emerson and other of C's friends believed that Coventry Patmore's *Angel in the House* – an idealised portrait of a marriage, first published anonymously in 1854 – was C's (*Corr.* 517)

² *Poems* by W. Bell Scott received mixed reviews: for the *Athenaeum* the opening poem 'Maryanne', a tale of 'village seduction' had 'startling touches' and was a 'daring daguerreotyping of modern life', but it was sadly lacking in rhyme or metrical restraint and a 'lawless' composition, which '[set the] teeth on edge' to peruse (24 February 1855, pp. 229–30).

³ C is referring to *English hexameter translations from Schiller, Göthe, Homer, Callinus, and Meleager*, ed. by William Whewell (London: John Murray, 1847) – 'the little oblong-quarto collection', which he thought contained the 'best' translations of Homer, viz those by John Gibson, Lockhart and Dr Hawtrey. He is disparaging of previous translations of Homeric verse: Chapman is 'barbarous' and 'incorrect', and he would not recommend either Pope's or Cowper's versions. More recent attempts to render Homer in modern English hexameter had also been unsuccessful, and even Longfellow, despite the success of *Evangeline* (see Introduction, p. 16 & Introduction to *HWL* letters, p. 423), would struggle with a translation from the Greek, where grammar, inflection etc, were 'most alien', and the meter quantitative (*PR* 390–396). Both Longfellow and C had read recent hexameter translations of Homer in *Blackwood's Magazine* (Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* [Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1902], p. 194). C did some translations from *The Iliad* while in America which he planned to use for a lecture (*Corr.* 361).

I was much surprised & very sorry to hear thus suddenly of D^r Parkman's death.⁴ – Offer my congratulations if the time has come, to Edmund Dwight.⁵ If there sho^d be any of your friends coming this way this spring, (as doubtless there will be) do not send them without some certificate to be signed of my having seen them.

Of wars & rumours of war we have of course enough – the Times is blamed & believed – the Ministry is blamed & continued – from Scutari Hospital we hear but little, but the Nurse experiment seems thus far to have succeeded.⁶

— The agents for the O. Parcel Co at Boston are Wells Fargo & C^o. If the parcel does not reach you, will you enquire for it? – but I hope you will not require to do so. I have not paid for it – if you will be so good as to add that to my account with you, which I hoped to have settled before this by some private hand – but as that has not befallen me, I must find some other means –

There is an article on the war in the Quarterly Review which I presume must be by Layard⁷ – I have not read it. – I have been quite out of the world of giving & receiving news lately – I saw a Queen's Messenger who had just come from Constantinople with one set of despatches & was just returning with another – He says that the French hospital is perhaps in better order but is not by any means so *liberally* supplied with comforts as the English.⁸ The journey as performed by Queen's Messenger is it appears at the quickest – fr Const.[antinople] to Marseilles, 6 ½ days fr. M[arseilles] to London 47 hours. –

⁴ Dr Samuel Parkman (1816–1854), a Boston physician of high reputation, married to a niece of Mrs Ticknor.

⁵ See *CEN* 4, note 15.

⁶ *The Times* was unremitting in its exposé of the government's mismanagement of the war (see *CEN* 25, note 4).

⁷ The article, attributed to the essayist Elwin Whitwell (1816–1900), refers to speeches delivered in the Commons by Sidney Herbert and Austen Henry Layard, MP for Aylesbury, in December 1854, and lays the blame for the disastrous management of the war in the Crimea solely on the Aberdeen Government, led by the 'worst' politician to deal with a European crisis, and whose 'weakness and incapacity [had] betrayed their country' ('The Conduct of the War', *Quarterly Review*, 96 [1854], 277–302 [pp. 279, 302]).

⁸ According to the *Examiner* the English and French hospitals 'formed a striking contrast': the latter 'arranged on the most beautiful plan' was a pleasure to visit, while the article bemoaned: 'God knows how many lives might have been saved if there had been some management in ours'. Officers were apparently lying on the floor while twenty good iron bedsteads sent by Lady Stratford had been left to rust outside the hospital (2448 [1854], 836–838 [pp.836, 837]).

This new Indian Civil Service scheme may I dare say interest you – In the Times of yesterday, Jan. 18th there is an off^l account of it⁹ – Jowett one of the Commiss^{rs} was my contemp^y at College & is now Tutor at Balliol¹⁰ – I think it possible that he will be an Examiner. I rather regret that so little is made of Eastern languages. I think Persian might be allowed as a study almost co-ordinate with Latin & Greek – & quite with French German Italian, as at present valued in the scheme¹¹ –

There were, as there almost always are, reports of Ministerial changes, Lord Aberdeen to go out – & the Peelites to be turned out generally – Palmerston to be Premier – But I think by Gladstone’s help the Peelites will keep in – & there are always rumours¹² –

We have snow, even in the streets of Westminster, – which reminds me of Cambridge. – I ought to have found something better to add to my parcel per Africa, but could not devise anything beyond what I had at hand – “A month in the Camp by a non-Combatant” is by a man called Bushby & is not very good.¹³ – M^{rs} Jameson’s

⁹ *The Times* published the new code of regulations for appointments to the Civil Service of the East India Company; in July 1855 candidates would be examined in English language and Literature, Mathematics, ‘natural sciences’, ‘moral sciences’, as well as Sanscrit and Arabic. In the following two years there would also be examinations in Law, Indian history and an Indian language of the candidate’s choice (18 January 1855, p. 5). In C’s report on the reorganisation of the System for Training Officers for the Scientific Corps (see *RWE* 20, note 6), he recommended that study of the classics be optional, being not as essential as English, French and Drawing.

¹⁰ Benjamin Jowett (1817–1893) was C’s tutor at Balliol College and was impressed by his personality (Evelyn Abbott and Lewis Campbell, *The Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett MA*, 2 vols [London: John Murray, 1897] I, 88).

¹¹ The authors of the report on the Indian Civil Service examination, who included Jowett, Lord Ashburton and Macaulay, were of the view that the examinations in Greek and Latin should be as rigorous as those at Oxford and Cambridge; they were worth 750 marks each, twice those awarded for French, German and Italian. After the first examination, depending on the candidate’s posting, he should immediately begin the intensive study of ‘Hindostanee’, ‘Bengalee’, Persian or another Indian language, and encouragement should be given to candidates who aspire to become ‘eminent orientalists’ (*The Times*, 27 December 1854, p. 7).

¹² Aberdeen’s coalition government of Whigs and ‘Peelites’ resigned at the end of January 1855 after Parliament voted for an enquiry into the incompetent management of the Crimean War; it was replaced by Palmerston’s first cabinet in February 1855, which included Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer (see *CEN* 4, note 27).

¹³ Henry Jeffreys Bushby’s *A Month in the Camp before Sebastopol by a Non-Combatant* is a first-hand account of life on the front line in the Crimea, whose aim was to find out what ‘our gallant fellows’ were really suffering. Despite the privations and horrors, however, it was an ‘enjoyable’ experience (3rd edn [London: Longman, 1855], pp.1–2, 125).

Common place Book seems to me poor¹⁴ – & the Englishwoman in Russia not very trustworthy.¹⁵ –

farewell

With kindest remembrances

Ever Yrs

A H Clough. –

MS H

Corr. 494–5 (part-published); PR 231–2 (part-published).

¹⁴ *A Commonplace Book of Thoughts, Memories, and Fancies* by Mrs [Anna Brownell] Jameson (1794–1860) is what the author describes as a ‘supremely egotistical and subjective’ account of her views on questions of ethics, together with notes on literature and art (2nd edn [London: Longman, 1855], p. vi).

¹⁵ *The Englishwoman in Russia; Impressions of the Society and Manners of the Russians at home by a Lady ten years resident in that country*; quoting a French description of Russia: ‘Une nation de barbares polis’, the author concedes that they also possess the ‘good qualities of savages’; the Russian character was, however, a paradox in that a ‘merciless’ and ‘despicable’ Russian colonel could be ‘amiable and liberal’ at home, while genteel ladies were often unremorseful about causing the ‘severest sufferings’ to their serfs (Anon [London: John Murray, 1855], pp. vi–vii).

27.

[February 1855]¹

C.O. 5 pm

I have but little time to say anything – beyond kind remembrances in general – I hear no news at present – Parliament will hear some I suppose tonight – Is an Article on Metempsychosis in the last NAR by yourself?² – I have only seen that there is one – I have not been (to read anything) at the London Library, my sole resort for this purpose, for some time –

Farewell

With kindest remembrances

Ever Yrs

A. H. Clough

My dear Charles

I suppose this will not be the worse for my writing on the fly-leaf. The money went a week ago; but I failed to dispatch these credentials. Will you pay yourself what is due to you. I conceive that in the account you sent me there were some particulars wanting, e.g. my [Huntington?] bill for a pair of trousers – & I dare say other things may have turned up. Pay also for the package of MSS & books which I hope will have come to you through Wells Fargo & Co sometime before this reaches you; & tell me how much

¹ Dated by the references to the article in the *NAR*, Child's letter and the Wells Fargo package.

² The article entitled 'The Transmigration of Souls' by Wm. R Alger, explored the doctrine of 'the Metempsychosis', or 'soul-wandering' – the idea found in some religions that when the soul leaves the body it is reborn in another body', its 'rank' and 'character' being dependent on its qualities, deeds and attainments in its previous life. In many belief systems the soul was thought to inhabit animal as well as human bodies which would account for the way animals often displayed human emotions. Metempsychosis gave hope to the 'poorest wretch of a soul' at the 'lowest grade of animate existence' that through innumerable rebirths he might, like the Buddha, attain to the heights of 'wisdom, power, and bliss' (*North American Review*, 80 [1855], 58–73 [pp. 58, 60, 72, 73]).

it costs that I may consider whether it is a mode of conveyance to be used again.³ If there is any thing over, it will stand for future occasions – I have received a letter from Child⁴ and your last; enclosing one to Collier which I have forwarded. I did not know his address, & took three or four days to find it out. He lives it appears at Maidenhead on the Thames;⁵ & I hunted in vain for him in the London Directory – We are having a perfect New England winter – now frost & sunshine. – By the bye let me thank you for the [Advert ..?] with Lowell's lectures which I was very glad to see – they seem to have really been well done⁶ – the biography of the hero of [Tromence?] is admirable. –

MS H

No previous publication traced.

³ See *CEN* 26.

⁴ Child wrote on 16 January 1855 (*Corr.* 494).

⁵ John Payne Collier (1789–1883), literary editor, who published an annotated edition of what he claimed to be a Shakespeare second folio – the 'Perkins folio' (*DNB*).

⁶ Lowell delivered a course of lectures on the English poets – from Chaucer to Wordsworth – during the winter of 1854–1855, before the Lowell Institute in Boston to the 'unanimous approval and delight' of crowded audiences of the 'highest intelligence' (James Russell Lowell, *Lectures on English Poets* [Cleveland: The Rowfant Club, 1897], p. vii). Child refers to 'Lowell's Third Lecture' before the Lowell Institute on the subject of 'Metrical Romances', which was 'exquisitely droll' (*Corr.* 494). In Norton's letter of 4 February 1855, he hopes C has received the 'reports of Lowell's lectures', which he had written in preparation for the professorship he had been offered after Longfellow's resignation (*Norton*, I, 119).

28.

[c. 20 April 1855]¹

[last page cross-hatched across first page]

My dear Charles

Since I last wrote/or heard from you we have had the misfortune to lose a little boy, who was born suddenly, to live only half a day – However my wife is recovering as rapidly as co^d be wished² –

The copy of Plutarch has come & I am going through it to make out a table of errata. In the stereotyped part is it possible to alter at so late a period as this?³ – you probably know. –

All, I hope is going on well with you. Did a draft on Wells Fargo & Co come to your hands? I saw something about their suspending payment in the Newspapers.⁴ Did this interfere with your getting the money on my draft? – I hope not. – Also, is Lowell coming over, & if so, when?⁵ I hope I may trust to his calling at this official door – but you will let me know when & where he may [be] looked for – I hear the Twistletons are going over to you this summer, but I have not seen them.⁶

I saw, & was very sorry to see, Mr James Brown's death reported in an English paper.⁷ We have just been having “the Emperor & Empress” – they passed three times under these windows, boldly enough in an open carriage, driving slowly along the first time,

¹ Dated by the reference in the letter to the visit of the Emperor of France.

² The announcement in the *Births* section of the *Morning Chronicle* for Thursday April 12th 1855 read: ‘On the 8th inst., the wife of Arthur H. Clough, Esq., of a son, who survived only till the 9th (p.8). In May C told Child that Blanche had been ill and they were thinking of going abroad for a month (see *FJC* 3, note 3).

³ A stereotype was a type of printing plate.

⁴ The Californian banking system collapsed early in 1855; five banks were ‘suspended’, including Wells, Fargo and Co., and crowds rushed to withdraw their money. Safes were locked and payments ‘respectfully, but firmly refused’, but it was one of the few financial companies to survive the panic (*The Times*, 6 April 1855, p. 8).

⁵ Lowell left New England in May 1855 and spent several months in Europe (see *RWE* 21, note 8), but C did not see him until shortly before he left England on 2nd August 1856 (see *CEN* 33, note 3).

⁶ Mr and Mrs Edward Twistleton, Norton's cousins in London (see *CEN* 4, note 16).

⁷ James Brown (see *CEN* 4, note 7) died on 10th March 1855.

from the Dover Station to the Windsor line; & the next time on their way to the “Crystal Palace”, the Queen & Empress on the back seat & Louis N[apoleon] & Pr Albert on the front seat of an open carriage⁸ –

27th April [1855]

I have just met our former acquaintance Sir J Acton at breakfast at Milnes – he enquired much after you⁹ –

Here is an authentic anecdote from Vienna. The French & English Plenipotentiaries urged how natural the arrangement wo^d be that the Euxine should, like the American Lakes – be common to both nations – to which Prince Gortschakoff answered that he should not object to that were there only a Niagara at the Dardanelles.¹⁰ There is an article in the Edinburgh on Slavery by Senior which people talked of¹¹ –

With kind remembrances at your home,
farewell – believe me, Ever Yours

A H Clough

MS H

Corr. 499–500 (published in full).

⁸ The Emperor and Empress of France, with a large military escort, arrived at Dover from Calais on Monday 16th April, then travelled to the capital by train. They arrived at the ‘Bricklayer’s Arms Terminus’ and processed through the city to Paddington Station, from where they took a Great Western train to Windsor (*Daily News*, 17 April 1855, p. 5). On Thursday 19th April they returned to London from Windsor, arriving at Nine Elms Station to a rapturous welcome from the vast crowds who lined the route to Buckingham Palace to catch a glimpse of Napoleon III and his ‘beautiful’ consort (*The Times*, 20 April 1855, p. 7). The following day the Royal cortege left Buckingham Palace at 11.20 am to visit that ‘extraordinary product’ of 1851 – the ‘fairy-like’ Crystal Palace (*The Times*, 21 April 1855, p. 9).

⁹ See *CEN* 13, note 20.

¹⁰ The Black Sea; Negotiations were currently taking place at Vienna between the English, French, Austrian, Turkish, and Russian ‘Plenipotentiaries’, including the Russian General Gortschakoff, where it was proposed that either the size of the Russian naval force in the Black Sea be limited, or that it be declared an entirely neutral sea for commerce only. The Russian Plenipotentiary absolutely refused to accept either of these alternatives (*Hansard HC Deb*, 23 April 1855, Series 3, vol. 137 cc. 1628–9).

¹¹ The article, entitled *Uncle Tom’s Cabin, or Life among the Lowly*, attributed by Wellesley to Nassau William Senior (see *CEN* 4, notes 19–23; *CEN* 13, note 11) looks at the ‘shameful’ history of slavery in the United States, and uses highly charged language to condemn the ‘tyranny’, which, despite the phenomenal success of Beecher-Stowe’s book, was perpetuated through the complicity of all classes, from ‘poor white trash’ to the ‘corrupted’ and subservient clergy. Any man in the Slave States ‘tainted’ with the ‘blood-hound principles of abolition’ was condemned to ruin, exile or even death (*Edinburgh Review*, 101 [1855], 293–331 [pp. 324, 330, 331]).

C.O. 27th July [1855]¹

My dear Charles

I hope you will forgive me for sending a very brief note of thanks for your present of books, which I am much gratified to possess – I had supposed you to be at work of this kind – and was very glad to see the fruits of it – Have you anything more to produce to the world of your father's or on the subject of your father – I had half expected a memoir; but perhaps it is as well deferred.²

I am overwhelmed with schools & schoolpapers; in a month's time I hope the Inspectors will all fairly be lodged in summer quarters or borne away on summer tours, & that September will be as hitherto, a month of ease, comparatively: which indeed it is but fair on us who stay at the office & in London through that dreary time, that it should be³ –

I have heard nothing of Lowell and I fear must have missed your friend Field. I hope I shall see him on his return –

Florence Nightingale stays at Scutari & will perhaps be able to resume her usual duties after a while. But this Crimean fever is a dreadful sickness & leaves the head in a state

¹ Year dated by the reference in the letter to the publication of *Maud*.

² In April 1855 Norton edited and published *A Translation of the Gospels with Notes* (2 vols) by his father Andrews Norton, who had died in 1853 (see *CEN* 9, note 2), having finished the translation, but not the notes ([Boston: Little, Brown], pp. iv–v).

³ C's duties as an Examiner in the Education Office involved moderating the marks given by inspectors to candidates for certificates in teaching. Matthew Arnold was one of the inspectors with whom C dealt with; On August 2nd 1855, for example, he wrote to C enclosing a report and querying why one Annie Hinchley, 'Mistress of the Dunmon B, S.', had not received her certificate (*The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by Howard Foster Lowry [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932; repr. 1968], p. 147). The syllabus of the examination was extremely rigorous and C would have been dealing with subjects as diverse as 'The Holy Scriptures', penmanship and Higher Mathematics (*Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education correspondence, financial statements Reports by Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, 1854–55*, [London: HMSO, 1855], pp.18–22).

of protracted feebleness – She describes herself as suffering “from a compound fracture of the intellects”.⁴

There seems to be a good deal of expectation among “well informed circles” that we shall get the South Side before very long; but heaven knows – & if so, what then.⁵

Meantime we are trembling for the harvest. – There are rumours that Gen^l Simpson will resign on acct of “diarrhoea”⁶ – & it is said that Sir Colin Campbell co^d not be appointed because he wo^d [be] too fiery with the French.⁷ Pelissier is bad enough by himself, I believe⁸ –

Tennyson’s new volume of Poems should be out today. There is only one piece, to my mind (I had a look at some proof sheets) which is of real merit – & many may question even that – But *Maud* I think is a change from his old mannerism.⁹

My kindest remembrances to your Mother & Sisters. You are I suppose at Newport¹⁰ –

⁴ Florence Nightingale was struck down by Crimean fever (see *RWE* 20, note 9).

⁵ The south side of the besieged city of Sebastopol; a report in *The Times* predicted the surrender of the south side would be ‘merely a question of a few weeks’ (31 July 1855, p. 9).

⁶ Sir James Simpson (1792–1868) succeeded to the command of British troops on Lord Raglan’s death on 28 June 1855, but was felt to be unequal to the task. Major-General Sir Henry William Barnard (1798 – 1857) replaced Simpson as Chief of the Staff on July 14th, and it was rumoured that a new Commander in Chief would be sent out from England; *The Times* hoped it would be a general ‘of Raglan’s calibre’ to revive the flagging reputation of the British army (26 July 1855, p. 9).

⁷ Palmerston wanted to appoint Baron Clyde Colin Campbell (1792–1863) commander-in-chief in the Crimea, but Raglan had considered him ‘too excitable’ (*DNB*).

⁸ Jean Jacques Pélissier (1794–1864) succeeded Canrobert as commander-in-chief of the French forces in May 1855.

⁹ *Maud, and Other Poems*, by Alfred Tennyson, (which also included ‘Charge of the Light Brigade’ and ‘The Brook’) was first published by Edward Moxon on July 28th 1855. Early reviews were mixed: there was praise for passages of ‘enhanced beauty’ in ‘Maud’, among the ‘gloom and cynicism’ (*Bentley’s Miscellany*, ‘Tennyson’s “Maud”’, 38 [1855], 262–265 [p. 265]), but some critics disliked the uneven, experimental metre, the ‘uncouth and unmusical’ lines, and the ‘restless, morbid, uncontent’ single voice narration (*Athenaeum*, 4 August, 1855, p. 893). C’s *Amours de Voyage* was similarly criticised for its ‘slovenly’ hexameters, ‘swear words’ and ‘ceaseless self-introspection’ (*Corr.* 275, 277). In 1861, while C was holidaying on the Isle of Wight, Tennyson treated him to one of his ‘notorious hours-long’ readings of *Maud*, after which C reportedly remarked to Blanche: ‘That was rather a debauch, wasn’t it’ (Anthony Kenny, *A Poet’s Life* [London & New York: Continuum, 2005], p. 271).

¹⁰ Norton and his family were indeed at Newport, where the sea and sky [were] ‘as splendid as ever’ and friends, including the Longfellows, ‘as numerous and as pleasant’ (*Norton*, I, 130).

I shall write again, I dare say, before you see much of other friends –

I have heard nothing of Lowell –

Every Yours sincerely

A H Clough

MS *H*

Corr. 503–4 (published in full).

30.

Council Office
14th Sepr.[1855]¹

My dear Charles

Many thanks for your letter. I was very glad to see your handwriting again. I hope, on this side or that, by one movement or other, we may confer some day face to face – I congratulate [you] on the increase of your family's new generation. I hope both the members of it are flourishing² –

Thackeray sails, I suppose via Boston, for New York on the 13th of next month.³ On the 30th Oct^r three years ago we sailed together. When is Lawrence coming home again.⁴ His friends have expected him long, but I suppose he has not yet painted all of you. –

As for the Poems – many thanks – I think they might be called, *The Bothie, Roman Hexameters, & other Poems*, – chiefly reprinted. – I think *Tober-na-vohlich* will be the best change in that unlucky name that must be changed – I doubt whether it is Gaelic at all, but that doesn't perhaps matter.⁵ *Bennevis* is (if that be all) a mere Saxon corruption.⁶ – I have a short set of verses which I must send you to stand at the end⁷ –

So we have at last taken the besieged City – we here took it very unconcernedly, when the great news gradually oozed out & then spread abroad on Monday evening last – It is

¹ Year dated by the reference in the letter to the capture of Sebastopol.

² Norton's sister Louisa had had a second son (*Norton*, I, 133).

³ See *RWE* 20, note 3.

⁴ See *CEN* 11, note 6; *CEN* 21, note 3.

⁵ Norton had written to say he hoped to have C's volume printed that autumn under the title 'A Long-Vacation Pastoral, and Other Poems, by A.H.C.', and suggesting 'Fuosich' be changed to 'Kippock' (*Norton*, I, 131). In the event publication of the edition was delayed until 1862, after C's death (see Appendix 2). *The Bothie of Toper-na-Fuosich* was changed to *The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich* because of a possible double entendre (*Corr.* 244).

⁶ The origins of the name of the mountain are unclear; 'ben' is the Gaelic for peak, but several possibilities for 'nevis' have been suggested.

⁷ In addition to a revised *Bothie* and *Amours de Voyage*, the proposed volume of C's poems was to contain a number of shorter poems (see Appendix 2).

however an immense relief privately as well as publicly, and I do not doubt is felt as such.⁸ I confess to my own feeling that Russia sho^d be let off easily – What other power can bring North Asia into discipline? I could be thankful to see her hold some port or have some means of exit to the Atlantic, now that she has learnt that the Maritime Powers are strong enough to check her encroachments when they please.⁹

There is no literary intelligence to give you I believe – A Play called “Within & Without” by a certain Macdonald is praised by some people – but I have not gone so far as to read it¹⁰ – Danby Seymour on the Crimea etc is full of information, but is rather dull¹¹ – You have probably got Helps’s improved History – I have not read it yet at all.¹²

By the time this reaches you, you will probably all be back at Cambridge. So let me add my kindest remembrances to your mother & sisters, to Felton, Child – & the Longfellows. I have heard nothing whatever of Lowell, but shall trust on his following

⁸ *The Times* reported that the attack on the defences of Sebastopol by the allied forces on 8th September 1855 had been successful, and the strong Malakoff redoubt, which dominated the defence position, was in possession of the French (10 September 1855, p. 6). *The Times* summed up the general feeling in the country: there would be rejoicing, but with a ‘deep, a chastened, and a rational joy’, after so many months of ‘sacrifice’, ‘sorrow’ and ‘grief’, brought about by the ‘horrors of war’ (*The Times*, 11 September, 1855, p. 6).

⁹ *The Times* warned that Russia’s power must be reduced in order to prevent her from resuming her ‘long-cherished scheme of universal domination’ (11 September 1855, p. 6). Under the terms of the Treaty of Paris the following year, Russia lost her Black Sea fleet and naval bases in the area, so denying her access to the Mediterranean and thence the Atlantic.

¹⁰ *Within and Without: A Dramatic Poem* was ‘heartily admire[d]’ by the *Eclectic Review*. By a promising ‘new aspirant’ to poetry, George Macdonald, it is about a soul ‘famished’ by ‘dead’ ‘Romish’ traditions and ritual, who seeks to find God through his own ‘living experience’ (‘Recent Poetry’, 10 [1855], 148–159 [pp.152, 154.]).

¹¹ The *Examiner* found Henry Danby Seymour’s *Russia in the Black Sea and Sea of Azof* a book of ‘considerable merit and ability’ but took him to task over his ‘groundless’ claim that the Danish throne had been ‘secured to the Czar’ by a treaty signed by Palmerston three years earlier (4 August, 1855, p. 482).

¹² *Fraser’s Magazine* was unstinting in its praise for Arthur Helps’s *Spanish Conquest in America* (vols I & II); the reviewer, W. B. Donne, was particularly struck by the impartiality with which Helps treats the Spanish character: while it was difficult to see the conquerors as other than ‘monsters of fraud, avarice, and cruelty’, their efforts to convert the ‘heathen’ to Christianity, and the foundation of churches and schools was admirable. Helps’s even-handedness also extended so far as to view the introduction of negro slavery to the Americas in the light of 16th century values, rather than those of the 19th (52 [1855], 243–256 [pp. 245, 246, 252]).

the clue of red tape some day up to this apartment¹³ – We think of going over for a brief week to Paris, where my wife’s father & sisters are lodged in a house, which has been opportunely lent them¹⁴ – I don’t know whether I may meet Lowell there – but I suppose there is no great chance – My wife’s mother is at Scutari with her niece, Florence Nightingale¹⁵ – who, though still weak with her Crimean fever, is regularly at work again. The hospitals there are I believe pretty good now – but one hears great suffering in the transit fr. Balaclava¹⁶ –

Ever Yrs affect^{ly}

A H Clough

MS H

Corr. 504–5 (published in full); *PR* 233 (part-published).

¹³ The use of the term ‘red tape’ to denote excessive bureaucracy was becoming more widespread in the mid-19th century: a humorous article entitled ‘Red Tape’, in *Household Words* (a weekly journal by Charles Dickens) describes ‘your public functionary’ with a coil of red tape always at hand and ready to ‘make a small official parcel of the largest subject’, as ‘the peculiar curse and nuisance of England’. Attempts to modify the Window Tax, which caused landlords to block up the windows of the poor, were constantly foiled by the ‘Right Honourable Red Tape, M. P.’ (2 [1851], pp. 481–482).

¹⁴ In a letter to William Allingham the following month, C reported having been to Paris for a few days, and that, compared with when he was there ‘under the pure democracy of May-day, 1848’ he had found it ‘mournful’ and ‘out of heart and spirits’ under the new Imperial regime (see Introduction to *RWE* letters, p. 67; *Corr.* 507).

¹⁵ See *CEN* 24, note 2; *CEN* 25, note 10; *CEN* 29, note 4.

¹⁶ In February 1855 a Sanitary Commission was sent to Scutari to set about the work of sanitary reform.

Wednesday

Octr. 1855

My dear Charles

I enclose you a note in acknowledgement of Oakfield¹ – I hope if I call on Friday morning I may not be too late to find you. On Thursday evening I suppose you will hardly be back.² What is M^r Emerson's address?³ –

AHC

MS *H*

No previous publication traced.

¹ See *CEN* 17, note 17.

² Norton was apparently in London for a month from late September 1855, where he met the Brownings, William Morris, Edward Burne-Jones and Ruskin. He shared a last dinner with C and his wife on 13 November 1855, before boarding the boat train to Calais (Turner, pp.137–8; *Corr.* 510).

³ Emerson was not in England; C presumably meant his address in Concord.

[11 January 1856]¹

My dear Charles

I am much ashamed of having left your letter so long unanswered² – You will, by this time I suppose have become a fully admitted citizen of Rome & familiar with every column of the forum & every fresco of the Vatican³ – The Pantheon & the Sistine Chapel were what I used to frequent most⁴ – But many places were then closed & I left without so much as seeing the Tomb of the Scipios⁵ –

I cannot say that we have much going on here. The newspapers will show that there is little to tell & not much to conjecture. All hopes of peace, which at one time were entertained so sanguinely, appear to be quite overblown and what a new campaign may bring forth, who knows. Muravieff appears to have acted with great generosity in the capitulation of Kars.⁶ I was told the other day that L^d Clarendon as long ago as

¹ Dated by the reference to the review of Macaulay's *History of England* (see note 12 below). Letter is extensively cross-hatched; the envelope has a one shilling stamp, and 'per Africa', 20th Jan^y in C's handwriting, sealed with the 'Privy Council' stamp.

² Norton's last letter was dated 28 November 1855, from Cannes; he had spent a few months in England, prior to crossing the Channel to travel through France with his mother and two sisters, having been ordered to take a holiday by his doctors (*Norton*, I, 136). While in England he had seen a lot of C, spending 'one rainy day' at Blanche's father's 'pretty place in Richmond Park' (see *CEN* 3, note 4). He found Blanche 'charming', and was struck by how happy C had seemed. Although he didn't like his work much, with 'such a wife, and with a home of his own', 'life [was running] more easily with him than ever before' (*Norton*, I, 139/40).

³ Norton spent the winter of 1855/56 in Rome, which exceeded his expectations in every respect, save for the priests, princes and churches, who were 'untouched by the sacred genius of the place', and he wished for another revolution to get rid of them (*Norton*, I, 144).

⁴ During C's stay in Rome, in the spring of 1849, the Pantheon and St Peter's were his 'resources', along with the Sistine Chapel, where, after obtaining a special permit from Mazzini (see *CEN* 4, note 17) he spent most of his time studying the works of Michael Angelo [sic] – the engraving of 'Creation of Eve' having been the main purpose of his visit (*Corr.* 254, 256, 257).

⁵ The Tomb of the Scipios was the family tomb of the patrician Scipio family between the early 3rd and the 1st century AD.

⁶ Kars, an Ottoman fortress in Eastern Anatolia, under the command of the British General Fenwick Williams, fell to the Russians in late November 1855, after a siege lasting nearly six months. The Russian General Mouravieff was magnanimous in victory; he had no wish to 'wreak an unworthy vengeance on a gallant and long suffering army', which had 'covered itself with glory' and surrendered only because of famine (Humphry Sandwith, *A Narrative of the Siege of Kars* [London: John Murray, 1856] pp. 301–2).

September deplored the inevitable issue of the siege as a most serious calamity⁷ – People tell you also that the French were opposed to any effort in that quarter & that Louis Napoleon himself said that the Nation wo^d not endure that French troops sho^d go & fight *our* battles in Asia.⁸ Lord John Russell is said to be in great force & still to command a small number of adherents whose belief is unshaken, & who speak mysterious things about the way he was treated⁹ – From Scutari we have no great news.

Of Macaulay there is a severe review in today's Times (11th Jan^y). I myself like this better than the first pair of volumes chiefly perhaps because it has a more European subject to deal with.¹⁰ I have only detected one error, myself, but it is a very Macaulesque [sic] one – He speaks of “the oaks of Magdalen” – they are *elms* – there was no occasion to say anything but trees – but the temptation to say something particular was too strong – It makes one distrust all his descriptions.¹¹ And that of

⁷ Clarendon had begun to be ‘exceedingly anxious’ for the safety of Kars as far back as January 1855, pressing for Williams to be relieved, and for supplies to be sent. By December he was predicting that ‘there [would] be the devil to pay’ over Kars when Parliament met, and that he couldn’t ‘reconcile [himself] to the catastrophe’, which might have ‘awfully bad results’ and ‘influence the whole of the operations’ the following year (Herbert Maxwell, *The Life and Letters of George William Frederick, Fourth Earl of Clarendon*, 2 vols [London: Edward Arnold, 1913], II, 65, 107).

⁸ General Williams was heavily criticised in France for having attempted to defend Kars without the prospect of fast relief, and with inadequate provisions for a lengthy siege, thus condemning his soldiers to certain destruction. The French apparently viewed an Asian campaign as ‘exclusively for the protection of British India’, and Russia had propagated this view to incite distrust among Britain’s allies (‘La Ligue des Neutres’, *Quarterly Review*, 98 [1855], 249–287 [pp. 265, 267]; (attributed to Sir Austen Henry Layard, [1817–1894], MP for Aylesbury).

⁹ Russell resigned from Aberdeen’s cabinet when it came under fire over the conduct of the war (see *CEN* 26, note 12). But he aroused conflicting emotions among the public, being ‘hooted’ at Guildhall for ‘[playing] fast and loose with the war’, but elsewhere enthusiastically acclaimed as a teacher of ‘morality and worldly wisdom’ (*Fraser’s Magazine*, 52 [1855] 721–726 [p. 724]).

¹⁰ See *CEN* 5, note 4; in *The Times*’ judgement, Macaulay’s *History of England* (vols III & IV), on the English Revolution and the accession of King William, was breathtaking in scope, and for the light it shed on the ‘obscurest data’. But while the book was certain to be avidly read for generations to come, it contained too much of the ‘exaggeration of a fictitious narrative’, particularly in respect of William’s merits, while resorting too often to caricature, as in the case of Marlborough, and displaying the ‘keen resentment of the partisan’ when dealing with great men of letters such as Dryden and Swift (11 January 1856, p. 5).

¹¹ Macaulay refers to ‘the old grove of oaks on the bank of the Cherwell’ (*History of England*, 4 vols [London: J Dent, 1906], IV, 143), whereas a former vice-chancellor talks of “the learned Grove” where the dappled deer flick in and out amid the towering elms’ (T. Herbert Warren, *Magdalene College Oxford* [London: J M Dent, 1907], p. 2).

Glencoe certainly is thoroughly exaggerated without being at all characteristic.¹²

One of Spottiswood's men has been here enquiring of me about America – What at the establishments in Boston & Cambridge – Wo^d he be pretty sure to get employment, if he had good testimonials? He seems to be inclined for the West.¹³ I suppose at Cincinnati there must be employment of this kind, but at S^t Louis – & Madison, which he talks of??¹⁴ –

I have been watching your Election of a Speaker at Washington with interest. What is to be the end of it?¹⁵

18th Jan^y [1856]¹⁶

Peace – the unconditional acceptance etc will have reached you by the French & indeed English newspapers long before this.¹⁷ If Russia is really crippled that is the main thing. And if Turkey can really be set on her legs again.

The Sturges family have a house close to Combe Hurst. I went over to call there last Saturday with Mr Smith, & saw Miss Louisa J Sturges whom you I believe brought with you, as also a well looking young man with a handsome black beard whom Mr

¹² *The Times* reviewer praised the evocative language with which Macaulay describes the infamous Glencoe Massacre [13th February 1692]: 'the shrieks of the midnight massacre, awakening the echoes of the lonely glen', but criticised his habit of imputing motives to the perpetrators, and his too frequent use of hyperbole in describing them, as, for example, 'evincing an excess of wickedness' ('Macaulay's History of England', *The Times*, 11 January 1856, p. 5).

¹³ Eyre and Spottiswoode were the Queen's printers; there was plenty of work in New England, and in June 1856 the fastest compositor could earn \$16.17 per week, while for night work the price per 1000 ems was 28 cents (Providence Typographical Union No 33, *Printers and Printing in Providence 1762–1907* [Providence: Providence Printing Co, 1907], p. 34).

¹⁴ Cincinnati was a prominent centre for printing in the 19th century, particularly for school books and newspapers, and the chief paper manufacturing district in the west; by the end of the century there were more than 100 printing-offices in the city employing more than 1000 hands (*American Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking* [New York: Howard Lockwood, 1894], pp. 98–99).

¹⁵ After a long and bitter contest, fought mainly on the issues of racial equality and abolition, the anti-slavery candidate, Nathaniel P. Banks, was elected Speaker on January 14th, 1856, on the 108th vote. (*Proceedings and Debate in House of Representatives on the Election of Speaker, January 11th 1856* [Washington: Congressional Globe Office, 1856], p. 15).

¹⁶ Year dated by the reference in the letter to the review in *The Times* of Macaulay's *History of England*.

¹⁷ According to *The Times*, Russia's answer to peace proposals put forward by Austria was imminent, but her unconditional acceptance was not anticipated, even though, according to a letter from St Petersburg, the Russian people wanted an end to the 'frightful hecatomb of human victims', which had left their plains 'desolated', their 'noblesse ruined', and their Treasury 'completely exhausted'; Russian pride, however, was greater than 'the voice of interest and reason' ('France', 11 January 1856, p. 6).

King told Mr Smith was to become his son in law.¹⁸ Mr Sturges said he had heard of you as not yet at Rome.

I have also had a letter from Child, who appears to be melancholy for want of your company¹⁹ – He tells me that the reprinting [of] the *Bothie* etc is deferred & I am really glad it is so.²⁰

I saw the Lyells²¹ last night at the Horners,²² both very flourishing.

Farewell. I hope we shall not fail to see you in [spring?].

With kindest remembrances to your Mother & sisters

Ever Yours affect^{ly}

A H Clough

MS H

Corr. 513–4 (part-published); *PR* 235 (part-published).

¹⁸ See *FJC* 5, notes 7, 8.

¹⁹ On Christmas Eve 1855, Child wrote: ‘You may imagine how wretchedly I manage without the Nortons’ (*Corr.* 512).

²⁰ Even though, in Child’s opinion, ‘if Browning [could] be printed the *Bothie* ought to go off by ten thousands’, Ticknor and Fields (Tennyson’s and Browning’s publishers), considered it a bad time to do a reprint of *The Bothie*, due to the volume of work already in hand (*Corr.* 512).

²¹ See *RWE* 9, note 4.

²² See *CEN* 6, note 5.

33.

Council Office, 7th Aug^t [1856]¹

Dear Charles

I have your letter from Bonn this morning. I had your letter from Sicily, and am sorry I let myself be discouraged by the uncertainty of your whereabouts from sending a note under cover to Baring's² –

I had some news of you from Lowell who left on Saturday August 2^d & whom we saw for an hour or two³ – The Story's are here – ie at Windsor.⁴ D^r Palfrey is somewhere in Paris I believe.⁵ Dana was here a week ago, but like the rest of the world, must be gone by this time, I suppose⁶ – We shall be here however till the end of September – – So pray let me hear as soon as you arrive or think of arriving – I hope by that time it may be cooler weather: otherwise you will be for hurrying into the country.⁷

I hope you are *really* better & fit to go back to your inclement New England – With kindest regards to M^{rs} Norton & your sisters.

Ever Yours affect^{ly}

A. H. Clough

MS H

Corr. 517–8 (published in full).

¹ Year dated by the reference to Norton's visit to Sicily – April–May 1856.

² Norton was still on his grand tour of Europe (see *CEN* 32, note 3), having been joined by Lowell in April for a journey from Naples to Palermo, and then by mule to Mount Etna (*Norton*, I, 144). [Last letter to C in *Norton*, I was 28 November 1855 from Cannes].

³ Lowell was also on a European tour (see *CEN* 28, note 5).

⁴ See *RWE* 6, note 14.

⁵ Francis Winthrop Palfrey (see *CEN* 21, note 4).

⁶ Richard Henry Dana (see *RWE* 21, note 11) arrived in London with Story on July 14th 1856; on July 15th he passed into Downing Street, and was incredulous that such a 'small, dull, cul-de-sac' should be the centre of British power (Charles Francis Adams, *Richard Henry Dana: A Biography*, 2 vols [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1890], II, 1–3). During his stay, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was at the height of its popularity (see *CEN* 4, notes 19–23), and Dana was warmly received as the 'champion' of the 'oppressed slave' (*Dana*, I, 358).

⁷ C went to the Isle of Wight for a holiday in October 1856 (*Corr.* 520); Norton was in London around 25th August 1856 (*Norton*, I, 147).

34.

C.O.

4th Sep^{tr} [1856]¹

Dear Charles

Here is a note to Matt. Arnold; – if you like to use it, just ask your way to Fox How, over the fields & across Miller-Bridge, about 1½ m. from Ambleside.² I don't think you will like him as well as you would his Indian brother³ – but if you choose to take the trouble of the walk, which is as pretty as need be, there he is, such as he is, at the end of it – Don't go *alone* – pray take any of your party that [you] like –

My mother & sister live up the hill above the old Church at Ambleside, Eller How – You will be very welcome if you have time to mount up there; but my mother is rather infirm & my sister has a little school – So don't make it a point to go – as it is possible you might not see either of them to any great purpose – But there are pretty views from the path to Sweden bridge, which passes just below them.⁴

With kindest remembrances

Ever Yours

A. H. Clough

MS H

Corr. 518 (published in full).

¹ Year dated by the reference to Norton's visit to Arnold.

² On Tuesday 16th September, Norton and his sister Jane visited Matthew Arnold and his wife at 'Fox How', in Ambleside, who were 'very kind and pleasant'; Norton was delighted to see 'so many little children'. Arnold was not as Norton had imagined – he would not have taken him for a poet for his 'manner in conversation' was quite different from his 'manner of writing'. The Arnolds returned the Nortons' visit the next day at the Low Wood Inn, when the conversation turned on such 'commonplaces' as America, England and Emerson's book (*Norton*, I, 148).

³ William Delafield Arnold (see *CEN* 17, note 17).

⁴ On the same day Norton paid a 'very pleasant visit' to C's mother and sister, who received them 'very kindly'. Norton admired the 'superb position' of their home, the view from which almost equalled that from Rydal Mount (*Norton*, I, 148). 'Eller How', ¾ mile from the centre of town, was a 'bare' place with few trees and houses, but with fine views across Windermere. Anne Clough had established a small school in the house for the children of tradespeople and farmers, who included Mary Arnold; C visited from time to time (*Memoir of Anne Jemima Clough*, ed. by Blanche Athena Clough [London: Edward Arnold, 1897], pp. 84, 87).

35.

[Envelope addressed to 'C. E Norton Esqre, Fenton's Hotel, St James St,' with one penny stamp and 'Council Office' seal.]

[26 September 1856]¹

Dear Charles

I don't know whether you have arrived [to yours day?] – I sho^d have come to enquire but for this heavy shower.

We go down to the country for Sunday and Monday – but I hope I shall see you soon after this reaches you to morrow morning; & we return to stay next week here, ie from Tuesday morning to Saturday.

I had your letter from Durham; but could not answer it² –

I hope you are all well after your travelling. I fear you have had it very wet lately.

Ever Yrs

A H Clough

Friday 6pm

MS H

No previous publication traced.

¹ Dated by reference to Norton's letter of 21 September 1856 and the fact that 26 September 1856 was a Friday.

² Norton wrote from Durham on 21st September 1856, telling C about his visits to C's mother and to the Arnolds (*Norton*, I, 148; see *CEN* 34, notes 2, 4).

36.

Allum Bay Cottage

Freshwater

I. of W.

Wednesday 22nd October [1856]¹

Dear Charles

I shall be in town on Tuesday morning, perhaps on Monday. Is there any chance of your being there. Will you send a line to the Council Office & let me know what chance I have of seeing you either then or afterwards. I expect to be within reach of London after that day.²

We have seen a little of Tennyson & his wife who live near here³ & with whom Coventry Patmore and his wife are staying⁴ –

There has been one pretty severe gale from the Westward⁵ but mostly we have had Easterly winds, generally gentle & never more than fresh⁶ – I hope the Arabia has been having a favourable voyage, & is by this time very near if not in Newport.⁷

¹ Year dated by the reference to visiting the Tennysons in the letter, and Tennyson's letter of 15 October 1856.

² Norton was staying at Walton-on-Thames, and then spent a few days at Bonchurch, on the Isle of Wight, having found London 'very dull' of late, with 'the best half [of the world]' out of town (*Norton*, I, 150–1). He had dinner with C on 13th November, before setting off for Paris and Rome the following day (see *FJC* 6, note 4).

³ At Farringford on the Isle of Wight; Emily Tennyson 'venerated' Clough (*The Letters of Emily Lady Tennyson*, ed. by James O. Hoge [Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University, 1974], p. 159). When he left the party in the Pyrenees she noted – 'a sad parting'. There could not have been a 'kinder or unselfish or more thoughtful companion than he' (*Lady Tennyson's Journal*, ed. by James O. Hoge [Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981], p. 161).

⁴ See *CEN* 26, note 1; Coventry Patmore and his wife Emily were close friends of the Tennysons; Patmore and Tennyson met constantly and used to take long walks together at night (Basil Champneys, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Coventry Patmore*, 2 vols [London: George Bell, 1900], I, 179).

⁵ Tennyson was apparently expecting C; on 15th October 1856 he wrote: 'Dear Clough, Where can you be in this frightful storm and fury of wind and rain? I have waited half an hour' (*The Letters of Alfred Lord Tennyson*, ed. by Cecil Y. Lang and Edgar F. Shannon Jr., 3 vols [Oxford: Clarendon, 1987], II, 162). The following day C lunched with the Tennysons.

⁶ The weather had been good enough for C to have been bathing daily (*Corr.* 520).

⁷ Like its sister ships in the Cunard fleet, the *Arctic*, *Niagra*, *Andes* and *Asia*, the *Arabia* sailed between Liverpool and Boston and New York on alternate weeks; it had recently been brought back into service having been requisitioned for Crimean war service (see Introduction, pp. 22–24).

I hope you are able to give a good account of yourself –

My wife sends her kind remembrances

Ever yours faithfully

A. H. Clough

If you are able to write by return of post, the letter would reach us here.

MS *H*

No previous publication traced.

[Envelope enclosed with one penny postage stamp and several date stamps, addressed to 'C. E. Norton, <care of Wm W. Story Esqre, Oaklands Park, Walton on Thames>, crossed out, and addressed to 'Fenton's Hotel, St James St. London']

Allum Bay Cottage

Freshwater

Thursday, 23rd October [1856]¹

Dear Charles

I was very glad to hear a good account of you this morning – many thanks for your letter –

I wrote two or three lines yesterday, but today our places are altered. We go to J. Bonham Carter Esq M.P.²

Petersfield

on Monday for 3 days and then only, come to town, – say on Thursday. I hope I shall see you then. –

I hope there is nothing serious to apprehend for Thackeray's mother³ –

The post waits so farewell

Ever Yours

A H Clough

MS H

No previous publication traced.

¹ Year dated by reference to C's stay on the Isle of Wight and date stamp on the envelope.

² John ('Jack') Bonham Carter (1817–1884), MP for Winchester, and a cousin of Blanche Clough.

³ After receiving a telegraphic message that his mother was ill, Thackeray went immediately to Scotland and found her 'not very ill', but 'in a prodigious alarm', after having one homeopathic doctor after another to attend her; 'in a fright' she sent them away and rapidly recovered (Lucy W. Baxter, *Thackeray's Letters to an American Family* [New York: The Century Company, 1904], pp. 148–9).

38.

[Envelope enclosed with one penny stamp, addressed to 'C.E Norton Esq, care of the The Hon^{ble} E. Twistleton, 3 Rutland Gate, Hyde Park, London' and stamped 'Petersfield, October 28 1856'.]

Tuesday

28th [October, 1856]¹

My dear Charles

I fear you have not had a note which I sent to Walton for you.² We don't get back till Friday I am sorry to say.

I believe M^r Smith is hoping to see you at Combe Hurst on that or some similar day.³ – We go there on Friday; according to present arrangements. But if you are asked for Thursday, among other days, & prefer that day, we will come up to see you, a day earlier, which will make no difference to us – Farewell.

Ever Yours

A H Clough

Direct to

J. Bonham Carter Esq. M.P.

Petersfield

(not very far, by the way, from Helps's house⁴ – whom however I shant see this time) –

MS H

No previous publication traced.

¹ Dated by C's reference in letter *CEN 37* to staying 3 days with Bonham Carter and the date stamp on the envelope.

² No record of a note from 'Walton'.

³ See *CEN 3*, note 4.

⁴ Sir Arthur Helps (1813–1875), public servant and author ; C's patron, Lord Granville (see *CEN 13*, note 21), also used his influence to obtain a post for Helps as Clerk of the Privy Council.

Combe Hurst
Kingston
2d Novr [1856]¹

Dear Charles

I called yesterday: & was told you were to come in the afternoon & stay some days – I hope it is true. I shan't be properly at work till Monday the 10th – – Meantime we shall be somewhere near London – at here perhaps till Tuesday. If you go before Monday 10th, let me know & I will arrange to come up & see you.²

Ever Yours

A H. Clough

MS H

No previous publication traced.

¹ Year dated by reference to the fact that Norton was in the UK and C was trying to arrange a meeting; the letter was written from Combe Hurst where C was staying for 3 days from Friday 31 October, and 10 November 1856 was a Monday

² Norton had dinner with C on 13th November, before setting off for Paris and Rome the following day (see *FJC* 6, note 4).

C.O. Wednesday
[12 November 1856]¹

Dear Charles

I am restored to the desk: and will see you (if you are in) at Fenton's to morrow on my way down – at ½ past 10 or thereabouts.

Yours ever

A H Clough

turn over

Can not you come & dine to morrow. It is the only day, that my wife will spend in town till next week – I hope I may take it for granted that you can & will –

If you don't come in time to be seen to morrow, I shall call on Friday at 10½ am.

A H C

Dinner at 7

MS H

No previous publication traced.

¹ Dated by the fact that Norton was in the UK in 1856 (see *CEN* 34, 35, 36); he dined with C in London on 13 November 1856 and left London for Paris on 14 November 1856 (see *FJC* 6, note 4). It seems likely from the fact that 12 November was a Wednesday, and C's invitation to Norton to come to dinner 'tomorrow' that this is the correct date.

41.

[Envelope addressed to ‘43, S. Sidow; Messrs C E Norton; chez Messrs Tortonia Rome’, with ‘Council Office’ seal.]

C.O. 27th November [1856]²

My dear Charles

By this time I hope you are in Rome – none the worse for bad weather, which seems to have been prevalent in most parts since you left³ – The news of the Presidential election surprised nobody I suppose⁴ – Fremont’s friends seem already to be on the alert for Election, 1860,⁵ and the Times Correspondent talks of the probability of Buchanan making Kansas a Free State.⁶ Is it possible that he may see it his policy to break up the alliance of all parties against him, which wo^d otherwise be established in the North? – and may fear to forfeit Pennsylvania rather than to offend Carolina – ? –

I hope when you come again we may be able to ask you to lodge yourself altogether with us. We are not generally full – but my wife’s sisters & cousins come every now &

² Year dated by the reference to the American Presidential election and date stamp on the envelope.

³ Norton arrived in Rome – ‘dirty’, ‘damp and mouldy’, but ‘sunny and delightful’ – in early December 1856, to spend a second winter there, and to continue work on his *Notes of Travel and Study in Italy* (1859), (*Norton*, I, 156–8).

⁴ See *RWE* 21, note 12; the Democrat candidate James Buchanan (1791–1868) was elected president, declaring himself in favour of the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act (see *RWE* 17, note 3), and expressing the hope that all ‘patriotic’ men would ‘cheerfully abide by’ and ‘vigilantly maintain’ the ‘Nebraska-Kansas [sic] Act’ (see *RWE* 17, note 2) against ‘the inroads of that abolition fusion’ which threatened to ‘assail the constitutional rights of the South’ (*Memoir of James Buchanan of Pennsylvania*, ed. by Democratic State Central Committee of Pennsylvania [Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1856], p. 10).

⁵ John C Frémont, the Republican Presidential candidate and fervent abolitionist, was ‘venomously’ and ‘unjustly’ attacked by his opponents in the run up to the November 1856 election. Undeterred by his defeat, however, the *New York Herald* and leading New York clubs were already determined that he should be the nominee for the 1860 election (‘The United States’, *The Times*, 25 November 1856, p. 8).

⁶ *The Times* correspondent forecast trouble ahead for Buchanan; it was rumoured that he had already decided to make Kansas a free, rather than a slave state, in order to pacify the majority of Democrat supporters in the North who were opposed to the extension of slavery, and would have no truck with the ‘Fillibustering Slave extension secessionists’ of the extreme South (‘The United States’, *The Times*, 25 November 1856, p. 8).

hen. We are rather out of the way, compared to S^t James' S^t, but perhaps you would not mind that very much.⁷ However of this it will be time enough to think six months hence.

I hear that the Italian chiefs are trying to prevent any outbreak at present; so that I hope nothing will disturb the pontifical peace during your stay under the shadow of the sacred despotism⁸ –

Wednesday 10th December.

I will send these few lines to prevent further delay. I have but little news to offer you – if indeed any. New conferences at Paris⁹ – a possible peerage for Lord John Russell¹⁰ – the (very – likely) retirement of Lord Panmure¹¹ – such are our small political speculations. There is a pleasant article on Roman Topography in the Quarterly by Charles Merivale which is worth your reading if the Quarterly comes to Rome.¹² –

⁷ Norton returned to London in June 1857 and stayed at Fenton's Hotel in St James's Street, but he saw C every day during his short stay (*Norton*, I, 172; Turner, p. 126).

⁸ 'Sacred despotism' was Voltaire's description of how the Church maintained secular power through the belief that it was divinely sanctioned (*Révolutions de Paris* [Paris: L. Prudhomme, 18 July 1791], pp. 2–4). C is referring to anti-Austrian feeling, which was rife in several Italian states, with frequent arrests being made 'on suspicion of disloyalty' ('Italy', *The Times*, 29 November 1856, p. 10.); furthermore, Cavour had arraigned the Pontifical Government for its 'oppression' and 'incapacity' (Patrick Keys O'Clery, *The Making of Italy, 1856–70* [London: Kegan Paul, 1892], p. 2021). However, according to Norton, there was no likelihood of trouble that winter as, despite their hatred for the Cardinals and priests, the people were too poor, starving and 'broken up' (*Norton*, I, 158). C had been in Rome during the failed uprising in 1849 (see *CEN* 4, note 17), and also visited Venice in 1850, after its bid for independence had been crushed by the Austrians.

⁹ Under the headline 'Reassembling of the Paris Conference – More Disgrace for England', *Reynolds Newspaper* carried a piece condemning the 'terrible' Palmerston for acceding to Louis Napoleon's demands for a reconsideration of questions relating to the 'Isle of Serpents' and the new town of Bolgrad, both near the mouth of the Danube and claimed by Russia, which would give her an important strategic advantage. Previous government assurances on this matter had now turned out to be 'wordy bluster', 'moonshine and twaddle' (7 December 1856, p. 9).

¹⁰ The *Daily News* saw Lord John Russell as Palmerston's eventual successor, arguing that his accession to the Cabinet and consequent elevation to the peerage would be of substantial benefit to the government, the Liberal party and the country as a whole (24 November 1856, p. 4).

¹¹ The *Morning Chronicle* reported the imminent retirement of Lord Panmure from his post as Minister of War, which he had accepted only due to the 'serious nature' of the situation in the Crimea. He now wished to devote himself to his newly-inherited family estate (24 November 1856, p. 6).

¹² The review, by Charles Merivale, highly recommends the original and painstakingly researched article on ancient Roman topography in the new *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, a subject which 'cautious and solid' English archaeologists had traditionally avoided because of its contentious nature and the insecurity of its foundations (*Quarterly Review*, 99 [1856], 415–451 [p. 416]).

Poor M^r Kenyon has at last left this world, following his brother. He has left something to the Brownings, the cottage at Wimbledon to Miss Bailey & a good deal to M^r Booth of the Board of Trade¹³ – who is usually thought to be one of those who have¹⁴ _____

I have not yet read *Aurora Leigh*¹⁵ – I see that there are *Poems of Kingsley* to come forth¹⁶ – and there is a novel of his in the press (sold for £1000), the scene in North Wales, & the time the present, which the novel pronounces to be the best of times, & ages – and in every respect, admirable.¹⁷ So am I told by Froude who is here labouring in the Record Office,¹⁸ searching the *Baga de Secretis*¹⁹ – I hope your health does well. – farewell –

Ever Yours affectionately

A. H. Clough

MS H

Corr. 523–4 (published in full).

¹³ See *CEN* 15, note 28; John Kenyon, ‘wealthy connoisseur of letters’, died at his home in West Cowes, on 3 December 1856, leaving £10,500 to the Brownings, and the furniture, books and prints in his Wimbledon cottage to Sarah Bayley, the friend who looked after him during his illness. To one of his executors, James Booth, secretary to the Board of Trade, he left £5,000 (*The Times*, 27 January 1857, p. 9).

¹⁴ ‘For whosoever hath, to him shall be given’ (Matthew 13.12).

¹⁵ *Aurora Leigh* was published on 15 November 1856 (London: Chapman and Hall) and Elizabeth Barrett Browning dedicated this ‘most mature of her works’, containing her ‘highest convictions upon Life and Art’, to her ‘own dearest cousin and friend’, John Kenyon. Despite the large number of ‘perversely trivial’ pages and ‘carelessly dry’ pages, an early reviewer was full of admiration for the ‘impassioned language’ and ‘power and beauty’ of this hybrid epic poem cum didactic novel (‘Reviews’, *Athenaeum*, 22 November 1856, pp. 1425–1427).

¹⁶ See *RWE* 5, note 6; Charles Kingsley’s *Poems* was published in 1856.

¹⁷ Kingsley’s novel, published early in 1857, takes its title, *Two Years Ago*, from the time when ‘pestilence’ and war were rife, and is decidedly upbeat about the current state of the country: new schools and libraries springing up, a vast improvement in working conditions and a religious renaissance (3 vols [London: Macmillan 1857], I, 1–8, [p.1]). It was criticised, however, for being ‘dull’, ‘didactic’ and ‘disconnected’, with confusing shifts of scene, for example, from ‘the metropolis to Snowdon’ (*Athenaeum*, 14 February 1857, p. 212).

¹⁸ Froude was in London doing research at the Public Records Office for his *History of England* (see *RWE* 19, note 17).

¹⁹ The ‘Court of King’s Bench: Crown Side: *Baga de Secretis*’ contains the records of important ‘state trials’ for high treason and other state offences between 1477–1813, including those of Anne Boleyn and Guy Fawkes.

[Envelope: <'not to be forwarded' > crossed out; addressed to 'C. E. Norton Esqre, Fenton's Hotel, St James' Street, S W', with red seal on reverse; <'Care of Messrs Baring, Britters & Co'> crossed out].

Council Office, Downing S^t,
22^d Jan^y '57

My dear Charles

Many thanks for your letter from Rome which came on the same day with one from Shady Hill, from your sister to my wife¹ – I hope you continue to find Rome suit you. I heard something of you through Lady Lyell two or three days ago who had had a letter I think from M^{rs} Ticknor² – We are here going on much as usual – occupied with nothing else but commerce & the Money Market.³ I do not think anyone is thinking audibly of anything else. – Some disaster perhaps in the realm of Dost Mohammed may startle us out of our mercantile composure⁴ – but at present the only danger we care to think about is that of being garotted,⁵ and the main business of the new Parliament will be to see about Transportation of possible garotters⁶ –

¹ Norton's last letter to C, from Rome, was dated 18th December 1856.

² See CEN 4, note 14; the Ticknors were also wintering in Rome (*Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor* [Boston: London, Sampson Low, 1876], II, 350).

³ The stock market was depressed, and had suffered further falls due to apprehension over restrictions on the export of bullion, and the probable expenses of the Persian war (see below), (*The Times*, 20 January 1857, p.7). There was also a debate over the Bank Charter Act, which, due to the requirement that the issue of new notes be 100% backed by gold, was increasingly putting the country in danger of 'perpetually recurring commercial crises' (*Morning Post*, 10 January 1857, p. 4).

⁴ Dost Mohammad Khan, Emir of Afghanistan, was at war with Persia, who, with tacit support from Russia, had seized the Afghan city of Herat. English armies, determined to 'nip ... Perso-Russian aggression in the bud', were slowly advancing on Herat, and the dispute was further complicated by typically 'eastern' and 'crafty' accusations of 'victimisation' by Persia, on account of a supposed affair between the British ambassador and a high-ranking Persian woman (*Morning Post*, 20 January 1857, p. 5).

⁵ *The Times* reported a 'Spirited Encounter with Garotters', one of a number of such recent incidents, when the 'plucky' victim survived a 'regular "set-to"', only because the robber's blade penetrated his pocket book (16 January 1857, p. 7).

⁶ A question currently preoccupying Parliament and the country was that of 'the reformation of criminals'. Transportation, the cheapest and most effective punishment, was no longer an option as the colonies would not tolerate convicts in their midst, while convict labour in England was too dangerous. So the formation of 'reformatory corps', to be employed in industrial labour in South Africa, building towns and fortifying the colonies, was proposed, which was some £30 p.a. cheaper than the £48 annually it cost to keep a prisoner in Pentonville (*Morning Post*, 10 January 1857, p. 4).

Kinglake of Eothen is to be MP for Newport we believe⁷ – Judge Alderson is dying, leaving the poor gay Miss Aldersons not very well provided for.⁸ – Spedding has I believe actually published the 1st volume of his Bacon.⁹ The article in the Edinburgh on Macaulay's last 2 vols – ie on the Massacre of Glencoe is said to be by Moncreiff, the Lord Advocate.¹⁰

I have read with more pleasure than any thing that I have read lately Kane's Arctic Explorations – ie his second voyage – which is certainly a wonderful story & the book's moreover, very well got up at Philadelphia¹¹ – I think I did see Kane at Boston in the spring before he sailed – though I did not hear his lecture on his then-proposed expedition, but I have a distinct image of his figure – The whole narrative is I think very characteristic of the differences between the English & the American-English habits of command & obedience.¹²

We went & called on Miss Mackintosh the other day & for the first time since I was at the Longfellows, I saw her, Eva & Angus with her.¹³ The Longfellows she says will not

⁷ See *CEN* 12, note 20; Alexander Kinglake the candidate for Newport, Isle of Wight, was standing on a platform of an extension of the franchise and a national system of secular education. He attacked the system of selecting MPs from too narrow a class, which resulted in a weak government 'unable to feed an army of a few thousand men'. In a country 'abounding in intelligence and power' where men could perform such marvels as 'throwing' a railway from one city to another at 'a few months notice', what was needed was men of 'ability and 'character', from all social classes, to stand for election (*Daily News*, 12 January 1857, p. 6).

⁸ Judge Sir Edward Hall Alderson (1787–1857) was 'lying in an almost hopeless state' having had an attack of paralysis which had affected his 'lower extremities' (*The Times*, 23 January 1857, p. 12). Georgina (1827–1899), the best-known of Baron Alderson's 'substantial' family – 'intelligent, gregarious and strong-willed' – married the Marquess of Salisbury on 11 July 1857 in the face of his father's opposition as Alderson, being 'irredeemably middle-class', had left her no dowry (Andrew Roberts, *Salisbury: Victorian Titan* [London: Weidenfeld, 1999], p. 48).

⁹ See *RWE* 22, note 17.

¹⁰ See *CEN* 5, note 4; *CEN* 32, notes 10–12; the review, attributed to James Moncreiff, Lord Advocate of Scotland, was full of admiration for Macaulay's stark evocation of the harrowing scene of the Massacre, finding little to criticise save in regard to King William's share in the catastrophe ('Macaulay's *History of England*', *Edinburgh Review*, 105 [1857], 142–181, [p. 170]).

¹¹ See *RWE* 22, note 6; Kane's *Arctic Explorations* is illustrated by more than 300 engravings by the author for which Kane thanks his 'very liberal publishers' (2 vols [Philadelphia: Childs & Peterson, 1856], I, 6).

¹² Kane set sail from New York on his first expedition to the Arctic in search of Sir John Franklin on 30th May 1853, while C was in New England. The first rule of conduct for Kane's party was 'absolute subordination' to the officer in command, and discipline was rigidly enforced (Kane, I, 16; II, 177–178). Franklin, by contrast, held his men's affection by a 'continued system of the most conciliating attentions to their feelings' (A. H. Beesly, *Sir John Franklin* [London: Marcus Ward, 1881], p. 165).

¹³ Mary, Eva and Angus Mackintosh, children of Robert James Mackintosh (1806–1864) and Mary Appleton Mackintosh – Longfellow's brother-in-law and sister-in-law.

come over next year. Tom Appleton is at Paris¹⁴ – Felton he says had the task of giving Chas Sumner, then staying with the Longfellows, the news of his brother's shipwreck. Chas Sumner she says is going, probably now gone, to show himself in the Senate, though rather agst the advice of his medical attendants¹⁵ –

Jan 30th

Baron Alderson is dead¹⁶ & Bushire taken as the Times will have told you.¹⁷ I am reading on into Olmsted whom I like very much¹⁸ – The 1st Vol of Plutarch is to appear next month – I think the later volumes are much better or at least less open to criticism.¹⁹ The life of Pericles was wretchedly [done] in the Dryden – & ought to have been rewritten²⁰ – Plutarch's best life is Antony, I think, which I have just done²¹ – The World I believe rather cries Fye on Aurora Leigh – which however has ardent admirers²² – Do you yourself think Olmsted accurate according to your experience of

¹⁴ Thomas Gold Appleton (1812–1884), American essayist, poet and patron of the arts, whose sister Frances was married to Longfellow.

¹⁵ The prominent abolitionist, Senator Charles Sumner (1811–1874); after the severe beating he received on the floor of the Senate in 1856 by the South Carolina Representative, Preston Brooks, Sumner went to Europe to recover from his spinal injury. He returned to America and took his seat in the Senate in December 1857, but was grieved that he was unable to take part in debates as his physicians forbade the strain and excitement (*Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner (1845–1860)*, ed. by E. L. Pierce [Boston: Roberts Bros, 1894], III, 558). Sumner's brother Horace drowned in the same shipwreck as Margaret Fuller (see *RWE* 6, note 12).

¹⁶ See note 8 above; *The Times* recorded the death of Baron Alderson on January 27; 'learned' and 'conscientious', he was, nevertheless, inclined to take a 'rather hard and dry view', but his 'good humour' and his rather 'over frequent jocoseness' had made him popular ('Death of Baron Alderson', 28 January 1857, p. 6).

¹⁷ See note 4 above; *The Times* reported the 'easy' capitulation of Bushire, on the southern coast of Persia, to the disappointment of the British troops, there being 'growls' of 'No, No!', 'Assault, Assault', and 'vengeful clutchings of firelocks', and things were done in the town afterwards that were 'not good to tell'; the question now remained as to whether the Shah would 'succumb' ('The Persian War', 30 January 1857, p. 7).

¹⁸ See *RWE* 22, note 9.

¹⁹ See Appendix 2; the publication of *Plutarch's Lives* was delayed until 1859 because the global financial climate was 'adverse to new books' (*Norton*, I, 184).

²⁰ Pericles (c 495–429 BC), the 'noble' Athenian statesman, highly regarded for his 'equitable and mild temper' and gracious treatment of his enemies (C's *Plutarch's Lives*, I, 369–70). C noted in his Preface that Dryden's 'Life' was 'hasty yet well written', 'inaccurate but agreeable to read' (C's *Plutarch's Lives*, I, xxii).

²¹ Mark Antony (83–30 BC), the Roman general whose gallantry and common touch made him the 'delight and pleasure' of the Roman army (C's *Plutarch's Lives*, V, 158).

²² In contrast with the views of the *Athenaeum* (see *CEN* 41, note 15), *Aurora Leigh* attracted a lot of negative comment: the *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, for example, criticised the 'unreal' characters and 'almost inconceivable' incidents ('Reviews', 2 [1856], 776–778 [p. 776]), while for *Blackwood's*, the heroine's independence made her unattractive and 'not a genuine woman' ('Mrs. Barrett Browning – Aurora Leigh', 81 [1857], 23–41 [p. 32]). Carlyle doubted whether 'there [was] any *hit*' even of the purblind public fancy made' (to John Carlyle, 25 January 1857, *CLO* 32, 79–82).

the South.²³ The Times today quotes a flaming article for the Slave Trade from a New Orleans paper.²⁴ I have not got your letter with me, so forgive me if I have not answered anything – Froude is here working in the State Paper Office²⁵ – Kingsley’s new novel, of *Two Years Ago*, time *most* modern 18th Century²⁶ – with [Bettogelat NW?] where Froude used to live, for its place, will be curious²⁷ – I see he also advertizes his *Andromeda* in hexameters²⁸ – Maurice tonight is to deliver a lecture on Milton at the Royal Institution, to which my wife is going, but not I.²⁹ – Tell me any news you have from America – I don’t like to depend on the Times, & I don’t hear from anybody – in your absence.

Ever Yours

A H Clough

MS H

Corr. 524–5 (part-published); *PR* 237–8 (part-published).

²³ See *RWE* 22, note 9; Norton regarded Olmsted’s accounts of his travels in the Slave States as the ‘most important contributions’ ever published to ‘an exact acquaintance with the conditions and result of slavery’ in America (*Norton*, I, 211).

²⁴ The article from the New Orleans *Delta* was a virulent denunciation of the ‘ruinous’ policy of limiting slavery in the South – a ‘vital element’ for the future prosperity of the country; it predicted calamitous consequences: the end of the South’s political strength and dreams of a great cotton monopoly, and an influx of the ‘Black Republican cancer’ of free Northern labourers. It demanded an end to ‘sentimental humbugger’ about the import of slaves from Africa, who were vastly better off under white owners (‘The Future of Cotton’, *The Times*, 30 January 1857, p. 5).

²⁵ See *CEN* 41, note 18.

²⁶ See *CEN* 41, note 17.

²⁷ After his marriage, Froude went to live in North Wales, at the foot of Snowdon between Capel Curig and Beddgelert (Herbert Paul, *The Life of Froude*, [New York: Charles Scribner, 1906], p. 57). *Two Years Ago* (see *CEN* 41, note 17) refers to the ‘exceeding beauty’ of the latter (I, 353).

²⁸ An advertisement in the *National Review* announced that ‘*Andromeda*, and other Poems’ was ‘Preparing for the Press’ (4 [1857], p. 238). It was, apparently, the first time Kingsley had used hexameters; he disagreed that they were foreign to English believing that you could ‘talk prose in hexameters just as easily as in blank verse’ (*Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memories of his Life*, ed. by his wife, 2 vols [London: Henry S. King, 1877], I, 342.); (see *CEN* 26, note 3 for C’s views on the subject).

²⁹ See *CEN* 10, note 24; *CEN* 12, note 9; according to Maurice, Milton was a schoolmaster as well as a poet whose aim was to produce a ‘strong and sterling’ English character; and to develop his pupils’ gifts by ‘natural’ rather than the kind of ‘artificial’ methods, which produced ‘infant prodigies and barren manhood’ (‘Milton as a Schoolmaster’, *Morning Chronicle*, 31 January 1857, p. 4).

43.

Council Office, Tuesday

23 June [1857]¹

Dear Charles

I am extremely glad to hear you are coming – if you like to our remote place of dwelling at once [sic]. Pray do so & avoid the hotel bills² – However we ourselves I fear go on Sunday or Monday, to Combe Hurst – so that we could only offer to leave you in possession — and in another week we should be off to Westmorland. – I shall not be at the office after tomorrow: but shall get letters – 11 St Marks Crescent. N.W wo^d however come sooner. –

I have just received a note from Felton with a card announcing Randolph Coolidge at the Adelphi Hotel, John S^t, Adelphi (Strand)³ and Lowell introduces a M^r Underwood at at [Alders?] Adelphi Hotel, Adam S^t Strand. I am sorry for the bad news of the Ticknors,

Farewell : to morrow or the day after I hope to see you

Ever Yrs affect^{ly}

A H Clough

MS H

No previous publication traced.

¹ Year dated by date stamp on envelope – ‘JU-23-1857’, and Norton’s visit to London.

² Norton arrived in London on 25th June 1857; he stayed only a few days and saw practically no-one, apart from C, whom he saw daily. He stopped at Ambleside, historically within the county of Westmorland, to see the Cloughs one last time before embarking from Liverpool on July 25th 1857 (Turner, pp. 144–5; *Norton*, I, 172). He left Liverpool on 25th July. His rooms at Fenton’s Hotel, between Pall Mall and Piccadilly, ‘put fashionable London within a few minutes’ walk’ (Turner, p. 90).

³ The architect, J. Randolph Coolidge.

[28 August 1857]¹

My dear Charles

My wife had a letter from your sister by the same steamer which brought news in the papers of the arrival of Persia, but at Shady Hill this was not yet known – I hope you really did arrive safe & sound or at any rate in tolerable health – though your passage does not seem to have been a very short one² – The Persia on her next voyage will take out D^f & M^{rs} Bodichon of whom I told you.³ I hope you will see them in the course of the winter: but they stay at New York first. He seems to me a man of very considerable capacity & intelligence. He has seen much of Algeria, where he was long employed, I suppose in the Medical Department in the Government – He is much interested in Negroes – of whom however his opinion seems to be not high – & thinks that wherever they are in contact with whites, they cannot but be rather despised & oppressed. In Africa they have done a good deal in the way of industry but can't get as far as making watches – he pronounces them an inevitably polygamous race⁴ –

Our Parliament is at last going away – Indian news appears to create no sort of alarm – scarcely so much as anxiety – for one reason, people *must* take their holiday even from their anxieties. The atrocities are of course felt pretty strongly – We hope the stronghold in Cawnpore was *not* taken – only the town – & that Brigadier Havelock is going to do some good work. However it is not to be expected that Delhi will fall till the rainy season is over & new reinforcements arrive⁵ –

¹ Dated by the date in the letter 'Wednesday 2^d Sept', and C's reference to being busy 'last Friday', which was 28 August; year dated by the reference in the letter to the article in the *Homeward Mail*.

² By the middle of August 1857 Norton, his mother and sisters were back in New England (*Norton*, I, 177).

³ Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon (1827–1891), Blanche's cousin, co-founder of Girton College Cambridge and campaigner for women's rights, married Dr Eugène Bodichon (1810–1885), an Algerian-born Frenchman, on 2nd July 1857. His *Considérations sur l'Algérie* is a polemic on how to deal with repeated Algerian insurrections. France had hitherto been patient and magnanimous to a fault in its treatment of the Arabs, by nature greedy, deceitful, lazy and immoral, but she could no longer tolerate a 'barbarous' race on her doorstep. If attempts to subjugate them by force or indoctrination failed, then Europeans would have the right to exterminate them ([Paris: Comptoir Central de la Librairie, 1845], pp.102–114, [p. 114]).

⁴ See *CEN* 45, note 27.

⁵ See *CEN* 45, note 10.

Carl Scherzer's travels in Central America must be worth reading, I think, but have not seen it yet⁶ – City Poems I have looked at without being tempted to do more.⁷

I have sent a second batch of the Roman hexameters by steamer of Sept^r 12th: – if your edition chooses to use them – They were packed up for this steamer, but Longmans send their parcel such a long time before that I missed them⁸ –

This town is hot, dusty, & of ill odour – & very different from Westmorland. We saw M^{rs} Gaskell there with Cap^{tn} Hill and his fiancée.⁹ Walking alone in the far parts of Langdale on a Sunday evening, I suddenly came on two gaily dressed tourists walking together – there were he & she – Here we abide till October – without moving –

Wednesday 2^d *Sept^r*

I was so busy last Friday that I had no time to add a line – so this has waited. Your ship has come back, but I am ignorant whether she took you home safely or not –

Thursday 3rd Again I was carried away – News from India I think is getting to be felt more seriously – the future movements of General Havelock excite attention – & apprehension. Do you see the Homeward Mail which they say is much the best paper; it is Smith & Elders's I believe. There is an extract from it in the Times of this day¹⁰ –

⁶ Dr. Carl Scherzer's *Travels in the Free States of Central America*, 2 vols, (London: Longman, 1857); Scherzer's main object in writing was to highlight the great advantages offered by the vast tracts of land in Nicaragua, Honduras and San Salvador, where 'prudent and industrious' European settlers' might prosper (I, vi).

⁷ See *CEN* 46, note 11.

⁸ *Amours de Voyage* (see *CEN* 48, note 3).

⁹ The novelist Elizabeth Gaskell (1810–1865) renewed her acquaintance with Norton in Rome in the winter of 1856/7, when they saw each other constantly and formed a 'close and lasting friendship' (*Norton*, I, 154–5). Mrs Gaskell's daughter Meta (Margaret Emily, b. 1837) was engaged to Captain Charles Hill of the Madras Engineers. On 23rd August 1857 he returned to his regiment and Gaskell wrote that they were 'dreadfully in the dumps' and 'somebody [was] crying in every room' (*The Letters of Mrs Gaskell*, ed. by J. A. V. Chappell & Arthur Pollard, 2nd edn [Manchester: Mandolin: 1997], p. 468).

¹⁰ Published in London, the *Homeward Mail* provided newspaper coverage of Indian news; the article entitled 'Our Strength and Our Work in India' demanded reinforcements be sent to India immediately to 'reconquer the revolted provinces'; anyone who 'counselled half measures' was an enemy to England and deserved to be 'gibbeted to the execration of his countrymen' (*The Times*, 3 September 1857, p. 10).

Plutarch I hope is going on pretty smoothly, thanks to the messenger who carried out packets at the end of July – I have just received proofs to the end (nearly) of Antony – There only remain 2 lives in my hands – & they are getting on – But they must wait I suppose for the notes to Volumes III & IV which the <booksellers> publishers seem to want, to complete these volumes – When is the day by which Xmas books must be ready –

Fortunately our busy time of year is just coming to an end – towards the end of September is low tide with us. In August the work is very fairly heavy & there is a great pressure among those who have to do it, to go away for their holidays –

Farewell – if I have no time tomorrow to say more. My kind remembrances at Shady Hill.

Ever Yours faithfully

A H Clough

MS H

PR 238 (part-published).

Council Office

31st October [1857]¹

My dear Charles

We were very glad indeed to have your sister's letter by the last mail. I had been rather in anxiety both about your health & about your fortunes² – not knowing whom the financial epidemic might not reach.³ And indeed I am much grieved to hear of the disasters of the C. Mills family⁴ & of Edmund Dwight. Unpaid debts in the West are I suppose the explanation. I shall hope to hear something cheerful about them from you.⁵ I hope Little & Brown are in no difficulties⁶ – They have got all the *Plutarch* that they can claim – there only remains the Index & some notes to the last Volume which can hardly go till I get the proof sheets. The last copy was replaced more easily than I could have expected – I was rather in despair at not being able to pick up another copy of the old book for some days – but after that was done, the rest soon followed⁷ –

Have you seen my cousin-in-law and her husband D^r Bodichon?⁸ I gave them letters to you, to M^{rs} Ward,⁹ & to one or two other people – but I have not been in the way of hearing of their proceedings – I think he is really a superior man & he is, so far as I

¹ Year dated by the reference to the fall of Delhi.

² Norton's poor health, exacerbated by the heat in London, had given cause for concern prior to his return to America (Turner, p. 144).

³ A financial crisis, caused initially by a sharp decline in the value of railway shares, had caused unprecedented panic in New York financial circles, which *The Times* likened to a 'heard [sic] of frightened buffaloes' 'hurling themselves down ... precipices' ('The United States', 14 September 1857, p. 8).

⁴ Norton's cousin, the Boston businessman Charles H Mills (see *CEN* 10, note 29); and his uncle, Edmund Dwight (see *CEN* 4, note 15).

⁵ According to Norton, there were few families whose property had not undergone 'some diminution', but he hoped the crisis would check the 'ridiculous' social excesses of recent years and perhaps even introduce a 'higher morality' into politics (*Norton*, I, 185).

⁶ See *CEN* 42, note 19; Little and Brown were 'retrenching' until the financial crisis had died down.

⁷ Probably a copy of the Dryden's edition of *Plutarch*, which C was revising (see *CEN* 15, note 16).

⁸ See *CEN* 44, note 3.

⁹ Anna Hazard Barker Ward (1813–1900), the wife of Samuel Gray Ward (1817–1907), both of whom were close friends of Emerson and Norton.

experienced, the least vaniteux of Frenchmen. He was a good deal distinguished in Algeria – he wrote a book about the natives but I don't know what it is –

Well, Delhi is taken, which is a happy thing, though we dread to hear of the details – captures of cities are horrible at the best¹⁰ – & this cannot have been at the best – with wild Sikhs & no quarter,¹¹ & a wealthy luxurious metropolis. Were you ever there?¹² – If you have read the letters in the Times, you will have noticed Indophilus (who ought in proper Greek to call himself *Philindus* – Indophilus would be more probably “beloved of the Hindoos”) – Indophilus is Sir Charles Trevelyan¹³ – Leadenhall St^t is full of the humane feeling¹⁴ – & would back up L^d Canning's proclamation¹⁵ & Mr Grant's Allahabad releases with all its influences.¹⁶ It may be right, but it is not discreet – it is not possible yet to enforce clemency – They should have waited till Delhi had

¹⁰ According to *The Times*, Delhi was ‘assaulted’ on 14th September, and was in possession of British troops on the 20th; losses on both sides were heavy, with about 40 British officers and 600 men killed or wounded (‘The Fall of Delhi’, 27 October 1857, p. 8).

¹¹ The Sikhs fought on the British side in the 1857 uprising, but during the Second Sikh War of 1849, they had been formidable opponents; a serving officer was appalled by Sikh ‘violence, cruelty and treachery’ and their total ‘indifference’ to human life. They apparently thought that thirteen men gored by a ‘sacred ox’ had no right to complain at being hurt by ‘so venerable a beast’ (*Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India*, ed. by the Rev. G. H. Hodson [London: John W. Parker, 1859], p. 59).

¹² Before the devastation caused by the siege of 1857, Delhi had been a major tourist centre, with ornate buildings, shops stocked with British manufactured goods and tree-lined streets that resembled those of London's Regent Street (John Matheson, *England to Delhi, A Narrative of Indian Travel* [London: Longman, 1870], pp. 356/7). Norton was very impressed with Delhi during his tour of India in 1849, describing it as ‘full of historical interest’ and ‘crowded with fine memorials of the Mahometan empire in India’ (*Norton*, I, 35).

¹³ Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan (1807–1886), one time administrator in the East India Company, corresponded in *The Times*, under the name of ‘Indophilus’, with the Sanskritist, F. Max Müller (1823–1900), (pen name ‘Philindus’), over the Indian ‘Mutiny’ in late 1857. Trevelyan blamed the British for their unfair treatment of the ‘Mahomedans’, and warned against too severe retribution, advocating instead a policy of ‘reward and punishment’, whereby those loyal to ‘British India’ in its hour of need should receive a ‘medal of ‘fidelity’ or even land, whereas military execution or transportation to ‘Black Water’, an aptly named West Indian island, would be a suitable punishment for the mutineers (*The Letters of Indophilus to “The Times”* [London: Longman, 1857], pp. 8–10).

¹⁴ East India House, the centre of government for the vast Indian empire, was situated in Leadenhall Street.

¹⁵ Charles John, Earl Canning (1812–1862), Governor-General of India from 1856, and dubbed ‘Clemency Canning’, proclaimed that, as a punishment for their aid to the rebels, the landowners of Oudh, the home of a large contingent of British sepoy, would forfeit their land. This was considered a light punishment for rebels who might otherwise have been sentenced to death.

¹⁶ General Sir James Hope Grant (1808–1875) was in charge of the cavalry sent to relieve the siege of Delhi; the *Saturday Review* spoke of the ‘flood of indignation’ that followed Grant's decision to release 150 captured rebels from prison in Allahabad, who thus escaped the ‘just vengeance’, demanded by their inhumane acts (‘Results of the Fall of Delhi’, 4 [1857], 414–415 [p. 415]).

fallen & Lucknow been relieved¹⁷ – So at least we think here – The Company however is sadly at discount, & will have hard work to maintain any of its power.¹⁸ The War Department I believe is very hard upon it. Sir Robert Vivian who commanded the Turkish Contingent & who is one of the Directors appointed by the Crown, spoke the other day of the outbreak at Meerut & Delhi as a thing that ought to have been put down at once¹⁹ – General Anson he thought was to blame.²⁰ He believes there was no sort of general conspiracy a foot [sic] – & urges the irregular, and utterly indiscreet way in which the regiments have mutinied here, & there, and at the worst-chosen times & places – He was a Madras officer – Neill commanded a brigade under him in the Crimea. He quite disapproved of Neill’s outrages on the caste-feeling at Cawnpore – I confess I don’t.²¹ I think we may break down caste one way or other²² & ally ourselves with the Sikhs & the Buddhists of Nepaul etc whose religions are reasonable & comparatively un-ceremonial.²³ I don’t believe Christianity can spread far in Asia –

¹⁷ The siege of Lucknow, the residency complex of the British Commissioner in India, in the state of Oudh, started on 29th June 1857, triggered by the refusal of Indian troops to bite gun cartridges they believed to be greased with pork and beef fat, which violated their religion. It lasted 87 days, with over 2,500 killed or wounded, and many deaths from cholera and small pox (*Morning Chronicle*, 13 January 1858, p. 6).

¹⁸ When news of the massacres reached England, there was widespread condemnation of the East India Company and in 1858 the government of India was transferred to the Crown.

¹⁹ Sir Robert Vivian (1802–1887), Adjutant-General of the Madras Army until 1853, commanded a force of 20,000 Ottoman troops in the Crimea War; he was appointed Director of the East India Company in 1855 (*DNB*).

²⁰ General George Anson (1797–1857), Commander-in-chief of the Indian Army from 1856, was widely criticized for not responding more quickly when he heard that rebels from Meerut had joined with rebellious forces in Delhi and taken the city.

²¹ To ‘inflict a fearful punishment’ for the ‘revolting and barbarous’ massacre of women and children at Cawnpore, General James Neill (1810–57) forced the captured rebels to clean up pools of blood 2 inches deep in the shed where the ‘fearful murders and mutilations’ had taken place, before being hung, knowing that this was ‘most abhorrent’ to high-caste ‘natives’ who believed their souls would be thereby ‘doom[ed] to perdition’ (*Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser*, 3 October 1857, p. 7). Vivian spoke against the almost universal cry for ‘indiscriminate slaughter’ of Indians in revenge for the massacres, which was ‘unchristian’, urging instead ‘retributive justice’ (*Royal Cornwall Gazette*, 30 October 1857, p. 6).

²² A contemporary article described the Indian caste system as ‘maze of delusive superstitions’, involving doctrines of the ‘grossest injustice’, in contrast to England, where class inequalities were ameliorated to some extent by a ‘liberal education’ and ‘superiority of character’. The writer urged the ‘extirpation’ of caste in the interests of ‘developing English dominion’ and establishing ‘the supremacy of English civilization’ in India (‘The Theory and Practice of Caste’, *Eclectic Review*, 2 [1857], 445–452 [pp. 450, 452]).

²³ Compared to Hinduism, the Sikh religion had no distinctions of caste, a much more relaxed moral code and few dietary restrictions (Lieut.- Colonel Steinbach, *The Punjab; Being a Brief History of the Country of the Sikhs*, 2nd edn [London: Smith Elder, 1846], pp.160–61). Similarly, Buddhism in Nepal ‘appealed to the common sense’ and had no rigid caste divisions – ‘genuine Buddhism’ proclaimed the equality of all its followers (B. H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet* [London: Trübner, 1874], pp. 122, 63). C acknowledged some ‘primeval’ divine truth in both Hinduism

unless it will allow men more than one wife, which isn't likely yet, out of Utah.²⁴ But I believe the old Brahmin – touch not & taste not & I-am-holier-than-thou-because-I-don't-touch-& taste may be got rid of²⁵ – As for Mahometanism it is a crystallized theism out of which no vegetation can come²⁶ – I doubt its being good even for the Central Negro.²⁷ –

The yellow oblongs of the Virginians have just shown themselves in our November windows²⁸ – I saw Thackeray himself flourishing like a green bay tree the other day,²⁹ by the Athenaeum door way.³⁰ His fingers I hope have not been burnt in Wall S^t³¹ – A

and Buddhism ('Salsette and Elephanta', *Poems*, 145), which he noted had subsequently been 'corrupted' (Evelyn Barish Greenberger, 'Salsette and Elephanta: An Unpublished Poem by Clough', *Review of English Studies*, 20 [1969], 284–305 [p. 291]). However, the latter is portrayed as the more seductive, with its promise of prelapsarian 'bliss', and freedom from the tyranny of conscience and the suffering enjoined by Christianity (*Poems*, 142).

²⁴ Polygamy, legalised by the 'licentious' Mormon prophet, Joseph Smith, in 1843, had, by the mid-19th century, come to be regarded as paramount to salvation, with many followers having a harem of up to eight wives (Benjamin G. Ferris, *Utah and the Mormons* [New York: Harper, 1854], pp. 235, 289).

²⁵ Brahmins, the highest priestly caste in Hinduism, were considered 'infinitely superior in worth and dignity to all other human beings' (James Mill, *The History of British India*, 2nd edn, 6 vols [London: Baldwin, Cradock, 1826], I, 160). There is a belief that the Brahmins imposed the stigma of 'untouchability' on Buddhists who refused to convert to Hinduism (Christophe Jaffrelot, *Dr Ambedkar and Untouchability* [London: C. Hurst, 2005], p. 41).

²⁶ A reference to the widely held perception of Islam's fixity of belief and resistance to change, from which 'Western speculation' and 'utilitarian positivism' ran like 'rain from a waterproof' (William Gifford Palgrave, *Essays on Eastern Questions* [London: Macmillan, 1872], p. 131). C was not always so hostile towards 'Mahometanism', believing at one time that 'Mahomet's' teachings, like those of Socrates and 'Confutzee', were inspired by the 'Holy Ghost' (*The Oxford Diaries of Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by Anthony Kenny [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990], p. 25).

²⁷ Missionaries were keen to reach the tribes of the unknown interior of Africa while they remained in their 'virgin savagery', believing that it would take 'several generations to implant real, sound civilisation and Christianity in the negro race' (H. H. Johnson, *Livingstone and the Exploration of Central Africa* [Liverpool: George Philip, 1891], pp. 28, 92, 93).

²⁸ Virginia creeper; a climbing plant native to eastern North America.

²⁹ 'I have seen the wicked in great power, and spreading himself like a green bay tree' (Psalms 37.35).

³⁰ A London club in Pall Mall, founded by John Wilson Croker (see *CEN* 13, note 3) in 1824 as a meeting place for intellectuals; both C and Thackeray were members. [there is a letter in the archives at Senate House from Arthur Hugh Clough of University Hall, London to an unidentified recipient, 4 July 1851, which asks whether the rooms vacated by a Mr Kenrick might be occupied 'for two or three day next week' by Kenrick's brother – Timothy Kenrick and John Arthur Kenrick – hardware manufacturers and prominent Unitarians – studied at University College London?].

³¹ The financial district of New York City since 1790 (see note 3 above); as news of the 'financial earthquake' spread, men were seen pouring into Wall Street from every direction and thousands of anxious investors queued outside the banks ('The Panic at New York', *The Times*, 27 October 1857, p. 9). Thackeray had made two lecture tours of America, travelling out with C for the first (see Introduction, p. 12). Writing to a friend, he expressed his relief at having previously sold his share in 'Transatlantic Telegraph' before 'the panic' (*Thackeray's Letters to an American Family* [New York: The Century, 1904], p. 157).

book on Siberia to be published by Colburn.³² Livingstone,³³ & Rawlinson's Herodotus by Murray³⁴ – these, I suppose, should be looked out for. Matt Arnold has announced *Merope*, a Tragedy³⁵ (to rival Voltaire's).³⁶ He is at Oxford, going to begin his lectures as Professor of Poetry³⁷ – did you lose that Cathedral Novel among other things?³⁸ – I must stop for the present. –

Nov^r 10th This missed its proper steamer – so that I can now acknowledge your letter of Oct^r 25 – very briefly however³⁹ – Also the Indian tray for which my wife sends her best thanks and the Tennyson; is this for “Tennyson's friend” – by request made to Child some time ago – ? – it is a pretty little book & very convenient. We called at Rutland Gate as soon as we co^d after hearing M^r & M^{rs} Cabot were there: but were too late –

³² Hurst and Blackett's (successors to the publisher Henry Colburn) list of new publications for November 1857 included *Oriental and Western Siberia: 'A Narrative of Seven Years' Explorations and Adventures in Siberia, Mongolia.....and Central Asia'*, by Thomas Witlam Atkinson (*Athenaeum*, 17 October 1857, p. 1282).

³³ The Rev David Livingstone's eagerly awaited *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London: John Murray, 1857) was enthusiastically reviewed in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*. Livingstone had received a generally cordial reception from the 'heathen' tribes, and even his rivals, the rain doctors, who were not generally opposed to Christian missionaries. His mission, apparently, had the double advantage of converting the natives and acquiring new land for cotton cultivation. He survived a number of hostile encounters with lions and hippopotami, as well as with Boer slave-traders ('Dr. Livingstone's Africa', 24 [1857], 720–730 [p. 721]).

³⁴ 'Mr. Murray's List of New Works' included a new edited English version of the *History of Herodotus* by the Rev. G Rawlinson (*Athenaeum*, 24 October 1857, p. 1316).

³⁵ 'The Letters of a Betrothed, Matthew Arnold's *MEROPE*, a Tragedy &c' was first advertised in the *Athenaeum* under 'Literary Intelligence of Works Preparing for Publication' on 28 November 1857 (p.1475).

³⁶ Voltaire's version of the Greek tragedy *Merope* was first published in 1744. Arnold admired its lines of 'terse observation' and 'powerful, animated, rhetoric', but found it lacking in 'poetical feeling' ('Preface to *Merope*', *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. by Kenneth Allott, rev. by Miriam Allott, 2nd edn, [London & New York: Longman, 1979], p. 691).

³⁷ After a contest of 'great interest' between Matthew Arnold MA, 'son of the late celebrated Dr. Arnold', and the Rev. John Ernest Bode MA, a 'gentleman of high standing', for the post of Professor of Poetry at Oxford, Arnold was elected by a majority of 85 votes ('University Intelligence', *Morning Chronicle*, 6 May 1857, p. 6). He delivered his inaugural lecture in English rather than Latin, as was the tradition, on 14th November 1857 at the Clarendon ('University Intelligence', *Morning Chronicle*, 5 November 1857, p. 3).

³⁸ Norton's trunk containing manuscripts, including C's for the first edition of the *Atlantic Monthly*, was lost during the voyage back to America, but later recovered (*Norton*, I, 182). C could have been referring to *The Warden*, published in 1855, and set in 'Cathedral Close'; it was the first of the six novels in Anthony Trollope's (1815–1882) *Chronicles of Barsetshire*, about clerical life in an English cathedral town.

³⁹ Norton wrote from Boston on October 25 1857 (*Norton*, I, 184) [No mention of Indian tray or Tennyson, obviously part of letter missing].

they were off to the Continent.⁴⁰ – I have got the Atlantic – which I think looks very well – too many magazine tales, but that the public demands, I suppose.⁴¹ – The Article in the Nat^l Review on India is by a man who was Secy to Punjab under Lawrence; it is well thought of⁴² – the Edinburgh evidently by Kay⁴³ – If I send you 400£ will you put it into a safe broker's hands to buy Massachusetts or Boston Stock? But how shall I send it? & is it not too late now?⁴⁴

[cross-hatched across first and second pages] Yesterday announced the relief of Lucknow – our great relief too⁴⁵ – And to day the suspension of the Bank Charter Act.⁴⁶ So far as I see the Scotch Banking System has made it impossible to carry out any such

⁴⁰ The 'dilettante literateur', J. Elliot Cabot (1821–1903), (Turner, p. 15), who helped set up the *Atlantic Monthly*, and Elizabeth Cabot Cary Agassiz, pioneer for women's education, visited Rutland Gate in the autumn of 1857, soon after their marriage (*Letters of Elizabeth Cabot*, 2 vols [Boston: privately printed, 1905], I, 191).

⁴¹ The *Atlantic Monthly: A Magazine of Literature, Art and Politics*, founded by Emerson, Longfellow and others, with Lowell as its first editor, was launched in November 1857; the title was to illustrate that 'the ocean bridged, not divided Britain and America', and that 'Old' and New England 'shared a single "Anglo Saxon" culture' (Turner, p. 157). Published in Boston by Phillips, Sampson, and in London by Trübner, the *Atlantic* carried an eclectic mix of articles as diverse as 'The Manchester Exhibition' (pp.33–46), by Norton and a light-hearted tale about turkeys (p. 149). Emerson had ruled that the names of contributors would only be given when they were 'worth more than the articles' (*Norton*, I, 186).

⁴² The article entitled 'The Military Revolt in India', by the Anglo-Indian Administrator, Sir Richard Temple (1826–1906), analyses the causes of the 'most unjustifiable and most atrocious' revolt in history; the tone is one of reproach for the 'blackest ingratitude' and 'barbarous insolence' displayed by the 'natives' towards their colonial masters, whose intentions towards the Indian people had always been essentially 'pure' and conducive to their 'moral and material welfare'. The article ends on an optimistic note: weathering 'this mighty storm' will not only have strengthened Britain's national prestige, but proved the 'invincibility' of her empire (*National Review*, 10 [1857], 440–486 [pp. 486, 485]).

⁴³ 'Papers relating to the Mutinies in the East Indies', in the *Edinburgh Review* attributed to Sir John William Kaye, the military historian in the East India Service, takes the same moral high ground, seeing the Indian uprising as a contest between 'the barbarism and fanaticism of Asiatic hordes' and the 'civilised authority of Christian rulers'; the writer exonerates the British, whose hand had been forced, and claims divine sanction for the forcible means taken to restore the British Empire in India to its 'former stability and grandeur' (106 [1857], 544–94 [pp. 593, 594]).

⁴⁴ See *CEN* 4, note 34.

⁴⁵ See note 17 above; although it was not finally recaptured until March 1858, *The Times* was 'confidently assured' about the safety of the 'heroic garrison': Havelock was in command, the enemy was on the defensive and a convoy of provisions had got through with an escort of only 250 men (27 November 1857, p. 6).

⁴⁶ See *CEN* 42, note 3; on 12th November 1857, the government announced the suspension of the Bank Charter Act, which had brought the country to the 'verge of an explosion' that could have 'shattered the entire financial edifice', and authorised the Bank of England to issue notes to an 'unlimited amount' (*Daily News*, 13 November 1857, p. 4). [This is evidence that C's letter was started on 31st October and not finished until almost a fortnight later].

Act – Pray tell me who Lowell married. I did not so much as know that he was married.⁴⁷

Farewell – with kindest remembrances

Ever Yours

A.H.C.

Friday 13th November

MS *H*

Corr. 533–5 (part-published); *PR* 238–9 (part-published).

⁴⁷ Lowell married Frances Dunlap (see *JRL* 8, note 3).

[Education Department, Council Office headed paper]

23rd November 1857

My dear Charles

Do not trouble yourself about thinking of the investment which I mentioned in my last letter¹ – I do not feel sure that I shall have so much to spare at present, and I could no doubt buy on this side – We shall have hard times I fear this winter on our side the water as well as on yours² – No further disasters in India will I hope occur, to aggravate the distress. Parliament meets to vote money.³ Meantime there is much anxiety about Lucknow⁴ – I hope Newport will shield you from the severities of the New England winter – to which I am sorry you went back.⁵ I have no news I think since a letter went, which I hope you have received, about 10 days ago.⁶ There is a curious simple-minded Robinson Crusoe kind of book, Parker Snow's voyages to Terra del Fuego & the Falkland Island which is pleasant reading⁷ – Have you read Soll und Haben; which is now translated moreover – if you recoil from 4 volumes of German. Debit & Credit I

¹ See *CEN* 45, note 44.

² On 25th October 1857 Norton wrote that 'times were hard but wholesome', and although there would be a 'period of gloom', America would not fail and her prosperity would not be destroyed (*Norton*, I, 185).

³ Parliament was recalled early to allay the 'prevalent alarm' caused by the failure of certain joint-stock banks and mercantile firms as a result of the suspension of the Bank Charter Act (see *CEN* 42, note 3), which required new banknotes to be wholly backed by gold. Unrest in the markets had led to unemployment and distress among the 'operative classes' (*Daily News*, 4 December 1857, p. 2).

⁴ See *CEN* 45, note 17.

⁵ Norton had decided to winter in the 'milder climate and quieter environs' of Newport (Turner, p. 146).

⁶ See *CEN* 45 [more proof that *CEN* 45 was only finished in mid-November].

⁷ Devout Christian, W. Parker Snow, captained a yacht sent by the 'Patagonian Missionary Society' to establish a settlement on the Falkland Islands, but because he objected to the deportation of young Fuegians and Patagonians to work the society's estate there in return for learning to read the gospels, he was left destitute and forced to borrow money to get home. While in the Falklands, Snow discovered a 'Jemmy Button' who 27 years earlier had been taken to England to be educated, and then sent home to teach his 'poor degraded brethren' the 'arts of civilisation'. But although he still spoke English, Button had reverted to being a wild man, and Snow's attempts to clothe him failed as he lay down and covered his new pink-striped shirt with red soil (W. Parker Snow, *A Two Years' Cruise off Tierra del Fuego, the Falkland Islands, Patagonia, and in the River Plate: A Narrative of Life in the Southern Seas*, 2 vols [London: Longman, 1857], II, 23, 24, 46, 274–9).

think they call it in English.⁸ – If you see or write to Lowell tell him to postpone my hexameters⁹ sine die if he likes¹⁰ – I don't think they would be popular – & have not any great affection or even esteem for them –

Alex^r Smith's *City Poems* I cannot do anything with¹¹ – of Emerson's four in the *Atlantic* I like the 3rd much the best¹² – I will tell you some day what Fl. Nightingale said of Longfellow's *Santa Philomena*, which she saw in the copy I received – one thing was that he had not taken the true point in the disasters of that Winter¹³ – I am rather sorry that you allowed Douglas Jerrold the place of honour.¹⁴ – he was of the debased

⁸ The 1857 translation of the popular German novel *Soll und Haben* (*Debit and Credit*), by Gustav Freytag, first published in 1855, portrays the class divisions of modern Germany. Its basic premise is that the future of European countries depended on the abolition of all social barriers between the 'ancient nobility' and the 'educated middle classes', their 'just and Christian' treatment of the working class, and the eventual attainment of a 'perfect constitutional monarchy' (*Debit and Credit*, trans. by L.C.C., 2 vols [Edinburgh: Constable, and London: Hamilton Adams, 1857], I, pp. xxviii–xxix).

⁹ On 25th October 1857, Norton wrote that Lowell had 'just received the *first part* of the "Amours de Voyage"' which he believed would appear in the December number of the *Atlantic* (Norton, I, 184). In the event, the first instalment of the poem was published in the February 1858 edition of the magazine (*Corr.* 536–537).

¹⁰ 'indefinitely' [Latin].

¹¹ In his review of Alexander Smith's 1853 collection of poems (see Appendix 2), C had admired their 'force of purpose and character', which contrasted favourably with the 'ordinary languid collectanea published by young men of literary habits' ('Recent English Poetry', *North American Review*, 77, [1853], 1–31, p. 1). But when his *City Poems* were published in 1857, the *Critic* accused Smith of plagiarism, pronouncing him incapable of 'uttering the humblest sentiment of ordinary life without borrowing ... from some predecessor', and listing examples of parallels with Byron and others ('Smith the Poet', 16 [1857], p. 450).

¹² Emerson contributed four poems anonymously to the first edition of the *Atlantic Monthly* (1 [1857]): 'The Rommany Girl' (46–47.); 'The Chartist's Complaint' (47); 'Days' (47–48.); and 'Brahma' (48–58). The latter two are considered to be among his best poems (*A Historical Guide to Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. by Joel Myerson [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000], p. 281).

¹³ Longfellow's poem 'Santa Filomena', also published in the *Atlantic Monthly* (1[1857], pp. 22–24), was described by the *Critic* as 'the most graceful tribute' yet 'rendered by poetry' to Florence Nightingale. It was apparently inspired by a painting in a chapel in Pisa, depicting the saint as a 'beautiful nymph-like figure, floating down from heaven' to heal the sick and maimed ('Longfellow's New Poems', 17 [1858], 629–630 (p. 630). The reference to 'a lady with a lamp' in the 6th stanza of the poem helped popularise the nickname, derived from a report in *The Times*, which described Nightingale as 'a ministering angel' with a lamp in her hand (8 February, p. 7). This idealisation of Nightingale ignored the harsh reality of her first winter in the Crimea, especially her battles with officialdom over the lack of supplies and equipment as the hospital at Scutari was flooded with victims (see *CEN* 24, notes 3, 4, 7).

¹⁴ The first article in the first edition of the *Atlantic Monthly* was a twelve-page tribute by James Hannay to the recently deceased playwright and journalist, Douglas William Jerrold (1803–1857); (Ellery Sedgwick, *A History of the Atlantic Monthly 1857–1909: Yankee Humanism at High Tide and Ebb*, [Massachusetts: University of Mass. Press, 1994], p. 36). Peppered with epithets such as 'brilliant', 'unique', 'love-inspiring', the author did concede, however, that some had found Jerrold's satiric wit 'repellent', and that he could be 'convivial up to heights of vinous glory which a respectable age discourages'. Examples of 'Jerroldiana' included his calling a thin littérateur of his acquaintance 'a pin without the head or the point' (*Atlantic Monthly* 1 [1857], 1–12 [pp. 1, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12]).

Cockney order at best¹⁵ – a common wine-bibing, punning, hand to mouth living literary individual.

I am a little out of conceit also with M^{rs} Gaskell.¹⁶ Miss Nightingale Florence Nightingale's elder sister¹⁷ went to the Manchester Exhibⁿ.¹⁸ The rumour got abroad that it was the real Miss Nightingale. A policeman came up to M^{rs} Gaskell whom he knew & asked her if it was true, saying he was sure she would know. M^{rs} Gaskell knew perfectly well; for M^r & Miss N. had been calling and dining at her house – but her answer was “Yes”. – & when her companion expostulated, her reply was “She could not bear to take away the man's faith” – Do not repeat this – for I should like to be more absolutely sure of the exact expressions; but the companion told it to my informant, and I, for my part, should not desire henceforth to read any biographies by M^{rs} Gaskell, – if this is really the true account of what happened.¹⁹ –

I have heard nothing of Plutarch for some time – The unfortunate lives Dion & Brutus, which I had to resuscitate, have not come back to me from the Printer – so I suppose things are standing still. I sent them the beginning of the Index on Saturday last the 21st. I have found a better Index to work up mine from, & I shall not be at all sorry to have time allowed me to do this. I don't think it can be done, possibly, before the end of January, but I dare say I may count on having as much time as that. – If you happen to write to L & B, will you say this for me²⁰ – I am rather sorry you are going to molest

¹⁵ An often contemptuous term for someone born in the city of London; ‘the Cockney School’ was the nickname for a set of 19th century London writers (*OED*).

¹⁶ See *CEN* 44, note 9.

¹⁷ Frances Parthenope, Lady Verney, née Nightingale (1819–1890), genealogist and author; Mrs Gaskell became friends with the Nightingale sisters and was in regular correspondence with Parthenope. She wrote much of *North and South* at Lea Hurst (see *CEN* 19:5), a copy of which Florence requested while in the Crimea (*Florence Nightingale: Letters from the Crimea*, ed. by Sue M. Goldie [Manchester: Mandolin, 1997], pp. 125, 144).

¹⁸ See *CEN* 44, note 9; in 1857 Manchester staged a great Art Exhibition at Old Trafford; Gaskell wrote to Norton complaining of ‘long hard hot days’ at the exhibition showing ‘the same great pictures over & over again’ to visitors who only had time for a ‘superficial’ look at them (*The Letters of Mrs Gaskell*, ed. by J. A. V. Chappell & Arthur Pollard, 2nd edn [Manchester: Mandolin, 1997], p. 476).

¹⁹ Mrs Gaskell published *The Life of Charlotte Bronte* in 1857 (London: Smith, Elder).

²⁰ C's revision of *Plutarch's Lives* was not published until 1859 (see Appendix 2 and *CEN* 66, note 2); the lives of Dion and Brutus appeared in Volume 5 (pp. 245–301 & 302–361).

the Saints in Utah²¹ – not that I like Brigham Young²² – A book by an Englishman named Chandless who for his entertainment & instruction went as a hired teamster & staid some time in the City gives a favorable view of the settlement²³ – Farewell for the present.

Ever Yours

AHC

[cross-hatched across the top of first page]

Please send the enclosed to L & B. – it contains my message.

Ever yours

AHC

MS H

Corr. 535–6 (part-published).

²¹ See *CEN* 45, note 24; the US government had sent an army officer to Utah to investigate the alleged involvement of Mormons in the ‘Mountain Meadows Massacre’ – the killing of 120 emigrants from a wagon train which had been passing through Utah territory on September 11th 1857.

²² Brigham Young (1801–1877), founder of Salt Lake City, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from 1847 and first governor of Utah; proclaimed as a ‘the prophet and revelator’, he was a controversial figure who had 55 wives (William Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake: Being a Journey across the Plains, and a Residence in the Mormon Settlements at Utah* [London: Smith, Elder, 1857], p. 206).

²³ William Chandless’s book overturned some of the stereotypes about Mormons: the ‘wretchedness’ of wives in Utah, for example, had been ‘greatly exaggerated’. Moreover, Mormons were not ‘licentious’, had respect for the government and their “constitution”, and enjoined ‘religious toleration’ (Chandless, pp. 191–2, 194, 180, 179).

[headed paper 'Education Office']

15 Jany 1858

My dear Charles

I was delighted to get your letter – & wish I had time to do more than acknowledge it; but I am extremely occupied just now¹ – I was very nearly sending my savings over for your disposal, per Barings,² but I thought you would be out of the way at Newport & so I have invested in some Scotch Railway Preference Shares³ – at no more than 5 per cent, even during the Glasgow panic.⁴ How quickly it seems to have passed – a sort of tornado in the Commercial ocean! – I've not seen myself in the Atlantic Monthly yet – However I've despatched Part III, & shall send Part IV as soon as may be.⁵ I've sent you Matt Arnold's *Merope* – the *Preface* at any rate will interest you.⁶ – Pray take this for a letter & answer it – We are having a mild winter here & I hope you are not having a severe one: to keep up the general average –

¹ Norton wrote from Newport on 6th December 1857.

² The leading British merchant bank, founded in 1763.

³ Construction of The Great North of Scotland railway line to connect Aberdeen with Inverness began in 1852 and continued throughout the decade; financed in part by English banks, it was a great success and typically paid dividends of 5–8% (*Bradshaw's Railway Manual, Shareholders' Guide and Official Directory*, 19, [London: W J Adams, 1867], p. 117).

⁴ On November 11 1857, Glasgow was in a state of 'intense excitement' due to a monetary crisis which saw banks suspend payments and close branches, and the Bank of England send large amounts of bullion and sovereigns to the city by express trains to meet the 'extraordinary demands of depositors for gold' ('The Money Panic in Glasgow', *Caledonian Mercury*, 12 November 1857, p. 3). By November 14th, however, the *Manchester Times* reported the panic was over and Glasgow had 'sunk into a comparative calm'; the Royal Exchange expressed their full confidence in the banks and hoped this would 'show the infatuated country folks the folly of causing a run upon our banks when their solvency [was] perfectly apparent', even if their doors were temporarily closed (p. 5).

⁵ See *CEN* 46, note 9.

⁶ See *CEN* 45, note 35; the lengthy Preface to *Merope* outlines the story of the heroine's son's quest to avenge his father's death, examines Voltaire's stage production of the tragedy and justifies Arnold's choice of classical subject and his attempt to emulate the 'Greek masters' through the medium of English (Matthew Arnold, *Merope: A Tragedy* [London: Longman, 1858], vii–xlvi, (p. viii).

Indian news is still an anxious thing – Oude is a hard nut to crack – but I hope we have got it into the nut-crackers⁷ – My wife has a cousin who we fear has fallen in Lucknow – he belonged to the 47th Native Inf^{ty}, one of the three faithful detachments in Lucknow.⁸ Another in the Queen’s Engineers had reached Calcutta & was on his way to Allahabad on the 12th.⁹ Do you see the National Review? The Indian article is by W^m Greg¹⁰ – Are you going to cashier Commodore Paulding?¹¹ I hope not. Who are going to colonize Arizona?¹² What do your Republicans mean to say to your new convert – Douglas?¹³

⁷ See *CEN* 45, note 17; Lucknow endured two sieges and was finally taken on 17th November 1857. Although the British commanders’ main object – the evacuation of women and children from the residency compound – had been successfully achieved, the rebellion in the state of Oude [sic] was not so near an end as had been ‘sanguinely supposed’, as one outbreak succeeded another. Reinforcements from Calcutta were being deployed and there were ‘great grounds for anxiety’ (*Morning Chronicle*, 13 January 1858, p. 1).

⁸ 47th Bengal Native Infantry – a British Army regiment of ‘sepoys’ or native Indian soldiers: not singled out for special mention, but presumably one of the ‘very few’ regiments of the Bengal army who ‘remained faithful’ during the uprising (*Kaye’s and Malleeson’s History of The Indian Mutiny*, ed. by Colonel Malleeson, 6 vols [London, Longmans, 1907], V, 99).

⁹ The Queen’s Gurkha Engineers remained loyal to the Crown and were instrumental in putting down the mutiny. The voyage to India from England took 4 months, and it was a 500 mile journey from Calcutta to Allahabad, where Commander Sir Colin Campbell was based.

¹⁰ The article entitled ‘Principles of Indian Government’ by William Rathbone Greg (1809–1881), a friend of C’s, dismisses any prospect of Indian self-rule, arguing that, in the aftermath of the ‘hideous barbarities’ of the uprisings, the country should in future be ruled by a ‘despotic bureaucracy’ of permanent officials. It would take a few generations to eradicate ‘national vices’, so that participation in government by native ‘Hindoos’ could only be envisaged after a process of indoctrination had made them appreciative of the ‘blessings’ of British rule, and a European education had imbued them with ‘European notions of morality’ (*National Review*, 11 [1858], 1–37 [pp. 1, 14, 35, 36]).

¹¹ To dismiss from service (*OED*).

¹² An application was before the US congress for the establishment of the new territory of Arizona; ‘exceedingly rich in silver and copper mines’, it was looking to Washington for protection from the ‘savage tribes’ that roamed that ‘wild region’, and offered unparalleled opportunities for miners and capitalists from Great Britain. (*Daily News*, 11 January 1858, p. 5).

¹³ Democrat Senator Stephen A Douglas (1813–1861), who devised the Kansas-Nebraska bill permitting the two new territories to determine whether they would be ‘free’ or ‘slave’ states (see *RWE* 17, note 2). However, as a champion of ‘popular sovereignty’, he refused to support the proposed ‘Lecompton’ Constitution for the state of Kansas because only the portion relating to slavery had been put to the popular vote; he was thereby forced into an ‘emphatic and indignant’ repudiation of the charge that he ‘had gone over to the Republicans’ (‘Senator Douglas and the Democratic Party’, *The Times*, 5 January 1858, p. 8).

Paulding's proclamation is very honourable to him¹⁴ – I hope the legal difficulty will be waived.¹⁵

I read two Poems of Tennyson on stories of the Arthur cycle which will in time come forth¹⁶ – I thought them very good. – Carlyle will issue 2 volumes pretty soon¹⁷ – Also Froude.¹⁸

Farewell – kindest remembrances to your mother & sisters –

Ever Yours

A H Clough

MS H

Corr. 539 (published in full).

¹⁴ Commodore Hiram Paulding, a rear admiral in the US navy, had foiled an attempt against Nicaragua by the American filibuster William Walker. According to *The Times*, the enlistment of 'Filibusters' for Nicaragua was progressing with 'much spirit' in the US, and the 'excitement' in favour of Walker was intense. Walker demanded that the Government convey him back to Nicaragua in a national vessel and salute his flag on arrival at the isthmus; Paulding was ordered home for trial by court martial (12 January 1858, p. 8).

¹⁵ Paulding defended the capture of Walker and his outlawed and piratical followers, declaring that 'humanity... law, justice and national honour demanded the dispersion [sic] of these lawless men' (*Morning Post*, 13 January 1858, p. 4). The *Morning Post* commended Paulding's action and questioned the sincerity of US policy in regard to the enforcement of its neutrality laws, especially as public opinion in the South supported Walker as a 'pioneer of slavery' and an 'asserter of annexation', which, if unchecked, the paper believed, would bring the whole of central America under US control (12 January 1858, p. 4).

¹⁶ In 1855 C had read *Maud* in proof (see *CEN* 29, note 9), and while staying on the Isle of Wight in late 1856 he mentions Tennyson's working on 'fragments' or 'idylls' (see *FJC* 6, note 6). The first instalments of poems which were to become *Idylls of the King*: 'Enid', 'Vivien', 'Elaine' and 'Guinevere' were not published until July 1859, but in 1857 Moxon published six trial copies of *Enid and Nimuë: The True and the False* ['Nimuë' was later renamed 'Vivien'], which were, however, quickly recalled owing to a disparaging remark from a friend of Tennyson's.

¹⁷ A new volume of Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus; Lectures on Heroes and Hero Worship* appeared on 13 February 1858 (*Athenaeum*, 13 February 1858, p. 218).

¹⁸ The third and fourth volumes of Froude's *History of England, from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth* (see *RWE* 19, note 17) were published by John W. Parker at the beginning of March 1858 (*Athenaeum*, 6 March 1858, p. 317).

[10–17 February 1858]¹

My dear Charles

I send you a little scrap because I think you will be glad to hear that we have a little girl in the home with which you made a brief acquaintance – This domestic event took place on Tuesday last, the 10th, & is a great relief as well as gratification – for my wife had been suffering a good deal for some time – All is however going on as well as possible at present.² –

So they have actually printed my hexameters in the *Atlantic*. I cannot myself make up my mind to read them – & it is a great addition to the evil that it will go on for another & another month – I have sent the last portion – which has given me a good deal of trouble. I suppose that what one wrote nine years ago can never be quite agreeable to one – but as I have no time to write now, it was all I could do to send what I had.³ –

Pray write & tell me; for example, who wrote Mamoul in the last no. but one⁴ – & who wrote other things in both that & the last n^o.⁵

¹ Dated by the reference to the birth of C's daughter, Florence Anne Mary, on Wednesday [not Tuesday] 10 February 1858.

² An announcement in the *Morning Chronicle* read 'On the 10th inst., at 11, St. Mark's-crescent, the wife of Arthur H. Clough, Esq. Of a daughter' (15 February 1858, p. 8).

³ The first instalment of *Amours de Voyage* appeared in the February 1858 edition of the *Atlantic Monthly*; Norton replied that a 'long past expression of thought and feeling' might seem 'inadequate and empty' to oneself, but not to others; after visiting Rome, he himself liked C's 'hexameters' far better than before (*Norton*, I, 189–90).

⁴ The article 'Mamoul', meaning 'usage' or 'custom', by Dr J. W. Palmer, is a colourful and ironic snapshot of the extremes of poverty and affluence on a teeming Calcutta street, with high caste Brahmins avoiding the 'unclean rabble', and British 'sahibs' in all their pomp and splendour, lording it over the 'profoundly abject' 'Hindoo pariah' (*Atlantic Monthly* 1 [1858], 336–43 [pp. 100, 336, 338, 339, 649]).

⁵ Norton named the authors of articles in the first and second numbers, who included himself and Emerson (*Norton*, I, 186 & 189).

Carlyle tells me that his Frederick Vols I & II will appear in May & will not carry its hero further than his accession.⁶

I hope you are really getting through the winter pretty well – but I should like to have some more authentic intelligence on the subject –

There is an Article on Rugby in the Edinburgh by Fitz James Stephen⁷ – I have not read it – but I hear of it – It seems to be true in a way, but very exaggerated⁸ – –

Farewell,

Ever Yours

A. H. Clough

MS H

Corr. 543–4 (published in full).

⁶ Volumes I and II of Carlyle's *History of Friedrich the Second, Called Frederick the Great* did not appear until September 29th (*Critic* 17 [1858], p. 623). The first volume dealt with Frederick's upbringing and harsh treatment at the hands of his father, and the second with his turbulent youth and early manhood. The *Daily News* was full of praise, predicting that this 'new and profound interpretation of the intricate European politics of the last century', with the 'keenest insight into the character and motives of the chief actors' would surpass Carlyle's best works ('Carlyle's Frederick the Great', 27 September 1858, p. 2).

⁷ The article, by the barrister and writer Sir James Fitzjames Stephen (1789–1859), describes the new edition of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (by 'An Old Boy' [Thomas Hughes, a contemporary of C's at the school]) as an 'exact picture of the bright side of a Rugby boy's experiences', and an 'admirable' illustration of the merits of the public school system: upholding the status quo and acting as a corrective to the kind of moral degeneracy into which Shelley and Byron had sunk. However, Stephen warned that producing boys of 18 so 'distinguished in arts and arms' could make them precocious and priggish, and he does not wholly concur with the novel's hero worship of Dr Arnold. While admiring of the headmaster's 'fervent piety', 'energy and courage', he is critical of his 'total want of humour', his excessively stern sense of duty and the moral earnestness which led him to regard trivial misdemeanours in a boy as 'awful wickedness'. Moreover, in contrast to his fictional persona, Arnold was no 'patron saint of athleticism', being dismayed by 'exuberant animal spirits' ('Tom Brown's Schooldays', *Edinburgh Review* (107 [1858], 172–193 [pp. 75, 172, 177, 178, 182, 183, 185, 190])).

⁸ Thomas Arnold had a high regard for C and praised the 'intellectual and spiritual' 'excellence' which had earned him a scholarship to Balliol (*Corr.* 65). C, for his part, 'loved' Dr Arnold, his family, and Rugby School 'very much' (*Corr.* 45–46), and was deeply influenced by the school's moral code, believing it his duty to set an example of 'morality, industry, honour and Christianity' (Anthony Kenny, *A Poet's Life* [London & New York: Continuum, 2005], p. 13). The hero of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* takes a timid and pious boy called Arthur under his wing.

[Envelope addressed to ‘C.E. Norton Esqre, (forwarded by L. B. & Co)’]

C. O. 26 March [1858]¹

My dear Charles

I have to thank you for two long letters in answer I believe to two very short notes.² Many thanks for them & for your congratulations – My wife is recovering her strength & the little girl is doing very well indeed³ – they are at Combe Hurst.⁴ – Will you thank your sister for her letters which will be answered I dare say before very long. Thanks also for two newspapers, the speeches in which I thought very good & very interesting, and thanks finally for the two little blue Lowells, which I am very glad to possess.⁵ Thanks yet again additionally for the offer to collect what moneys may be forthcoming on my behalf from the Boston publishers – & to invest them.⁶ I shall be much obliged if you will do so, & I hope ere long to have something to add to the sum, which I will transmit through Barings. –

Things have been tolerably eventful over here of late, have they not? I confess myself a sort of admirer of Orsini⁷ – though I do not consider assassination good policy & therefore consider it wrong. – A Tory government meantime is a strange dispensation to live under – happily it is only on sufferance⁸ – Lord Palmerston we consider fell chiefly

¹ Year dated by the reference to the birth of C’s daughter.

² Just one [short] letter in *Norton*, dated 5 March 1858, and no mention of C’s daughter or newspapers.

³ See *CEN* 48, note 2.

⁴ See *CEN* 3, note 4.

⁵ Lowell published *The Biglow Papers* and *Poems* in 1848.

⁶ Probably payment for *Amours de Voyage* from Phillips, Sampson, the Boston publishers of the *Atlantic Monthly*.

⁷ Felice Orsini, the Italian revolutionary and former follower of Mazzini (see *CEN* 4, note 17), who was executed in 1858 for an assassination attempt on the French Emperor Napoleon III, which he hoped would spark off a revolution and thus free Italy from French control (*The Times*, ‘The Attempt to Assassinate the Emperor of the French’, 25 February 1858, p. 10).

⁸ Orsini had arranged his plot in London, and Palmerston was accused of an ‘undignified truckling to a foreign menace’ when he tried to pacify French outrage by introducing a bill amending the law of conspiracy to prevent the misuse of English hospitality by foreign refugees plotting assassination (*Morning Post*, 10 February 1858, p. 4). Palmerston was forced to resign and *The Times* berated the Radicals for ‘the suicidal act’ of letting Lord Derby’s Conservative administration in (‘Lord DERBY is the “lucky man” of politics’, 23 February 1858, p. 8).

through his appointment of Lord Clanricarde.⁹ – The days of the Company you will of course have felt to be numbered on seeing Lord Ellenborough¹⁰ gazetted as President of the Board of Control¹¹ – The Petition was by John Mill – & a good deal of the Memorandum I believe.¹² –

I am just completing the Index to the Plutarch which has taken a great deal of time & trouble & will take more, in correcting upon the proofs. However I have received the last proofs of the Lives themselves: & may therefore hope to see the end of the book pretty soon. – What is the probability of Child's coming over here & how soon is it likely to be really in prospect. I shall write to him soon, but I dare say you know his plans.¹³ Who else is likely to come over here this summer? – Have you tried Kingsley's Poems? I do not myself find them [sic] attracted by them.¹⁴ Oulita I have not tried.¹⁵ Merope I am not much surprised to find you but little pleased with.¹⁶ I myself hold chiefly to travels – Livingstone I have not quite got through.¹⁷ Atkinson's Siberia is

⁹ Grave reservations were expressed over Palmerston's judgement in appointing the 'weak and empty-headed' Whig Marquis of Clanricarde to the Cabinet at a crucial point for the country. Under his direction the promised Parliamentary Reform Bill would do nothing to diminish the 'unconstitutional influence of peers' in elections, and the new Indian Reform Bill would simply throw Indian appointments open to 'aristocratic jobbery and incapacity' ('A Distinction without a Difference; or Clanricarde *vice* Harrowby', *Liverpool Mercury*, 30 December 1857, p. 8). Moreover, Clanricarde had earlier been accused of having had an illegitimate son with a certain Mrs Handcock, and of using his influence to make the boy sole beneficiary of her will ('The Marquis of Clanricarde – the Handcock Case', *Reynolds Newspaper*, 31 January 1858, p. 9).

¹⁰ Ex-Governor-General of India, the Earl of Ellenborough (1790–1871), was appointed president of the India Board in February 1858; he was considered ideally suited for the task of overseeing the transfer of power from the East India Company to the Crown on account of his ability, Indian experience and more humane attitude toward the punishment of the Indian mutineers (*Morning Post*, 17 February 1858, p. 4).

¹¹ To be the subject of an announcement in the official gazette (*OED*).

¹² The 'Petition' and 'Memorandum of the Improvements in the Administration of India', written by John Stuart Mill (1806–1873), 'Examiner of Indian Correspondence', and submitted to Parliament in February 1858, were last-ditch attempts to save the East India Company from abolition. The petition rejected the claim that direct control of India would result in its better administration, arguing that the Company was only being abolished because it had been 'too forbearing and considerate towards the natives' (*Memorandum of the Improvements in the Administration of India during the Last Thirty Years and the Petition of the East India Company to Parliament* [London: Wm. H. Allen, 1858], pp. 113, 115).

¹³ Child paid a brief visit to England in December 1858 (see *FJC* 7, note 4).

¹⁴ See *CEN* 41, note 16.

¹⁵ A review by Andrew Kennedy Hutchison Boyd in *Fraser's Magazine*, of *Oulita the Serf: A Tragedy*, (London: John W. Parker, 1858), by Sir Arthur Helps (1813–1875), was lavish in its praise for the play, praising its originality, the easy flowing lines and its capacity to amuse, 'instruct, refine and elevate'. Telling the story of a doomed love affair in early 19th century Russia, it avoids the 'coarser and more repellent features' of serfdom and portrays the Emperor in a kindly and reasonable light (57 [1858], 528–43 [pp. 531,532]).

¹⁶ See *CEN* 45, note 35 [No mention of *Merope* in Norton].

¹⁷ See *CEN* 45, note 33.

slighter, & I finished it¹⁸ – I have not yet attempted Sonde's two new volumes.
Rawlinson's Herodotus is perhaps worth looking at, if you see it¹⁹ –

Farewell – this is very short – but I am still about as busy as I was when you were with us. So with kindest remembrances in your own home & to friends at Cambridge & Boston when you go there, farewell.

Every yours affect^{ely}

A H Clough

MS H

Corr. 544–5 (published in full); *PR* 240 (part-published).

¹⁸ *Oriental and Western Siberia: A Narrative of Seven Years' Explorations and Adventures* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1858), by the English architect Thomas Witlam Atkinson (1799–1861), is an illustrated account of a journey of almost 40,000 miles over previously unexplored harsh central Asian terrain.

¹⁹ *The History of Herodotus (A new English version)* by George Rawlinson, in four volumes, was published by John Murray in 1858; the author's apologia for a new translation of the Greek historian (c. 484 BC – c. 425 BC) was that his was a 'more exact, if not a more spirited, representation' than previous attempts, which were marred by a low standard of Greek scholarship and inaccuracies (vi–vii).

C.O. 17th April [1858]¹

My dear Charles,

I begin a letter to you in good time, hoping that in the course of a week it may come to its completion. Perhaps the beginning of May will find you once more at Shady Hill for the brief North-American interval between the two penal fierce extremes of hot & cold.² – If so, pray give me all the Cambridge news possible – Who is the Rev^d F. Huntington to whom I was deputed the other day to write a letter? – I do not remember having made his acquaintance while with you.³ – I have received the last n^o of the *Atlantic* & have read Emerson on Hafiz⁴ & on Buchanan⁵ & as yet no more – My own part III or Act III will I fear not be much approved of, & the impotent conclusion of acts IV & V still less⁶ – However – so it was & no otherwise could be –

¹ Year dated by the reference to the collapse of Palmerston's administration and the articles in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

² Norton appears to have spent the entire summer of 1858 in Newport (*Norton*, I, 190–195).

³ Frederic Dan Huntington, 1819–1904, popular Unitarian Minister and Professor of Christian Morals at Harvard College 1855–1860.

⁴ In the article Emerson, who himself translated Hafiz, and whose own thought was influenced by the Sufi poet, praises the mystic insight, 'intellectual emancipation' and 'erotic and bacchanalian' songs' of this 'prince of Persian poetry' (*Atlantic Monthly*, 'Persian Poetry', 1 [1858], 724–734 [pp.726, 728]).

⁵ The article entitled 'Mr. Buchanan's Administration', begun by Parke Godwin and finished by Lowell, was highly critical of the President whose administration had been 'a series of blunders', with 'incoherent' policies in regard to the Kansas question and financial crisis (see *CEN* 13, note 16; *CEN* 45, note 3). The strongly worded article showers a stream of invective on the Buchanan administration, accusing it of acting immorally and unconstitutionally, and enacting policies morally repugnant and hostile to the interests of the Northern 'Free States'. Citing as evidence the Lecompton Constitution (see *CEN* 47, note 13) – a 'despicable' and 'shameless' 'swindle', designed to appease the pro-slavery lobby – and the Wilson affair, it calls for a restoration of national integrity and honour if the country is not to be driven inexorably toward revolution (*Atlantic Monthly*, 1 [1858], 745–60 [p. 747, 753]).

⁶ C's apprehension was unfounded as *Amours de Voyage* was much admired, at least by those readers 'capable of appreciating its rare and refined excellence' ('Arthur Hugh Clough', *Atlantic Monthly*, 9 [1862], 462–469 [p. 465]). Interspersed with the hero's prevarications, Canto III contains some of the most lyrical passages of the poem which reflect many of C's own preoccupations on the subject of life, love and the role of knowledge (Phelan, pp. 117–135). But, as C rightly anticipated, some readers, like Emerson, would have preferred a more conventional 'happy ending' to *Amours* (*Corr.* 548). This, however, according to an early critic, was to miss the whole point of the poem, which was to portray an indecisive character paralysed by the thought of action and *Amours* would surely have been spoilt if it had ended 'prettily' (Richard Holt Hutton, 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *Spectator*, 42 [11 Sept 1869], 1073–1075 [p. 1074]).

On this side the seas – the world is reading Buckle,⁷ & Livingstone.⁸ Two articles on Caste in the Times of about Saturday, 3rd & Monday 5th April (perhaps Monday 5th and Tuesday 6th) may interest you⁹ – they are evidently by Max Mueller¹⁰ – The net which had been spread about Lucknow has I fear proved to have a large hole in it,¹¹ & to have let the fish out into [Bundeland?]. However as *yet* we know little. – Between the two India Bills the Directors it is thought will escape for the present & survive a little longer¹² – I myself was not so absolutely unfavourable to the Ellenborough bill as the English world in general.¹³ I desire much to see a franchise given to those who have served. That offered to the five towns is perhaps impracticable. My notion is to make a great Council of all who have served certain offices – & give them the appointment of half the Executive Council. But our people hate all refinements of this sort –

Politics are almost at a deadlock with us. Palmerston cannot come back with his own party alone to back him.¹⁴ L^d John Russell¹⁵ has joined Milner Gibson & has formed a sufficient body of opponents in the liberal part of the house to make it impossible for

⁷ See note 19 below.

⁸ See *CEN* 45, note 33.

⁹ The first article traces the etymology of ‘caste’, and concludes that, in the modern sense of the word, it should be seen more as a social, than a religious institution, with absolutely no authority in Hindu scripture for the ‘offensive privileges claimed by the Brahmans [sic]’, or the ‘degradation of any human being to a state below the animal’ (‘Caste’, *The Times*, 10 April 1858, p. 10). According to the second article, it was the priests, who, by investing caste with a ‘sacred character’ for their own advantage, had been responsible for its vast expansion. But although the system was socially divisive, it had, through fear of loss of caste, also safeguarded public morality by preventing drunkenness and immorality. The government should, therefore, tread warily; humiliating practices, such as obliging pariahs to warn of their presence by ringing a bell, must, the author advises, be outlawed, but the total abolition of caste would be tantamount to ‘a complete social disorganization’ (‘Caste’, *The Times*, 12 April 1858, p. 7).

¹⁰ See *CEN* 45, note 13.

¹¹ See *CEN* 45, note 17.

¹² See *CEN* 53, note 8.

¹³ See *CEN* 49, note 10.

¹⁴ Palmerston’s government was defeated in February 1858 (see *CEN* 49, note 9), to be succeeded by Lord Derby’s Tory administration.

¹⁵ See *CEN* 32, note 9; according to *The Times*, Lord John Russell would not be ready to replace Lord Derby until he had won back the confidence and leadership of the Liberal party. For those who ‘disliked government by minorities’ the prospect of the Imperial Parliament becoming an ‘arena for petty intrigue’, with the ‘principles and practice of Parliamentary government’ being nightly ‘infringed’, was not attractive (14 April 1858, p. 8).

Palmerston to get sufficient support there.¹⁶ – So that for the present the Derby people stay, and are almost ashamed & indignant to stay by the help of Lord John – & his Manchester allies. –

21st [April]

We, you see, have acquitted rightly or wrongly, M. Bernard.¹⁷ You meantime seem to have come, if I understand the thing aright, to a satisfactory result in the House of Representatives.¹⁸ Is this to be final, or will there be an opening for conference & compromise – ? – There is an article in the Edinburgh on Buckle's book by Fitzjames Stephen, one of the regular scribes of the Saturday – son to Sir James Stephen I think¹⁹ – He it was who wrote an ill natured article on Tom Brown's Schooldays & on Rugby in the previous Edinburgh – in which perhaps there was some little truth with a good deal of mistake²⁰ – A curious contrast to his theory comes up in the person of Hodson, just killed before Lucknow – who was a Rugby boy just of that time – So at least I believe – I remember one of the brothers myself, & I think it was certainly he – a slight but well knit, <reddish> yellow-haired nervous-sanguine, excitable looking

¹⁶ Thomas Milner Gibson, MP (1806–1884) was instrumental in bringing down the Palmerston government in February 1858; he was supported by a disparate coalition of radicals and Tories.

¹⁷ Simon Bernard was charged with being an accessory to the attempted murder of the French Emperor (see *CEN* 49, note 7); his acquittal 'excited deep indignation' in France. During the trial Mazzini (see *CEN* 4, note 17; *CEN* 32, note 4) had published a pamphlet in which 'insolence and insults against the Emperor had exceed[ed] the most revolting language' ever used by the refugees (*Morning Chronicle*, 21 April 1858, p. 5).

¹⁸ See *CEN* 41, note 6; *The Times* reported that the House of Representatives had 'adhered to its vote on the Kansas question'. The Bill passed by the Senate for 'the admission of Kansas' [was] therefore lost (20 April 1858, p. 9).

¹⁹ The first volume of Henry Thomas Buckle's (1821–1862) massive *History of Civilisation in England*, published in 1857 (2 vols, [London: John W. Parker & Son]), attempted to apply scientific principle to the study of English history, arguing that human actions – from murder to the number of misdirected letters – were all 'governed by fixed laws', and that 'theological' doctrines, such as free will, were untenable. He further imputed national characteristics to the effects of climate and soil so that although Spain and Norway, for example, were very different in their government and religion, the effects of adverse weather patterns on the agriculture of both made for a certain 'instability and fickleness' of character in contrast to countries with more settled climates (I, 8, 18, 29, 30, 40). The article by Sir James Fitzjames Stephen (see *CEN* 48, note 7), accuses Buckle of making a 'multitude of hasty and [unfounded] generalisations', and utterly refutes his deterministic theory of a science of 'human action', which took statistics as its starting point rather than ethics and left no room for human or divine agency. In Stephen's view, history was no more than a 'record' of human actions, dependent to a large extent on the characters of individuals, and even were Buckle's account provable, it would not weaken the foundations of morality or religion ('Buckle's History of Civilisation in England', *Edinburgh Review*, 107 [1858], 465–512 [pp. 467, 477, 511]).

²⁰ See *CEN* 48, notes 7, 8.

boy who was a capital runner.²¹ I fear things will take a long time to get right – even in a military point of view – out there; & the victories of peace will probably be [a] matter of still harder fighting – Into what condition has the North American Review come? do you still write in it²² – I see it lying in the London Library but without the encouragement of knowing the authors, do not read the articles. –

Have you any one coming over here this summer? Mrs Ward²³ to see her boy at Vevey?²⁴ Longfellow? Tom Appleton?²⁵ – I expect to be here with the exception of a week in May, & three weeks perhaps in August in steady attendance at this official desk – Will Child come this summer? I suppose hardly. –

I am reading Gladstone's Homer – partly for the curiosity of the things, but it also seems to me thus far to have some considerable merit – It is very direct & plain-sailing – & in that respect is an agreeable contrast to German annotation.²⁶ I have also read Froude's two volumes III & IV which at any rate add a certain mass of consistent representation to the former, & give one the sense of probable correctness²⁷ –

We expect the Tory Ministry to last in all probability into another Session. About February next it is thought that the country & the parliament will be mature in resolution to send them about their business. Lord John is playing for office in company with the Peelites, perhaps, & the Manchester men at any rate as supporters, & counting

²¹ William Stephen Raikes Hodson (1821–1858); *The Times* (16 April 1858, p. 9.) reported that the 'gallant Major Hodson, who [had] given his name to an invincible and almost ubiquitous body of cavalry' ['Hodson's Horse'] had been killed in the attack on Lucknow (see *CEN* 45, note 17). Hodson's brilliant military career, was, however, blighted by accusations of embezzlement and the harsh treatment of his Indian soldiers. Remembered by Rugby schoolfellows for his bright golden hair and legendary running feats – including running 8 miles in an hour while picking up 100 stones – he was also 'arrogant' and 'rash' with a 'domineering temper' (Lionel James Trotter, *The Life of Hodson of Hodson's Horse* [London: J M Dent, 1910], pp. 4, 6.); in fact, he was, according to his biographer, 'more the barbarian warrior than the Arnoldian ideal of the Victorian gentleman' (*DNB*).

²² Norton continued to contribute to the *North American Review* (see *CEN* 65, note 2).

²³ See *CEN* 45, note 9.

²⁴ Vevey? Lake Geneva.

²⁵ See *CEN* 42, note 14.

²⁶ The *Literary Gazette* heartily recommended Gladstone's *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1858): a 'very remarkable' work of a 'cultivated mind' and 'refined taste', that was yet conversant with 'general literature' and capable of interpreting the Homeric poems for a contemporary readership ('Reviews', 1 May 1858, pp. 415–416 [p. 415]). Cp. C's article on translating Homer and his translations of the *Iliad* (see *CEN* 26, note 3).

²⁷ See *CEN* 47, note 18.

on Palmerston's "predeceasing" him.²⁸ He is thought to be wise enough in his generation²⁹ – but the old Whig party in general are indignant with him –

Farewell, with kindest remembrances,

Ever Yours

A H Clough

MS H

Corr. 547 (part-published); *PR* 241–2 (part-published).

²⁸ Derby's Tory administration lasted until June 1859, when Palmerston formed his second Cabinet.

²⁹ 'for the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light' (Luke 16.8).

51.

C O. May 17./58

My dear Charles

I hope I may hear from you soon. How are things going on with you? *Here* they are in sad confusion. Lord Ellenborough who is really competent, has thrown himself overboard, & cannot be by his best friends acquitted of a great indiscretion.¹ In India the enemy all abroad again, & a hot weather campaign before us: not however it seems by Sir Colin's fault, for he wished to clear all the other districts first & not till then to attack Lucknow: but was overruled by Lord Canning – John Mill it is said does not consider Lord C.'s proclamation wrong;² but is very sorry, on general grounds, to lose L^d Ellenborough. –

Yesterday evening we went to see Carlyle who is apparently well & in good spirits. Frederic, Vols I & II, pretty nearly ready to appear. He spoke with great praise of Köhler's History of the German Empire – the “Reich”, written about 1730.³ He also praised Howie's Scottish Worthies⁴ & Cloud of Witnesses – Presbyterian Lives of Saints.⁵ The German historians he has found singularly tedious & diffuse, & complains much of them.⁶

¹ Ellenborough (see *CEN* 49, note 10) wrote a caustic despatch censuring Lord Canning for the Oudh Proclamation (see *CEN* 45, note 15) and calling it the ‘disinherison [sic] of a people’ fighting to secure their legitimate rights and property, which would put almost ‘insurmountable’ difficulties in the way of establishing peace, after which he was forced to resign (*The Times*, ‘The Revolt of Oude’, 10 May 1858, p. 9).

² See *CEN* 45, note 15.

³ See *CEN* 48, note 6; Carlyle quotes extensively from Kohler, the author of *Reichs-Historie*, published in Frankfurt in 1736, describing him as ‘by far the best Historical Genius the Germans [had] yet produced’ (*History of Friedrich the Second called Frederick the Great*, 6 vols [London: Chapman & Hall, 1858–1865], I, 54).

⁴ *Biographia Scoticana, or a Brief Historical Account of the Lives, Characters, and Memorable Transactions of the Most Eminent Scots Worthies* by John Howie (1735–1793) is a summary account of the lives of renowned Protestant Scottish noblemen and others, including John Knox, who deserve commemoration for their ‘Christian graces and virtues’ and devotion to Reformation principles (3rd edn [Edinburgh: Schaw and Pillans, 1796], p. v).

⁵ *A Cloud of Witnesses for the Royal Prerogatives of Jesus Christ; or, the Last Speeches and Testimonies of Those Who have Suffered for the Truth in Scotland, Since the Year 1680*, first published in 1714.

⁶ Carlyle found Kohler a welcome antidote to later Prussian historians: ‘Dryasdusts’ and ‘doleful creatures’, who populated the ‘ghastly solitudes’ of the archives (*Frederick*, I, 9, 54).

Pray read Hogg's Life of Shelley. It is a great pleasure to see Shelley really alive, & treading the vulgar earth; Hogg's transparent absurdity being the only intervening impediment – I speak from the knowledge of the first volume only. – Hogg is the Oxford friend who was expelled from College with Shelley.⁷ I have read Vol I of Gladstone's Homer – the working out of his theory about Danaans, Achaeans, & Argives, & Hellenes was to me satisfactory – but at the end he goes all at once out of his depth into general ethnology – Into Vol II on Olympus I could not advance beyond the 4th or 5th page. Vol III I think I yet shall read.⁸ Gladstone's uncompromising *belief* in Homer & the heroes as real people gives the book a solidity & substance which is acceptable. Carlyle said he read carefully Homer & the controversy some years ago – & was quite convinced that Iliad & Odyssey were written at different ages – the Odyssey by one man; the Iliad not – & he likes the Odyssey best. He thinks anyone who holds the Iliad & Odyssey to be written by one man

18th May

While I wrote came a rumour hot from a Private Sec^y to say that news had come from India, that the Proclamation had 'been stopped at the last moment, at the *entreaty* of Sir C.C.,⁹ Sir John Lawrence, Outram & Mansfield who went on their knees to L^d C^l & besought him in the name of England's honour no less than for the sake of present security'¹⁰ – so that, if this be true, Ld Ellenborough is right after all. –

⁷ The *Examiner* panned *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, (4 vols [London: Moxon, 1858]), by Shelley's 'most famous friend' – Thomas Jefferson Hogg, whose joint publication with Shelley of *The Necessity of Atheism* in 1811, led to their expulsion from Oxford: it was full of 'utterly irrelevant', and 'offensive' details about the author – including all the 'abominable' meals he had eaten in 'disgusting' inns among 'vulgar' people and suchlike; and the style was 'arrogant', 'self-satisfied' and full of 'vicious' 'hyperbole'. Read selectively, however, its 'precious store' of Shelley's previously unpublished letters made it the 'most valuable contribution' yet to the life of the 'Divine Poet' (17 April 1858, p. 244).

⁸ See *CEN* 50, note 26; in Volume I Gladstone examines the ethnic origins of the 'great Homeric appellatives': Danaan, Argive and Achaean – tribes collectively known as 'the Hellenes' (*Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age*, pp. 346, 434). Gladstone was widely criticised for 'waiving discussion' of the controversial question of the authorship of the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, and 'quietly assuming that all was the composition of the same great poet', in the face of mounting historical evidence to the contrary (*Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine*, 84 [1858], 127–148 [p.129]). In Carlyle's opinion 'Homer [was] the sum of innumerable men' (TC to C. K. J. Bunsen, 24 April 1851, *CL* 26: 68).

⁹ See *CEN* 45, note 15.

¹⁰ John Laird Mair Lawrence (1811–1879); hailed as a national hero for his part in quelling the Indian mutiny and recapturing Delhi, he returned to England in 1859 and a few years later was appointed Viceroy of India (*DNB*). Sir James Outram (1803–1863), the Oudh chief commissioner who, with Ellenborough, protested against the harshness of Canning's Oudh Proclamation, claiming it would only provoke landholders to a prolonged and desperate resistance. William Rose Mansfield (1819–1876) chief of the staff in India.

I do not understand the precise purport of the Kansas Compromise as accepted by the House. Pray enlighten me.

A curious article on Indian Princes in the Westminster is by Frank Newman.¹¹ I told you I think that the Company's Petition etc was by John Mill. – On B in the Edinburgh is by Fitzjames Stephen,¹² on Buckle in the National of Jan^y (a better article) by Richard Hutton.¹³ Have you seen out with you a volume of Essays by Walter Bagehot? Tell me: if not, I will send one.¹⁴ Are you Buckle-bewitched in Boston? Or do you retain a sane mind?¹⁵ –

¹¹ In the wake of the recent massacres (see *CEN* 45), the article, by Francis W. Newman (see *RWE* 16, note 3) stressed the importance of restoring confidence in British rule – by winning the loyalty of Indian princes, and removing the barriers to native advancement so they could lift themselves out of a state of 'abject servility'. It condemned the 'tyrannical' treatment of Indians – akin to that of the much-maligned Americans towards their 'niggers' – and the belief that 'wholesale summary atrocities' were necessary to 'terrify' them into submission. The writer warned of worse violence to come unless 'NEW, GREAT, and STRIKING' changes were made to obliterate the 'deadly remembrances' of past British rule ('Our Relation to the Princes of India', *Westminster Review*, 69 [1858], 453–477 [pp. 456, 472, 473]).

¹² See *CEN* 50, note 19.

¹³ See *CEN* 50, note 19; Richard Holt Hutton (1826–1897), writer, theologian and C's successor as Principal of University Hall (see Introduction, p. 11); after C's death he paid tribute to his mentor's 'poetic genius', 'massive intellect', and his 'simple' and 'genial' nature (*Essays Theological and Literary*, 2nd edn, 2 vols [London: Macmillan, 1880], II, 238, 256). Hutton's article, 'Civilisation and Faith', criticised Buckle's 'extraordinary preference for statistics over psychology' as an index to the 'real laws of the human mind'. It refuted Buckle's 'startling', 'almost pompous' theory of civilisation that disregarded moral and religious accounts of human progress, and claimed that intellectual activity alone was responsible for lifting mankind out of barbarism. Hutton's central thesis was that Christianity had been far more of a civilising force – in the secular, as well as the religious sphere – than the philosophy of the Ancients, whose civilisations had decayed because their 'hollow' intellectual achievements had been selfishly confined to a narrow elite, and had not provided the social glue and moral compass of a religious faith (*National Review*, 6 [1858], 198–228 [pp. 206, 219, 224, 227.]).

¹⁴ Walter Bagehot (1826–1877), political commentator and co-editor of the *National Review* with Richard Holt Hutton (see note 13 above), was another close friend of C's from their University Hall days (see Introduction, p. 11). According to Hutton, they both were 'reserved' men, but had the same 'boyish spirits' and 'florid colour' which indicates 'animal vigour', though Bagehot did not share C's tendency to a rather 'uncouth', 'embarrassed taciturnity' ('Walter Bagehot', *Literary Studies*, 2 vols, ed. by Richard Holt Hutton [London: Longmans Green, 1879], I, pp. xxxiv–xxxv). Like Hutton, Bagehot admired C's poetry, particularly *Amours de Voyage*, whose best lines, in his opinion, reflected C's own ironic world view and ability to see the 'absurdities' and 'pompositives' of people and creeds (*Literary Studies*, II, 320–321). The *Leader* judged Bagehot's *Estimates of some Englishmen and Scotchmen* (a reprint of nine articles on subjects from Shakespeare to Bishop Butler, mainly from the *National Review*), to be 'pleasant' reading but light on research; the reviewer enjoyed the literary gossip, but criticised Bagehot's 'flippancy' and the 'loose[ness]' of his writing style ('Mr. Bagehot's Essays', 9 [1858], p.140).

¹⁵ Norton found Buckle too full of 'negative', 'hasty' generalisations, especially in denying the role of individual character and the value of Christianity in the advancement of progress and morality (*Norton*, I, 193–194).

Tomorrow we go on a visit to Oxford, & from Oxford I suppose I had better continue this, & for the present mind my business.

Friday 21st [May] Cowley House, near Oxford.¹⁶

Hither we came on a visit to the Brodies on Wednesday afternoon¹⁷ – yesterday we went about walking & seeing things & people – new buildings & old people – heard a lecture from Max Mueller on the origin of the French language – he *seems* to hold to Raynouard contra Schlegel & others & to believe in a *Langue Romane* common to all the provinces & Italy between the 7th & 9th centuries as the mother of the Romance languages – but we did not come quite to the conclusion.¹⁸ Thence to the New Museum in the Venetian style by Woodward, where Brodie is to have his Professional laboratory. It is getting on & the Chemical Part which is separate will be open in October¹⁹ – I think Venetian windows, whose beauty is their deep setting, might do for you who have some sun to keep out: for us, not. We want light & must place the glass too near the outer plane of the walls to allow the proper effect to the tracery²⁰ –

Hither also came in pursuit of us yesterday, of all things in the world the least expected, a card announcing a visit to the Council Office made by *Felton*. How is it he is over

¹⁶ Cowley House a Georgian manor on the banks of the Cherwell, which today forms part of St Hilda's College, Oxford, was owned by the Rev. William Tuckwell (1829–1919); he knew C at Oriel, during his 'six golden Oxford years', 'before his piping took a troubled sound', and read with him in his 'tiny Holywell lodging' while he ate his 'frugal breakfast of dry bread and chocolate' (Rev. W. Tuckwell, *Reminiscences of Oxford* [London: Cassell, 1900], p. 98).

¹⁷ Sir Benjamin Collins Brodie (1817–1880), professor of chemistry at Oxford, where he had met Norton the previous year (*Norton*, I, 177); he graduated from Balliol three years before C, and his refusal to assent to the Thirty-Nine Articles (see Introduction, p. 11) had, as with C, blighted his academic career at Oxford. Like C, he was also a leading advocate of university reform (see *RWE* 19, note 18; Appendix 2).

¹⁸ The French scholar, Raynouard's, theory, strongly disputed by the philosopher August Wilhelm von Schlegel, held that between the seventh and ninth centuries, Latin passed through an 'intermediate stage', which he called 'Langue Roman' – essentially the same as the Provençal of Southern France – before becoming broken up into the Romance dialects of France and Italy, etc. According to Müller (see *CEN* 45, note 13), however, a comparison of the grammar of Provençal and French showed that the latter had preserved the original Latin forms in a 'more primitive' state and could not be classified as the 'daughter' of Provençal (Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language, Delivered at the Royal Institution in 1861 & 1863*, 2nd edn, rev. [New York: Charles Scribner, 1862], pp. 140–141).

¹⁹ The University Museum in Oxford (now the Oxford University Museum of Natural History) opened in 1860; designed by Benjamin Woodward (1816–1861) in the Victorian Neo-Gothic style, it brought together virtually all the scientific studies carried out in the University.

²⁰ The 'Venetian' window, a window in three separate apertures, derived its name from the extensive use of the motif in sixteenth century Venice. Large windows with complex tracery that supported the glass were typical of the Gothic style.

here? – I hope to hear by word of mouth on Monday – & have written to Golden Cross, Charing Cross, a note to serve as a retainer.²¹

This must be posted here before the m.p.s meet tonight for their great decision – Already perhaps the new evidence of the Government despatches is in their hands. A Proclamation it is clear has been issued – & an *altered* proclamation: Outram, Lawrence & Mansfield it is certain were adverse to the original – & a private letter from London tells us that the Ministry may *possibly* have a majority of 5 or 6.²² – A different story from that which prevailed when I began this letter. However the issue I must leave you to learn from the Times of tomorrow morning or the previous Electric Telegram from Halifax. – Wednesday the day of our coming here intervened with the absorbing interests of “the Derby” – to be winner of the Derby while in office as Prime Minister was it is said Lord Derby’s ambition: but would be it was thought too high a felicity for any simply human Earl – Toxophilite’s defeat may, it is presumed, be the inevitable sacrifice that may avert the Parliamentary catastrophe.²³ If beaten it is pretty certain that the Ministry will dissolve Parliament. –

Farewell – my wife will add a few lines to your sister in whose debt I think she has been for some little while past. – Give my thanks to Lowell for his conducting my verse through the Atlantic press²⁴ – I should like to know who are the writers of some of the articles – but have not got the number here – Also tell Lowell to read Hogg whom I feel sure he would like – *personally* as well as for his story²⁵ – We are going in a few minutes to see some Preraphaelique paintings on the walls & ceilings of the Reading

²¹ See *RWE* 18, note 3.

²² The furore over the Oudh Proclamation (see *CEN* 45, note 15) nearly brought down the Derby government; Canning refused to resign, and consistently justified land confiscation as the only action that could avoid the appearance of rewarding rebellion. *The Times* published correspondence between Canning and Outram on 22 May 1858 and concluded that the Proclamation, denounced for its ‘sweeping tyranny’, was not based upon ‘lust of territory’ or ‘pride of power’, but upon views of ‘expediency, policy and justice combined’ (24 May 1858, p. 8).

²³ Toxophilite, owned by the Prime Minister, Lord Derby, started as favourite for the race, but was beaten into second place. Lord Derby ‘bore his losses with the same apparently stoical indifference to suffering as the Indian manifests at the stake’ (*Morning Chronicle*, 20 May 1858, p. 5).

²⁴ See *CEN* 50, note: 6; Appendix 2.

²⁵ See *CEN* 51, note 7.

room here²⁶ – Were they coming into existence when you were here –? – Dante Rossetti
 – Hughes – & others²⁷ fecerunt²⁸ –

With kindest remembrances

Ever Yours faithfully

A. H. Clough

MS H

Corr. 549–50 (part-published); *PR* 242–4 (part-published).

²⁶ In 1857/8 Dante Gabriel Rossetti and six other Pre-Raphaelite artists, including Edward Burne-Jones and Arthur Hughes, painted a set of murals on the theme of the Arthurian legends on the walls and ceiling of the Debating Room in the new Oxford Union building, designed by Benjamin Woodward (see *CEN* 51, note 19), in return for their board and lodgings. Coventry Patmore described the paintings as ‘sweet, bright and pure as that of the frailest waif of cloud in the sunrise’, but the artists had used tempera on an ill-prepared brick surface, and the colours soon faded (Jon Whiteley, *Oxford and the Pre-Raphaelites* [Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2004], pp. 42/3). It was perhaps a mark of C’s originality that the first edition of *The Germ*, the Pre-Raphaelite magazine established to give a voice to the Brotherhood’s radical views on personal expression and realism in art and poetry, carried a very favourable review of *The Bothie*, praising its ‘peculiar modernness [sic]’ and C’s innovative use of the hexameter to accommodate the different speech patterns in the poem (*The Germ: Thoughts towards Nature in Poetry, Literature, and Art*, 1 [1850], pp. 34–46).

²⁷ Norton had seen some Pre-Raphaelite paintings in London the previous summer and was full of admiration for their faithful depiction of nature, ‘poetic feeling’ and ‘exquisite sense of colour’, which he believed would have a strong influence on the art of the next generation (*Norton*, I, 174–75).

²⁸ ‘They have done’ [Latin].

[June 1858]¹

Dear Charles

This goes undercover to Little & Brown, & is just to say that I have put £100 to y^f acct with Barings – to be disposed of at any time that suits you in Arizona Bonds, Utah New Loan, Nicaragua Consols, or anything else that seems both promising & secure – Hunt's peat picture is still on the stocks.² Neither he nor Millais exhibit this year. Watts with three portraits is the novelty³ –

Lowell's nephew – is it not? – C.R. Lowell j^{nfr}, called at S^t Marks yesterday when no one was in & left no address – so how shall I find him in this world of streets?⁴

The Whitebait dinner – the notice to quit to our Parliaments – is fixed they say for the 28th – & Parliament will be up before July ends.⁵ Still I suppose the India Bill will pass.

Many thanks for the list of writers in the Atlantic. –

¹ Dated by the reference to Felton's visit to London.

² See CEN 56, note 9; *The Finding of the Saviour in the Temple* ? (1854–1860), or *The Light of the World*, which was painted on the Hogsmill River at Old Malden, South London.

³ G F Watts' portraits of 'Mrs Nassau John Senior' (Jane Elizabeth Hughes), 'Miss Senior' and 'Miss Eden' were exhibited together under the name of 'F. W. George' at the Royal Academy in 1858. Academy Reviewers, however, found their 'attempt to introduce the Pre-Raphaelite style in life size portraits' a 'signal failure' ('The Council of Four', *The Royal Academy Review: A Guide to the Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts 1858* [London: Thomas F A Day, 1858], pp 9,10).

⁴ Lowell's nephew Colonel Charles Russell Lowell (1835–1864), an outstanding graduate of Harvard and talented cavalry officer, was on his European tour in the summer of 1858; he was later killed at the Battle of Cedar Creek in the American Civil War (*Life and Letters of Charles Russell Lowell*, ed. by Edward W. Emerson [Boston & New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1907], pp. 162, 366).

⁵ The ministerial dinner that announces the near close of the parliamentary session; it was initiated by an invitation by Sir Robert Preston, M.P. for Dover, to his friend to dine with him at his fishing cottage on the banks of Dagenham Lake. On 24th July 1858 it was held at the Ship Tavern Greenwich (*The Times*, 26 July 1858, p. 8).

I hope to catch Felton's coat tails as he hurries homeward in August. He said he wo^d be here on the 1 Au^gt.⁶ I shall not stir till 1 Sept^r. I hope no Pestilence will be stalking about these streets in the meantime –

Ever Yours

A H Clough

MS H

No previous publication traced.

⁶ See *RWE* 18, note 3; Felton visited London in May/June 1858, where he spent much of his time with Charles Dickens and his wife (Cornelius Conway Felton, *Familiar Letters from Europe* [Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1865], pp. 26–33).

[c.18 June 1858]¹

My dear Charles

Many thanks for your letter which I was much desiderating² & am very glad to get – I had had, – mirabile dictum³ – a letter from Emerson in the interval⁴ in which was the first news I received of M^{rs} Ward’s change – alas, alas, alas⁵ – He announced the coming of the Longworths from Cincinnati of whom as yet I have heard nothing⁶ – Also he reprimanded me strongly for the termination of the *Amours de Voyage*, in which he may be right & I may be wrong – & all my defence can only be that I always meant it to be so & began it with the full intention of its ending so – but very likely I was wrong all the same⁷ – Things here as much as usual – only a good deal hotter – We nearly died a week ago of 85° in the shade – think of it! – Happily we have calmed to 72 or 73. – What will be done about India, heaven only knows – so many changes in the Ministerial mind leave one utterly uncertain –

¹ Dated by the reference to Emerson’s letter and the intense heat ‘a week ago’: on 11 June the temperature in London was 85.2° in the shade (‘The Weather’, *The Times*, 15 June 1858, p. 12); on 17 June it fell 10 degrees, which reduced the effect of the ‘great stench’ from the River Thames (*The Times*, 18 June 1858, p. 9).

² To feel a desire or longing for (*OED*).

³ Wonderful to relate’ [Latin].

⁴ Emerson’s letter to C dated 17th May 1858 (*Corr.* 548).

⁵ Anna Ward (see *CEN* 45, note 9); in his letter Emerson wrote of his grief that she had ‘flung herself into the Church of Rome, suddenly’, adding that ‘She was born for social grace, and that faith makes such carnage of social relations!’ (*Corr.* 548). Clough’s aversion to Catholicism, despite having earlier been an advocate for religious plurality and tolerance (*PR* 415–421), is expressed in several letters and in his work. (for example, *Amours de Voyage* where Claude rants about ‘confessional-boxes’, ‘metallic beliefs’ and ‘regimental devotions’ (*Poems*, 97). Norton shared C’s anti-Catholic sentiments; the previous year he wrote from Rome of the ‘evil’ ‘results’ and ‘corrupt’ ‘principles’ of Catholicism (*Norton*, I, 166).

⁶ Joseph and Anna Maria Longworth, wine producers from Cincinnati; Joseph’s father Nicholas reputedly produced a “‘Sparkling Catawba” which ‘rivalled [sic] the best French Champagne’, and a dry wine that compared favourably with the celebrated Rhine Hock (Robert Buchanan, *The Culture of the Grape and Wine-Making* [Cincinnati: Moore and Anderson, 1852], p. v).

⁷ On 17 May 1858 Emerson wrote that he ‘[could] not forgive [Clough] for the baulking end or no end of the ‘*Amours de Voyage*’, but was otherwise effusive in his praise for the poem, praising C’s ‘sensibility’ and delicacy of expression (*Corr.* 548). See *CEN* 50, note 6 for Hutton’s verdict on the ending of *Amours*.

I cannot help wishing to preserve some Corporate Body or Privy Council for India to elect $\frac{1}{2}$ the Minister's Council – though I have no liking for the Constituency of 7000 or 8000 to whom L^d Stanley *did* propose to give this power. I shouldn't be surprised if the *present* Ministerial proposal – a sort of modification of Sir James Graham's – should pass.⁸ But some people say that the Directors' party still hope to stave off all change for this session.⁹ – Sir James Graham I suppose might be induced to join the Ministry; but unfortunately he sits for the Radical town of Carlisle – & dare not risk his seat. –

Tuesday 22d June [1858]

Last night I heard Tennyson read a 3rd Arthur poem – the detection of Guinevere & the last interview with Arthur – These poems all appear to me to be maturer & better than any he has written hitherto – There is a 4th preparing & when that is done, perhaps they will appear.¹⁰ –

Friday June 25th [1858]

I hope to send this by tomorrows mail, but I have left your [letter] at home & write from the office so that I may perhaps miss answering something that I ought to notice – Thanks for your services as Receiver of my small earnings – I have been wondering what Little & Brown have been doing with my Index – which I expected to be here for revision some little time ago – I have been intending to place £100 to your acct with Barings. If you will add it to the other sum & at your *easy* convenience buy me a little stock¹¹ – Enterprise here seems to have suffered a tremendous check – people don't well know whom to trust – As for wars & rumours of wars – I trust we need not alarm ourselves at present. I hope the French are at heart pacific – they cannot well afford the

⁸ See *CEN* 49, notes 10, 12; Sir James Robert George Graham (1792–1861), MP for Carlisle; a large majority voted against the amendments proposed by Graham and Lord John Russell for the entire Council of India to be nominated by the Crown, in favour of a partial nomination by the Crown and partial election by a Constituency of East India Proprietors, together with proprietors of Indian railway stock (*Dundee Courier*, 16 June 1858, p. 2).

⁹ The Court of Directors was the executive body of the East India Company.

¹⁰ C had read the first two poems in the 'Arthur cycle', which were published the following year as the *Idylls of the King*, some six months previously (see *CEN* 47, note 16).

¹¹ See *CEN* 45.

money for a war, and though I believe they might inflict, if the chances favoured them, immense damage upon us, in the end they would find themselves the weaker vessels. Their population, it is said by the Statistical authorities, is DECREASING – & they ought to nurse their vitality carefully.¹² It has not yet recovered the losses of the Wars of 1812–15. – As for an American War that won't come yet – certainly.¹³ There seems to be no reluctance on this side to give in to any sort of plausible claim – But will not this French intermeddling in Central America excite a little resentment. I hope our Foreign Office has no finger in any pie of that kind.¹⁴

The day before yesterday Miss Nightingale the elder sister was married to Sir Harry Verney, a widower with four children;¹⁵ so that Florence Nightingale is now correctly Miss Nightingale.¹⁶ Sir H. V. is MP for Bucks – an elderly man, – rather Evangelical in connection – born Calvert, son of a former Adjutant General – This is a great revolution in the family – & a great experiment for the new wife – One boy is up the Ganges in the Naval Brigade, two are at school, & there is a girl at home¹⁷ –

¹² According to the *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, the population of France in 1858 was 34,860,387 – almost back to the figure for 1841 – compared with a total of 36,039,364 for 1856. The population of Britain, according to the 1851 Census, was 20,959,477 – an increase of nearly 74% on the population of 1821, whereas in France there had only been an increase of around 18% on the population of 1820 ([London: John William Parker, 1858], XXI, 293–306, [pp. 301, 306]). Approximately 804,000 men were killed or wounded during the Napoleonic Wars from 1812–1815 (Gaston Bodart, *Losses of Life in Modern Wars*, ed. by Harald Westergaard [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916], p. 131).

¹³ The American Civil War began on 12th April 1861.

¹⁴ The French 'promoter' Félix Belly arrived in Nicaragua in 1858, falsely claiming to have his government's authority and negotiated with Costa Rica and Nicaragua for exclusive canal rights (Robert E. May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld: Filibustering in Ante Bellum America* [North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2002], p. 385).

¹⁵ See *CEN* 46, note 17; soon after the death of his first wife, with whom he had 4 sons and 3 daughters, Sir Harry Verney (1801–1894), MP for Buckinghamshire, son of General Sir Harry Calvert and a member of the Evangelical Alliance, married Frances Parthenope Nightingale in 1858.

¹⁶ The convention was that the eldest daughter in a family was known as Miss '.....' until her marriage, when the next daughter assumed the title, and so on.

¹⁷ Sir Harry's son, Edmund Hope Verney (1838–1910), was a lieutenant in 'Pearl's Naval Brigade' – attached to *HMS Pearl* – which entered the Ganges in September 1857 to provide support for British troops against the Indian rebels. Verney, 'zealous and well-conducted', was recommended for promotion (*The Navy List* [John Murray, London: 1865], p. 25.); also (Rev. E. A. Williams, *The Cruise of the Pearl round the World* [London: Richard Bentley, 1859], p. 66), and (Edmund Hope Verney, *The Shannon's Brigade in India* [London: Saunders, Otley, 1862], p.153).

D^r Thorne by the author of Barchester Towers is a novel perhaps worth reading – as novels go.¹⁸ Rachel’s life seems to be ill done.¹⁹ – The great Dickens scandal seems to be limited to a simple separation case – The wife who has plagued him a good deal & who is rather lunatical leaves the house, & the eldest son lives with her – Her sister, concerning whom arose the scandalous rumours remains courageously in his house taking the chaperonage of his daughters – Of course there was much small talk, but not enough, I sho^d think to make his letter in Household Words necessary.²⁰

I missed Acland at Oxford.²¹ The Reading Room looks well – but the light makes the P.R. paintings impossible to see²² – The Museum is getting on.²³ Brodie expects to be admitted to his laboratory in October.²⁴

¹⁸ *Doctor Thorne*, the third novel in Anthony Trollope’s ‘Chronicles of Barchester’, published in 1858, received generally positive reviews, despite the ‘slight’ plot and ‘languid’ story, but the *Saturday Review* expressed concern over the author’s flaunting of moral conventions over the heroine’s illegitimacy (‘Doctor Thorne’, 5 [1858], 618–19, [p. 618]). The mid-Victorian period had seen a rise in the popularity of the novel, particularly of the ‘domestic realism’ genre, which propelled authors like Trollope and Dickens to fame. C’s slightly disdainful comment would indicate, perhaps, that novels were still regarded as lower in the cultural hierarchy than, for instance, the non-fiction travel works for which C had a clear predilection.

¹⁹ *Memoirs of Rachel* by Madam de B ----, (2 vols [London: Hurst and Blackett, 1858]) about the life of the French actress Elizabeth-Rachel Félix, known simply as ‘Mademoiselle Rachel’, was criticized in the *Examiner* for its mean-spirited, anti-Semitic and ‘sneering’ portrayal of the artist whose genius had enthralled her audiences (5 June 1858, p. 357).

²⁰ Charles Dickens separated from his wife Catherine in 1858, amid rumours of an affair with his sister-in-law Georgina; the eldest son Charley remained with his mother, while Dickens obtained custody of the rest of the children. Dickens was widely criticised for an emotional letter which he published in his journal *Household Words*, vehemently denying the ‘most grossly false, most monstrous, and most cruel’ speculation about his private life (17 [1858], p. 601). And in a private letter, which he allegedly leaked to the press, he staunchly defended Georgina’s role in the break-up of the marriage, claiming that he and his wife were ‘wonderfully unsuited’ to each other and that it was Catherine’s wish to live apart on account of a recurring ‘mental disorder’ which made her unfit for her public role as the novelist’s wife (‘Mr. Charles Dickens and His Wife’, *Morning Chronicle*, 31 August 1858, p. 5). Norton had been an admirer of Dickens since childhood, and after meeting him in Paris in 1855, they became firm friends (*Norton*, I, 298).

²¹ Sir Henry Wentworth Acland (1815–1900), the eminent physician whose anatomy lectures C attended while at Oxford (*Corr.* 158, 161); he was closely involved in the design of the Oxford Museum (see *CEN* 51, note 19).

²² See *CEN* 51, note 26.

²³ See *CEN* 51, note 19.

²⁴ See *CEN* 51, note 17.

Lord Derby is more seriously ill than appears by the papers – It is within possibilities that he may have to resign.²⁵ Who can take his place? A very difficult question –

With fondest remembrances

Ever Yours

A H C

MS H

Corr. 551–2 (part-published); *PR* 244–5 (part-published).

²⁵ See *CEN* 50, notes 14, 15; Cabinet meetings throughout the second half of June 1858 were being held at Derby's private residence in St James Square as he was 'indisposed'; by 28th June, however, he was reported to be 'progressing favourably' (*Morning Post*, June 28 1858, p. 4), and a few weeks later the *Morning Post* declared him to be 'indispensable', and his ministry 'tolerably safe from any immediate danger of shipwreck' (13 July 1858, pp. 4–5).

54.

Council Office

30th July [1858]¹

My dear Charles

Many thanks for your letter of the 14th from Newport which was a very welcome sight on the office desk this morning. I am writing a few lines to Little & Brown; so that I may as well add a short acknowledgement to you –

We are cooler & less odorous than we were – & I begin to hope that we may get to the end of August without any terrible outbreak of cholera.

Time has often been compared to a river – if the Thames at London represent the stream of traditional wisdom, the comparison will indeed be of an ill savour – the accumulated wisdom of the past will be proved upon analogy to be as it were the collected sewage of the centuries – and the great problem, how to get rid of it² –

If you see M^r Bancroft³ again you may tell him that M^r Rawdon Brown at Venice was enquiring the other day whether M^r Bancroft had been in England lately & wondering whether he had ever received some papers on the subject of John & Sebastian Cabot which M^r R. B. had forwarded to him at his request through Barings.⁴ –

¹ Year dated by the reference to the death of Edward Moxon.

² C wrote in ‘Letters of Pæpidemus’ that ‘each new age and each new year has its new direction ; and we go to the well-informed of the season before ours, to be put by them in the direction which, because right for their time, is not quite right for ours’ (PR 383).

³ American historian George Bancroft (1800–91); the first volume of his magisterial *History of the United States, from the Discovery of the American Continent to the Present Time* covered the voyages of the Venetian merchant, John Cabot and his son Sebastian who, in 1497, discovered the American continent ‘far to the north of the straits of Belle-Isle, among the polar bears, the rude savages, and the dismal cliffs of Labrador’ ([Boston: Charles Bowen; London: R. J. Kennett, 1834], pp. 9,10).

⁴ Rawdon Lubbock Brown (1806–1883), described by Norton as a ‘generous old antiquary’, who despite living most of his life in Venice, still kept ‘all that [was] good of old-fashioned England in his heart’ (Norton, I, 405). Browning wrote a sonnet about the time when Brown was about to leave on a trip to England, but took a last look at the Grand Canal from his window, and decided that he could not tear himself away (‘Sonnet on Rawdon Brown’, 1884).

My wife's brother & sisters were there & saw Mr Brown & were asked this question⁵ – They are just come home again – the brother having in their way back made the “ascension” of M^t Blanc, which is now so well “organised” as the guides of Chammonix [sic] have learnt to say, that any one of decent strength can make it with ease.⁶ –

I hope a letter “advising you” that I had sent £100 to you per Barings has reached you⁷ & the money has been duly placed to your account, to be added to Messrs Phillips & Sampson's liberality.⁸ In a commercial point of view the publication of the *Amours* has been a great event to me. This is the first money I ever received for verse-making and it is really a very handsome sum⁹ – I shall be very glad if next year a volume of my verse should be published¹⁰ – I hope the Atlantic maintains itself amidst the difficulties of the times¹¹ – The slower they are with Plutarch the better for me just at present, as this is the busy time of the year with me – I do not stir from here till September, & shall then have but three weeks of holiday – which have to be expended in going hither & thither to Westmorland,¹² to Wales & to Derbyshire probably¹³ – Meantime we are mostly at Combe Hurst. My wife & the little girl almost entirely – the latter bears the rather excessively long name of Florence Anne Mary.¹⁴ –

The health of the troops appears to be suffering dreadfully in India – & in point of health I suppose the rains are as bad as the dry heat – so that we are not yet at the worst.

⁵ William Shore Smith (1831–1894), who took the name of Nightingale when he inherited property from his uncle, William Edward Nightingale (Florence Nightingale's father); Bertha Elizabeth Shore Smith ('Puff' c.1833–1924); Beatrice Anne Shore Smith b. 1835).

⁶ The cost of a guide to take a party up Mont Blanc (4810 metres) was between 50 and 100 francs according to the guide-book *Chamonix and the Range of Mont Blanc* (Edward Whymper [London: John Murray, 1896], pp. 170, 172, 174, 183–189.) which gave details of more than 200 'Guides of Chamonix'.

⁷ Probably unpublished letter *CEN* 52.

⁸ See *CEN* 45, note 41; the publishers of the *Atlantic Monthly*.

⁹ According to Scott, C would probably not have had to subsidise the publication of *Ambarvalia* in 1849, but he would have had to pay for the 'gift bindings' on his section of the book. *The Bothie* was published on a commission basis, but the costs of transferring the 'sheet stock' from the Oxford bookseller Francis MacPherson to their London agent, Chapman and Hall, meant that C made very little profit from the venture (*The Early Editions of Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by Patrick Scott [New York & London: Garland, 1977], pp. 9–10).

¹⁰ The volume in question was published posthumously in 1862 (see Appendix 2).

¹¹ See *CEN* 46, note 9.

¹² C's mother and sister lived in Ambleside, Westmorland (see *CEN* 34, note 4).

¹³ C's aunts and uncles lived in Wales and he would go on walking holidays to Wales and Derbyshire with his friends (*Corr.* 93–95).

¹⁴ See *CEN* 48, note 2.

Many thanks for the volume of Henry Beecher's thoughts – which I have but just glanced at¹⁵ –

Did I tell you that I heard Tennyson read the last – (the 3rd) new poem about Arthur – really very good – There is yet to be another, a 4th, & then I suppose he will publish¹⁶ – though his publishing affairs are a little disturbed by Moxon's death.¹⁷ –

About a fortnight [ago] I met – for the first time Hurlbut – whom I was asked to meet ten years ago¹⁸ – He consorts a good deal with Tom Hughes – author of Tom Brown¹⁹ – with whom he came over to Combe – he spoke as I understood of having seen you. He goes to Switzerland in a week or two with Tom Hughes & his wife –

An article on Froude in the Edinburgh is by Goldwin Smith – It is rather *too personal*, to say the least in its tone²⁰ – Goldwin Smith was a contemporary of Froude's at Oxford & is now Professor of Modern History *vice*²¹ Halford Vaughan.²²

¹⁵ *Life Thoughts gathered from the Extemporaneous Discourses of Henry Ward Beecher* (1813–1887) by Edna Dean Procter [Boston: Phillips, Sampson, 1858] was a collection of inspirational passages from the Sabbath sermons of the Congregationalist pastor, abolitionist and brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe (see *CEN* 4, note 19).

¹⁶ See *CEN* 47, note 16; *CEN* 53, note 10.

¹⁷ Tennyson's publisher, Edward Moxon (1801–1858).

¹⁸ Byron S. Hurlbut, whom Norton described as 'one of the pleasantest and most helpful of the younger generation of College teachers'; he became Dean of Harvard College in 1902 (*Norton*, II, 320). He was responsible for the pirating of *The Bothie in America* (*Corr.* 272).

¹⁹ See *CEN* 48, note 7.

²⁰ The reviewer, historian Goldwin Smith (1823–1910), derived much pleasure from Froude's *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth* (see *CEN* 47, note 18), but criticised the pedestrian and rather disjointed narrative, overlong quotations, 'flaccid' English and the occasional 'mawkish' tone, which he attributed to Carlyle's influence. Froude's knowledge of politics and the broader context of English history was somewhat lacking, while his desire for a 'great discovery' to justify the painstaking research had led him to overturn received opinion by presenting Henry VIII as 'the perfect king' (*Edinburgh Review*, 108 [1858], 206–252 [pp. 207, 208, 212]).

²¹ 'In the place of' [Latin].

²² Henry Halford Vaughan (1811–1885) 'dazzled' with his brilliant lectures, but refused to live in Oxford, preferring the 'intellectual Bohemian salon' at Little Holland House, and the London Library to the Bodleian. When Oriel made it a condition that the incumbent resided in Oxford, Vaughan resigned in March 1858.

Farewell – with kindest remembrances to your Mother & sisters, in which my wife would join, – and to any stray friends who may come in the way of receiving them –

Ever Yours affectionately

A.H. Clough.

MS *H*

Corr. 552–3; *PR* 245–6 (part-published).

[Envelope addressed to 'C. E. Norton Esqre Cambridge']

Ambleside 10th Sept^r [1858]¹

My dear Charles

I had your welcome letter about 10 days ago, at the office – Many thanks for your purchases in my behalf – I have not the letter with me here, & so must defer details² – I have just run up hither by express mail³ to see my mother who is not quite a prisoner to the sofa, but something like it – however she is quiet & free from excitement, which is as much as could be expected.⁴ –

Tom Arnold, who turned Roman Catholic out in Van-Diemens land is here – or rather was, till this morning.⁵ He is employed in the Catholic University at Dublin of which Newman is the nominal Rector though he is but little there:⁶ most of his time is spent at the Oratory at Birmingham.⁷ The University as yet does not seem to be a success.

¹ Year dated by the reference to the sighting of Donati's comet and the death of Fanny Arnold.

² [This part of the letter omitted from letter of 16 August 1858 in *Norton*.]

³ C would have travelled from Euston on the London and North Western Railway to Carlisle or Oxenholme and then by branch line or carriage to Ambleside.

⁴ When C's mother first moved to Ambleside with his sister Anne she was in 'fair' health, but after a 'second stroke of paralysis' she became 'quite helpless' and her condition slowly worsened until her death in 1860. C insisted on hiring a trained nurse as his sister was becoming 'worn out' with nursing (*Memoir of Anne Jemima Clough*, ed. by Blanche Athena Clough [London: Edward Arnold, 1897], p. 86).

⁵ Thomas Arnold (1823–1900), second son of the Rugby headmaster (see *CEN* 48, note 8) and, with his older brother Matthew, a close friend of C from their Oxford days [the 'radical' Philip Hewson in C's *The Bothie* was reputedly based on Tom Arnold]. Like Hewson, Arnold emigrated to New Zealand, and then, in 1850, took up the post of inspector of schools in the former penal colony, Van Diemen's Land [renamed Tasmania in 1856]. He corresponded regularly with C during his absence and on his return wrote telling him about his new post as Professor of English Literature in the Catholic University (now University College Dublin), founded by Cardinal Newman in 1851 (*Corr.* 523). Arnold's conversion alienated many of his friends; his brother Matthew referred to his having 'clung to a dead time's exploded dream' (*The Letters of Matthew Arnold*, ed. by Cecil Y. Lang, 6 vols (Charlottesville & London: University Press of Virginia, 1996), 1, 370). But his friendship with C continued up until C's death (*New Zealand Letters of Thomas Arnold the Younger 1847–51*, ed. by J. Bertram [Oxford: OUP, 1966], p. 236).

⁶ Cardinal John Henry Newman (1801–1890), a leading figure in the Oxford Movement (see *CEN* 25, note 9); C briefly came under the spell of the 'High Priest of Oriël' when he first went up to Oxford, (*Corr.* 63, 66, 69, 72), but by the time Newman had finally gone over to Rome in 1845 he was already beginning to have serious doubts over the historicity of the gospels, which eventually led to the resignation of his Oxford tutorship in 1847 (*Corr.* 182).

⁷ Newman founded the first English oratory in Maryvale near Birmingham in 1847.

Here also staying with the Arnolds has been Cotton, the new bishop of Calcutta who sets forth on the 28th.⁸ He was formerly a master at Rugby in Arnold's time & in Tait's⁹ – a Trinity Cambridge man – and sensible & steadygoing in character – likely I suppose to do well.

William Arnold, author of Oakfield, lost his wife during the Mutiny, not by violence, though partly perhaps through want of comforts & assistance which she would have had in an illness at another time¹⁰ – He is probably to come over on six months leave with his children; & is expected at Fox How in January.¹¹ They spoke of some letters of his in the Lahore Chronicle advocating clemency.– Sir John Lawrence *is* to come home: but the when is uncertain.¹²

You would read with some interest I think Lord Hastings' diary kept by him when Governor General & now edited or rather published by Lady Bute his daughter.¹³ –

Dr Barth's 4th & 5th volumes also seem to me to be readable.¹⁴

⁸ George Edward Lynch Cotton (1813–1866); an assistant master at Rugby where he was profoundly influenced by Headmaster Thomas Arnold; he became the prototype of the 'Young Master' in *Tom Brown's School Days* (*DNB* & see also *CEN* 48, note 7). His reputation for moderation and calm judgement led to his appointment as Bishop of Calcutta on the recommendation of A. C. Tait (*DNB*).

⁹ Archibald Campbell Tait (1811–1882) succeeded Dr Arnold as headmaster of Rugby in 1842 and was a member of the Commission appointed to reform Oxford University whose report was reviewed by C (see Appendix 2). Tait was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1868.

¹⁰ See *CEN* 17, note 17; Arnold's wife Fanny died on 24 March 1858, having never fully recovered from the birth of their fourth child. Arnold himself died just over a year later on his way home to England from India (*Corr.* 566).

¹¹ See *CEN* 34, note 2.

¹² See *CEN* 51, note 10.

¹³ Written not as a formal history of his time as Viceroy of India (1813–1819), but purely for the amusement of his family, *The Private Journal of the Marquis of Hastings* (1754–1826) (ed. by his daughter, 2 vols [London: Saunders and Otley, 1858]) was thereby more revealing of the character of this 'honest' and 'just' man, revered by 'the natives', whose term of office was marked by military success against the ghurkas and reform of the corrupt and profligate administration he inherited. Reviewers were however critical of the poor editing skills, 'bombast' and 'bad grammar' of Hastings' daughter, the Marchioness of Bute (*Critic*, 17 [1858], 453–455, [pp. 454, 455]).

¹⁴ The 4th and 5th volumes of the German-born Henry Barth's *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, published in 1858, comprised a journal of his arduous expedition to the 'semi-mysterious' ancient seat of 'Mohammedan' learning -Timbuktu [sic]. The importance of the lands he mapped and opened up to commerce rivalled the discoveries of Livingstone, but in contrast to 'peaceable' Southern Africa, the vast region of the Central Niger was 'cursed by slavery' and 'torn to pieces by intestine [sic] wars' ('Barth's Journey to Timbuktu and the Central Niger', *New Monthly Magazine*, 114 [1858], 107–26 [pp. 107, 126]).

I return immediately to London & go with my wife to the seaside for a fortnight – a packet of *Index* has reached me from Little & Brown & must be transacted there¹⁵ – Just at present I have neither time nor perhaps head for it. This letter also will I fear delay itself till it receives a date from Eastbourne or some similar south coast resort¹⁶ –

Hurlbut the wicked did not I think make *use* of your name – he came over from Hughes's to Combe – brought by them to dinner.¹⁷ Hughes appears to see a good deal of him.¹⁸ However I shall be on my guard – for indeed Felton also had, before I received your letter, said much the same as yourself about him – Felton I hope has arrived in safety & in good health¹⁹ – he seemed to be pretty vigorous again when I had my brief sight of him at the Golden Cross the day before his departure.²⁰

S^t. Marks Crescent, 1st of October

More than a fortnight I fear has lapsed since this was written – however, do not refuse it on that account – scarcely anything has happened in the interval to show that this day is not this day three weeks back. I came back from Westmorland & went to Eastbourne on the Sussex-coast for a fortnight, and there did nothing in the fullest sense of the term. It was a sort of sleep. Eastbourne by the Tables of Mortality is the healthiest of the English watering places – it stands at the eastern extremity of the Chalk Downs – just

¹⁵ C had been working on the *Index* to Plutarch's *Lives* during the year (see *CEN* 46, note 20 & 49).

¹⁶ According to the authors of *Eastbourne and the Advantages which it Possesses as a Resort for Invalids* (Wm. Abbotts Smith & Charles C. Hayman [London: Edward Stanford, 1861], Eastbourne's pre-eminent reputation for 'salubrity' and good sanitation made it 'the most healthy town in the kingdom' (pp. iii–iv).

¹⁷ See *CEN* 54, note 18.

¹⁸ See *FJC* 8, note 11.

¹⁹ See *RWE* 18, note 3.

²⁰ The Golden Cross Hotel, which featured in several of Dickens' novels, originally stood on the site now occupied by Nelson's Column, but was demolished and rebuilt opposite Charing Cross Station in 1831–1832 to make way for the new Trafalgar Square (Arthur L. Hayward, *The Dickens Encyclopaedia* [Abingdon: Routledge, 2009], p. 105).

north east of Beachy Head – & south west of Pevensey Level²¹ – Hastings forming the other extremity of Pevensey bay with its Martello-tower-studded coast.²²

I am now to be at work again here till Xmas –

I have just read the Courtship of Miles Standish with much pleasure.²³ I think in one or two points the story should have been differently managed but it is a very pleasant poem.

Carlyle's Frederick I have not yet more than seen. – He is away it seems studying battle-fields in Bohemia.²⁴

Is M^{rs} Ward come back to Boston? I have not seen her this time: & only heard of her as in Edinburgh²⁵ – The perversion, as the Anglican people call it, seems to me a very sad thing – it is, according to all experience, so irrevocable a change²⁶ – I have known one or two instances of a Return out of this Babylonish Captivity, but they seem rarely to happen.²⁷ –

2^d Octr

The only remarkable phenomenon of the time is a continuous one, viz the comet which is a really wonderful portentous-looking historical sort of comet – with a tail sweeping a

²¹ Eastbourne's average annual mortality rate was only 15 per thousand for the years 1841–1850 for 1857, compared with 17 for the Isle of Wight and 21 for Brighton (*Twentieth Annual Report of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths and Marriages in England* [London: HMSO, 1859], p. 151).

²² Small defensive round towers built during the threat of French invasion; by 1810 seventy-four towers had been completed along the south coast (Bernard Lowry, *Discovering Fortifications: From the Tudors to the Cold War* [Risborough: Shire, 2006], pp. 46–47).

²³ *The Courtship of Miles Standish*, by Longfellow, is a narrative poem about the Plymouth colony established in Massachusetts by the *Mayflower* pilgrims. The simple but moving story was written in 'sing-song', 'bastard' English hexameters, using the 'homliest' words, for Longfellow's 'vast army' of ordinary readers [*Examiner*, 25 September 1858, p. 612].

²⁴ See *CEN* 51, note 3.

²⁵ See *CEN* 45, note 9; *CEN* 53, note 5.

²⁶ From a 19th Century Protestant perspective, conversion to Roman Catholicism was widely regarded as 'perversion'; Newman's apostasy (see note 6 above) was associated with his supposed predilection for 'sexual deviance' and 'unspeakable proclivities' (Paul Giles, *Transatlantic Insurrections: British Culture and the Formation of American Literature, 1730–1860* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001], p. 170).

²⁷ The deportation and detention of the Jews in Babylonia after the conquest of Judah during the 6th century BC.

considerable space in the northern skies – It sets at 9 pm now but leaves its streamer behind it for some time.²⁸

Another continuous study with me is Barth's Africa which is really worth reading – laborious though it be & needlessly filled up with daily records.²⁹ Barth is, I believe, gone back to Hamburg, his native place, a little disappointed perhaps with finding so little come of his long toil. Livingstone published I think just after him & took the wind out of his sails. Yet there is more permanently valuable & curious information though Livingstone will do more himself, in a practical way, we will hope. – The China book by the Times Commissioner is worth reading, at any rate the early 1st half.³⁰ –

Thursday 7th Oct^r

Since I wrote, I have just begun Carlyle's big book, of which hitherto the report is good.³¹ There has been an article in the Edinburgh against Froude – by Goldwin Smith, an Oxford contemporary, a man of note, now Professor of Modern History³² – & formerly well-acquainted with Froude. It is thought rather a shame by those whom I have heard speak of it, and Froude's answer in the Fraser of October is certainly temperate & well-mannered, & is said to be victorious in argument.³³ Froude, I believe has earned 1800£ by his books. Hallam, if you care for such statistics, told Sir Francis Palgrave the other day that his total earnings by his books had amounted, in all

²⁸ Donati's comet, with its brilliant 'gas light jet' tail spanning some 60°, was clearly visible in the night sky from June until October 1858, and caused a sensation amongst astronomers and the public alike, although some feared it heralded a cosmic collision or a deluge (*Daily News*, 28 September 1858, p. 5). The comet was memorialised in William Turner's painting of 5th October 1858.

²⁹ See note 14 above.

³⁰ *China: being "The Times" Special Correspondence [sic] from China in the years 1857–58*, by George Wingrove Cooke; the *Saturday Review* accused the author of belonging to the 'cock-sure' school of authors, but praised his letters for their 'great literary merit' and the minuteness of detail with which he described the rather exotic Chinese meals or the various stages in the 'frightful' process of foot binding ('Cooke's Letters from China', 6 [1858], 258–259 [pp. 258, 259]).

³¹ See *CEN* 51, note 3.

³² See *CEN* 54, note 20.

³³ Froude mounted a spirited, but dignified defence against these 'injurious' charges: Repudiating the allegation of 'base hero worship', he argued that it was through Henry VIII's policy of 'progressive change' that England had largely avoided the turmoil and bloodshed of the Continental Reformations. And he warned that, judged by the standards of the 'Edinburgh Reviewer', even atrocities like the Indian mutiny might be regarded by posterity as a 'legitimate' response to the 'wilful tyranny' and 'enormous oppression' of the British Administration ('The "Edinburgh Review" and Mr. Froude's History', *Fraser's Magazine*, 58 [1858], 359–378 [pp. 360, 361, 377, 378]).

his life, to about £20,000.³⁴ Sir Fr. Palgrave said he himself had never received anything

– but that refers probably to his Histories only³⁵ –

There is as yet but a very light ripple on the face of our political waters. The interest taken in these matters by the nations seems to grow less and less. People will not mind if the other party come in³⁶ – but they don't want Palmerston again – & if these present men don't play the fool in some way, they may stay in. Your matters are more serious.³⁷

Octr 7.

This I suppose will find you not at Cambridge – but Newport.³⁸

With kindest remembrances to your mother & sisters,

Ever Yours

A. H. Clough

MS H

Corr. 555–7 (part-published); *PR* 245–6 (part-published).

³⁴ Henry Hallam (1777–1859), historian and father of Arthur Henry Hallam; his historical works, notably, *Introduction to the literature of Europe in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries* (4 vols, 1837–9) remained 'standard authorities' for much of the 19th century. His wealth at death was £60,000 (*DNB*).

³⁵ Sir Francis Palgrave (1788–1861), father of C's friend Francis Turner Palgrave, was better known for his work as an archivist and editor of public records than for his historical works. His wealth at death was only £4000 (*DNB*).

³⁶ Derby's second minority government (see *CEN* 50, notes 14, 15) survived for little over a year and achieved little of note; in a nod to his racing connections *The Times* suggested that Derby 'weed' his Administration of 'notorious rearers and unsound horses' and retain only the 'colts' of 'much promise' (24 September 1858, p. 6). Derby resigned in June 1859 and Palmerston (see *CEN* 50, note 28) took office again.

³⁷ In the autumn of 1858 a series of emotionally charged and acrimonious debates took place between the Republican candidate for Illinois, Abraham Lincoln, and the incumbent Democrat Senator, Stephen A. Douglas (see *CEN* 47, note 13). The central issue was the right of individual States to self-determination on the question of slavery and the 'status of the Negro' (*The Complete Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858*, ed. by Paul M. Angle [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958; repr. 1991], p. xix).

³⁸ Norton was at Newport for July through to October 1858 (*Norton*, I, 190–95).

C.O. Oct^r 20th [1858]¹

My dear Charles

When did I write to you last? Not very long ago I think, but I have certainly had a letter from you since – here it is “Newport 28 Sept^r”. Mine must have crossed it somewhere between the English & Irish Coasts –

Bagehot, of whom you ask, was a London University student, much distinguished as such, son of a banker in Somersetshire with whom he now is I suppose a partner – after having for some time read law – He finds time to do a good deal of work for the Nat^l Review of which he is in some sense co-editor. I knew him when I was at University College, & thought him the only genius-like kind of man to be found there² –

Since I wrote to you, I have travelled through Carlyle’s 1st volume & about ¼ of his second – There can be no doubt of the research & diligence – whatever else may be said. He has come home again from Germany. I have not seen him, but hear that he complains much of the engraving in the 1st volume in which Frederic looks like a Dwarf³ –

Will you tell me please whether I am in debt to you for anything that has fallen short with regard to your purchases on my behalf – Has the dividend supplied the deficit? –

¹ Year dated by the reference to the Social Science meeting in Liverpool & the report of Dr Farr’s paper in the *Daily News*.

² See *CEN* 51, note 14; Bagehot was born in Langport, Somerset and attended University College London, rather than Oxford or Cambridge because his Unitarian father, Thomas Watson Bagehot, objected to their doctrinal tests. Bagehot was called to the Bar in 1852, but soon abandoned the law to join his father in the family bank, Stuckey’s, later becoming manager of the Bristol branch. He was co-founder and co-editor of the *National Review*, with Richard Holt Hutton (see *CEN* 51, note 13). After meeting Clough at University Hall (see Introduction, p. 11), Hutton recalls that Bagehot ‘did what he could to mediate between that enigma to Presbyterian parents – a college-head who held himself serenely neutral, on almost all moral and educational subjects interesting to parents and pupils, except the observance of disciplinary rules – and the managing body who bewildered him and were by him bewildered’ (‘Walter Bagehot’, *Literary Studies*, 2 vols, ed. by Richard Holt Hutton [London: Longmans Green, 1879], I, p. xxxiv).

³ See *CEN* 55, note 31.

W^m Allingham the as-yet small poet passed through here the other day, having been as far as Venice, & now returning to his native Ballyshannon C^o Donegal⁴ – At Paris he saw Thackeray & his daughters – despairing (viz. Thackeray) about the uncontinuable Virginians – also Browning & M^{rs} Browning, but on the eve of their flight to Florence.⁵ Tennyson did actually go to Norway & came back but with what result or effect I know not.⁶ – Woolner, whose bust of Tennyson did you or did you not see? has just completed a cast of Rajah Brooke⁷ – also one of Fred^k Maurice both very good⁸ – Holman Hunt is busy with his Christ & the Doctors, of which Palgrave who saw it the other day, gives a highly laudatory account⁹ –

That précis of Florence Nightingale which you left me busy with at Ambleside a year ago last August has just been completed now & goes to the Queen in two vols morocco

⁴ See *RWE* 5, note 14; *RWE* 6, note 10; Allingham published his first book of poetry entitled *Poems* in 1850; this was followed by *Day and Night Songs* in 1854 and *The Music Master* in 1855. His most successful work, *The Ballad Book* – an anthology of British ballads, and *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland*, which encapsulated 19th century Irish life in the aftermath of the 1845–1850 famine, did not appear until a decade or so later. Allingham spent time with C at University Hall, describing him as ‘secret as an oyster: opens a little at certain times of the tide, but snaps to again in a jiffy if touched, and maybe bites your finger’. The pair corresponded from 1849 until shortly before C’s death [only one letter from Allingham survives] and admired each other’s work; after C’s death his wife consulted Allingham regarding publication of some of his manuscripts (*Letters to William Allingham*, ed. by H. Allingham and E. Baumer Williams [London and New York: Longman, 1911], pp. 47, 152–165).

⁵ In August 1858 Allingham visited Thackeray and his daughters at the ‘Hotel Bristol’ in Paris, where the latter was unwell and ‘struggling with Pendennis’ (Thackeray’s *The Virginians: A Tale of the Last Century*, published 1857–1859, formed a sequel to his *Henry Esmond* [see *CEN* 4, note 28] and was also loosely linked to *Pendennis* [1849]). He also saw the Brownings, who had set out from Florence on their last trip to Paris together and were staying nearby at No 6 Rue Castiglioni (*William Allingham: A Diary*, ed. by H. Allingham and D. Radford [London: Macmillan, 1907], p. 76).

⁶ Tennyson arrived in Norway after a ‘grand storm’ in the North Sea broke the ship’s mast; he looked at ‘innumerable waterfalls’, but generally avoided the mountains because of ‘the reputation of the inns’. He sought out English society at the Consul’s home in Christiania, but found it ‘even less interesting’ than London. All in all he found little difference between Norway and Scotland (Robert Bernard Martin, *Tennyson: The Unquiet Heart* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980], pp. 431–2).

⁷ See *RWE* 22, note 13; Thomas Woolner had completed a marble bust of Sir James Brooke (1803–1868), who was appointed Rajah of Sarawak after quelling an uprising in Brunei in 1859. Woolner was greatly impressed by Brooke’s ‘geniality’ and resourcefulness and relished the opportunity of sculpting the ‘active capacious forehead’ (Amy Woolner, *Thomas Woolner, R.A., Sculptor and Poet: His Life in Letters* [London: Chapman and Hall, 1917], p. 158).

⁸ Woolner was also charmed by Maurice (see *CEN* 10, note 23; 12, note 9) – ‘such a lofty soul’ – and presented his wife with a framed medallion of Emily Tennyson as a reward for his patience while sitting (*Woolner*, pp. 152, 162.); Maurice’s bust was completed in 1861 and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1863.

⁹ William Holman Hunt 1827–1910; begun in Palestine in 1854, *The Finding of the Saviour in the Temple*, traditionally known as ‘Christ Amongst the Doctors’, from a passage in Luke’s gospel (2.46), depicts the child Jesus debating scripture with learned rabbis. The painting took six years to complete but eventually sold for a record £5,500 (Mary E. Coleridge, *Holman Hunt*, [London: T.C. & E. C. Jack, 1908], p. 55).

gilt, as soon as the Queen comes to the South to receive it – which she does, I believe, to day. It has been a long business – & is a matter of 1200 pages,¹⁰ I should think. India I suppose will keep us at the military boiling point for some time to come (more's the pity perhaps:¹¹ – if only France were safely pacific!)¹² – and improvements in organization will slowly creep in – they are certainly much wanted – In the Medical department a good deal has been effected this year.¹³

Monday 25th October –

Friday was a very busy day & I could not finish in time for the Saturday's steamer.

So Child is really to come over, & to be married – I hope he will at any rate stay some time on his return, and if he could be by any means visible in his rapid transit through England in December – let me know.¹⁴ Are the Ballads completed¹⁵ & is the Chaucer to begin¹⁶ – ?

I am greatly ashamed of our English proceedings in this France-bullying-Portugal case. So far as I can see it has been sheer timidity – terror of being taken undefended, while

¹⁰ In 1857 Florence Nightingale was asked by Queen Victoria to write a précis of her experiences of the Crimean campaign; C helped with the proofs (*Corr.* 529–30), and she printed, at her own expense, *Notes on Matters Affecting the Health, Efficiency, and Hospital Administration of the British Army: Founded Chiefly on the Experience of the Late War: Presented by Request to the Secretary of State for War* (London: the author, 1858). It was a prodigious effort and the bulky tome detailing the sanitary defects and lack of supplies that had resulted in such a high death toll (see *CEN* 24, note 4) was presented to the Queen in October 1858. Although it was never published, Nightingale's recommendations formed the basis of Sidney Herbert's subsequent reforms (see note 13 below; *CEN* 58, note 7).

¹¹ A year on from the Mutinies, the situation in India was far from stable and *The Times* correspondent warned that grave doubts over the loyalty of 'native' troops necessitated an immediate and 'overwhelming force of European artillery' to secure Britain's position in India (5 October 1858, p. 7).

¹² There was reportedly considerable distrust in Government circles over Britain's supposed "Great Ally" – Napoleon III's foreign policy ambitions, particularly in regard to Italy, with a Franco-Austrian war looking increasingly imminent ('Foreign Policy of Napoleon III', *Leader*, 9 [1858], 1130–1131 [p. 1130]).

¹³ A Royal Commission to look into reform of the Army Medical Department and military hospitals was finally appointed in May 1857, after fierce lobbying from Nightingale. Pending its report a number of Sub-Commissions were set up to reconstruct the Army Medical Department, institute a Medical School and improve the sanitation of the Barracks.

¹⁴ See *FJC* 8, note 1.

¹⁵ See *FJC* 7, note 5.

¹⁶ See *FJC* 8, note 3.

India is still unsettled – & ought to disgrace us in the eyes of all European nations – But there may possibly be diplomatic explanations proving France in the technical right¹⁷ –

This Social Science meeting at Liverpool does not seem to have produced very much¹⁸ – There was an interesting paper by Dr W^m Farr of the Registrar General's office on the Statistics of Mortality of married & unmarried people in France. It was printed in the Daily News of the [21st] inst, but with some errors – which I see corrected to day in the same paper.

4,329,322 wives in England – the United Kingdom – produce about 800,000 children per annum.

6,948,823 wives in France produce 896,292 children, which was given quite incorrectly before.¹⁹

Have you read two Articles in the Times, in the last few days, about the Chinese Treaties – one on the American & one on the Russian Diplomacy – ? Your former fellow-voyager (was he not?) M^r Reed is very roughly handled? I hope he has some leg

¹⁷ The French ship *Charles et Georges* was seized by the Portuguese authorities off the Mozambique coast on suspicion of slave-trafficking. The French demanded her return, claiming that the one hundred and ten 'negroes' on board had engaged of their own free will to go to Réunion, and that Portuguese interference was a violation of international law and an insult to the French flag. She sent two 'men-of-war' to the Tagus to 'wake with the thunder of their guns the echoes of the Rock of Lisbon' (*The Times*, 18 October 1858, p. 6). *The Times* demanded to know why the English government had not intervened in the dispute and given an assurance of support to Portugal for the 'honourable course' she had adopted (26 October 1858, p. 6).

¹⁸ At the meeting of the 'National Association for the Promotion of Social Science' in Liverpool, a range of contemporary issues were discussed including the principle of reformatory schools and whether punishment would be a more economical option, the adoption of 'Bazalgette's plan' to clean up the Thames, 'ragged' schools and the adoption of an international currency (*The Times*, 18 October, 1858, p. 5).

¹⁹ Dr W Farr's paper looked at the influence of marriage on the mortality of the French people and found the death rate of husbands and wives to be broadly similar, except between the ages of 20–30 when the mortality of wives was considerably higher due to 'the sorrows of childbearing' and 'ignorant midwives'. Unmarried men and women were statistically much more likely to die than their married counterparts; in the case of men this was due to the fact that French colleges were 'infested by vice' – chiefly syphilis – which led to 'debility' and death in later life. During the years 1849–53, 6,948,823 wives in France gave birth to 896,292 children annually, compared to 6,329,222 mothers in the United Kingdom, who gave birth to around 800,000 children. In 1856 the number of children born in the United Kingdom probably exceeded French births, which represented a corresponding increase in power – for 'planting colonies' and the formation of 'future nations' ('Influence of Marriage on the Mortality of the French People', *Daily News*, 21 October 1858, p. 2). On 25 October 1858, the *Daily News* printed a letter from Dr Farr pointing out that the number of United Kingdom wives should have been 4,329,322 ('Dr Farr's Paper on Marriage', p. 2).

at home to stand on – but according to the representation in the Times the treaty is less favorable [sic] than those got by England & France²⁰ –

Friday 29th Octr –

I shall dispatch this to day – though I fear it will not be as long a letter as I had meant. I have finished Carlyle. So far as research & extent of study & reading goes, this may be said to be his best work. I cannot say that as yet I have much liking for the hero – though indeed the hero may be said as yet to be the hero's father – old Friedrich Wilhelm; – whom certainly one comes to like²¹ – I shall now return to D^f Barth whom I left near the lake Tshad²² – first however transacting Clark's Peloponnesus, wh. seems easy reading.²³ –

Bright & his speech at Birmingham deserve notice²⁴ – But I doubt whether he can rouse the towns – & people in general – i e the people who are more or less represented, care

²⁰ William B. Reed a trusted adviser of President Buchanan and the first American government minister to visit China, incurred the wrath of England and France when, despite having received military protection from their gunboats, and in collaboration with the Russians, he clumsily negotiated a unilateral treaty with Peking whose weakness, in the opinion of *The Times*, succeeded only in 'fixing upon the Chinese mind the indelible conviction that "American man only number two class English man"' (20 October 1858, p. 8). By contrast, the treaty concluded by Russia with the 'same semi-barbarous power' was, despite the threat it posed to British commercial and political interests, a diplomatic triumph of the 'highest order', according to *The Times*. With the unintended collusion of the hapless 'catpaw', Mr Reed, Russia had attained her object of obtaining 'most favourable nation' status and an outlet to Eastern waters that put Russian shipping on the same footing as other European nations (21 October 1858, p. 6).

²¹ See *CEN* 55, note 31.

²² See *CEN* 55, note 14..

²³ According to the *Saturday Review*, *Peloponnesus: Notes of Study and Travel* (London: John W. Parker, 1858), by William George Clark (1821–1878), which documents the writer's archaeological tour from Corinth to Sparta and the Peloponnese, had a freshness of approach that enlivened a rather dry period of Greek history ('Clark's Peloponnesus', 6 [1858], 39–40).

²⁴ On 27th October John Bright (see *RWE* 5, note 16; *CEN* 14, note 6), the newly elected MP for Birmingham, gave a rousing speech to a packed audience at Birmingham Town Hall highlighting the inequalities of the voting system which gave the 22 boroughs of Dorset and Devon 34 MPs, while Birmingham, with double the population, returned only 2. By contrast, in the United States the ratio of members to electors was exactly equal and there was a secret ballot. Bright also pointed to the fact that 5 out of 6 men in Britain had no vote and the last Reform Bill had deliberately excluded the working classes. Bright received several standing ovations as he urged his supporters to continue to wage war against the power and predominance of the unelected 'House of Peers', where, purely by an accident of birth, 'imbeciles' could vote, and the 'country gentlemen' in Parliament whose wars, taxes and debts had not served the country well ('Mr. Bright at Birmingham', *The Times*, 28 October 1858, p. 7). *The Times* attacked the speech, finding it vague, disconnected and against the public mood, and warned against the 'evils' of secret voting (29 October 1858, p. 6).

little about it. I believe that a Reform would give us a better & more National House of Commons, but many things press. Reform takes up so much time & gives so much trouble – how is the Government to be carried on meantime – the government of India included.

farewell.

Ever Yours affect^{ly}

A.H. Clough

MS *H*

Corr. 559–60 (part-published).

[cross-hatched across first page].

London – 28th Dec^r [1858]¹

Dear Charles

Many thanks for your letter announcing Child's coming, to which I sent a little word in answer through Little & Brown which I hope you received – Child arrived safely after rather a stormy passage – looking tolerably well & strong² – I found him, just come, at the Golden Cross, Charing Cross about 5 o'clock on Monday³ – he staid over Tuesday & came up to dine at S^t Marks with me by myself that evening & left me, to start by morning train for Paris on Wednesday.⁴ I hope you have already heard of his safe arrival at Milan. –

He gave me your present of Emerson's picture, which is really I think without any question the best portrait of any living & known-to-me man that I have ever seen. It is a great pleasure to possess it. Froude to whom I showed it was equally struck by it⁵ –

About the Bothie & other poems, the title I should like to have would be – “the Bothie, Amours de Voyage, & other poems, chiefly reprinted by A. H. Clough.⁶ Sed tu desine plura puer; successimus antro.”⁷ And the name of the Bothie is to be Tobernavohlich,

¹ Year dated by reference to Child's visit to London.

² Child paid a brief visit to C's London home near Regent's Park in December 1858 (*Corr.* 561).

³ See *CEN* 55, note 20.

⁴ By South-eastern railway steam train from London Bridge to Dover.

⁵ Probably a photograph of the portrait of Emerson by Samuel Rowse (1822–1901) which was commissioned by Norton in April 1858. Norton was pleased with the result and Rowse's 'crayon' always hung at 'Shady Hill', despite Emerson's son finding it 'tightly drawn' with a 'weak mouth'. But it was Rowse's later 'charming' portrait of C (see *RWE* 23, note 6), that was generally regarded as his 'high water mark', despite C's opinion to the contrary (Edward Waldo Emerson, *The Early Years of the Saturday Club 1855–1870* [Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1918], pp. 389–90).

⁶ The eventual title of the American volume of C's collected poems was *The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough, with a Memoir by Charles Eliot Norton* (see Appendix 2).

⁷ 'But now no more, my boy: we've reached the cave.' (Eclogue V, 19, Paul Alpers, *The Singer of the Eclogues: A Study of Virgilian Pastoral* [Berkeley, L.A. & London: University of California Press, 1979], pp. 32–33).

which I believe is neither good nor bad Gaelic⁸ – I have got three or four other poems which I should like to add to the “miscellany pieces” – Perhaps I shall have an opportunity of sending them through a bookseller. If not I will write them out for the post – I have selected those I should wish to reprint from the little volume & will give you a list herewith.⁹ – But I for my part am in no hurry for printation & shouldn’t mind a postponement for six months or twelve or more¹⁰ –

Plutarch is pretty well off my hands – There will [be] one serious job of revision of the index yet to come – but that I think is pretty nearly all.¹¹ – I dare say they will dawdle some little time longer in getting it finished – Xmas being once overpast –

Child gave a good account of you, but you mustn’t overwork. I think your proceedings at Rome in the way of the research of health were of the most reprehensible character – & I am afraid you are too likely to run into the same excuses again¹² – Child also filled up various gaps in my knowledge of Cambridge, informing me of the erection of a new house on the right hand side of the gate to <the> Shady Hill – the exact site occupied by the College Chapel¹³ – etc etc.

⁸ See *RWE* 5, note 3.

⁹ C had for some years seemingly ignored Norton’s entreaties to send him poems for publication, which led Norton to conclude that he found the topic ‘disagreeable’ (see *CEN* 15, note 12). The American volume of C’s collected poems, to which his widow added some more short poems, a few extracts from Dipsychus and a brief version of *Mari Magno*, was published a year after his death (see Appendix 2). In the preface Norton is unstinting in his praise of ‘The Bothie of Tober-Na-Vuolich’, which is given pride of place, followed by an equally admired ‘Amours de Voyage’; ‘Mari Magno’ and then sixty ‘Minor Poems’ [in the English edition, published simultaneously, the shorter *Ambarvalia* poems appear first]. Thirteen of the fifteen poems listed are included in Norton’s edition, along with nine referred to in *CEN* 60. The only omissions are numbers 6 and 14: ‘With graceful seat and skilful hand’ (*Ambarvalia*, p. 19), and ‘Natura Naturans’ (*Ambarvalia*, p. 52), which Mrs C insisted be left out as she found it ‘abhorrent’ (Phelan, p. 45). There is a note in the front to the effect that previously published poems are ‘reprinted according to the author’s latest revision’ (*Boston* 1862).

¹⁰ The American edition of C’s poems was not published until 1862 (*Boston* 1862); see Appendix 2.

¹¹ See *CEN* 66, note 2.

¹² Norton was in the habit of wintering in Rome from where he worked on *Notes on Travel and Study in Italy* (see *CEN* 70, note 20).

¹³ A number of new houses were springing up along Kirkland Street on the south side of Shady Hill, including one built for Harvard President Eliot in 1858 for his bride and parents (Bainbridge Bunting, *Harvard: An Architectural History*, ed. by Margaret Henderson Floyd [Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1985], p. 64).

This is the list of the Ambarvalia to be reprinted –

- no. 1. – call it *The Questioning Spirit*.
- no. 2. (page 9) As at a railway junction men
- no. 3 (page 12) Come back again my olden heart.
- no. 4 (page 15) When Soft September
- no. 5 (page 18) *Qui laborat orat*
- no. 6 (pages 19 to 22), beginning with stanza 4,
thus
- (1) Fair, fair &c, but read O fair [?] entitle it *In a drawing room*
- (2) Thrice happy who
- (3) Such dreams – but read These thoughts...
omit 4 stanzas and go on
- (4) The heart that midst...[Incline however to
omit omit this thing altogether
- (5) The heart that here
omit 2 stanzas
- (6) Full oft
- (7) No sickly thing –
omit one stanza
- (8) As of itself. –
- no. 7 (p. 23) When Israel &c. call it *The New Sinai*
– [omit the 2 stanzas before the two last
- no. 8 (p. 34) Sweet streamlet bason! or *The Clouded Hill*
- no. 9 & 10 (p. 35) In a Lecture Room 9) Away,
haunt not &c and 10) My wind is turned
- no. 11 (p. 41) Though to the vilest things *Sonnet*
- no. 12 (p. 45) O kind protecting darkness
- no. 13 (p. 50) *Qua Cursum Ventus*

no 14 (p. 52) Natura Nat[ura]ns but omit stanzas 3 & 4 and in stanza 6 line 1, read

Touched not, nor looked; yet owned we both

no. 15 (p. 56) Farewell &c

This wo^d be all the old ones.

13th January –

Dear Charles – I am much pressed & send this in complete [sic] –

Through what bookseller if any could I send you a copy of the Poems for Fields? –

With kindest remembrances & the best wishes of the Season.

Ever Yours

A H Clough

MS H

Corr. 560–2 (part-published).

58.

[Education Department headed paper]

26. Jan^y 1859

My dear Charles

Many thanks for your letter received yesterday with the prospectus of the Weenbauers & farmers Gesellschaft of which I had already heard something & to which I hope all success¹ –

The Bothie had already arrived – I will do my best to correct & return it without delay. – You have a few short poems, I think, which might be added to the others already printed. I remember the following – (1) The Song of Lamech – (2) the death of Jacob – is this finished? – (3) A young man preaching in a boat – (4) Lines written at Peschiera (5) Lines about a picture at Venice – (6) Two or three stanzas about Ah yet consider it again – Have you (7) Each for himself is still the rule? – I do not remember any others. – I have got perhaps five or six more which might come at the end of all.² –

I see by the papers that you are getting dreadfully pinched this winter³ – Here it is as mild as spring – & not the more wholesome on that account –

28th Jan^y. Yesterday was so busy I could not write & to day is the last day – so that I fear this will be but a scribbly epistle⁴ – I am sorry I delayed so long in sending my last similarly scribbly letter which might, if sent at first, have given you news of Child who I thought wo^d be sure to send you news of himself – The Illustrated News last week told

¹ Winegrowers and Farmers Society' [German]; German emigrants, escaping the repressive politics of their homeland, settled in the Missouri Valley where they planted vineyards that, by 1855, were producing enough wine to send their 'Missouri catawba' up the Ohio River to the wine houses of Cincinnati (see *CEN* 53, note 6). Their success was due to a scientific approach that resulted in the development of new varieties and a volume of technical writing devoted to viticulture (Thomas Pinney, *A History of Wine in America from the Beginnings to Prohibition* [Berkeley, L.A. & London: University of California Press, 1989], pp. 174, 177, 179).

² See *CEN* 57, note 9; Appendix 2.

³ The weather was so bad that mail from the steamship *America*, which landed at Boston on 4th January, failed to reach New York after the Boston train 'stuck fast in a heavy snow drift' (*Daily News*, 17 January 1859, p. 5).

⁴ 28th January 1859 was a Friday; C would probably have wanted to catch the next mail ship (See Introduction, p. 22).

us that this ripe scholar would be in England next month⁵ – but that I suppose is not likely to be the case – is he to be married at once?⁶ & to look forward to returning in his new capacity to England? Tell me anything you hear of him for I fear he will not write himself.

In the new Reviews of this month I only know of an Article on Army Hygiene by Sidney Herbert in the *Westminster*,⁷ & one by James Martineau in the *National* on Mansell's Bampton Lectures which you may perhaps have seen reviewed in the *Times*.⁸ They attracted great notice at Oxford as a crushing attack on the rationalizing school of Jowett & others & are now circulating a good deal.⁹ I have just glanced at Martineau's review; it seemed to me in the right line. Another article I glanced [at] was on the

⁵ See *FJC* 8, note 3.

⁶ Child married Elizabeth Sedgwick (see *FJC* 8, note 1) in 1860.

⁷ Herbert's article discusses the Commissioners' report on 'Regulations affecting the Sanitary Condition of the Army, the Organisation of Military Hospitals, and the Treatment of the Sick and Wounded', which owed much to Florence Nightingale's report that C that helped draw up (see *CEN* 56, note 10). She had concluded that poor hygiene, foul air and overcrowding were the prime causes of death in the field and Herbert urged prompt action by the bureaucratic and 'cumbrous' War Office to prevent a recurrence of the 'horrors of Scutari'. Among Nightingale's recommendations were the appointment of an 'executive responsible head' of medical services, properly trained and qualified medical officers, and for 'wardmasters' to prioritise nursing over paperwork ('The Sanitary Condition of the Army', *Westminster Review*, 71 [1859], 52–98 [pp. 57, 73, 75, 82]).

⁸ James Martineau (1805–1900), Unitarian minister and brother of Harriet (see *CEN* 11, note 5) was reviewing *The Limits of Religious Thought Examined in Eight Lectures*, by Oxford Professor, Henry Longueville Mansel (1820–1871), whose central tenet was the 'subjective incapacity of the intellect' to understand the nature of God; both the 'Absolute' and the 'Infinite' were beyond the bounds of rational thought, and 'Revelation' was the only means of positive knowledge about God. Martineau, however, did not agree with Mansel's assertion that speculative reason had no place in theology, arguing that the intellect, conscience and imagination were all 'lines of attraction' to the same 'Infinite Object'. He also accused Mansel of presenting a 'gross caricature' of the work of Strauss and Bauer (see *CEN* 12, notes 5, 26), which had had an 'ineffaceable impression' on Christian theology, and criticised the 'purely popular' and 'elementary' nature of Mansel's biblical ideas ('Mansel's Limits of Religious Thought', *National Review*, January 1859, 209–27 [pp. 215, 216, 220, 226, 227]).

⁹ *The Times* reported on the phenomenal popularity of Mansel's 'long and abstract' lectures, which had attracted large crowds – many of whom had not seen the inside of a church for years – to listen to 'discourses on the Absolute and Infinite', which they 'confessedly could not comprehend' ('Mansel's Bampton Lectures', 10 January 1859, p. 10). It concluded that most 'calm thinking men' trusted the evidence of their own senses, and no theories about their mental nature would convince them to see the 'apparent truth' as a 'constructive lie'. Moreover, in representing knowledge as 'limited' and 'uncertain', Mansel risked inducing the kind of 'universal scepticism' that was fatal to religion ('Mansel's Bampton Lectures', 11 January 1859, p. 10). Mansel counted Jowett in with the German philosophers, including Hegel and Strauss, whose 'heresies' he '[hangs] in chains' (*The Times*, 10 January 1859, p. 10). Jowett was one of the authors of the highly controversial *Essays and Reviews*, whose publication in 1860 caused a furore. In his paper, 'On the Interpretation of Scripture', he argued for the 'sacred' scriptures to be interpreted 'like any other book', using an inductive method based on reason and fact, and put forward the provocative idea that revelation was 'progressive', and therefore open to fresh interpretation by successive generations, particularly in the light of geological and philological advances ([London: John W. Parker, 1860], 330–433 [pp. 348, 375, 377, 378]).

religion of the working classes, by whom I don't know – it seemed to me good.¹⁰ An article on Women's Novels is by W^m Greg I believe¹¹ –

Bright's agitation will bear fruits. The Ministerial Bill wo^d have been very different without this. Bright is scoffed at in the Metropolitan papers & at all Clubs – But his hold on the country is such as no M.P. whatever except himself, possesses – & in the main the course he has taken is right I think¹² – It is said that Lord Stanley was asked the other day about the Ministerial Bill – & said that he did not mind saying this much – that it satisfied him: – which seems to imply a good deal¹³ – As for Wars and rumours of Wars it seems pretty sure that the French in general are averse to War –

¹⁰ The article, by Richard Holt Hutton (see *CEN* 51, note 13) identified three main obstacles to religious faith among the labouring classes: firstly a 'mere stupefying Animalism', which meant their idea of heaven was 'sitting in the public over a good jug of ale'; secondly, the 'gospel' of the "dangerous classes" – ie Chartism and Socialism – preached by fanatical and 'insatiable Discontents' who regarded religion as hostile to their struggle to overthrow the existing social order; and finally a lack of education, which made the working man intellectually incapable of grappling with the subtleties of religious doubt in the same way as the more 'cultivated sceptic'. The writer also identified an inherent resistance to dogmatic divinity' among the working classes, which he thought could be overcome by encouraging a trust in 'the *person*' of God' ('The Religion of the Working Classes', *National Review*, January 1859, 167–97 [pp. 173, 176, 177, 186, 187, 189, 195]).

¹¹ 'False Morality of Lady Novelists', by William Rathbone Greg (see *CEN* 10, note 19; *CEN* 47, note 10), warns against the insidious and all-pervasive influence of 'light literature'; unlike weightier reading matter – Shakespeare or the Classics, for example – which required 'laborious' 'mastication', and had a profound and lasting effect, novels – the favourite reading matter of the masses – were consumed like soup or jelly, effortlessly and indiscriminately. They posed a particular danger to women – always 'impressionable' and ruled by their emotions – who could easily be influenced into committing 'evil' by a scene in a novel. Hundreds of young and idle educated ladies had taken up novel writing, and though their books might have an exciting plot and interesting characters, they propagated 'superficial' and often unsound views of life and conduct by virtue of their inexperience and ignorance, particularly of the 'strange science of sexual affection'. (*National Review*, January 1859, 144–167 [pp. 145, 146, 148, 158, 163]).

¹² See *CEN* 56, note 24; Bright's new reform bill included a ratepayer franchise in the boroughs, £10 rental franchise in the counties, a secret ballot, and a massive redistribution of seats. However, he faced strong opposition from the conservative press: *Reynolds's Newspaper* printed articles from the *Morning Herald* mocking him for renegeing on promises to his 'dupes' to abolish the peerage, while, according to the *Morning Post*, he lacked credibility after toning down his demands to appease middle class opinion. Some extension of the franchise was required, but a voting system based solely on 'mere numbers' would be 'preposterous' and 'dangerously revolutionary'. Bright's bill was 'partial' and 'unjust' and it needed a 'real statesman' to bring in a system fair to all classes (23 January 1859, p. 10).

¹³ Edward Henry Stanley (1826–1893), first Secretary of State for India in his father, Lord Derby's, cabinet. He drew up the outline of the Tory Reform Bill with Disraeli, inspired by the desire for 'a reconciliation and almost fusion of the landed with the town interest' (*DNB*), and came close to resigning when Disraeli abandoned the sizeable redistribution of seats they had agreed.

Lord Stanley seems to be a present guarantee for the tolerable government of India, but he of course may go any day – I wish the *Council* were on a surer basis – the self-electing plan can hardly be permanent¹⁴ – –

With kindest remembrances

Ever Yours faithfully

A H Clough

Will you put the enclosed in a cover for Little & Brown.

MS *H*

Corr. 562 (part-published); *PR* 247 (part-published).

¹⁴ Stanley became the first secretary of state for India under the act ending company rule in the subcontinent (see *CEN* 49, notes 10, 12). He called for a ‘generous amnesty’ and ‘guarantees of respect for Indian religions and established rights’ (*DNB*).

59.

[headed paper 'Education Department, Council Office']

9 Feby 1859

My dear Charles

I will send back the *Bothie* as soon as I can¹ – but at present I am rather incapacitated with cold & influenza & can do little more than work thr^o the official hours & lie by till the wheel revolves. – Our weather is wet mild & miserable – insomuch that the very East Wind itself seems desirable in comparison.

Yesterday brought a letter to my wife from your sister – with an account of you which we were very glad to receive – In the evening we met the Twistletons just returned from Rome, & were able to give them the news of you. M^{rs} Twistleton looks very well.² – They say it is to be peace – France is utterly indisposed to fight,³ so much so as even to praise *la Sagesse Anglaise*⁴ for discrediting the sentimental imperial oratory & holding fast to treaties as they are & peace with or without goodwill, upon earth – Moreover the sinews of war are wanting.⁵ Rothschild will not lend money to Austria, & only acts as Commission agent for the loan⁶.... Sardinia I suppose cannot get money either here or elsewhere⁷ –

¹ C sent Norton corrections to the magazine text of *Amours de Voyage* and a marked up copy of the 1848 edition of *The Bothie* with several alterations, although the first marked copy got lost in the mail and C sent a second (*The Early Editions of Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by Patrick Scott [New York & London: Garland, 1977], p. 65.); [much of this material is in the Houghton Library, Harvard].

² See *CEN* 4, note 16.

³ There had been fears of an imminent war between Austria and France over Italy. But in his opening speech to the legislative session, Emperor Napoleon reassured the French people that although relations with the Cabinet of Vienna had 'often been at variance', and the situation in Italy had 'alarmed diplomacy', his policy would never be 'quarrelsome' or 'pusillanimous', the Franco-British alliance would hold fast and he hoped peace would 'not be troubled' ('Speech of the Emperor Napoleon', *Daily News*, 8 February, 1859, p. 5). When war broke out between Austria and Sardinia, however, France was drawn into the conflict.

⁴ 'English wisdom' [French].

⁵ 'Stiffen the sinews, summon up the blood' (*Henry V*, I, 7, *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, ed. by Isaac Reed, 11 vols [London: Vernon Hood, 1809], VII, 43).

⁶ See *FJC* 5, note 24; Austria had asked for a £6 million war loan and offered to pay 5% interest. But she had entirely exhausted her credit at home and the *Liverpool Mercury* warned that English capitalists who lent money to Austria or any of the Powers who were threatening European peace deserved to lose their money and would probably get their 'just deserts' ('The Proposed Austrian Loan', 2 February 1859, p. 4).

⁷ France and Sardinia had signed a secret treaty of alliance against Austria; Sardinia's credit rating was much higher than Austria's, according to the *Daily News* (2 February 1859, p. 4).

However I confess both speech & pamphlet read to me plausibly. Here is also a pamphlet of John Mills on Reform,⁸ quite worth reading, and a book of his *On Liberty*, which I have not yet more than seen.⁹

I have been reading Blakesley's Algeria – the first half I found dull the last half about Constantine, Slippo or Bona, & Carthage is interesting enough. Blakesley, you very likely know, was a Fellow & Tutor at Trinity, Cambridge: edited Herodotus, & in doing this, studied the geography of the Crimea so thoroughly from the best books, that he wrote letters to the Times during the War under the signature of a Hertfordshire Incumbent which contained better information than any one else could give.¹⁰

Hodson's life by his brother is also worth reading so far as Hodson is concerned – the brother does not do his part well.¹¹ –

Monday 14th Feb

I failed to finish in time for Saturday's mail – This morning I have a letter from Child giving but a sad account of Miss Sedgwick for whom he is seeking advice for a Doctor here. – The letter is from Genoa, dated the 11th. She had travelled thither from Milan without hurt. But there seemed to be no improvement.¹²

⁸ John Stuart Mills' pamphlet, *Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform*, argued for parliament to be made more representative by merging small constituencies into 'districts of boroughs', no election expenses should be borne by candidates', and the number of votes should be dependent on 'superior knowledge and cultivation' – so that an unskilled labourer would have one vote to a lawyer or clergyman's five or six. He also opposed the secret ballot to avoid the danger of votes being cast through narrow class interest or personal vindictiveness, rather than in the public good ([London: John W. Parker, 1859], pp. 14, 16, 25, 26, 46).

⁹ See *CEN* 49, note 12; the subject of John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* was 'the nature and limits of the power which can be legitimately exercised by society over the individual', both by the rule of law and pressure of public opinion. He asserted individual rights over the 'tyranny of the majority'. Rules of conduct were subjectively determined and usually served the interests of the ruling class; and in modern times 'the engines of moral repression' were increasingly used to compel individuals to conform to the dominant model of society, especially in the religious domain. It was important to set limits to government interference, particularly in respect of freedom of conscience and the right to publish opinions. According to Mill's strictly utilitarian argument, power could only be rightfully exercised over a member of a civilised community (barbarians were a different case), if the purpose was to prevent harm to others (2nd edn [London: John W. Parker, 1859], pp.7, 13, 14, 16, 21, 23, 26, 27, 28).

¹⁰ See *FJC* 8, note 7; a member of the celebrated 'Apostles' Club', Blakesley was elected fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge in 1831 and became a tutor in 1839. His chief work was an edition of Herodotus for the *Bibliotheca Classica*. After leaving Cambridge he became vicar of Ware and wrote letters to *The Times* under the pseudonym 'the Hertfordshire Incumbent' (*DNB*).

¹¹ See *CEN* 50, note 21.

¹² See *FJC* 8, note 1.

Trevelyan starts for Madras on Saturday¹³ – A friend of mine, a fellow of Oriel, Sir Alex^r Grant (who wrote an Oxford Essay on the Stoics, which I may have mentioned to you) is to go out soon after him to act as Inspector of Schools for the Madras Presid^{cy}.¹⁴ – Trevelyan goes out alone – & appoints all his new off^{rs} (with this exception) from the staff out there. He does not take even a Secretary.

People are a little agog about the Bible in India question – Old Indians seem to be pretty tolerably unanimous agst having it read in the Schools.¹⁵

Wednesday 16 Feb^y; I am getting on with the bothie [sic] – acting upon a criticism which appeared to me correct that the letters & sermonizing parts were too long – & least to the point.¹⁶

Friday 18 Feb^y –

I believe I have done all that I expect to do to the bothie – & I hereby undertake to send it back next week – I must just give it one other revision, or review – I believe I may have cut out something which for old acquaintance' sake you may regret – but the

¹³ See *CEN* 45, note 13; Trevelyan became governor of Madras in the spring of 1859. He was responsible for organizing a new police system and for establishing land rights for the occupants (*DNB*).

¹⁴ Sir Alexander Grant (1826–1884), studied at Balliol and was awarded an Oriel fellowship in 1849, just after C resigned his. In 'The Ancient Stoics', published in *Oxford Essays* (1858), Grant argued that the Stoics were in some sense the originators of 'the modern point of view', with their emphasis on individual responsibility, 'moral progress' and the 'delights of the inner life' over material pleasures. Though uninfluenced by Christianity, Stoicism was nonetheless theological in its views and showed the heights it was possible for 'Pagans' to attain ([London: John W Parker, 1858], pp. 80–123 [pp. 93, 80, 122]). Grant accepted an offer from Sir Charles Trevelyan to go to Madras where he became an inspector of elementary 'vernacular' schools (*DNB*).

¹⁵ In July 1859 a delegation headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury met Lord Palmerston to call for the removal of the prohibition of the Bible in Indian Government schools, and for the introduction of voluntary Bible classes; the effect of an education 'without the true standard of moral and religious truth', they feared, would lead to the 'formation of a dangerous class of society' more implacably opposed to British rule ('Deputation to Lord Palmerston on Bible Education for India', *The Times*, 1 August 1859, p. 12).

¹⁶ An unsigned review in the *Literary Gazette* ridiculed *The Bothie* ('English Hexameters', 18 August 1849, pp. 606–7.); three of the passages quoted were omitted or substantially cut by C in MS A and/or from the 1862 edition: IV.40–73; IV.187 & 189–90; & IX.57–65 (a letter). Thorpe thinks it likely that this review influenced C's judgment (*Arthur Hugh Clough: The Critical Heritage*, ed. by Michael Thorpe [London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972], p. 3). The revisions did not alter the overall structure or story line of *The Bothie*, but C cut out some of the more explicit sexual references in the poem – 'the vernal emotion' and the 'celled-up dishonour of boyhood' for example (II, 58–60), which, according to Patrick Scott, had the effect of 'prettif[ying]' it, and tilted the balance of the poem more towards the 'pastoral' and the 'idyllic' (*The Bothie, Arthur Hugh Clough: The Text of 1848*, ed. by Patrick Scott [St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1976], pp. 23–24).

general effect to a new reader will I think be improved – & a reduction in the amount of disquisition was certainly required, so far as I can judge –

Thank you much for the Paper with the account of the Burns Festival which I think must have been the best meeting of all the commemorations¹⁷ – I confess that the air of London so far infected me that I was somewhat impatient of the general declamation – & could almost sympathize with the Edinburgh preacher who rebuked his countrymen from the pulpit for paying such homage to so great a sinner¹⁸ – Miss Isa Craig’s crystal ode had the merit perhaps of not far transgressing the limits of right sentiment on the subject¹⁹ – But I think Emerson’s speech is the best thing that I have seen reported as having been said or done on the occasion.²⁰ I hope you will not fail to read Mill on Liberty.²¹ – Did you ever in India hear anything of Mr Hay Cameron, who I think succeeded Macaulay as Legislative Member of the Supreme Council – He has published a book on Education in India which I should like you to see.²² – Our present Ministry is said to be a Ministry divided against itself, & people think that therefore it will not stand

¹⁷ *The Boston Daily Advertiser* carried a report of the Burns Festival held in Boston on 25th January 1859, the centenary of the poet’s birth (E. Littell, *Littell’s Living Age* [Boston: Littell, 1859] LX, 740–1).

¹⁸ In what *Reynolds’s Newspaper* called an ‘outpouring of Calvinistic bigotry’, the Rev. Dr. Alexander of Edinburgh was reported to have condemned his countrymen for their ‘idolatory of genius’, and for paying homage to a man who “never loved a woman but to betray her”, and ‘never made an acquaintance .. that he did not ‘[injure]’ or ‘[corrupt]’; (‘Gossip of the Week’, 30 January 1859, p. 7).

¹⁹ Burns’ anniversary was also celebrated at Crystal Palace in London, and the winner of the prize poem competition – the ‘Fifty- guinea Ode to Burns’ – was Isa Craig of Ranelagh Street Pimlico, whose poem was extravagant in its praise of the ‘peasant-born’ poet turned King, and was greeted with ‘deafening’ applause (*Littell’s Living Age*, 1859, pp.746–747).

²⁰ At the Boston Burns celebrations (see above) Emerson paid tribute to the ‘exceptional genius’ who recalled the spirit of middle-class rebellion against the privileged minorities which had inspired the French and American revolutions. But he was also the poet of the poor – ‘grey hodden’ and the ‘guernsey coat’, and had given a voice to their experience of ‘patches’, poverty and ‘the fear of debt’. His common sense and humour was equal to that of Shakespeare and Cervantes, while he had made the ‘unintelligible patois’ of lowland ‘Scotch’ a ‘Doric dialect of fame’ (*Littell’s Living Age*, 1859, p. 740).

²¹ See note 9 above.

²² Charles Hay Cameron (1795–1880) replaced Macaulay (See *RWE* 9, note 8; *CEN* 5, note 4) as chairman of a law commission to reform and codify Indian law, and became President of the Bengalese Council for Education (*DNB*). He took a more enlightened view than Macaulay, who opposed the teaching of Sanskrit and Arabic, calling for the establishment of new universities, each focusing on the improvement of one vernacular language, which would become centres of ‘moral and intellectual excellence’ in themselves, rather than a ‘servile’ copy of the British model. The English language would underpin the system of imperial education in India, however, and although Christian theology could not be taught per se, students would learn a literature ‘imbued with Christian morality’. Cameron desired to see the rising generation of India attain to the higher offices in their own country, from which they were presently excluded, and to become not just public servants but scientists and philosophers (*An Address to Parliament on the Duties of Great Britain to India in respect of the Education of the Natives* [London: Longman, Brown, Green, 1853], pp. 63, 64, 77, 116,137, 150, 153).

but as Lord Palmerston kept in office because the country wanted above all things a Foreign Minister, so perhaps for the sake of Lord Stanley as Minister for India the rest of the party may be tolerated.²³ – You will have noticed the satisfaction which he gave by his speech on Indian Finance on Monday last.²⁴ By the way there is an article to day in the Daily News on the Cotton-growing states of America – saying that they are declining & cannot be looked to permanently for the supply. Query – Is this at all true of S. Carolina or of the Mobile²⁵ & New Orleans countries?²⁶ I suspect it is by Harriet Martineau of whose exactness one is never quite assured.²⁷ –

Prescott's death was I suppose not a great surprise – though not expected at the time.²⁸ –
farewell –

Ever Yours

A. H. Clough

MS H

Corr. 563–4 (part-published); *PR* 247 (part-published).

²³ Palmerston's ministry was superseded by Derby in February 1858, but Palmerston resumed power in June 1859.

²⁴ In his 'Indian budget speech', Lord Stanley announced 'generous' investment in the construction of railroads, canals and the telegraph in order to replenish the Indian exchequer within a few years. But the surest and most 'inexhaustible' source of revenue would come from the expansion of cotton cultivation, which promised an almost limitless supply of a commodity for which English manufacturers currently paid 'ten millions sterling beyond its natural value' to the United States (*Morning Chronicle*, 7 February 1859, p. 4).

²⁵ Mobile, Alabama – a city whose fortunes were built on the cotton trade.

²⁶ The *Daily News* article stressed the importance of opening up new sources for the supply of cotton necessary for British industry; plantation owners in the American South were 'sinking' under the 'pressure of debt' and the 'bad' economy that depended on slave labour. Whole states were becoming barren wasteland and in South Carolina the white population was in steady decline, while the replacement of slave labour by white immigrants threatened to seriously disrupt the cotton trade (18 February 1859, p. 4).

²⁷ Harriet Martineau was a regular contributor to the *Daily News* (see *CEN* 11, note 5; 12, note 23).

²⁸ William Stirling-Maxwell described William Hickling Prescott (1796–1859) as 'one of the best writers' in English. As popular in London as in Boston, his best-known works: *Ferdinand and Isabella* (1837) and the *History of Philip II* (1855) were produced on a 'blind man's writing machine' due to his poor sight ('William Hickling Prescott', *Fraser's Magazine*, 59 [1859], 378–382 [pp. 378, 380]).

[16 March 1859]¹

Dear Charles –

I have just received your welcome letter per Africa, with particulars as to moneys & verses, for which many thanks. I appear to owe you \$3.13. If you will leave this to be repaid out of the July dividend & let the balance go to whatever you receive from Little & Brown, & lie by till in one way or other there is enough to invest, I shall be obliged to you. Perhaps I may have something ere long to send over from this side – So far for money; as for verse² – My wind is turned to bitter north is reprieved from condemnation upon your recommendation to mercy. Roused by importunate knocks is but a fragment – but I've no objection – I have quite forgotten.

O thou whose image in the shrine, but let it go in – also It fortifies – & Put forth thy leaf – which I am glad to hear you have – I couldn't find it. Also Say not the struggle – The skies have sunk, I do not care about – Jacob still lacks a tail & doesn't know where to find one – so I fear as he can't bring his tail behind him we must let him alone for the present.

I have no copy of a young man preaching in a boat – if you will send me the last verse I will try & mend it. –

There are two or three misprints in Les Amours (my fault I believe not Lowell's) which I must look up & send you.³ –

.....

¹ Dated by the later reference in the letter to 'Wednesday last week', which was 16 March in 1852. Year dated by the reference to the death of Froude's father.

² See Appendix 2.

³ See *CEN* 57, note 9; all nine poems mentioned were included in Norton's *Boston* 1862 edition under the heading 'Minor Poems'. 'My [w]ind is turned to bitter north' (p.234) and 'Roused by importunate knocks' (Stanza VII of "*Blank Misgivings of a Creature moving about in a Worlds not realised*" [p.231].) are from *Ambarvalia* (pp.35, 44). In Norton's version 'Put forth thy leaf' became part IV of *In Stratis Viarum*, the title of which was suggested by C in an enclosure to *CEN* 62 (Phelan, p. 269). The title of 'The skies have sunk' is changed to *Ite domum Saturate, venit Hesperus* (p. 281), and 'A Young Man preaching in a boat' appears as 'Across the sea, along the shore' (p. 256).

The above was written on Wednesday last week – I continue on Wednesday *this* week viz. the 23rd March. I meant to have sent you the *Amours de Voyage*⁴ corrigenda⁵ last Friday, but I took the wrong numbers of the Atlantic with me, & so could do nothing. I send them now – I do not know that the insertions (they are however re-insertions) are of much value, but I think they may as well go in. – I believe I shall have something of the same kind to add in Canto V, some where after letter Vi, up to the end of which my corrections go.

Excuse this letter all about my own concerns – I am pretty busy & have time for little else – such is our fate after 40. My figure 40 stands nearly 3 months behind me on the roadway⁶ – unswept, unhonoured and unsung – an octavum lustrum⁷ bound up & laid on the shelf – “So & so is dead”, said a friend to Lord Melbourne of some author – “Dear me, how glad I am. Now I can bind him up – ” farewell

Ever Yours

A H Clough

P.S. Thursday 24 March [1859]

I finished last night, but I believe the envelope will carry another halfsheet – I will send the remaining corrections & additions for *Les Amours* next week – I will also send the order of the miscellaneous pieces –

We are here all bothered with the Reform Bill – you will probably hear the result by the steamer that takes this⁸ – Have you read *Adam Bede*? the best novel of this season.⁹ –

⁴ See *CEN* 59, note 1; C sent Norton corrections to the magazine text of *Amours de Voyage*.

⁵ Something requiring correction; in *pl.* errors or faults in a printed book, etc., of which the corrections are given.

⁶ C’s fortieth birthday was on 1st January 1859.

⁷ Lustrum – a five-year period of time; Octavum lustrum: the eighth lustrum, i.e. forty years [Latin – Horace, *Odes* Bk II, Ode IV, v. 23].

⁸ See *CEN* 56, note 24; *CEN* 59, note 8; the Reform bill, devised by Disraeli, proposed a reduction of the county franchise to £10 – in line with the borough figure, special measures to enfranchise the ‘upper working class’ and a redistribution of seats in favour of large unrepresented towns. There was concern that the ancient county freeholders would be disenfranchised, a system of voting papers would lead to widespread fraud and a considerable proportion of the ‘industrious classes’ would continue to be excluded (*The Times*, 1 April 1859, p. 5).

⁹ The *Saturday Review* praised the author of *Adam Bede* – obviously a ‘country clergyman’ – whose realistic drawing of the characters of rustic folk was far superior to the usual novelistic stereotypes. The storyline however was rather melodramatic and lacking in continuity, village life was portrayed as too ‘painful’ and horrific, and the explicit references to pregnancy were ‘most objectionable’. But overall the novel’s merits far exceeded its shortcomings (7 [1859], pp. 250–251).

How is Stirling's tribute to Prescot [sic] in Fraser's Mag. for March accepted with you.¹⁰ Parker is printing John Mill's Miscellaneous Essays (published in the Edinburgh & Westminster)¹¹ – Kingsley is writing a new novel of modern life – having, I believe, first begun one on the Pilgrimage of Grace¹² – Froude's father is just dead – an old man, in his 89th year; – he has left all to the eldest son, after the English manner – He was rich & desired to perpetuate the family – Froude I believe received a gift of £6000 some years ago – after the two volumes of his history came out. But by his father's will I am told he has nothing¹³ —

Let me add one thing as to the Amours – I think I would have less space between the Letters. They are mostly so short that it makes too much interruption, to print them as if they were chapters. It wo^d be better to make them <look like> stand together in any way so as to look like a continuous poem¹⁴ –

farewell. With kindest remembrances

Ever Yours affect^{ely}

A H Clough

MS H

Corr. 565–6; PR 248 (part-published)

¹⁰ See CEN 59, note 28.

¹¹ John Stuart Mill's *Dissertations and Discussions*, reprinted from the *Westminster Review* and *Edinburgh Review*, included his essays on poetry and 'Civilization'; he considered only a few to be controversial or to have 'an asperity of tone' (2 vols, [London: John W. Parker, 1859], I, v).

¹² See CEN 41, note 16; Kingsley went to Yorkshire for a week in the summer of 1859 to identify names and places for a projected new novel on the 'Pilgrimage of Grace', which, however, was only roughly sketched out and then abandoned (*Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memories of His Life*, ed. by his wife, 2 vols [London: Macmillan, 1894], II, 80). Despite his resolution to write nothing but sermons from henceforth, however, the *Critic* announced in the autumn that Kingsley was 'engaged in the composition of a new novel on a historical subject of much interest' ('Literary News', 19 [1859], p. 284).

¹³ See RWE 19, note 22; *The Times* announced the death on 23rd February, at Dartington of the Ven. R.H. Froude, Archdeacon of Totness [sic], in his 89th year (25 February 1859, p. 1).

¹⁴ In Norton's *Boston* 1862 edition of C's poems there is only about one extra line between the letters in *Amours de Voyage*; in the *Atlantic Monthly* there are probably two lines.

61.

1 April [1859]¹

I don't know that I have news to add, that you will not learn from the newspapers. It is said that of the defeated Cabinet five, before the defeat, were for resigning if it came, & eight were for staying on.² But I suppose they will resign – Here is a jest of Lord Derby's – to a friend who told him he was in a great mess – Yes, replied he, but Benjamin's mess is five times greater than those of his brethren.³

There came hither a youth the other day, a son of the English chaplain at Marseilles – going out on an appointment as Student Interpreter to Shanghae [sic]; who it appeared, had lived in Boston for four years or more – & had written for the *Atlantic Monthly* – Myers by name⁴ – he told me that Mr Underwood had quitted his place, whatever it was was in connection with the A. M.⁵ –

I hope the Bothie, sent to you by the Steamer of the 26th of Feb^y reached you in safety. It will be a nuisance for me if it didn't – I wrote also last week with the corrections to *Les Amours* to which this is the supplement. Your editorial troubles I fear will be great. Give them up – if you like.

Ever Yours

A H Clough

MS H

PR 248 (part-published).

¹ Year dated by the reference to the defeat of Derby's government.

² On 31st March 1859 Derby's government was defeated over Disraeli's Reform Bill (see *CEN* 59, note 8; 60, note 8) and in early June lost a vote of confidence and resigned.

³ 'but Benjamin's mess was five times so much as any of theirs, (Genesis 43.34.); an allusion to Benjamin Disraeli, the alternative meaning of 'mess' and perhaps Disraeli's Jewishness.

⁴ William S. Frederick Mayers (1831–1878), son of the Revd M. J. Mayers, consular chaplain at Marseilles; he spent some years as a journalist in New York and was sent to Canton in June 1859 as a British Foreign Office student interpreter. At least three articles in the *Atlantic Monthly* have been attributed to him, including "The Gaucho" (July 1858, p.178) and 'El Llanero' (February 1859, p. 174); (David T. Haberly, *Facundo* in the United States: An Unknown Reading, University of Virginia, <http://www.lehman.cuny.edu/ciberletras/v14/haberly.htm> [accessed November 2014] (para. 4).

⁵ Francis Henry Underwood (1825–1894), anti-slavery campaigner and a founder of the *Atlantic Monthly*. He left the magazine in 1859 and returned to his political activities; he also wrote biographies of Lowell and Longfellow (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*).

C.O. April 21st 59.

Dear Charles

I send you what I think should come *after* two pieces headed Mari Magno, & should be the last thing in the volume – if volume there is to be – – I hope the poor Bothie reached you – I sent it on Feb^y 26. I wrote also on March 25 & April 1st enclosing addenda & corrigenda chiefly of the Amours de Voyage.¹ – I hope you have got through the Winter and that no untoward delay of Spring is trying you. – I have no great news to tell – we have been having deaths lately for our news – as for example that of W^m Arnold, who after lying ill for sometime at Cairo, started & sailed from Alexandria just as one of his brothers was coming in to see him – just set his foot on Europe & died at St Roque, a few miles from Gibraltar – a great loss I think public & private² –

farewell – with kindest remembrances

Ever Yours faithfully

A.H. Clough

MS H

PR 248 (part-published).

¹ See CEN 60 & 61.

² See CEN 17, note 17; CEN 55, note 10; Corr. 566.

63.

May 12th [1859]¹

Dear Charles

My wife's letter will have told you our news – I have missed seeing M^r Little, I suppose:
Your letter reached me at Clevedon, after we had come away.² –

Alas for the poor Bothie! – It was wrapped in blue paper (rather too thin, I fear) & the proper postage paid. I will write to the Post Office authorities, but there is small chance of recovering it.³

Will you please do as you propose about any payment made to you by Little & Brown. As soon as I get back to town, I will see about sending you some more money to add to it, if you will be so good as to take charge of it.

For the present things must stay as they are. Life is lazy & warm & one dines in the middle of the day – Here we are in the scenes of Westward-Ho, which everyone I think in Bideford, except myself, has read & studied carefully.⁴

I have got the debris of the corrections of the Bothie & believe I could put it once more into order without any very excessive amount of labour – or let us hope for the best – – This warm day reminds me of the summer heats of Cambridge.

farewell

with kindest remembrances

Ever Yours A. H. Clough

MS H

No previous publication traced.

¹ Year dated by the reference to the loss of the corrections to *The Bothie* which C sent off in February 1859 (see *CEN* 61).

² C was probably staying at Walter Bagehot's house at Clevedon, Somerset. The previous year Bagehot had invited C and his family to stay while en route to the Froudes (see *Corr.* 551; *CEN* 64).

³ See *CEN* 61.

⁴ See *RWE* 19, note 20.

64.

Council Office 27 May [1859]¹

My dear Charles

I wrote a few lines from Bideford enclosed in a letter from my wife to your sister – acknowledging your last letter² – We staid 8 days with the Froudes & thence went over Dartmoor to Totnes, Dartmouth & Plymouth, came back by Wells & through Hampshire, & are now in our usual place or places again³ – I have hardly yet had time to look about me – Sampson Low & Co⁴ inform me that Mr Little “left London last week for Dieppe” but that they “quite expect he will be in London” again before his return,⁵ (so perhaps I shall see him), and that of Plutarch they have no news, except “very shortly”.⁶ Will you put the enclosed into the post for Messrs L & B for me.⁷ I want to have one or two copies; is it out yet in Boston?

I have written to the General P.O. about “the bothie” but it has not been found yet –

As for the War – alas – to whom can we desire success? Garibaldi is the only person I sympathize with – I hope he will do something.⁸ But how can it end otherwise than ill. Here is the dictum of the Duc de Malakoff reported to my informant by L^d Palmerston.⁹

¹ Year dated by reference to C’s review of *Poems and Ballads of Goethe* in *Fraser’s Magazine*.

² Norton’s letter omitted from *Norton*.

³ Froude was living at Northdown House, near Bideford, North Devon, at the time.

⁴ See *CEN* 18, note 7.

⁵ Charles Coffin Little 1799–1869, co-founder, with James Brown, of Little, Brown and Co (see *CEN* 4, note 7).

⁶ The Dryden translation of *Plutarch’s Lives*, edited and revised by C, was published a few months later (see *CEN* 66, note 2).

⁷ Little, Brown & Co, the Boston publishers who commissioned C’s translation of *Plutarch’s Lives* (see *RWE* 10, note 4; Appendix 2).

⁸ Italy, in alliance with France, was fighting for independence against Austria. In May 1859 the Italian general, Garibaldi, with an army of 10,000 volunteers, but no cavalry or artillery, won a series of victories over the occupying Austrians in Lombardy (*The Times*, 27 May 1859, p. 8). Italian unification was not however finally achieved for a further decade. C had also followed the career of Garibaldi since witnessing events on the ground during the first Italian war of independence in 1849 (*Corr.* 264, 267–8, 269).

⁹ Aimable Jean Jacques Pélissier (1794–1864) was given the title ‘Duc de Malakoff’ in 1856 after his success in storming the Tower of Malakoff that ended the Siege of Sebastopol during the Crimean War (see *RWE* 20, note 4; *CEN* 30, note 8).

“Nous les battons, nous leur offrirons des conditions bien douces. Ils les refuseront. Puis, Nous les battons encore, & nous leur offrirons des conditions bien douces. Ils les accepteront.”¹⁰ – –

Meantime the French feeling has become, it appears, universally warlike – & the wise people think that the dynasty, which must have fallen otherwise, will, unless the Austrians drive all before them, be secured – –

There is a pretty quarrel in *Fraser* about Judge Coleridge whom Buckle attacked in the last no & whom his son is to defend in the next¹¹ – Buckle’s rhetoric seems to me puerile – but the Judge’s case is not a good one.¹² I have written a short review of the Translation of Goethe’s *Ballads*, which I have praised more than they fairly deserve¹³ –

¹⁰ ‘We will defeat them, we will offer them very lenient conditions. They will refuse them. Then we will defeat them again, and we will offer them very lenient conditions. They will accept them’ [French].

¹¹ In his review of Mill’s ‘On Liberty’ (see *CEN* 59, note 9), Buckle (see *CEN* 51, notes 12, 13,15) takes up the case of Thomas Pooley, cited by Mill as an example of attempts by the State to revive the pernicious practice of prosecuting men for so-called blasphemy. The eccentric, but honest and well-respected, labourer, had been sentenced in 1857 to twenty one months for writing a few ‘silly’ words about the Bible and potato-rot on a Cornish rector’s gate, and ended up in a lunatic asylum. Due only to the efforts of a few ‘noble-minded’ and ‘benevolent’ men, he was eventually pardoned, but such was Buckle’s incredulity and indignation at the treatment of this ‘defenceless’ and ‘half-witted’ man, that he felt it incumbent upon him to expose the perpetrators of this blatant miscarriage of justice – in particular, the ‘unjust and unrighteous’ Judge Coleridge, who comes in for the most damning criticism (*Fraser’s Magazine*, 59 [1859], 509–542, [pp.534, 535, 536]).

¹² The June issue of *Fraser’s* published a letter from the Judge’s son, John Duke Coleridge, accusing the magazine of libel in publishing a ‘tissue’ of ‘coarse’ ‘personal malevolence’, and condemning Buckle’s abusive and ‘ungentlemanly’ rhetoric. He refutes the charge that his father was biased towards the prosecution, claiming that, far from being brain-damaged due to an accident, Pooley had been an ‘avowed infidel’ for fifteen years, during which time he was strongly suspected of having written numerous ‘blasphemous and disgusting’ sentences on walls. And at the first intimation that Pooley might not be accountable, it had been the Judge himself who had instantly recommended he be pardoned (‘Mr. Buckle and Sir John Coleridge’, 59 [1859], 635–45 [pp 635, 637, 638]).

¹³ C’s review of *Poems and Ballads of Goethe*, trans. by W. Edmonstoune Aytoun and Theodore Martin (Edinburgh & London: Blackwood, 1859), also appeared in the June edition of *Fraser’s Magazine*. He found the volume to be of ‘very considerable merit’ and praised the ‘unusual’ ‘skill’ with which the translators had achieved the difficult task of rendering Goethe’s lyrics into the English vernacular, while remaining faithful to the ‘meaning, the spirit, and tone’ of the original German. Their rendition of some pieces, such as ‘Evening’ and ‘Retribution’, however, was disappointing, and C explains how a literal translation of the German did not always fit with an English rhyming scheme, giving his own translations of the poems alongside theirs as examples of how some words needed to be paraphrased to overcome this problem. He also compares his own translation of ‘Exculpation’ (*Poems* 545–6), where he has distilled the essence of the lyric into two lines, with the over-inflated Aytoun and Martin version; (59 [1859] 710–17 [pp. 710, 715]).

I had a letter dated April 19 from Child at Nice – Where is he now, I wonder. –

farewell – with kindest remembrances –

Ever yours affect^{tely}

A.H Clough

MS *H*

Corr. 567–8 (part-published); *PR* 248–9 (part-published).

65.

[9 June 1859]¹

My dear Charles

I have never thanked you for your Article on Sleeman's Oude, which came safely to hand – & which I fear is only too favorable [sic] to British rule² – Let us however hope for the best, – though the climate is so sadly against any fair development of English qualities, & the war has left behind it a fierce, & insulting spirit.

Our General Post Office can't find the Bothie – I fear the cover must have got torn – So I will set to work to fit out a new one – as soon as I can find time – If Mr Fields comes over here I had better give it to him I suppose³ – Thanks also for your letter from Newport⁴ –

June 14th

This was begun last Thursday in hopes of completion for the next day's mail – but I suppose the columns of the newspapers with the details of the Battle of Magenta took up the spare time which wo^d have been devoted to letter-writing.⁵ This & the change of

¹ Dated by reference to the statement in the letter that it 'was begun last Thursday' [ie 9th June], and to the reference to the Battle of Magenta which began on 4 June 1859.

² Norton's article entitled 'Despotism in India', published in the *North American Review*, is a review of *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude, in 1849–50* (1858), by Sir William Henry Sleeman (1788–1856), a former British soldier and administrator in Oude. Sleeman's journals paint a bleak picture of a feudal system under a weak monarch, where the poverty, barbarity and extortion rivalled the worst excesses of Mogul rule. Sleeman's account accords with Norton's own observations of the region around the same period (see *CEN* 14, note 4), and he concludes that, while British rule in India might be despotic, it was infinitely preferable to corrupt and oppressive 'native' self-government. Norton sees grounds for optimism in that, after the uprisings (see *CEN* 45), the abuses which had grown up under the East India Company were gradually being removed, and 'the leaven of Western civilisation was beginning to ferment'. Improvements to the country's infrastructure were taking place, barren land cultivated, and peace and civilisation promoted, which he ascribes almost entirely to the efforts of the British (88 [1858], 289–312 [pp. 308, 310,311]).

³ C had been working on revisions to his poem, including *The Bothie*, for the projected American edition, since the beginning of the year.

⁴ [Letter from Newport not included in *Norton*].

⁵ The Battle of Magenta took place on 4th June 1859, during the second Italian War of Independence (see *CEN* 64, note 8), and resulted in a victory for the French over the occupying Austrians, but there were conflicting accounts as to the numbers killed and injured, which ranged from 4,000 to 20,000. And although Emperor Napoleon had reportedly seized the 'rich and glittering' prize of Milan, he had not yet, according to *The Times*, 'covered himself with the glory' he had boasted about, and the occupying Austrian army, far from being routed, was as 'firm' and 'stolid' as ever (9 June 1859, p. 8). A French 'militaire', wounded in the Battle of Montebello (1859) is one of the characters in C's *Mari Magno*, the battles of Magenta and Solferino are also mentioned ('My Tale', *Poems*, 407–408).

Ministry are both satisfactory⁶ – specially *this* –

The accounts from the letter-writer to *The Times* are very good, I think ... one of this morning completes the story of the battle⁷ – as for our domestic changes the tale I hear is that Palmerston behaves frankly & like a man, & that L^d John in a vacillating, not to say shuffling spirit – This morning he is announced for the Foreign Office – for which he is I sho^d think utterly unfit⁸ – –

I have resumed the web of Penelope, which the Post Office undid, – I shall lose some few changes which I had worked at in the last copy, but on the whole I dare say it will be much as I had made it.⁹

Sir Charles Trevelyan, they say, is commencing things in the new broom style at Madras¹⁰ – has appointed a native aid [sic] de camp – & admits natives to his levees¹¹ – settles business without referring home, and astonishes in various ways the Anglo-Indian mind. – A friend of ours – an Oxford man – Sir Alex^r Grant, (who wrote 8 plays on Aristotle's Ethics & an essay on the Stoics in the Oxford Essays) is going out to serve under him in the Education branch.¹² – His wife (Macaulay's sister) & his son go out next year, & it is said that Macaulay himself thinks of going with his sister, letting the history suspend itself or indeed go & be hanged¹³ – There is I hear an able defence of Marlborough agst his charges, in the new Blackwood –
farewell for to day. –

⁶ The Earl of Derby (see *CEN* 61, note 2) lost a vote of no confidence in June 1859 and Palmerston (see *CEN* 59, note 23) formed his second cabinet, which hoped to bring pressure to bear on the warring parties to bring about a settlement of the conflict in the interests of Italian self-determination.

⁷ *The Times* was greatly indebted to their unnamed correspondent for the 'only authentic details' of the Italian War of Independence (see *CEN* 64, note 8). On 7 June 1859 he reported on the Battle of Magenta (see note 5 above); (14 June 1859, p. 9).

⁸ See note 6 above; Lord John Russell became Foreign Secretary in Palmerston's cabinet.

⁹ The lost copy of *The Bothie* (*CEN* 63); Homer's mythical heroine Penelope spent three years weaving a web during her husband Odysseus's absence; at night she would unravel it and start work again the following morning.

¹⁰ See *CEN* 45, note 13; *CEN* 59, note 13.

¹¹ A morning assembly held by a prince or person of distinction (*OED*).

¹² See *CEN* 59, note 14.

¹³ See *CEN* 5, note 4; *CEN* 59, note 22; Macaulay was very close to his sister Hannah More (1810–1873). When she told him she was leaving to join her husband, Sir Charles Trevelyan, in India the following year, he was convinced he would never see her again and died of a heart attack in December 1859 (*DNB*).

16th June.—

Tennyson is here, really, I believe, arranging for the publication of the long withheld four poems from the Arthur stories.¹⁴ – There seems to be a general opinion that the new Ministry of which you learn more from the telegrams than I can tell you yet, will be but an unseaworthy vessel. How can Palmerston keep straight with L^d John working the Foreign Office¹⁵ – Sir Charles Wood is not equal to the India work:¹⁶ – but the other is the more imminent danger. Disraeli in answer to some friendly regrets at his fall said it could only be a check for a time – But I think it probable that Palmerston may regain the general confidence of the country, as he has in a great measure of the liberal members, or at any rate the liberal statesmen, & may perhaps maintain himself even if Ld John secede¹⁷ –

The New Ministry will be strongly Italian in composition – L^d John & Gladstone – in addⁿ to Palmerston.¹⁸ It is almost to be feared that they will outrun the national feeling – & go too much in the back of Louis Napoleon. We who live nearer to Louis N. with only the Channel & not the whole Atlantic to divide & protect us from him do not feel quite the same liberty to indulge the natural feelings of enthusiasm in witnessing his aggrandizement in Europe, though it be merely as a liberator that he effects it at present¹⁹ – One thing I devoutly hope, viz that with French influence predominating in Italy the Pope will at last go to the dogs with all his canaille²⁰ accompanying²¹ – Evidently the Conclaves fear this; and there is no doubt at all that instructions came from Rome to the R.C leaders here that they sho^d support L^d Derby who wo^d support

¹⁴ See *CEN* 66, note 8; *FJC* 6, note 8.

¹⁵ See notes 6 and 8 above.

¹⁶ Charles Wood (1800–1885) was Secretary for India in Palmerston's new cabinet. His policies towards the sub-continent were more liberal than some of his predecessors, and he disappointed the cotton lobby, who dubbed him 'Maharaja Wood' because he protected 'native' interests (*DNB*).

¹⁷ See note 8 above; Lord John Russell became Foreign Secretary and Gladstone took over from Disraeli as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Palmerston's new administration.

¹⁸ See notes 6 and 8 above.

¹⁹ See *CEN* 56, note 12.

²⁰ A contemptuous name given to the populace; the 'vile herd', vile populace; the rabble, the mob (*OED*).

²¹ See *CEN* 41, note 8.

Austria – It has not been uniformly obeyed but that the order was issued is I believe *certain*.²²

17th June – Friday

This morning's Times announces our new Ministry – strong enough if the crew will only pull together²³ –

The only other news is (not as yet in the papers) that Kossuth left last night for Genoa²⁴ – Whether Louis Napⁿ will venture now (under the auspices of our new Ministers) to rouse Hungary & pledge himself to that cause, remains to be seen.²⁵ It is not unlikely – see Klapkin's [sic] proclamation in today's Daily News. And then will not Germany take part? – I fear it will – Prussia and all. – In which case what will Russia do?²⁶ –

Farewell

Ever Yours

A. H. Clough

MS H

Corr. 569 (part-published); *PR* 249 (part-published).

²² Lord Derby was sympathetic to the cause of Italian unity but did not want a war which might replace Austrian domination in Northern Italy by French domination.

²³ See notes 17 and 18 above.

²⁴ See *CEN* 8, note 22.

²⁵ Hungarian nationalist General Gyorgy Klapka drew up a proclamation for distribution among the Hungarian soldiers in the Austrian ranks urging them to 'unite [themselves] courageously and with confidence, to the French and Italian armies'; for 'none but a traitor [could] fight under the banner of Austria' ('General Klapka's Address to Hungarians in the Austrian Ranks', *Daily News*, 17 June 1859, p. 5).

²⁶ The *Prussian Gazette* published an article endeavouring to prove that Prussia's policy [had] 'prevented an universal war': 'Prussia can draw her sword for German and Prussian interests, but not for maintaining or re-establishing a state of affairs in Italy which Austria herself has recognised as not maintainable' (*Morning Post*, 19 July 1859, p. 5).

C.O. 22^d July [1859]¹

Dear Charles

Your letter conveying the news of the appearance, at last, of the *Plutarch* was very welcome. I had begun to despair,² and indeed I am still living on faith, not sight,³ for Sampson Low & Co do not seem to have finished their binding operations yet, & the six copies do not come.⁴ I shall be very glad indeed for your notice in the *North American* – I could wish much to do the first two or three volumes through again – but I hope as it is, the lives will be readable to the young public of your most reading country⁵ –

Here meantime we are reading the last bulletins of that wonderful melodramatic genius – Napoleon II [sic] – of which what can be said – *L'Empire, c'est la Paix!* – Certainly one did not desire the enfranchisement of Italy to be effected by his means – and one may hope also that the general result will be to damage him & his dynasty⁶ –

¹ Year dated by reference to the publication of C's *Plutarch's Lives*.

² *Plutarch's Lives*, published by Little and Brown (see *RWE* 10, note 4; Appendix 2).

³ 'For we walk by faith, not by sight.' (II Corinthians 5.7); probably a reference to 'Doubting Thomas', Thomas Arnold's favourite disciple, and a recurring figure in C's verse: 'Blessed are those who have not seen' (*Poems*, 306), for example.

⁴ See *CEN* 64, note 6.

⁵ The *North American Review* for October 1859 carried a review by Norton (Turner, p. 154.) of *Plutarch's Lives, The Translation called DRYDEN'S, corrected and revised by A. H. CLOUGH*, 'sometime Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, Oxford and late Professor of the English Language and Literature at University College, London'. Mr Clough was 'well known as a thorough classical scholar, and a painstaking editor', and the reviewer highly commended the new edition for its 'fluency', 'idiomatic freshness of style', and 'manifest fidelity to the turns of expression and the minute shades of thought in the original Greek'. Norton hoped the edition would revive a waning interest in Plutarch among the current generation (89 [1859] 521–536 [pp. 521, 532]).

⁶ See *CEN* 64, note 8; *CEN* 65, note 5; by decreeing that the bulletins of the French army in Italy be published in the *Moniteur* and read to the youth of France, Napoleon III had hoped to score a propaganda victory. The *Saturday Review*, however, accused the Emperor of gross exaggeration, particularly as to the scale of French losses ('The Emperor of the French and the Roman Question', 7 [1859], 767). In 1852 Louis-Napoleon had famously affirmed '*L'Empire, c'est la paix*' [The Empire is Peace], but the peace terms of the Treaty of Villafranca (11 July 1859) fell far short of his promise to fight until Italy was free from the Alps to the Adriatic. *The Times* accused him of being 'Sphynx'-like in his incomprehensible justification for leaving Venetia in Austrian hands (15 July 1859, p. 9). Napoleon was first dubbed 'the French Sphynx' in a *Punch* cartoon (August 7 1858), and Robert Browning later used the epithet in his poem 'Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society'.

Mill's Dissertations – i.e. Republished Articles⁷ – and Tennyson's Idylls of the King are also before an admiring public – I certainly think these Idylls much the best thing that Tennyson has done.⁸ –

29th July

This was written a week ago. I am not able to finish for tomorrow's mail – I am become official private secretary to our Vice-President, viz. Lowe, and am a little more hurried about in consequence – please goodness by the 20th August he'll go away for his holiday⁹ – Meantime Plutarch has arrived & certainly looks very well – but they have not put in all the errata I sent. – I hope the young America will read it: young England I fear is too critical & thinks Plutarch an old fool –

We are having a burning July – and the length of our day makes it in some respects worse than it wo^d be in a more southern latitude. But after all 90 in the shade was not I think what we endured when I lived with you at Shady Hill six years ago – By the bye let me acknowledge your sister's letter which I received & handed over to my wife a week ago. Newport I hope will fortify you for Cambridge & Boston; but after all perhaps you should come over here again – We will try & sweeten the Thames for you “during the current year” – People say that Louis Napoleon really wished very much to be asked out to dine at Schönbrunn, & that he didn't at all like the tough work of the

⁷ See *CEN* 60, note 11.

⁸ *Four Idylls of the King*, containing the first four idylls of the sequence (see *CEN* 47, note 16; 53, note 10; *FJC* 6, note 6) was published in 1859 (London: Edward Moxon). Coventry Patmore in the *Edinburgh Review* praised Tennyson's ‘sustained perfection of style’, but questioned whether ‘idyll’, a term used to describe the rural pastimes of Sicilian shepherds, was quite appropriate for these ‘fragments’ of Arthurian legend, as, far from portraying common life, they belonged to the realm of fantasy. Nonetheless, the ‘measured grace’ of the verse, reflecting often ‘the emotions and sympathies of a later age’ would doubtless charm readers indifferent to the early legends themselves (‘Tennyson's Idylls of the King’, 110 [1859], 247–263, [pp. 247, 263]).

⁹ Robert Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke (1811–1892); ‘Mr. Clough the poet’ was one of the pupils he was ‘proud to mention’ among the pupils he tutored privately at Oxford and Ambleside in the long vacations, at the rate of 7s 6d an hour (A. Patchett Martin, *Life and Letters of the Right Honourable Robert Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke*, 2 vols [London: Longmans, Green, 1893], I, 25, 95). C gave Lowe a letter of introduction to Lowell when he went to America on the *Canada* in 1856. From 1858–1864 Lowe was Vice-President of the Council of Education and introduced a system of ‘payment by results’ for the grant of public money and the controversial ‘test of the three R's’ (*Life and Letters of the Right Honourable Robert Lowe*, II, 127–8; 210–22).

campaigning & the having to get up at 3 a.m.¹⁰ – I think him less formidable than he was, unless the army prove to have tasted blood & to be greedy for more – in which case of course he must let them have it. But I don't much believe in the love of the French soldier for war – he wants to go to his *pays* again.

2^d August

This letter lingers – business & laziness, I suppose, both being co-operating causes – I think of asking some publisher here to print “select lives” from the Plutarch. I suppose I had better ask Little Brown & Co about it; but I should only begin with perhaps six lives & that wo^d be an advertisement for their book – It would be “for the use of Schools”¹¹ –

I mean to send you a pamphlet by M. Arnold on England & Italy. He has been detached on a special duty and has been in France ever since February – which gives an interest to his view, apart from any other consideration.¹²

The learned tell you that L.N is really alarmed at his position – the terms of the peace are extremely unpopular in France, & if Italy resists, what part can he take – ! not an *active* one against them that seems to be determined – no French troops will help to restore the Tuscan tyrant or the Milanese but even a passive acquiescence, if there be any bloodshed, will be most damaging.¹³ –

How do you like Tennyson's poems? – & how do others like them? –

¹⁰ Schonbrunn palace in Vienna, Austria, residence of the Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph; according to the *Morning Post*, the Emperor Napoleon had succeeded in ‘inducing’ the Austrian Emperor to agree to a conference of the great powers ‘to regulate the affairs of Italy’; no-one knew where it would be held but it was imperative that it should meet as soon as possible to end the fighting in Italy (19 July 1859, p. 5).

¹¹ See *RWE* 10, note 4; Appendix 2; in 1860, Longman published the one-volume *Greek History from Themistocles to Alexander in a series of Lives from Plutarch*, ‘revised and arranged by A. H. Clough, Sometime Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford’, using translations from the recently published American edition (see note 2 above). In the Preface C writes of his wish to restore Plutarch to his rightful place in history after years of neglect, and hopes the selected [eight] lives would provide a sketch of Greek history which will whet readers’ appetites for further reading (pp.vi–viii).

¹² Matthew Arnold, who had been travelling through Europe as Foreign Assistant Commissioner, took a strongly pro-French stance in his pamphlet ‘England and the Italian Question’ (1859) in regard to Louis Napoleon’s intervention in the Italian war of independence (see *CEN* 65, note 5; note 6 above). He argued that, contrary to popular belief, the French Emperor sought to liberate, and not to conquer, Italy, for whom independence and nationhood, in Arnold’s view, were achievable goals. The *Saturday Review* rejected his arguments: the French were no ‘Robin Hoods’, and Arnold was naive in failing to perceive the very real threat to English security posed by Napoleon III (‘Mr. Matthew Arnold on the Italian Question’, 8 [1859], 188–189, [p. 189]).

¹³ See note 8 above.

Dana (I suppose & not Fields his publisher) has sent his book on Cuba which is very pleasant reading¹⁴ – is he really gone off again to circumnavigate the orbi veteribus ignotus?¹⁵ – I have always felt an instinctive desire to go round, & have coveted the sensation of having ascertained the fact by one's own bodily locomotion.

5th August

Parliament is really to go on the 13th – thank heaven. How glad everybody will be! & we ministers & private secretaries are safe to draw our salaries, we hope, till Feb^y next at least. I shan't leave Town however till quite the end of the month I think – Gladstone they say has distinguished himself a good deal in the Session – & being hard-worked is very cheerful, amiable & indeed in high spirits.

I have written to Little & Brown about the Select Lives, by this Post. I hope also by this post to send you Arnold's pamphlet. –

Farewell – with hopes to hear again from you soon, though I doubt whether I have on strict debtor & creditor rules, any claim –

Ever Yours affect^ely

A.H. Clough

MS H

Corr. 569–70 (part-published); *PR* 249–50 (part-published).

¹⁴ In *To Cuba and Back*, Richard Henry Dana, Jun. (see *RWE* 21, note 11) recounts some of the sights of his 'vacation voyage', including the absence of women on the streets, the men dressed all in black and smoking cigars, the popular sport of cock-fighting, the national obsession with lottery tickets, life on a sugar plantation and a sale of African slaves (London: Smith, Elder, 1859).

¹⁵ 'Unknown ancient world' [Latin].

C.O. 7 Sept^r [1859]¹

My dear Charles

Many thanks for your letter of “Sunday evening 21st August” which I was very glad to receive the day before yesterday.²

We are just about to leave the house in which you saw us when you were here – & are negotiating for a house on Camden Hill, Kensington, far to the West³ – a mile West of Twistleton’s house⁴ – just short of Holland house.⁵ This rather affects my answer to your financial enquiry – I should prefer to have the \$700 invested in Massachusetts Bonds⁶ – But unless I am indeed to *buy* a house which is not likely, I want to trouble to you to invest a larger sum. I propose to send £500 to your account with Barings by the packet after *this* – Will you invest the whole in Massachusetts Bonds or something equally iron-like as a security – Pray are these bonds redeemable & if so, after what term of years. –

Only 2 or 3 copies of the Plutarch have sold on this side – the price is too high – for the Plutarch is not sought for here as a library book – indeed he is quite put out of fashion by Thirlwall, Grote, & Co. & some effort is needed to recall attention to him⁷ –

I hope the sale is better on your side the water – If it is not doing well, & very well, with what face can I ask Mr Little, (who will not however be here, I understand, till after the winter) for any further remuneration? What I would gladly do, would be to take any additional reward in copies of the book, which I sho^d be very glad to give away – I

¹ Year dated by the reference to Tennyson’s visit to Lisbon & C’s move to Kensington.

² Letter headed ‘Newport Sunday evening 27 August, 1859’, partially printed in *Norton*, I, 195).

³ C moved from 11 St Mark’s Crescent in the Regent’s Park area (see *CEN* 24, note 10), to 21 Campden Hill Road, Kensington in October 1859.

⁴ Edward Turner Boyd Twisleton [sic], (1809–1874), civil servant, and Norton’s cousin by marriage (see *CEN* 28, note 6), lived at 3 Rutland Gate, Hyde Park, London (*DNB*).

⁵ The 17th century Holland House in Kensington was a meeting place for the leading social, political and literary figures of the day.

⁶ See *CEN* 4, note 35.

⁷ Rather than consulting primary sources like Plutarch, people were looking more to contemporary historians, like Connop Thirlwall (1797–1875), author of *History of Greece* (8 vols, 1835–1844), and George Grote (1794–1871), author of the twelve volume *History of Greece* (see *CEN* 10, note 18) for information on ancient Greece.

could readily dispose of 20 or 30 copies, & perhaps the book would then begin to sell here. –

Last week I sent you Matt Arnold's pamphlet – (at last). It has been a good deal read & I dare say has had some effect. – I hope it has reached you.⁸ –

I am glad you think as I do of Tennyson's Idylls – the two last are quite the best⁹ – He is gone on a voyage to Lisbon – Gibraltar – Cadiz... perhaps Africa¹⁰ ... Since these appeared there has been little or nothing to read – a novel of Miss Mulock's rather good¹¹ – & now a volume on Sanscrit literature by Max Müller,¹² who has just completed moreover the last chapter of his own private romance by marrying the long-forbidden object of his affection, viz. – a Miss Grenfell of that great house of copper-mine aristocracy,¹³ which has furnished wives to Glyn the banker,¹⁴ Sydney Godolphin

⁸ See *CEN* 66, note 12.

⁹ Norton had found the first of the *Idylls of the King* (see *CEN* 66, note 8) 'rather below Tennyson' as the 'versification [was] too uniform'. But he agreed that the volume as a whole, which was phenomenally popular in the USA – selling 15,000 copies in the first month of publication, was 'decidedly the best thing Tennyson [had] done' – the 'most manly' and 'most completely poetic' (*Norton*, I, 195–6). The last two Idylls were 'Elaine' and 'Guinevere'; it has been suggested that the latter, in spite of its moral agenda, might have, unintentionally, anticipated the hedonism of late Victorian aestheticism.

¹⁰ In August 1859, in the company of F. T. Palgrave (see *CEN* 55, note 35), Tennyson paid a visit to Lisbon, planning to go on to Cadiz, Seville, Gibraltar and possibly Tangiers, but the 'heat', 'flies' and 'fleas' made him decide to return by boat to Southampton (Baron Hallam Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir*, 4 vols [London: Macmillan, 1897], I, 439–442 [p. 441]).

¹¹ *Romantic Tales* (London: Smith, Elder, 1859), by the popular writer 'Miss Mulock' (Dinah Maria Craik, née Mulock, 1826–1887), is a collection of short stories, inspired for a large part by Greek mythology and Arthurian legend. For the *Eclectic Review*, they were the 'early blossoms of her genius', and it praised the way in which Mulock combines an 'insight into the passions of the heart' with a most 'high and holy' moral teaching' (2 [1859], 103–104 [pp. 103, 104]).

¹² *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* by Friedrich Max Müller (see *CEN* 45, note 13); starting from the separation of Buddhism from Hinduism in the 6th century BC, Müller examines in detail the ancient literature of the Veda, which represented 'the most ancient chapter in the history of the human intellect' ([London: Williams & Norgate, 1859], p. 528).

¹³ Müller met his future wife Georgina Adelaide Grenfell (1834/5–1916), daughter of Riversdale William Grenfell (1807–1871), the influential Cornish copper-mining magnate, in 1853. But because of the perceived unsoundness of his religious beliefs and financial prospects, they were made to endure several 'painful' years of 'total silence and separation', before finally being allowed to marry on 3 August 1859 (*The Life and Letters of the Right Honourable Friedrich Max Müller*, ed. by his wife, 2 vols [London: Longmans, Green, 1902], I, 147, 180, 228).

¹⁴ The industrialist and politician Pascoe Grenfell (*bap.* 1761, *d.* 1838) had eleven daughters; the third, Marianne, married the banker George Carr Glyn (1797–1873).

Osborne,¹⁵ Kingsley,¹⁶ & Froude.¹⁷ This is the daughter of a brother of M^{rs} Glynn, Miss S.G.O, etc, etc.

farewell – if I do not write

Ever yours faithfully

A H Clough

Friday 9th Sept^r [1859]¹⁸

Dear Charles

I commence another sheet just to say that we have taken our new house for four years¹⁹ – so that we shall not employ our money in that way of purchase – Therefore I shall send over £600 (not £500) by the steamer of the 17th and will beg to do what you think best with it – safe 5 per cent will quite content me²⁰ –

Our new house is just under Macaulay's²¹ – I don't know whether you will know it by that – It lies between Kensington Gardens & Holland house – a little further from Westminster than our present home, but with the omnibus track close at hand²² – I have just signed the agreement, so that our fate is determined in this respect for four years to come – – Sometime before long let us hope that you will visit it. – –

5pm Hillard has just been here, not looking very well – I hope to call on him tomorrow.²³ –

Ever Yours

A H C

MS H

Corr. 571 (part-published); *PR* 250–1 (part-published).

¹⁵ Another daughter, Emily, was married to the philanthropist and clergyman, Lord Sydney Godolphin Osborne (1808–1889).

¹⁶ Charles Kingsley (see *RWE* 5, note 6) married the biographer Frances Eliza Grenfell (Fanny), (1814–1891), seventh daughter of Pascoe Grenfell.

¹⁷ James Anthony Froude (see *RWE* 6, note 7) was married to Frances Kingsley's sister (see above), Charlotte Maria, fifth daughter of Pascoe Grenfell.

¹⁸ Dated by the reference to C's move to Campden Hill Road.

¹⁹ See *CEN* 67, note 3.

²⁰ See *CEN* 67, note 6.

²¹ Macaulay lived at Holly Lodge, Campden Hill, Kensington.

²² There were about 1300 omnibuses in London in the mid-nineteenth century, each drawn by 8–10 horses, with fares varying from 2d to 6d. C would have taken the green 'Kensington and Hammersmith' omnibus from his house to Charing Cross (*Cruchley's London in 1865: A Handbook for Strangers*).

²³ George Stillman Hillard (1808–1879), the American lawyer and author.

C.O. 13 Octr/59

My dear Charles

Which wrote last? I, I think, but only in a scrubby way, announcing some trouble you were to take on my behalf. I hope 600£ was duly placed to yr acc¹ with Barings – per steamer 17th Sept^r, following that by which I wrote to advise you thereof: – – & in course of time I trust it will find its way to the market of safest securities.¹ –

I heard from Child two days ago – a sad account of his patient – they were on their way to Paris where they were to be this week, & to sail if possible on the 18th –

Mr Little is in London now & sails on the 22^d.² Plutarch is too dear for the English – it costs £2.10 (what do they charge at Boston?) – however a favorable article, and really a good article, I think, in the *Athenaeum* of 24th Sept^r, has put a little wind into its sails, and will perhaps help it even on the the other side the Water³ – I have not seen the Atlantic & do not know whether you have been puffing me there⁴ – I shall go ere long to Truebners.⁵ They used to appear in the London Library, but lately have ceased⁶ — We have been changing our house, and are busy painting & papering no 21 Campden Hill Road Kensington – We are not yet in it; but I have slept there one night myself, and next week we expect to expel the painter. –

¹ See *CEN* 67, note 6.

² Charles Coffin Little 1799–1869, co-founder of Little, Brown and Co. (see *CEN* 64, note 5).

³ According to the article, the name ‘Mr Arthur Clough’ was a guarantee, not only of the high standard of scholarship befitting a Fellow of Oriel, but also of a certain ‘taste in style’, evidenced by his ‘Ambarvalia’ and the ‘very delightful poem about Highland life’. The reviewer agreed with C’s preference for the so-called ‘Dryden’s’ ‘Plutarch’ over the ‘Langhorne’ version, which was rather ‘priggish’, with more ‘artificial’ language. The article rightfully predicted that C’s translation would bear ‘good fruit’ for ‘generations to come’ and become the standard work of reference (‘Literature’, *Athenaeum*, 24 September 1859, pp. 391–392).

⁴ *Plutarch’s Lives* was reviewed in the January edition of the *Atlantic Monthly* (see *CEN* 72, note 1).

⁵ Nicholas Trübner (1817–1884), whose firm, Trübner & Co, in Ludgate Hill, the London publishers of the *Atlantic Monthly* (see *CEN* 45, note 41), specialised in the sale of American books in Britain, and his wife Marie, the daughter of the Belgian consul in London.

⁶ The London Library, 14, St James’s Square, Westminster, was founded in 1841 by Thomas Carlyle; Thackeray, Gladstone, Dickens and George Eliot were among the first members.

The Chinese disaster is said by those who know to be really the fault of the officer who was sent to ascertain whether the ground wo^d do for landing. He didn't ascertain – & reported it would, whereas it wouldn't. The French Emperor is said to be determined to make a grand display on the occasion. – His “allocution” to the Cardinal at Bordeaux is a slight improvement in his doings lately:⁷ – perhaps a feeler to the country; for if he were not afraid of the popular adherence to the Pope & Clergy in France, I suppose he would certainly take the Holy Father by the temporal beard in Bologna.

I have read nothing of late – & do not know that there is anything to read – perhaps Captⁿ Speke's travels in Eastern Africa & discovery of the source of the Nile (?) in Blackwood is an exception⁸ —

Farewell

Ever Yours faithfully

A. H. Clough

MS H

Corr. 571–2 (part-published)

⁷ The act of formally addressing a speech to someone, or of delivering an exhortation or moralizing address (*OED*).

⁸ The article, ‘Captain J.H. Speke's Discovery of the Victoria Nyanza Lake, the Supposed Source of the Nile: Part II’ refers to the journal account of the explorer's long and arduous journey, along tortuous routes, over rough terrain, during which he survived encounters with ‘screeching’ ‘savages’, and was constantly harassed by the ‘cunning rascals’ he had hired as porters. On 3rd August 1858, however, he was rewarded with his first sight of the ‘vast expanse’ of ‘pale-blue waters’ of the lake, which he named Victoria, ‘after our gracious Sovereign’, and which he believed had given birth to the river, whose source had been the object of so many previous explorers (*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 86 [1859], 391–419 [pp. 409,410, 411, 412]).

C.O. 18th Nov^r [1859]¹

My dear Charles

Many thanks for your letter received last Monday which I was very glad to have² –

1st as to finance. It was very careless on my part not to write & “advise” you of the 600£, but (1) I fully meant to write next time & (2) I trusted to Barings informing you – However – as it is, it must be.

My cheque was drawn on the 14th Sepr & the bankers engaged to send it by the next mail, which was of the 17th. —

2. I saw that the Atlantic had passed into Ticknor & Fields’ hands – but did not know the reason. Have our little fortunes earned by the pen perished with those of Phillips Sampson & Co? R.I.P. however it may be.³

3. Has Child arrived – & have his companions also come? & if so, in what condition – Our terrible gales here & dreadful losses make one fearful for all travellers on the sea about that time.⁴

4. I have arranged with Longmans to publish a volume of six out of the Plutarch-lives. We are to try & bring it out early in the year⁵ –

¹ Year dated by the reference to C’s new address.

² No letter in *Norton* between 27 August 1859 & 6 December 1859.

³ See *CEN* 74, note 2; Phillips, Sampson & Co, the original publishers of the *Atlantic Monthly* went out of business in 1859, after the deaths of Moses Phillips and his partner Sampson, and the magazine was sold to Ticknor and Fields for \$10,000.

⁴ See *FJC* 7, note 4; Child was returning to America from his stay in London where he was working on an edition of Chaucer.

⁵ See *CEN* 7, note 21.

5. We are all in considerable apprehension about Louis Napoleon, who is undoubtedly collecting munitions on a vast scale – & who can tell the reason why? – I don't think he will invade us, but he will menace us, I fancy, in order to have his own way in Europe.⁶

And so farewell. Some day yet I hope you will climb Campden Hill & rest under the roof of No 21 C. H. Road.⁷

Will you please forward the enclosed – & will you insert Mr Little's 2^d initial which I have forgotten.

Ever Yours

A H Clough

MS H

Corr. 571–2 (part-published).

⁶ According to *The Times*, the 'terrible Imperial enigma over the water' had been collecting 'vast ammunitions of war' (2 December 1859, p. 8). There was 'a very strong and very widespread hostility' in France towards the English – virulent attacks in the French press, and calls for an invasion of England in revenge for ancient defeats. *The Times*, while cautioning against complacency, believed it was largely posturing on the part of the French emperor, who wished either to enhance his own reputation as a peacemaker, or to intimidate England, who desired peace at all costs, into supporting his foreign adventures (15 November 1859, p. 6).

⁷ See *CEN* 67, note 3.

C.O. 5th Dec^r [1859]¹

My dear Charles

I send you a few lines which may convey the compliments or say, good wishes of the season, about Xmas time – I wrote a brief answer to your letter, about financial & other matters, enclosing one for M^r Little² –

We are here in a state of rifle-fever which I do not think will be allayed by the imperial smooth words - - - Palmerston is not to go to the Congress for which I am sorry – France I fear will do as she pleases.³

As to the arts & letters the only news I have is that Froude's History Vols V, VI (to the death of Mary) will appear in May⁴ – & that a Poem of some length by Tennyson will appear in Macmillan's Magazine for (I believe) January – in his "genre" style I believe which I do not myself much like⁵ – —

¹ Year dated by reference to the review of C's *Plutarch* in *The Times* and the date in the second part of the letter (22^d Dec^r 1859).

² Charles Coffin Little 1799–1869, co-founder of Little, Brown and Co, publishers of C's *Plutarch's Lives* (see *CEN* 68, note 2).

³ See *CEN* 66, note 6; *CEN* 69, note 6; Britain had been invited by the French government to attend a congress of the European powers in Paris to discuss the 'Italian question' (*The Times*, 2 December 1859, p. 8). *The Times* regretted that Palmerston was unable to attend, due to pressing questions on the domestic front, including the Reform Bill, and it urged his representative, Lord Cowley, to be firm in standing up for the 'unhappy race' [Italy] that was 'struggling against its oppressors', and not to let the Emperor get the upper hand (5 December 1859, p. 8).

⁴ See *CEN* 74, note 13.

⁵ 'Sea Dreams, An Idyll', by 'Alfred Tennyson', appeared in the January 1860 edition of *Macmillan's Magazine*; it tells the story of an embittered man, ruined by a reckless investment, who is persuaded by his angelic wife and a series of symbolic dreams to forgive the 'rogue' who had swindled him (191–198 [p. 191]). The poem had autobiographical associations, alluding to a disastrous investment Tennyson had once made. There are some thematic and stylistic similarities with C's 'The Clergyman's Second Tale', part of the *Mari Magno* suite (*Poems* 416–426), but Tennyson, unlike C, also wrote 'genre' poems, such as 'Enoch Arden' and 'The Northern Farmer', from a working class perspective, sometimes in dialect.

Thackeray is to have a most liberal salary as Editor of the Cornhill Magazine, which is at any rate a good thing for him⁶ – All these items however are I dare say written in the literary column of the Illustrated News.⁷ –

12 Dec^r The first effort was not very successful. I hope I may get through one sheet at least before Friday next: – This morning's Times contains a review of the Plutarch, not well done – though I fear only *too* well-meant.⁸ – Of news I fear I have nothing that you do not see in the papers – I see Mr Mercier⁹ is to take the place of Sartiges¹⁰ – I met him (I believe it is the same man) in the year 49, at Gaeta – He was with one of the Roman nobility. I had just been at work with the Holy Father – Rome having just been *freed* from Mazzini – I was travelling from Rome with Hooker, the banker, well known by the nose to Lowell¹¹ – & we went on next day in the same carriage with Mercier to Naples – He seemed to me clever, practical but Voltairian in principles – loose – coarse – & undesirable.¹² So if he comes to Newport, consider him — By the way, are your

⁶ Thackeray took on the onerous position of editor of the literary journal, the *Cornhill Magazine*, founded by the publisher George Smith in 1860, agreeing to read all submissions, and to write letters of acceptance and rejection (*DNB*).

⁷ The *Illustrated London News* was the world's first fully-illustrated weekly newspaper; launched in 1842, it had a circulation of about 300,000 at its peak and was popular with the Victorian middle classes. There is no mention of Froude, Tennyson or Thackeray in the *ILN* for September 1859 to January 1860.

⁸ *The Times* review found little to criticise in C's translation, praising C's hard work, describing it as a 'great success', and comparing it favourably with older translations, which 'teemed with faults'. In an age when so much of what passed for biography consisted of little more than 'the insulting inanities of scribblers' who resorted to 'miserable gossip and small personalities', Plutarch's unique talent in giving a true insight into the minds of his illustrious subjects is held up as a model of biographical excellence (12 December 1859, p. 6).

⁹ M. Mercier was the French envoy set to Rome to 'sound the disposition of the Provisional Government of the Roman States'. According to *The Times*, he had left for Gaeta having utterly failed in his efforts to achieve the restoration of the Pope without Austrian intervention (23 April 1849, p. 6).

¹⁰ In December 1858 'Count Mercier' was appointed 'Envoy Extraordinary' to the United States (*The Times*, 8 December 1859, p. 6), in place of Count de Sartiges who was moving to the Hague (*The Times*, 10 December 1859, p. 8).

¹¹ See *CEN* 4, note 17; James Clinton Hooker (1818–1894), American banker in Rome and unofficial secretary of the legation to the Papal States.

¹² François-Marie Arouet (1694–1778), known by his *nom de plume* 'Voltaire' and famous for his attacks on the established Church and his advocacy of freedom of religion, freedom of expression and the separation of Church and State.

people reading Darwin on Species, published by Murray – it is a very remarkable book, I believe¹³ – –

21 Campden Hill Road

22^d Dec^r 1859.

My dear Charles

Since I wrote a sheet <& a half>at the office (which I hope to recover & send with this) sundry things have happened. – 1st I was obliged to go home yesterday week with cold & sore throat & left the letter there which consequently did not go by last week's mail for, 2^{dly}, my sore throat laid me up in bed & turned out to be the first symptom of a slight scarletina;¹⁴ from which I am now just recovering & am on Saturday to go off to Hastings for ventilation – not too soon –, for, 3^{rdly}, we have a little boy just born, to whom I am an inconvenient neighbour & to his mother also – he came into the world on Friday last the 16th & is doing very well I am told, for of course I don't see him.¹⁵ 4^{thly} I have received your letter announcing the investment-to-be of my 600£¹⁶ & the approach

¹³ The first edition of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (John Murray, London) was published on 24th November 1859, and all 1250 copies sold on the first day; an American edition, published by Appleton, came out in January 1860. One of the earliest reviews in *The Times*, by Darwin's friend, Thomas Henry Huxley (1825–1895), was enthusiastic: Darwin's 'ingenious' theory of natural selection provided an explanation for many of the 'apparent anomalies' in nature that had an 'immense advantage' over his predecessors, but only time would tell whether his ideas were correct; in the meantime Huxley urged his readers to maintain a state of 'active doubt' until the 'facts' were established by rigorous observation and experiment ('Darwin on the Origin of Species', *The Times*, 26 December 1859, pp. 8–9 [p. 9]). On 24th September 1860, Norton wrote to C of the huge controversy Darwin's book had caused among the scientific community, the best of whom seemed 'ready to admit' that his theory, while not yet proved, would help science by 'weakening some long-established false notions' (Norton, I, 210–11). According to Wendell V. Harris, during C's time at University Hall (see Introduction, p. 11), C saw quite a lot of Darwin (*Arthur Hugh Clough*, [New York: Twayne, 1970], p. 32). In a letter written in July 1851, Mrs Gaskell refers to a dinner 'at Mrs Wedgwood' [probably Frances Emma Wedgwood, sister-in-law of Emma Darwin] at which 'Mr Darwin' and 'Mr Clough' were present (*The Letters of Mrs Gaskell*, ed. by J. A. V. Chappell & Arthur Pollard, 2nd edn [Manchester: Mandolin, 1997] p. 158).

¹⁴ A popular term for a mild form of scarlet fever (*OED*).

¹⁵ The *Morning Chronicle* carried the announcement of the birth of C's third child, named Arthur Hugh, after his father: 'CLOUGH. On the 16th inst., at 21, Campden-hill-road, Kensington, the wife of Arthur Clough, Esq., of a son.' (20 December 1859, p. 8).

¹⁶ See *CEN* 69.

of Stillman, whom I shall be very glad to see & to sit to.¹⁷ We live here in the midst of artists – but I dare say he wont settle here¹⁸ – – I was glad to have your account of Brown. His behaviour before his death struck me quite in the way in which you regard it – nothing could be plainer & more composed & upright – – Of his speech I only saw I believe, a summary¹⁹ – I shall be at Hastings in quarantine for a fortnight & then at the office again – I shall hope to see your Notes from Italy soon. I am very glad you have written them.²⁰ But don't write overmuch – What news of Child –? You don't mention him.

With kindest remembrances to your Mother & sisters & to all friends –

Ever Yours affect^{ely}

A. H. Clough

MS H

Corr. 573–4 (part-published); *PR* 251 (part-published).

¹⁷ [No mention of Stillman in *Norton* letter 6 Dec 1859 – obviously deletions]. The American painter, William James Stillman (1828–1901), often referred to as ‘the American Pre-Raphaelite’, came to London in late 1859 with a commission from Norton to paint a small full-length portrait of C, which was never finished due to C’s going abroad for his health. Stillman saw a great deal of C who, of all the public officials he knew, was ‘the most misplaced at an office desk; ‘of fragile health’, ‘gentle as a woman’ and with ‘the temperament of a poet’, he reminded Stillman of ‘Pegasus in harness’ – a man who had in him an ‘Arcanum of thought, something beyond what came into every-day existence, – a life beyond the actual life, into which he withdrew’, who was only able to ‘sketch out the life he would have lived’ – one of ‘far greater capabilities than anything accomplished could indicate’ (William James Stillman, *The Autobiography of a Journalist*, 2 vols [Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1901], I, 297, 299, 301–3 [pp. 302, 303]).

¹⁸ Kensington – the area of London where C lived became home to many leading artists, including Rossetti, Burne-Jones and Stillman’s future wife Marie Spartali, who later came to be known as the ‘Holland Park Circle’.

¹⁹ The American abolitionist, John Brown (1800–1859), who was convicted and hanged for insurrection and treason following an attack on the federal armoury at Harper’s Ferry, which he hoped would start an armed slaves’ revolt. Emotions ran high in reaction to Brown’s execution; widely regarded as an outlaw and traitor in the South, but a hero and martyr in the North, the case did much to consolidate anti-slavery opinion. In a letter to C, Norton predicted Brown’s name would be immortalised, not only for his principled stand against slavery, but also for the courageous way in which he met his death. Mounted on his coffin to be driven to the gallows, he apparently looked around the landscape and exclaimed: ‘What a fine prospect!’ The speech Brown made at his trial had seared on the national consciousness the impression of a man willing to sacrifice himself in the cause of the oppressed (*Norton*, I, 196–200 [p. 197]).

²⁰ See *CEN* 41, note 3; Norton’s *Notes of Travel and Study in Italy* is a colourful description of Italian architecture, festivals and traditions. But while he states his intention of avoiding the expression of any strong personal opinion, he cannot hide his distaste for what he refers to as the ‘corrupt doctrines of the Roman church’ – Marian worship, Papal indulgences etc – which to him seemed to be an ‘inheritance from Heathenism’. Nevertheless, he is upbeat about Italy’s future, ending his foreword with an endorsement of Italian independence: *Italia farà da se* – the motto of Victor Emmanuel, King of Piedmont. ([Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1860], pp. vi, 7, 13).

71.

Hastings 29 Dec^f 59

My dear Charles

Next Monday I dare say I shall hear from you – so I begin a letter betimes – I enclose some verses written long ago, but mislaid, which I have never pieced up in my memory till now – please add them to that stock which you possess¹ – – Hastings (have you ever been here?) is dull enough – the old town with two old churches in the hollow between the East Hill & the West Hill, the latter crowned by remnants of the Castle – the new town stretching along the shore for nearly a couple of miles, one row deep – with a handsome sea-terrace all along² – It is, like your Newport, the refuge of delicate people in winter³ – But this winter – or this particular week of it – is rainy & stormy & far from auspicious –

9th Jan. 60

A happy new year to you – tomorrow I leave this place & go back – tomorrow morning perhaps before I go I may hear from you. – I have read nothing here, except the Cornhill Magazine, into which I was seduced & which certainly bids fair to be the Chief Magazine on this side⁴ – the price will vastly increase the circulation upon that of the old 2/6 Fraser, Blackwood, & Co. What work I have done has been on the Plutarch selection for Longman. – Here my chief discovery has been a Cottage improvement Society so successful as to pay yearly dividends of 6 per cent. The working man is my

¹ It is not obvious which verses from the fragments.

² C would probably have been staying at Holloway [or Halloway] House, Old London Road, Hastings, where Blanche stayed after his death ((*The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by Howard Foster Lowry [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932; repr. 1968], p. 161). Hastings, together with its sister town, St Leonards, designed by the architects James and Decimus Burton, was renowned for the health-promoting qualities of its air, and was fast becoming a fashionable seaside resort for the rich and famous; notable residents, or frequent visitors included the Carlyles, George Macdonald (see *CEN* 30, note 10), Barbara Leigh-Smith Bodichon (see *CEN* 45, note 8) and Dante Gabriel Rossetti (see *CEN* 51, note 26).

³ The Nortons spent their summers in Newport, Rhode Island and C passed through there as a child (see *RWE* 13, note 6; *CEN* 23, note 6).

⁴ See *CEN* 70, note 6; the first issue of the *Cornhill Magazine*, (price one shilling monthly) sold over 100,000 copies, and was very enthusiastically reviewed – ‘a marvel of elegance and cheapness’ (*Saturday Review*, 9 [1860]), p. 32). It included the first chapter of Trollope’s *Framley Parsonage*, ‘Father Prout’s Inaugurative Ode to the author of “Vanity Fair”’, and the first of Thackeray’s own ‘Roundabout Papers’, as well as articles on disparate topics from ‘The Chinese and the Outer barbarians’, to ‘Invasion Panics’ (1 [1860]).

doctor – Greenhill, who is Secretary⁵ – There is an account of it in the Daily News of the 5th Jan^y (I think) – the 3rd leading article. Most of these societies have been quite failures as regards finance: – The principles here are (1) Repairing, not building (2) rigorous collection of rents. – There is a benevolent society attached to the Cottage Society, but it acts quite separately – Rent is rent, & charity charity. – I hear something through Frank Newman of Kossuth. He & the Hungarians find no fault with L. Napⁿ – he was forced to the peace by Germany & Russia – & he had given no promises. Kossuth on the other hand refused to give the signal for a rising in Hungary till the French landed on the East of the Adriatic.⁶ – Their hopes are for a sec^d War with Austria, & they say it’s for this that he makes his preparations – fearing also the return some day of the Tories to power – – His (?) dialogue with an Englishman (?Cobden) given in the papers a fortnight ago dwells on this & is certainly curious. Did you see it? – He said to Kossuth before the Italian campaign that “he might have a new Copenhagen” so K. told Newman. (don’t tell this on all housetops. I’m not sure it isn’t a profound secret)⁷ – Good bye for the present – –

MS H

Corr. 574–5 (part-published); *PR* 251–2 (part-published).

⁵ William Alexander Greenhill (1814–1894) an old Rugby friend of C’s who founded the ‘Hastings Cottage Improvement Society’ in 1857, a very successful business enterprise which bought, repaired, and improved old and insanitary dwellings and built new modern houses (*DNB*). C’s interest in social reform was shared by Norton; inspired by ‘Model Houses’ he had seen in London, he wrote an article in 1852 entitled ‘Dwellings and Schools for the Poor’ for the *North American Review* (74 [1852] 464–90), and ‘Model Lodging Houses in Boston’ for the *Atlantic Monthly* (5 [1860] 673–80), which resulted in the building of several houses for the ‘honest’ and ‘self-supporting’ poor, and would generate a healthy return of 6% pa for philanthropic investors (*Norton*, I, 204–6).

⁶ Kossuth (see *CEN* 8, note 22; *CEN* 65, note 24) met Napoleon in May 1859 and offered Hungarian assistance in the war in Italy, in return for Napoleon’s assistance in liberating Hungary (*The Letters of Richard Cobden*, ed. by Anthony Howe and Simon Morgan, 3 vols [Oxford: OUP, 2012], III, p. 460).

⁷ Richard Cobden (1804–1865), MP for Rochdale, met with Louis Napoleon in October 1859 with the aim of establishing free trade between the two countries, which resulted in the Anglo-French Free Trade Treaty being signed the following January (see *FJC* 2, note 19).

Council Office 26th Jan. 1860

My dear Charles

Many thanks for your letter of the 10th Jan^y with its good wishes. We are all well thank you. The January Atlantic only came to hand the same day. Many thanks for the Critique also, of which I will say more presently.¹ I hope the Vita Nuova will come soon.² – I had told the publishers to send you Miss Nightingale’s Notes on Nursing, but they are careless & I must look them up – The Notes should be reprinted in America. They contain a great deal of her character as well as of her knowledge & information. The price here is only 2/-.³ Many thanks again for your investment of my money – Boston bonds are about the safest thing one can have I suppose. I do not much expect to trouble you in this way again for some time. Stillman has presented his credentials – he called at Campden Hill – of course I was out – & so also was my wife. But we hope to see him on Sunday to dinner – in the “native American” manner at 2 pm which I hope he will not resent.⁴ Give my kindest remembrances to Child – I am very glad to hear something like good news about him⁵ –

¹ In January 1860 the *Atlantic Monthly* carried Norton’s review of the ‘really good’ *Plutarch’s Lives* by Mr. Clough, a name ‘well known’ by scholars and poetry lovers alike: C’s editorial work had been carried out with ‘admirable diligence, fidelity, and taste’, and he had succeeded in the laborious task of correcting the numerous inaccuracies in Dryden’s *Plutarch*. The result was a translation that not only met the highest demands of modern scholarship, but was also a ‘delightful’ read. Norton’s only regret was that he wished there were more of C’s concise, ‘excellent’ and informative footnotes (5 [1860], 110–19 [pp.110, 111]).

² Norton was one of the leading Dante scholars of his day; in December 1859 he mailed a hundred privately- printed copies of his translation of *The New Life of Dante Alighieri*, published in 1867 (Boston: Ticknor and Fields), with essays on the genesis, structure and date of composition, to friends and scholars in Britain and the USA (Turner, p. 158). Norton’s friend Dante Gabriel Rossetti (see *CEN* 51, note 26) was, coincidentally, also preparing to publish a translation of the *Vita Nuova*, and sent the proofs to Norton for correction (Turner, p. 156.); Rossetti’s version appeared in 1861 in his *The Early Italian Poets* (London: Smith, Elder).

³ The first edition of Florence Nightingale’s *Notes on Nursing: What it is, and What it is not* appeared early in 1859 (London: Harrison), and was published in New York by D Appleton & Co later the following year. The tone is brisk and authoritative, and the ‘laws’ of health – fresh air, cleanliness, etc – are reiterated throughout. Nightingale mounts a vigorous defence of the profession against accusations that training women to be nurses would lead to ‘reckless’ amateur ‘physicking’, and that new entrants were either ‘disappointed in love’, or incapable of doing anything else. The impression conveyed is that of a highly moral, and strict, but dedicated disciplinarian (pp. 7, 73, 75).

⁴ See *CEN* 70, note 17.

⁵ See *CEN* 69, note 4.

Friday –

I have but little time left – Will you send me at your leisure your “*interior*” criticism on the Plutarch – what is badly done, what should be changed etc etc. Tennyson received £300 for the poem in Macmillan. Smith & Elder only sent him £50 for Tithonus, which however is an old poem dating far back, I believe before 1840.⁶ – I am to do for Longman – Themistocles, Pericles, Alcibiades, Lysander, Pelopidas, Timoleon, Demosthenes, Alexander.⁷

Farewell

Ever Yours

A H Clough

MS H

Corr. 575–6 (part-published); *PR* 253–4 (part-published).

⁶ Tennyson’s ‘Tithonus’, the tragic story of a man granted immortality, but not eternal youth, was written in 1833, originally as a ‘pendant’ to his ‘Ulysses’, but published for the first time in the February 1860 issue of the *Cornhill Magazine* (p. 175); (*CEN* 71:4). He apparently preferred to showcase his ‘metrical experiments’ in periodicals before publishing them in volumes, but worried that his old poem would sit ‘queerly enough at the tail of a flashy modern novel’ [Trollope’s *Framley Parsonage*]. Although accepting only £50 for ‘Tithonus’, Tennyson reportedly turned down a subsequent offer of 5,000 guineas to publish more poems in the *Cornhill* (Kathryn Ledbetter, *Tennyson and Victorian Periodicals: Commodities in Context* [Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007], pp. 61, 62).

⁷ See *CEN* 69, note 5.

73.

C.O.

3 March [1860]¹

My dear Charles

I have to thank you for the *Vita Nuova* which is a beautiful book² – Of your Italian notes, if as I understand, they make a different book, I have as yet heard nothing. – Have Miss Nightingale's Notes reached you?³ They went, I am told, by Post. – Stillman has commenced operations & returns to the charge on Monday – he is making many friends I am told.⁴ We dined with him at Robert Mackintosh's about a week ago,⁵ which much reminded me of Longfellow's dinner table.⁶

The enclosed is an answer to a letter to Miss Nightingale. Will you be so good as to forward it? – – – –

I have read the Critique on Plutarch pretty carefully since I wrote to you, and find it very satisfactory.⁷ I half-regret your having taken so much trouble & pains as you appear to have done – The early lives are certainly very faulty – I did not feel as if it was done rightly till I was doing Otho & Galba – The life which was most mine is that of Demetrius, which is really *almost* mine – Dion however is just about an average specimen⁸ – The selection for Longmans is in press. – There is to be a review, I am told, in the Westminster, by Donne.⁹ –

¹ Year dated by the reference to C's sending Florence Nightingale's *Notes on Nursing* (see *CEN* 72, note 3).

² See *CEN* 72, note 2.

³ See *CEN* 72, note 3.

⁴ See *CEN* 70, note 17.

⁵ Probably Robert James Mackintosh (1806–1864), Governor of Antigua and Viceroy in the Leeward Islands colony 1850–1855), married to Mary, daughter of Nathan Appleton and niece of Longfellow's wife Frances (Fanny) (see *CEN* 42, note 13).

⁶ During his time in America, C often dined at the Longfellows' (see Introduction to *RWE* letters, p. 67; Introduction to *HWL* letters, p. 423), around whose 'hospitable' Craige House table, was gathered the 'best company', including Emerson, Lowell and Child (Charles Eliot Norton, *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: A Sketch of His Life* [Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1907], p. 28).

⁷ See *CEN* 72, note 1.

⁸ See *CEN* 72, note 1; the lives of Otho, Galba and Demetrius appear in the fifth volume of *Plutarch's Lives*, as does the Life of Dion, which Norton cites in his review as an example of C's hard work and meticulous scholarship (*Atlantic Monthly*, 5 [1860], p. 110).

⁹ See *CEN* 74, note 11.

When is Rowse coming over – will you give him a letter to me? I suppose you can commend him to your friends? I continue to think his picture of Emerson the best portrait I know of anyone I know¹⁰ –

How unsatisfactory the world in general is just now! – The French having made a “*belle guerre*” for an *idée* are now bent on *realizing* their ideas.¹¹ The Pope after all won’t be sent a begging – Austria will yet bully Hungary with the help of her big brother further East,¹² & the big brother with the help of the smaller one will have his own bad way in Turkey – most likely¹³ –

Farewell

With kindest remembrances

Ever Yours

A H Clough

MS H

PR 252–3 (part-published).

¹⁰ See RWE 23, note 6.

¹¹ A reference to the Hegelian notion of the realisation, in time and space, of the ‘Absolute Idea’, with which C would probably have been acquainted through his interest in the work of David Strauss (*CEN* 12, note 26), who challenged the idea that the unity of the divine and human natures had been uniquely realised in the historical person of Christ (Dr David Frederic Strauss, *The Life of Jesus, or A Critical Examination of His History*, 4 vols [London: Hetherington, 1844], IV, pp. 375, 396, 397). Carlyle used the term ‘realised ideals’ facetiously to refer to the discrediting of the ideals of Church and Kingship that attended the decadent reign of Louis XV, the antithesis of the ‘Realised Ideal’ of monarchy (Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution*, 3 vols [London: James Fraser, 1837], I, 9–22). In the same way as Napoleon III used the concept of ‘nationality’ as the moral justification for his support for Italy’s fight for independence against Austria, he used a similar argument to legitimise his seizure of the French-speaking Kingdom of Savoy. He obtained the annexation of Savoy and Nice, not as had been arranged in 1858, as a reward for the ideal of setting Italy free from the Alps to the Adriatic, that had not been realized – but as the price for assisting Piedmont to incorporate the central Italian provinces (*The Letters of Queen Victoria*, ed. by Arthur Christopher Benson and Viscount Esher, 3 vols [London: John Murray, 1908], III, 484).

¹² See *CEN* 71, note 6; Austria, seriously weakened since the loss of its Italian possessions was cracking down hard on its largely Protestant client state Hungary, which was demanding the restoration of its constitution; demonstrations were brutally suppressed and several insurgent generals had been executed.

¹³ Austria and Russia were reported to have signed a treaty whereby Russia would aid Austria in suppressing the Hungarian rebellion in return for supporting Russian interests in the Ottoman states.

74.

Downing S^t1st May 1860

My dear Charles

I have to thank you much for all your trouble about my moneys – as exhibited in the statement which I had in your last letter.¹ I shall be very glad if you will do as you propose – invest the remaining amount when it reaches \$1000 in another Boston Bond. – I am only at a loss to understand how it is that I receive \$212 from Phillips Sampson & C^o; as I had written that off “as gone by their misfortune”.² –

Thanks also for the Notes of Travel which I am ashamed to say I have not yet read through – so I will reserve them for another letter.³ –

Stillman has come back from Paris & is to re-embark on the portrait on Saturday morning. I have not looked at the said portrait, which he carefully secretes. However he appeared to be well pleased with his last day’s work & I think he must know my face pretty thoroughly by this time.⁴ As soon as Rowse come[s],⁵ Stillman gives up his present quarters to him & will come I believe into our nearer neighbourhood. – I hope his picture sent to the Exhibition will be a success. Ruskin appears to be highly favourable.⁶ I am [a] little disappointed with Holman Hunt’s picture; which is a

¹ No letter in *Norton* from December 1859 – Sept 1860.

² Phillips, Sampson & Co, the original publishers of the *Atlantic Monthly*, went out of business in 1859 and the magazine was sold to Ticknor and Fields for \$10,000. Norton was probably investing the payments C received for *Amours de Voyage* in the *Atlantic Monthly* (see *CEN* 46, note 9); the \$212 might well have been an advance for the edition of C’s poems that Phillips and Sampson were originally to have undertaken (*Corr.* 544), but which was eventually published by Ticknor and Fields in 1862 (see Appendix 2).

³ See *CEN* 70, note 20.

⁴ See *CEN* 70, note 17.

⁵ See *RWE* 23, note 6.

⁶ Stillman had brought his major work – entitled ‘Bed of Ferns’ – with him to England. But such was his reverence for Ruskin’s opinion, that when the latter told him, in a tone of ‘extreme disgust’, to remove the hunter and dead deer from the painting, saying: ‘Take it out; it stinks’, he did so, which enraged Rossetti and led to it being sent back by the Academy and eventually destroyed by Stillman (William James Stillman, *The Autobiography of a Journalist*, 2 vols [Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1901], I, 298).

marvellous piece of workmanship, but too much “modelled” I think.⁷ – Stillman you know of course is to stay here through the summer. He has taken ghostly counsel with himself & Ruskin⁸ – & abandons the Adirondacks⁹ –

There are two articles on the Plutarch, one in the National, by Franklin Lushington,¹⁰ one in the Westminster, by W. B. Donne.¹¹ – They advertise the selection for May, but they don’t send me proofs, & I don’t know how it can be done in May.¹² —

Froude’s volumes V & VI are to be appear[ing] tomorrow.¹³ Meantime his wife is just dead, leaving him 3 little children to see to: – a great calamity to him, I think¹⁴ – Farewell for the present. I shall at any rate finish this sheet by Saturday & let you have it. –

⁷ See CEN 56, note 9; Holman Hunt’s *The Finding of the Saviour in the Temple*, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1860, was hugely popular with critics and the public alike; however, J. Beavington Atkinson, while admiring Hunt’s ‘consummate’ technical skill and attention to detail – he had gone to Palestine to search out authentic Jewish models and architecture – found the painting rather too much of a set piece, and somewhat lacking in inspiration and the ‘elevation’ required of such a sacred subject (*Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 88 [1860], pp. 82, 83).

⁸ From the 1662 Book of Common Prayer; those wishing to take Holy Communion might receive ‘ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting of his conscience’ from a minister.

⁹ The Adirondack mountains, north-east of New York, where Emerson, Lowell and other members of the ‘Adirondack Club’ would camp out, cutting paths through impenetrable woods and shooting deer and bears (*Norton*, I, 183, 191–2).

¹⁰ Franklin Lushington for the *National Review* commended C’s ‘wise economy’ in republishing a corrected version of Dryden’s, revised ‘in accordance with his own excellent taste and scholarship’, which had ‘done good service to the cause of literature’ (10 [1860], 261–278 [pp. 261]).

¹¹ W. B. Donne in the *Westminster Review* was similarly appreciative; he had compared several crucial passages in C’s version with the original and could testify to its ‘general correctness and spirit’, as well as to C’s judgement in retaining the language of Dryden’s translation where appropriate (‘Plutarch and His Times’, 17 [1860], 430–456 [p. 434]).

¹² See CEN 66, note 11; the *Critic* announced that the ‘eminent scholar’, Mr A H Clough, was about to follow up his ‘excellent’ revised edition of *Plutarch’s Lives* with a work entitled “Greek History, in a Series of Lives from Plutarch” (20 [1860], p. 534).

¹³ See CEN 47, note 18; Froude’s *History of England: from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth*, Vols V & VI (London, J W Parker & Sons) received generally positive reviews, although the *New Quarterly Review* thought that the latest volumes had ‘sunk below’ the level of the former ones. Froude’s grip on the period after the death of Henry VIII was less sure, the tone was ‘less defiant’ and his ‘peculiar opinions’ were not so forcefully expressed (9 [1860], 210–238 [pp. 210, 238]).

¹⁴ See CEN 67, note 17; *The Times* announced the death on 21st April 1860, at Taplow House, Bideford, of Charlotte Maria, wife of J. A. Froude and daughter of the late Pascoe Grenfell Esq (28 April 1860, p. 1). Two of Charlotte’s sisters (see CEN 67, note 13, 15, 16, 17) took care of the Froude children after her death.

17th <16> May. – I have kept this you see nearly 3 weeks – Meantime I have to thank you for a letter – which I will attend to, if possible, I means [sic] as regards Fields. Also Rowse has arrived & is busy at work at Ruskin – Stillman has him in charge – & is to bring him to our house today –

MS H

Corr. 576 (part-published).

75.

21 Campden Hill Road

13 July 1860

My dear Charles

I had your letter¹ heaping coals of fire on my head last Monday.² I enclose a fragment of the past in testimony of my having contributed somewhat to the pavement below in respect of you³ – To break one's toe is no fair reason against using one's fingers but it prevents one's walking & impairs one's energies in general.⁴ However I am restored to the use of my feet & may therefore find my way to the use of my hands –

My mother's death which happened about 3 weeks ago has been another cause of neglect⁵ – My sister is for the present with us.⁶ –

Stillman is at Chamounix as I dare say he tells you himself.⁷ Rowse has done me – (a present from Miss Nightingale to my wife –) very nearly – You will I hope have a

¹ A note in *Norton* (I, 210.) refers to a letter Norton wrote to C in June 1860, but it is not printed.

² 'If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat For thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head' (Proverbs 25. 21–2).

³ Presumably Letter *CEN* 74 dated 1 May 1860.

⁴ This would imply that C broke his toe while on the way to post Norton's letter.

⁵ See *CEN* 55, note 4; Anne Perfect Clough, born 1795, a woman of 'high moral ideals' and 'intense, rather Evangelical religious opinions' (Evelyn Barish Greenberger, *Arthur Hugh Clough: The Growth of a Poet's Mind* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970], p. 14.) died at Eller How, Ambleside on 12th June 1860, aged 65, and was buried in Grasmere Churchyard. There is a flat stone on her grave which reads: 'In memory of Arthur Hugh Clough sometime Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, the beloved son of James Butler and Anne Clough, This remembrance in his own country is placed on his Mother's grave by those to whom life was made happy by his presence and his love. He is buried in the Swiss Cemetery at Florence, where he died November 13th 1861, aged 42. Now, dearest, that thy brows are cold. We see thee what thou art, and know Thy likeness to the wise below, Thy kindred with the great of old' (*Westmorland Papers; The Westmorland Historic Texts Project*; northofthesands.org.uk/westmoreland/ [accessed November 2014]).

⁶ Shortly before their mother died, C's brother William Perfect had also died, and his sister Anne used £200 of the considerable legacies left her to rebuild the dilapidated school for boys at Ambleside (*Memoir of Anne Jemima Clough*, ed. by Blanche Athena Clough [London: Edward Arnold], pp. 97–98).

⁷ The summer that Stillman spent with Ruskin sketching in the Alps ended in 'catastrophe' for both: Chamounix [sic] was 'the most gloomy and depressing place' Stillman had ever visited; the pair had diametrically opposing views on art; and the arguments and constant pressure from Ruskin to change his technique finally caused Stillman to partially lose his sight, as well as faith in himself. For Ruskin, it was Stillman's challenge to his literalist interpretation of the gospel that resulted in his complete rejection of his Christian faith (*The Autobiography of a Journalist*, I, 314–20 [pp. 314, 319]).

photograph – & I hope he won't spoil it before he finishes⁸ – He ought to be here at this moment, but has not done his sleep yet I suppose. He has done Owen, & seems well pleased with his work – but he is sadly afflicted with Heimweh⁹ – I have done the Bothie but did not see Fields – Is it safe to send it by Rowse? I hope so –

My little Plutarch comes out next week I believe¹⁰ –

With kindest remembrances

Ever Yours

A H Clough

MS H

Corr. 577 (part-published).

⁸ See *RWE* 23, note 6; *CEN* 57, note 5; Rowse's chalk drawing of C is displayed in the National Portrait Gallery in London, as is the bust by Thomas Woolner (see *CEN* 56, note 6,7,8).

⁹ 'home-sickness' [German].

¹⁰ See *CEN* 69, note 5.

20 July 1860

My dear Charles

I begin a letter & hope to succeed better than the last time – Today I was at a breakfast party of Statisticians attending the International Statistical Congress¹ & met Dr Jervis from your parts whom I dare say you know at least by name² – Quetelet the divine Statistician I have also seen – he is getting rather feeble with age & complains of forgetting names.³ A certain Swede, un nommé – Berg⁴ is said to be the aureus alter who will succeed to the primacy⁵ – An acquaintance of mine, a certain Patrick Cumin Esq^{re}, barrister at law is going to travel into America this summer. I shall give him a letter for you, & perhaps you will be good enough to put him on his way. He is not a particularly remarkable man – but he is pleasant in his way & has been a good deal employed by the Education Commission & has been a busy writer in the Daily News – he was at Oxford in my time⁶ – Shall you call on that other Oxford traveller, the Prince

¹ The Fourth Session of the International Statistical Congress was opened in London, at King's College, Strand on 16th July 1860, by the President, Prince Albert. Richard Monckton Milnes was one of the Vice-Presidents and C's doctor – Dr Greenhill (see *CEN* 4, note 25; 71, note 5) was Secretary to the 'Second Section – *Sanitary Statistics*' (*Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 23 [1860], pp. 384, 386). C's presence is probably accounted for by the fact that Florence Nightingale had helped draw up the programme for the 'Second Section' of the Congress, and her scheme for the uniform collection of hospital statistics was the principal subject of discussion. She gave a series of breakfast parties to the delegates at her home, some of whom were allowed to visit her in her room upstairs (Sir Edward Cook, *The Life of Florence Nightingale*, 2 vols [London: Macmillan, 1913], I, 431).

² Among the 'Foreign' Official Delegates listed were Dr Edward Jarvis (1803–1884), President of the American Statistical Association (*Journal of the Statistical Society*, p. 384).

³ The President of the 'Sixth Section – *Statistical Methods etc*' – was Monsieur Adolphe Quételet (1796–1874), one of the founders of the modern Social Sciences (*Journal of the Statistical Society*, p. 386); he coined the term 'the average man' and introduced the idea of 'moral statistics', which attempted to correlate social phenomena such as marriage and crime with certain physical and social conditions by showing variations in the numbers as the conditions changed (Frank H. Hankins, *Adolphe Quetelet as Statistician* [New York & Columbia: Longmans, Green, 1908], pp. 62, 83, 84).

⁴ Dr F. Th. Berg, Director of the Statistical Department of Sweden was also a delegate (p.304).

⁵ 'The golden one' [Latin].

⁶ Patrick Cumin was a Snell Exhibitioner in 1841, which means he was awarded a scholarship to allow him to undertake postgraduate study to be a barrister (*Balliol College Archives & Manuscripts*). In 1861 he produced a report entitled *The Popular Education of the Bristol and Plymouth Districts with special reference to Ragged Schools and Pauper Children*, which urged that the grant of outdoor relief to paupers be conditional upon their children attending school, in order to discourage 'vicious' parents from spending the money in the gin shop ([London: Longman, Green], 33–50 [p. 33]).

of Wales?⁷ The best of his party is I believe Col. Bruce, Lord Elgins' brother.⁸ The Prince is my grand pupil – His Oxford tutor was my pupil.⁹

We are lingering on here sadly, waiting for the end of Parliament – & having no summer. – People talk of a grand fusion of the Conservative & Liberal Conservative parties – modern Tories and modern Whigs, making one solid National Defence against Bright & the Radicals¹⁰ – Things tend a good deal that way, but unless Bright & the Radicals become formidable indeed, personal jealousies will keep the aristocratic parties in a state of separation. – They have however acted together this Session – & have succeeded in staving off Parliamentary Reform & in some other things¹¹ – The picture is quite obscure. I don't think however that any Ministry will venture on an unliberal foreign policy though there may be some quiet rapprochement to the Germans – Austrians even included. The nation generally holds I think to Alliance with the

⁷ At the invitation of President Buchanan, the Prince of Wales (Albert Edward – later Edward VII [1841–1910]), paid a low-key visit to America in September 1860, and received a tumultuous welcome from the 'countless multitudes' that thronged every railway station on his route from Detroit to Chicago and St Louis. In response to sneers in the American press at the 'excesses of Republican loyalty' and the lavish soirées and balls, *The Times* rejoinder was that no President could 'excite such a fervour'. This 'unpretentious' young man had done much to heal the rift between Britain and her ex-colony and being from the 'true stock', showed them just what the English, and the American gentleman ought to be (10 October 1860, p. 8). Longfellow met the Prince of Wales in October 1860, after a dinner given by Norton (*The Letters of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, ed. by Andrew Hilen, 5 vols [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972], IV, 195).

⁸ Sir Frederick William Adolphus Wright Bruce (1814–1867), diplomat and brother of James Bruce, eighth earl of Elgin (1811–1863).

⁹ Herbert William Fisher (1826–1903), tutor to the Prince of Wales at Oxford and Cambridge, was a pupil of C's at Oxford, and a member of the reading party that C led to Drumadrochet in the Scottish Highlands in 1846, incidents and characters from which are recalled in *The Bothie (Poems, 44–93)*. C's 'long-vacation pastoral' was, in fact, composed two years later, shortly after he had returned to Liverpool from another reading party – this time conducted by Fisher in the Lake District – and just before the resignation of his Fellowship (see Introduction, p. 11). Writing to Fisher in September 1848, he describes Liverpool as 'a dismal place', comparing it unfavourably with places they had visited on previous reading parties (Anthony Kenny, *A Poet's Life* [London & New York: Continuum, 2005], p. 127).

¹⁰ The Whigs and Tories were not political parties in the modern sense but loose alliances of interests; the former represented mainly by the leading aristocratic dynasties and emerging industrialists, while the latter was associated more with the landed gentry. A coalition of Whigs and parliamentary Radicals eventually came to be known as the Liberal Party, while the Tories evolved into the Conservative party.

¹¹ There had been several attempts to introduce a new reform bill (see *CEN* 56, note 24), which were finally and decisively scuppered through a combination of 'pitiful' Tory tactics and the 'discreditable' shifts of 'hoary Whiggery' ('The Policy of Obstruction', *Morning Chronicle*, 11 June 1860, p. 3). John Bright (see *CEN* 14, note 6) accepted defeat with 'ready complacency', but the *Morning Chronicle* predicted that public discontent might excite demands for a far more sweeping and democratic bill, more aligned to Bright's manifesto than the 'mild Whig compromise' [a £10 county and £6 borough franchise] that had just been consigned to the waste-basket (12 June 1860, p. 4).

French in general & to support of Italy with or without the French¹² – Lord John does well enough.

2^d August –

Dear Charles, What has happened since I wrote?

1. Rowse went to Paris & came back again, stopped a night with us, and went off yesterday for Southampton, to take passage home by the Adriatic. But you will hardly I suppose have seen him at Newport before this reaches you. His picture of Owen is very good. That of me is less successful. He was interrupted in the midst of it – was delayed by sore eyes & then had to go to Owen – but still it is a very good likeness. If I were he, I should for my own practice, *sacrifice* a subject – work it out thoroughly, at the expense of spoiling it – At present it seems to me he does not finish as he should, because in finishing he is so apt to impair the likeness. – I liked Rowse very much; & hope he will come again; I take blame to myself for not *making* him go about & see things & people more than he did – but apart from sundry obstacles at home, that is a sort of liberty which one does not take until one has come to be a little intimate.¹³ I had a few lines from Stillman from Chamounix the other day – he seems to be enjoying himself greatly, but I dare say you hear of or from him¹⁴ –

Cumin goes by the Persia together with this letter but I suppose he will stay in New York to look about him for a while¹⁵ –

¹² See *CEN* 66, note 6; *CEN* 69, note 6; Louis Napoleon had reportedly requested England's assistance in rescuing Italy from outside intervention and Turkey from 'disorganization'. *The Times* believed that, despite some mistrust of the Emperor's motives, an Anglo-French alliance could only be of mutual benefit: the two countries were 'made to act together', and would thereby be more than equal to the rest of the world in both peace and war (31 July 1860, p. 9). Public opinion was wholeheartedly behind Italy, and the British Government wholly committed to the cause of Italian independence despite Victoria's attempts to influence foreign policy in favour of Austria (*The Letters of Queen Victoria*, III, pp. 324–383).

¹³ See *CEN* 75, note 8.

¹⁴ See *CEN* 75, note 7.

¹⁵ See note 6 above.

Our Parliament they say won't have done parleying before the 10th of Sept^r, and till it ends its palaver I can have no holiday. I think we shall only go to the Yorkshire coast for three weeks – & then return and be near here somewhere.

People here all will have it that the French agents in Syria prompted the Maronites to attack the Druses¹⁶ – And the Emperor's letter is not much trusted by the great – however much it may affect the little & many.¹⁷ – However it is of course impossible not to join in the Syrian matter, whatever be the upshot. –

Farewell for the present. I shall add a few lines I hope to morrow –

Friday. I knew I had one more fact to advert to: – viz. that Helps has become a member of the Privy Council Office – Clerk of the Council, with £1200 a year, & the duty amongst others of attending the Queen in Council – I see him not unfrequently – He is rather of a more languid unhopeful temper than I had expected – years & the vain conversation of the upper literary people have told upon him to disadvantage¹⁸ –

Farewell – with kindest remembrances to your family & to other friends.

Ever Yours faithfully

A H Clough

MS H

PR 253–4 (part-published).

¹⁶ There had been a rebellion of Maronite Christian peasants in Syria against their Druze overlords which culminated in a series of massacres on both sides.

¹⁷ Louis Napoleon wrote to Lord John Russell on 25 July 1860 giving an assurance that his proposed intervention in the Syrian conflict was purely on humanitarian grounds and asking for British support; he had no wish to undertake an expedition alone – it would be hugely expensive and he feared it might involve 'the Eastern Question', but could not resist the pressure of French public opinion which demanded retribution for the massacres of Christians, the burning of consulates and the 'insult' to the French flag' ('Letter of the Emperor Napoleon on his Policy towards England', *Daily News*, 2 August 1860, p. 5).

¹⁸ See *CEN* 30, note 12; *CEN* 38, note 4.

Council Office
30th July 1860

Dear Norton

This is to introduce my friend M^r Patrick Cumin, sometime of Balliol College Oxford, who travels in America partly for his amusement, partly also with an interest in Education. He has been employed in various ways by the Commission on Education now sitting, which is expected to report at the end of this year.¹

Ever Yours

A H Clough

C.E. Norton Es^{qre}

MS *H*

No previous publication traced.

¹ See *CEN* 76, note 6.

Granton House
 Edinburgh
 11th Octr [1860]¹

My dear Charles

Your letter of the 24th Septr came to me two days at Glasgow & was a very pleasant surprise² – We were passing through & I had not thought of receiving anything – We have been spending a more than usual length of time in holidays. Six weeks to day have passed since we came away – we paid a visit to Milnes in Yorkshire,³ and after passing through the Highlands to Oban made a three weeks stay in Morven (the Morven of Ossian or Macpherson) a very out of the way district whence we had some difficulty in effecting a return⁴ – the equinoctial gales having delayed the steamer & broken up the roads⁵ –

We are now on our way to the south – & next week I shall be at the office again – We are staying here with Sir John MacNeill the Crimean Commissioner & sometime envoy

¹ Year dated by the reference to Norton's letter of 24 September 1860.

² Norton wrote from Newport on 24 September 1860 (*Norton*, I, 210).

³ See *RWE* 6, note 4; *RWE* 19, note 10; *CEN* 5, note 7; Richard Monckton Milnes entertained generously at his country seat, Fryston Hall, in the Vale of York; it was described by Carlyle as 'a large irregular pile, of various ages, rising up among ragged old wood, in a rough large park' which was 'chiefly beautiful because it did not set up for beauty' (letter TC to Jane Welsh Carlyle, 7 April 1841; *CLO* 13: 80–82).

⁴ The Scottish poet, James Macpherson (1736–96), published *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and Translated from the Gaelic or Erse language* (Edinburgh: G Hamilton, 1760), purported to have been written by 'Ossian', the son of a third century Scottish king, and based in the mythical Gaelic kingdom of Morven.

⁵ According to the calendar in *Black's Guide to Scotland*, the equinoctial gales occur on 13–14 March and on 23 September, and some of the heaviest seas are to found around the Morven coastline ([Edinburgh: A & C Black, 1903], p. 435).

in Persia – he has the charge of the administration of the Poor Law in Scotland.⁶

I am glad to hear of Rowse's restoration to life & happiness in his native land. I hope however he will some day come over to see us again. The photographs of his picture of me were not done when we came away – I will send you one as soon as opportunity offers.⁷

I will send the Bothie revised as you direct. I do not think I have anything to add in the way of instructions – I should [think] the Bothie, Amours de Voyage & other poems (chiefly reprinted) by A H Clough would be the sufficient title – I think if you have my letters about the little poems they contain all that is required – but perhaps you can send me a list showing the order in time to allow of alteration. I presume they are to be added – but of course that will be as the publishers please.⁸

Thanks for your political information – I never trust any English newspaper on American matters.⁹ I fear I have nothing to give in return. If there is anything (and at this season there seldom is) I fear I have missed it in the seclusion of Morven –

⁶ Sir John McNeill (1795–1883), former British envoy to Persia, led an enquiry into the mismanagement of the Crimean war that was highly critical of Lord Raglan's staff (see *CEN* 24, note 13; 25, note 6). McNeill supervised the administration of the Scottish Poor Law Act of 1845, and led an inquiry into the devastating potato famine that beset the Scottish Highlands for virtually a decade after 1845. 'Redundancy' of population was considered one cause and between 1852 and 1858 around 5,000 'surplus' Highlanders were removed to Australia, with far larger numbers shipped off to Canada – many forcibly evicted by their landlords to make way for sheep (William Pulteney Alison, *Observations on the Famine of 1846–7 in the Highlands of Scotland and in Ireland* [Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1847], pp. vii, 69.) and (Marjorie Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles: the Great Scottish Exodus* [London: Profile Books, 2003]). C's interest in Scottish affairs stems from his time at Oxford, when he spent many long vacations in the Scottish Highlands (see *CEN* 76, note 9); his egalitarian hero, Philip Hewson, in *The Bothie*, a poem inspired by those Highland reading parties, 'reviles feudal tenures', 'rails at Highland landlords', and eventually emigrates to New Zealand (*Poems*, 47, 91, 93). See also Introduction to *RWE* letters (p. 66) for C's pamphlet against the Retrenchment Association.

⁷ See *RWE* 23, note 6; *CEN* 75, note 8.

⁸ See *CEN* 57 and 58; Appendix 2.

⁹ Norton refers to an 'excellent' article by Lowell in the *Atlantic Monthly* – "The Election in November" – which he thought gave 'as fair a view' as he had seen of their 'political conditions and prospects'. He also recommends *Journey in the Back Country* by Frederick Law Olmsted (see *RWE* 22, note 9), whose books gave the most accurate portrayal of the conditions of slavery (*Norton*, I, 210–11).

The Highland population is passing through the stage of decrease – Emigration has been going on pretty actively since the famine years of 46 & 47, and Iona for example which had 500 has now 250 inhabitants. The emigrants send back money to bring out their friends & this will continue – Sir John MacNeill however, who has had a good deal to do with it expects that the population will recover when the new methods of cultivating (or using) the soil are established – Such has been the case in many formerly Highland & now really Lowland places¹⁰ –

Many thanks for your attention to Cumin¹¹ – I send this letter at once – though it contains but little – farewell – with kindest remembrances to your mother & sisters.

Ever Yours faithfully

A H Clough

[cross-hatched across first page:–]

I hope the little Plutarch has reached you before this. Longmans were to send it through Little & Brown some weeks ago. –

MS H

Corr. 578–9 (part-published); *PR* 254–5 (part-published).

¹⁰ See note 6 above; one of the solutions put forward for the relief of famine and poverty in the Highlands was the investment of capital for the draining of cultivated lands and of bringing ‘moors and mosses’ into cultivation (*Observations on the Famine of 1846–7 in the Highlands of Scotland and in Ireland*, p. 42).

¹¹ See *CEN* 77.

C.O.

23rd Oct^r [1860]¹

My dear Charles

The corrected Bothie and two copies of the little poems will I hope go to Messrs Ticknor & Fields by Truebner's next parcel.² – I wrote to you from Edinburgh on the 11th inst. acknowledging your letter received a little before in the wilds of the West Highlands³ – We have been here for about 10 days but I think very likely we shall go to Malvern for a week to complete our holiday and for a little gentle water cure for me who am a little out of order⁴ & not quite in vigour for the 10 months campaign shortly to commence⁵ –

There is little news – Lord John Russell they say has been exciting anger in the French imperial circles by talking, when on the Queen's German tour, against L. Napoleon.⁶ – L.N is said to be very cross, having offered his company at Warsaw & had it declined. However if he is cross *that way* all the better⁷ – But why does he keep his paw on the

¹ Year dated by the reference to C's letter of 11th October 1860 (see *CEN* 78) and to the marriage of Bertha Shore Smith.

² See *CEN* 78, note 8; Appendix 2.

³ See *CEN* 78.

⁴ Malvern was renowned for the purity of its water, fine air and quiet countryside; under the 'professional management' of James Wilson and James Manby Gully, the 'Water-Cure Establishment' attracted a stream of celebrated visitors, including Queen Victoria, Tennyson and Darwin. Winter, being mild, was the best time to go, and the fee was 4–5 guineas a week, inclusive of board, lodging and medical attendance. The curative properties of the water effected a number of miraculous recoveries in even the most chronic cases, including that of a young gentleman with 'black or brown' leprosy who, after thirteen weeks of lying naked in freezing cold, wet sheets, douching and drinking twelve to fifteen glasses of water daily, returned home in 'robust' health (James Wilson and James M. Gully, *A Prospectus of the Water Cure Establishment at Malvern* [London: Cunningham and Mortimer, 1843], pp. 29, 152–3).

⁵ Presumably C's return to his office in Downing Street.

⁶ On 22nd September 1860, Queen Victoria and the royal party, accompanied by Lord John Russell, set off in the royal yacht for a visit to her relative, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha ('The Queen in Germany', *Morning Post*, 26 September 1860, p. 5).

⁷ The Warsaw Conference, attended by the Russian Czar and the Austrian and Prussian Emperors, to which Louis Napoleon would, apparently, also have been invited had he expressed a desire to be present, ended in failure, with the realization by the triumvirate that 'the principles of non-intervention [in Italy's struggle for independence], which they so cordially detest[ed]' were being forced upon them by their 'weakness' and 'disunion' (*The Times*, 1 October 1860, p. 8; 30 October 1860, p. 8).

patrimony of St Peter & exclude the lawful heir Victor Emmanuel?⁸ –

The popular feeling in France is said to be very strong for Garibaldi,⁹ but there is some considerable jealousy in the army – where Lamoricière’s disgrace touches professional vanity & where Garibaldi is I suppose not acceptable in himself.¹⁰ Was not the Duke of Newcastle a fool to take our young Prince to Richmond, where it is well known there is a blackguard population! – They say here it was his fault & he ought to have known better. However it is no great harm, specially as it happened in a proud slave state¹¹ – how will things go at New York?¹² – However just now you will be thinking about Presidents, not Princes.¹³ 8 years ago I think you were busy electing Peirce [sic], and I

⁸ Napoleon III wished to make a ‘cat’s-paw’ of Italy; Lord John Russell (see *CEN* 65, note 8; *CEN* 69, note 6; *CEN* 76, note 12) could hardly contain his ‘contempt’ for the French and Austrian scheme, which favoured the creation of an Italian confederation under the honorary presidency of the Pope. He declared in the Commons that England would have no truck with any attempt to deprive the Italian people of the right to choose their own leader, and proffered the nation’s ‘sympathy’ and ‘good wishes’ when Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed King of Italy on September 9th 1860 (Stuart J. Reid, *Lord John Russell* [London: Sampson, Low, 1895], pp. 304, 306).

⁹ Garibaldi (see *CEN* 64, note 8) was hugely popular in France: in 1860 Victor Hugo described him as ‘a man of freedom, a man of humanity’ (Alfonso Scirocco, *Garibaldi: Citizen of the World* [New Jersey: Princeton, 2007], p. x). The French press hailed the overthrow of the hated Bourbon king, Francis II of the Two Sicilies, and encouraged the Italian people to join the partisans.

¹⁰ The French General Christophe de Lamoricière (1806–1865), exiled after a failed coup against Louis Napoleon in 1851, led the papal army against Piedmont, but was severely defeated by the Italian army at Castelfidardo on 29 September 1860; after the battle, Pontifical officers accused him of abandoning his army in a ‘dastardly’ manner (‘The Roman States’, *Morning Post*, 12 October 1860, p. 5).

¹¹ See *CEN* 76, note 7; *The Times* indignantly reported a ‘vulgar and unprovoked’ attack on the Prince of Wales and Duke of Newcastle by a ‘ruffianly and depraved’ mob in Richmond, Virginia. While the Prince examined a statue of Washington, the ‘rude populace’ hurled abuse with comments such as: ‘He socked it into you at the Revolution’, and actually pushed the royal party into the Senate chamber, from where they were forced to make a hasty escape. *The Times* assured its readers that the majority of Americans shared their outrage, and that such behaviour was only to be expected from the kind of ‘lower class’ Southern whites capable of ‘tarring and feathering an Abolitionist’, or burning alive an ‘insurgent Negro’ (23 October 1860, p. 6).

¹² *The Times* also feared that the Prince’s planned visit to New York would not pass off without some display of ill will on the part of the Irish population, who had already expressed their hostility to the visit of the representative of a country responsible for the ‘banishment and proscription’ of the Irish people, the destruction of their homes and the ‘suppression of [their] ancient nationality’. *The Times* hoped they would stay away; ‘respectable’ New Yorkers would be glad to be rid of them, and the Irish would only have given more proof of their ‘stupidity and malevolence’ (23 October 1860, p. 6).

¹³ See *CEN* 50, note 5; the Republican Abraham Lincoln was elected President on 6 November 1860, in what *The Times* described as a protest of the ‘freest and best educated part of the American people against the acts of high-handed violence and oppression which preceded the advent of Mr. Buchanan [the incumbent] to power’ (20 November 1860, p. 6). Within a few months, however, seven southern states had seceded from the Union and the country was set irrevocably on the path to civil war.

was just starting *per* Canada to visit you.¹⁴ –

A *tolerable* photograph from Rowse's drawing of me has been obtained.¹⁵ I will send half a dozen copies to your side when opportunity offers. – As yet, I have only the negative. Of Stillman I have no news¹⁶ – I suppose he is still mountain-bewitched in Switzerland.

Of domestic news there is only this, that my wife's sister (next to her) is to be married at Xmas. I don't know whether you remember her.¹⁷

Will you please *not* print a translation from Homer which I think I sent. Truebner has got the parcel.¹⁸ –

Ever Yours

A H Clough

I kept the letter thinking that at Malvern surely I should write another sheet – But water curing is a very lazy thing – & I have only time just to say this.

The packet will go to Ticknor & Fields with this I suppose –

¹⁴ Franklin Pierce (1804–1869) won the American Presidential election in November 1852, just days before C landed in Boston (see Introduction, p. 12); again the main electoral issue was slavery and it was during Pierce's presidency that the controversial Kansas-Nebraska act was passed (see *CEN* 13, note 16).

¹⁵ See *RWE* 23, note 6; *CEN* 75, note 8.

¹⁶ See *CEN* 70, note 18; 75, note 7.

¹⁷ Blanche's sister Bertha ('Puff') Elizabeth Shore Smith (1836–1923), third child and second daughter of Samuel Smith, married William Bachelor Coltman (c.1828–1902), a lawyer and son of family friends, on 24 November 1860.

¹⁸ See *CEN* 26, note 3; C's verse translations of Homer, Horace etc, amounting to the contents of five notebooks and innumerable loose sheets of manuscript, were not published during his lifetime (*Poems*, 809). During his holiday on the Isle of Wight in 1861, he returned to his 'old employment' of translating Homer – the only form of 'versification' he had not completely abandoned during his time at the Council Office, which gave him a great deal of pleasure (*PR* 52).

I like the Oct^r Atlantic. Hawthorne's article is good¹⁹ & so is yours.²⁰

"Auxilio Pauli forsitan ensis erit" is mistranslated, I think. "Paul's sword will perhaps be an assistance" is the correct construction.²¹

Farewell

Ever Yours

AHC

2nd Nov^r

MS H

Corr. 581–2 (part-published); *PR* 255–6 (part-published).

¹⁹ In the article, entitled 'Some of the Haunts of Burns', Nathaniel Hawthorne (see Introduction to *RWE* letters, p. 69) recounts a 'pilgrimage' to the poet's native soil. Arriving at Dumfries, he was shocked to see the 'miserable hovel', down a 'vile' lane, where Burns had lived, and realised why his contemporaries had failed to recognise what was 'admirable and immortal' in the 'disreputable, drunken, shabbily clothed' man; it was a tribute to the poet's genius that he had been able to write in such squalid conditions. At Moss Giel he saw the field where Burns had turned up the mouse nest, but it jarred to find the interior of Kirk Alloway, scene of the witches dance in 'Tam O'Shanter', turned into a family tomb – the 'prosaic bones' of some 'wretched squatters' in a place that belonged to the world ('Some of the Haunts of Burns', *Atlantic Monthly*, 6 [1860], 385–395 [pp. 387, 389, 390, 394]).

²⁰ Norton's article, entitled 'Pasquin and Pasquinades' is an amusing tale of an ancient Roman statue, dug up in the 16th century and named after a tailor who was notorious for making jests at his customers' expense. In defiance of the ban on free speech, Romans would stick 'stinging epigrams' or satirical verses on it, known as 'Pasquinades', which lampooned the depravity and excesses of a succession of corrupt and licentious popes. One such attack on the infamous Alexander VI read: "Alexander sells the keys, the altars, Christ. He bought them first, and has good right to sell." (*Atlantic Monthly*, 6 [1860], 395–405 [pp. 396, 397]). There is a reference to Pasquin in Browning's *The Ring and the Book*, VI, 1654.

²¹ In his article 'Pasquin and Pasquinades', Norton quotes an epigram of Pierre Bayle: "Cum Petri nihil efficiant ad proelia claves, Auxilio Pauli forsitan ensis erit.", which he translates as "Since the keys of Peter profit not for battle, perchance, with the aid of Paul, the sword will answer." (*Atlantic Monthly*, 6 [1860], p. 398).

80.

21 Campden Hill Road

London W

15 Feb^y 1861

My dear Charles

I am penetrated with regrets for my neglect – but I have been invalided & under Water cure and in consequence have been neglectful generally of letter writing¹ – I spent five weeks before Xmas at Malvern & have just returned from a second five weeks there.² I have been allowed six months' leave from the office – almost a temptation to cross the Atlantic.

Your last letter was one in which you told me of the postponement of my republication by Ticknor & Fields³ – of which to say the truth I am rather glad than otherwise –

I was very glad indeed to have your view of the state of political matters.⁴ I hope I shall hear again from you on the subject after this reaches you to inform you of my continuing to exist. We are divided here between the accounts of those who tell us that the Southern States will be starved into capitulation and those who say on the other hand that the *only* question is whether the Border States can be retained by some considerable concession: – & again by the news of those who fear two Confederacies hostile in principle & sure to fall into war with each other, & those on the other hand who deprecate above all things pro-slavery concessions on the part of the North.⁵ –

¹ See *CEN* 79, note 4.

² In March 1861 Blanche Clough wrote to Norton's sister that, although C was 'better', she could not 'feel very easy about him yet'; the water-cure had done him a lot of good, but 'left him weak', and he was suffering a great deal from rheumatism and neuralgia (*Corr.* 584).

³ In Norton's letter of 11 December 1860, he wrote that it was 'a bad time for literature'; the publishers were 'drawing in their undertakings' and C's poems were 'among [the] postponements' (*Norton*, I, 214–15).

⁴ Norton wrote that 'confusion and alarm [were] the order of the day'; the Southern States' secession had set them on the path to ruin, civil war was looming and Norton had little hope that the Union could be preserved. The only positive outcome would be the ending of slavery, and he hoped the North would stick firmly to its principles of 'liberty' and 'right' (*Norton*, I, 211–214).

⁵ The *Saturday Review* predicted that, should civil war break out, the scarcity of food in the 'rebellious States', arising from their concentration on the cultivation of cotton, and over-reliance on the North for meat and grain supplies, promised a conflict 'sharp but short' ('Events in America', 11 [1861], 82–83 [p. 83]). Richard Holt Hutton in the *National Review* warned that it would be 'pure political suicide' for the Republicans to make any 'damaging concessions', such as a 'second Missouri Compromise' to the South (see *RWE* 17, note 2), or to attempt a 'shameful reconciliation'; far better to permit the

As for ourselves I think on the whole that the *national* feeling towards France is improving – the new treaty is, I imagine, well thought of by commercial & manufacturing people; & the operative population I should think was on the whole much conciliated in the last two years by the French liberation of Italy.⁶ They say indeed that in France at present there is a strong feeling of dislike to the Sardinians and in many classes a real sympathy for the ex King of Naples.⁷ But that is not sufficiently marked to have any great effect on our people – who feel generally that the French has been the liberal policy.⁸ –

As for books – Motley⁹ & Carlyle's¹⁰ autobiography are I think the most esteemed at present – Did you read Patmore's *Faithful for Ever*? I like it, on the whole, better than

secession of South Carolina and those inclined to join her, than to abandon hard-held principles ('The Slave States and the American Union', 12 [1861], 249–271 [pp. 270, 271]).

⁶ See *CEN* 76, note 12; there was considerable support amongst English working class radicals for the Italian nationalist cause. Political exiles, like Mazzini were an inspiration for their own struggle for economic and political reform and Garibaldi was a national hero among all classes (Giles Radice, *Offshore: Britain and the European Idea* [London: I. B. Tauris, 1992], p. 60).

⁷ The King of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel II, became the first King of Italy in 1861 after the conquest of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (comprising Sicily and Naples) by Garibaldi (see *CEN* 64, note 8; *CEN* 79, note 9).

⁸ According to the *Saturday Review*, there was a possibility that the principal object of Emperor Napoleon's intervention to end the siege of Gaeta, which overthrew Francis II, King of Naples (see *CEN* 79, note 8) was to 'throw dust in the eyes of Legitimists and Romanizers' in France. The cause of the Pope and the Bourbons was apparently 'fashionable in French society' and might therefore 'deserve ostensible countenance from the Government' ('France and Italy', 11 [1861], 30–31 [p. 31]).

⁹ The *Westminster Review* was full of praise for the *History of the United Netherlands, from the Death of William the Silent to the Synod of Dort* (London: John Murray, 1860) by the American historian, John Lothrop Motley. During that short period in the sixteenth century, papal supremacy had come to be regarded as an 'antiquated delusion', and freedom of conscience rather than 'ecclesiastical dictation' was becoming the guiding principle. Motley recounts how Philip of Spain, the 'divinely appointed' ruler of much of the known world, including America, Italy and the Netherlands, was frustrated in his ambition to add England and France to his possessions by the combined might of Elizabeth Tudor, that great Queen with 'despotic appetencies', and the Dutch Republic. Motley's history documents the gathering of the 'Invincible Armada' and the preparation of the 'Spanish Roman achinery' to dethrone Elizabeth and establish the Inquisition in England. 'Little' England with a population of only 4 million went forward to the 'death-grapple' with its 'gigantic antagonist' as 'cheerfully as to a long expected holiday' ('History and Biography', (19 [1861], 274–290 [pp. 281, 283, 284]).

¹⁰ In the opinion of James Moncrieff in the *North British Review*, the *Autobiography of the Rev. Dr Alexander Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk* (1722–1805) painted a 'melancholy' picture of 18th century Scottish life, an age 'incredulous of faith and intolerant of earnestness', in contrast to the present day, when the 'cant of scepticism' – 'sneer[ing] with Voltaire' – was considered 'vulgar' rather than 'enlightened or liberal'. Carlyle gives a 'vivid' sketch of his contemporaries: the 'Pretender', David Hume and Adam Smith, and comes across himself as a man of the world, fond of 'supping at questionable taverns', and 'full of animal spirits'; but the reviewer regrets the omission of any allusion to his 'sacred' duties or concern for his flock (34 [1861], 239–254 [pp. 239, 240, 246, 247]).

the others.¹¹ If Matt. Arnold's Lectures on Homer reach you, look at them.¹² –

I saw Cumin the other day, who expressed his sorrow for not having seen you at Boston. M^r Ticknor told him you were absent. Many thanks to you for your kindness to him at Newport where he appears to have enjoyed himself very much.¹³ I shall send this, brief as it is, for the sake of re-establishing communication – I hope you will forgive its shortness & meagreness.

Farewell

Ever Yours affectionately

A H Clough

MS H

Corr. 583–4 (part-published).

¹¹ See *CEN* 36, note 4; *Faithful for Ever* (London: John Parker & Sons, 1860) received generally negative reviews; the *Critic* found the story, told in a series of letters, of an aristocrat disappointed in love who marries beneath him, 'stale, flat' and 'pointless' ('Poetry', 21 [1860], p. 479). And a review in the *British Quarterly Review* complained that the lyrical style in which the correspondents wrote to each other was unnatural and contrived, while Patmore's use of the tetrameter made the poem 'monotonous' (33 [1861], 142–150 [pp. 142, 144]). C's use of the epistolary form in *Amours de Voyage*, was, arguably, much more successful in that the irregular hexameter was flexible enough to accommodate the cadence of everyday speech and the language of different social groups. Patmore recommended the tetrameter for 'erotic' poems because it was the most fluent (least end-stopped) and 'joyous' of English metres ('English Metrical Critics', *North British Review*, 27 [1857], 127–161 [p. 144]).

¹² See *CEN* 79, note 18; according to Arnold, the chief characteristics of Homer's verse were: 'rapidity of movement, simplicity of structure and idea, and a grandness of style'. He agreed with C that neither Chapman, Cowper or Pope had been successful in reproducing all these qualities, and, like C, he approved of Dr Hawtrey's hexameters (*CEN* 26:3). His advice to future translators of Homer was to cultivate the Greek virtue of 'moderation'; to achieve the 'perfect, 'lovely', 'grandeur' of Homer's verse required English 'vigour' to be tempered somewhat with Greek 'grace' (*On Translating Homer: Three Lectures given at Oxford* [London: Longman Green, 1861], pp. 48, 65, 77, 103, 104).

¹³ See *CEN* 77.

81.

10 March 1861

My dear Charles

Many thanks for your letter of the 10th Feb^y.¹ I wrote about three weeks ago to you at *Newport* supposing you would be there – I hope your being at Shady Hill may be understood to prove that you are generally stronger.² I am a good deal better myself & have no very good excuse for not writing beyond the advice which is given me to indulge in laziness. Had I had 6 months leave proclaimed to me from beforehand, I should have naturally thought of coming over to see you in America, but what with Water cure etc etc, I don't think I shall even go abroad to the Continent for more than a month.³ –

I am glad to hear you speak so hopefully of your future – Much however will I suppose in any case depend on the good sense & character of your new President & his advisers – I for my part should suppose that an attempt to retake the federal forts would be unwise. – You are strong enough not to need it.⁴

¹ C and his family were staying in a hotel near the Tennysons' home at Farringford, where C spent many evenings (*Corr.* 584); in July that same year, C met the Tennysons again while they were touring southern France (*Corr.* 591).

² Norton wrote to C from 'Shady Hill' on 10 February 1861; the previous summer, 'knocked up' by the heat and 'overfatigue', he had collapsed on his way to a holiday in the Adirondack mountains with the Lowells and Stillman (see *CEN* 70, note 18; 75, note 7) and was forced to return home to convalesce (Turner, p. 165).

³ See *CEN* 79, note 4; *CEN* 80, note 1.

⁴ Norton was optimistic that the secession of the Southern slave states and creation of the Confederacy would ultimately prove advantageous to the North, and would permanently weaken slavery. Although he thought it desirable to keep the 'northern tier' of Slave States united with the 'Free', if they did secede, it would mean the North no longer had any 'connection with or responsibility, for Slavery'. The South had taken various 'hasty, violent and reckless steps' because it preferred revolution to 'honest acknowledgement of defeat and submission to it'. Competition for cotton would render slave labour unprofitable so slave owners would cease to defend slavery as a 'Divine' Institution. In Norton's view, civil war was a remote possibility, but the North would be ready to fight to maintain 'the authority of the Civil government'. Lincoln, who would be inaugurated on 4th March, had shown 'great courage and dignity in holding his tongue so completely since his election' (*Norton*, I, 216–218). Norton's assessment of the situation was ill-founded and his letter was quickly overtaken by events when on April 12 1861 Confederate forces opened fire on the Union garrison at Fort Sumter which marked the beginning of the American Civil War.

Emerson's new Essays were to me quite as good as, if not better than, any former volume.⁵ The Reviews are no great index of public interest, unless you collect a vast number. There are now so many local reviews, & people with us depend so very little on Athenaeums & Literary Gazettes or even Saturday Reviews.⁶ An article in the Times is the really important thing for a book to get with a view to sale – but even that proves little as to people's interest. – There is a vast deal of anti-mysticism, & of a dense, supercilious, narrow-minded common sense which of course speaks pretty loudly –

Please thank Child for a letter which I hope to answer soon. I am quite ashamed not to have done so already –

farewell – with kindest remembrances

Ever Your's [sic] affectionately

A. H. Clough

MS H

PR 256 (part-published).

⁵ See *RWE* 23, note 7; according to Norton, Emerson's essays in *The Conduct of Life* had been a great success – selling 10,000 copies – and had been much more favourably received in America than in England. Norton was unsurprised by the 'abusive vulgarity' of an article in the *Saturday Review*, for every year the 'imaginative and mystic element of the intellect' in literature was increasingly being denigrated by English critics (*Norton*, I, 218).

⁶ The harshly-worded critique of *The Conduct of Life* in the *Saturday Review* noted sneeringly that, while in England the taste for 'mystical and popular' writings had declined, Emerson still managed to write, in an unintelligible form, what Americans seemed for some strange reason to relish – the 'dreariest of all dreary platitudes' in mystical language'. His works '[were] nothing, [meant] nothing and [said] nothing', but went down 'like bottled velvet'. The critic listed several examples of where Emerson had 'enlivened triviality with extravagance', including an essay on worship which, 'after maundering through the usual pantheistic commonplaces' descended into a kind of parable which 'read like an emasculate passage of Walt Whitman'. The reviewer concluded that Emerson's book was a 'continuous stream of twaddle, relieved by nonsense' (*Saturday Review*, 'The Conduct of Life', 10 [1860], 762–763 [pp. 762]). Other British journals, such as the *London Review and Weekly Journal of Politics, Literature etc*, which likened Emerson's treatment of his lofty theme to an 'Irish cabin with a portico of Parian marble', were similarly damning (2 [1861], p.190), but there was no review of *The Conduct of Life* in *The Times*.

London, July 4, 1861

My dear Charles

On coming back from abroad ten days ago I received two letters from you – one of which I had received *by copy* from my wife at Athens – Many thanks for them – they were very interesting, & I hope you will not be discouraged by my brief acknowledgements from writing further¹ – I am still invalided & am to go abroad again the day after tomorrow. I have achieved a good deal already having seen Athens & Constantinople – I now go to Switzerland.² I was half-tempted to come over to pay you the visit you so kindly proposed – but I should have had to return early in September – & I hope some year to spend a September on your side.³

I have just made a call on a former acquaintance in America, Miss Elizabeth Hoare of Concord, who brought me a letter from Emerson moreover⁴ – She tells me that in New England she believes people do not expect that the Southern States will ever be brought back in to the Union & that it is not the object simply to make them return – it being indeed hardly possible that the States, North & South, should ever again live together in Union. But that the war is rather in vindication of the North & its rights, which have been trampled upon by the South. – Is this true in your judgement?⁵ Certainly it does seem hardly conceivable that South Carolina should ever return – On what terms then

¹ Norton wrote on 10th April 1861, largely about the imminent Civil War, and again on 27th May, after the fall of Fort Sumter (see *CEN* 81, note 4), (*Norton*, I, 228–31; 234).

² C had just returned from Greece and Constantinople, but was reluctantly obliged to leave home again in July – this time to go to the Auvergne and the Pyrenees in an attempt to recover his health (see *RWE* 23, note 2).

³ Norton's obliquely worded invitation was contained in his letter of 10th April, 1861 (*Norton*, I, 228).

⁴ Emerson wrote to C on 16 April 1861 (*Corr.* 585), commending to C's 'kind regards' Miss Elizabeth Hoar, who was about to sail to England with her niece; she was apparently a 'woman of considerable intellectual power' who had been engaged to Emerson's brother Charles, and remained a close friend of the Emersons after his death in 1836 (Margaret Fuller, *The Woman and the Myth: Margaret Fuller's Life and Writings*, ed. by Bell Gale Chevigny [Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1994], p. 89).

⁵ See *CEN* 81, note 4; Norton, too, was initially doubtful whether North and South could ever be reconciled; the bombardment of Fort Sumter had hardened the North's resolve to save the Union, and vindicated their desire for order, law and democracy (*Norton*, I, 234).

wo^d the North be willing to make peace,⁶ & what conditions would it require in limine before entering upon the question of separation?⁷ –

As for the feeling here – You must always expect statesmen to be cold in their language & the newspapers impertinent & often brutal. Beyond this, I think people here had been led to suppose at the outset that the Northern feeling was strong against Civil War (& so it was I suppose) & that the principle of separation was conceded – the indignation being merely at the mode adopted for obtaining it: – And the attack on Fort Sumter which caused so sudden a revulsion of feeling with you was naturally attended with no such change here – But coexisting with all this I believe there is a great amount of strong feeling in favour of the North –

Technically we are wrong, I suppose, & as a matter of feeling we are guilty of an outrage in recognizing the South as a belligerent power, but as a matter of convenience between your government & ours I suppose the thing is best as it is.⁸

Miss Hoare will take to Emerson 4 photographs of Rowse's picture of me: one for you – the photographer was not very successful, but it may be better than nothing.⁹ –

⁶ Norton dismissed reports in the English press about 'discord' and 'want of heart' on the part of the North; their aim was to save the Union and re-establish the 'Government of the United States' over the whole country and to end slavery (*Norton*, I, 256).

⁷ 'at the threshold' [Latin] – a legal term referring to a judge's ruling before a trial as to what evidence can be allowed.

⁸ England's primary concern was the damage civil war would do to the British cotton industry (see *RWE* 23, note 5). Even as late as January 1861, *The Times* still believed that conflict could be avoided; from the tone of bipartisan negotiations, it detected a desire for compromise – the North would not be too rigid, and the slave-owners would receive what all but the 'most rabid' of them would consider satisfactory (9 January 1861, p. 8). It later reiterated the hope that, if the two halves of the late Union were destined to separation, the change might be accomplished without the spilling of blood. The subsequent attack on Fort Sumter provoked the comment that 'it would be a great political error, not to say a crime if the Republican President should plunge the New World into a calamitous and bloody war for the sake of his principles' (19 April 1861, p. 8). England had no wish to be drawn into the American Civil War and on 15 May 1861 Lord John Russell issued a Proclamation acknowledging the 'belligerent rights' of the contending parties: 'the Government of the United States of America' and 'certain states styling themselves "the Confederate States of America"'; the dual object was to warn all the 'Queen's subjects' emphatically against 'any breach of the most complete and absolute neutrality', and to emphasise England's determination to 'act with the most perfect fairness' towards both sides (*The Times*, 15 May 1861, p. 8).

⁹ See note 4 above.

My nervous energy is pretty nearly spent for to day – so I must come to a stop – I have leave till November & by that time I hope I shall be strong again for another good spell of work. – Lord Campbell’s death is rather the characteristic death of the English political man – In the cabinet, on the bench, & at a dinner party, busy, animated, & full of effort to day & in the early morning a vessel has burst ... It’s a wonder they last so long.¹⁰ – I shall resign, if it proves much of [a] strain to me to go on at this official work –
farewell
Ever Yours

Where is Stillman?

A.H.Clough

MS H

PR 269–71 (part-published).

¹⁰ *The Times* announced the sudden death, on June 23rd 1861, of Lord Chancellor Campbell, ‘one of the most notable judges that ever sat in the court of Queen’s Bench’; he had attended a Cabinet meeting and entertained a party at dinner in his usual ‘health and spirits’ and was then found dead the following morning (‘Death of Lord Chancellor Campbell’, 24 June 1861, p. 9).

(iii) **Clough's letters to James Russell Lowell (1819–91) – (JRL)**

There is a stone tablet and stained glass window in Westminster Abbey in memory of the American poet and writer, James Russell Lowell, United States Minister at the Court of St. James from 1880–1885. Lowell, referred to by Longfellow in a letter, simply as 'the poet', was present at a reading of Clough's 'very admirable' poem, *The Bothie*, in 1849 (*Corr.* 233), but they did not meet until nearly three years later – on board the royal mail ship *Canada* bound for America (Lowell was the model for the lawyer of 'the New England ancient blood' in Clough's poem, *Mari Magno*).¹ Lowell was returning home from a fifteen-month tour of Europe, and Clough noted that he was 'very friendly indeed'; he recommended Clough open a school for boys preparing for college, an idea Clough toyed with throughout his stay in New England (*Corr.* 326).

Clough, modestly unaware that his work was known in America, was astonished when, during a celebratory dinner the evening before the ship docked at Boston, Lowell proposed a toast to the health of 'the English poet'. During the discussion of slavery that followed, Clough discovered that the Lowells were 'fervent abolitionizers', in contrast to the more moderate views of some of the other Americans who later befriended him (*Corr.* 328). Lowell soon became a close friend, and Clough dined with him every Thursday at his home, 'Elmwood', during his time in Cambridge.² On his first visit there he was regaled with stories of America before independence by Lowell's 'stone deaf' father (*Corr.* 347). Lowell's name was also prominent among the referees in C's advertisement for private pupils in the *Boston Advertiser* (*Corr.* 340).

Clough's correspondence with Lowell opens with a poem from Lowell, written in hexameters and studded with literary allusions, inviting Clough to Christmas dinner at 'Elmwood' (*Corr.* 352–3). Clough's reply, in similar light-hearted vein, was addressed to his 'Brother Hexametrist' (*JRL* 1). Like Clough, Lowell had experimented with the hexameter form in his youth,³ and in a later essay he credits Longfellow's *Evangeline* and Clough's *The Bothie* – a poem 'whose singular merit' had 'hitherto failed of the

¹ *Poems*, 374.

² Henry James, *William Wetmore Story and his Friends*, 2 vols (Houghton Mifflin: Boston 1904), I, 268.

³ James Russell Lowell, *Heartsease and Rue* (Boston & New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1888), p. 81.

wide appreciation it deserve[d]’ – for popularising what he couldn’t help but regard as this ‘dangerous and deceitful’ new metre in English.⁴

So impressed was Lowell by what he constantly referred to as C’s ‘genius’, and so anxious to help get him published in the States, that he asked his friend C. R. Briggs, editor of the newly launched *Putnam’s Magazine*, if he could write a review of *The Bothie* – ‘one of the most charming books ever written’, and quite on a par with *The Vicar of Wakefield*.⁵ Clough subsequently received several commissions from *Putnam’s*, and the few months he spent in New England were marked by the publication of no fewer than seven poems and articles in *Putnam’s* and other American magazines.⁶

Lowell, no less than Clough’s other American friends, deeply regretted the loss of their ‘Lycidas’ when Clough returned to England, particularly as he had been endeavouring to obtain a lucrative lectureship for him (*Corr.* 414, 464). He wrote begging to be informed of anything Clough wrote in the future, declaring that he ‘would walk in to the Athenaeum for anything of Parepidemus’s’⁷ (*Corr.* 466). Perhaps the most significant role that Lowell played in Clough’s life was when, as first editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, he managed, despite Clough’s dilatoriness, to publish *Amours de Voyage*, a poem he admired even more than *The Bothie*, for its ‘exquisite shading of character and refined force of expression’ (*Corr.* 536–7).

After Clough’s death, in the introduction to the second series of *The Biglow Papers* in which he attempted to reproduce authentic ‘Yankee’ dialogue, Lowell acknowledged his debt to Clough, who had often suggested he try his hand at some ‘Yankee Pastorals’, which ‘would admit of more sentiment and a higher tone without foregoing the advantage offered by dialect’.⁸ Clough apparently also encouraged Lowell to return to another project started some years earlier – a collection of humorous and satirical tales in verse, part of which was eventually published in 1888 under the title ‘Fitz Adam’s

⁴ ‘Reviews and Literary Notices’, *Atlantic Monthly*, 3 (1859), 129–13 (p. 130).

⁵ Horace Elisha Scudder, *James Russell Lowell: A Biography*, 2 vols (Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1901), I, 347.

⁶ Appendix 2.

⁷ *PR* 381–98.

⁸ James Russell Lowell, *The Biglow Papers* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1867), p. lxxviii).

Story'.⁹ The titular character bears a remarkable similarity to Clough in a number of respects: an unworldly, 'sweetly shy', somewhat cynical radical, who yet 'loathed democracy', 'lived uneasy on the Other Side', and came West in an unsuccessful bid 'to give his Old-World appetite new zest'.

⁹ *The Complete Poetical Works of James Russell Lowell*, ed. by Horace E. Scudder (Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1897), 411–21 (p. 412).

1.

[24 December 1852]¹

Brother Hexametrist

Is it not given, or am I confusing, as an axiom in Peirce² or postulate in Euclid,³ that a monad⁴ in space cannot eat two several dinners at the same hour of the day & in two different houses; he therefore, who is engaged to partake of turkey & pie with M^r & M^{rs} Longfellow at M^r Appleton's table cannot,⁵ he grieves to infer, hope also to take them at Elmwood.

Such is this life! In a better world when we keep Merry Xmas we shall be able perhaps to eat simultaneous turkey with each one of our friends in each of the many mansions;⁶ here, – good wishes, alas, & the compliments of the season, pending a happier time, are all that can on this occasion wait upon you & yours from

Yours sincerely

A.H. Clough

¹ Dated by the reference to Christmas in the letter, Lowell's letter of invitation (*Corr.* 351–52), and the fact that 24 December 1852 was a Friday.

² Benjamin Peirce (1809–1880), the American mathematician and Harvard tutor whom C met in March 1853 (*Corr.* 396). In his letter to C the previous day, Lowell had referred to C 'hard-studying Pierce [sic]' in preparation for the private lessons he was giving in the Classics and Mathematics (*Corr.* 351).

³ The geometry of Euclid's *Elements* is based on five 'postulates' or assertions of what can be constructed in geometry.

⁴ 'monad': the number one, unity; an arithmetical unit in which numbers were regarded as real entities and as primordial principles of being (*OED*).

⁵ Thomas Gold Appleton (1812–1884); the American poet and patron of the arts whose sister Frances Appleton was married to Longfellow (see *HWL* 1, note 31).

⁶ 'In my Father's house are many mansions' (John 14.2); a rather gentle biblical allusion, which would have been considered disrespectful at the time.

M^{rs} Howe's, Friday morning⁷

¼ after 11

Pray remember me kindly to Crowe,⁸ who I hope is in good feather;⁹ at the lecture this evening we may perhaps all meet together. Thackeray was to have been at a party to which I was taken last night at 10 o'clock in the house of a M^{rs} Bacon,¹⁰ but was gone to attend – on *Providence*, as I heard it. Is he to lecture to night?¹¹ I did hear he had deferred it. I haven't seen him – have you? I wish I had but it's endless calling at an hotel upon people not wholly friendless – there are a hundred places of course where his company's needed. Were you at the first lecture, – I hear everywhere it succeeded¹² – farewell. I've given you almost as long a lecture as he did – –

MS H

Corr. 352–3 (published in full).

⁷ C lodged with the Howes when he first arrived in Boston (see Introduction, p. 12).

⁸ The painter, Eyre Crowe (1824–1910), who acted as Thackeray's secretary and was a fellow passenger on the *Canada* during C's voyage to America (see Introduction, p. 12).

⁹ 'in good feather' – in good health.

¹⁰ Delia Bacon (1811–1859), author of the controversial *The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare Unfolded* (London: Groombridge, 1857), which questioned the authorship of Shakespeare's plays, and which Emerson enlisted C's help in publishing (*Corr.* 317).

¹¹ Thackeray lectured in Providence, Rhode Island, on December 22nd, where the audience was 'large' and 'appreciative' (Eyre Crowe, *With Thackeray in America* [New York: Charles Scribner, 1893], p. 68). A possible allusion to Seneca's essay *De Providentia* ['On Providence'].

¹² Thackeray delivered his first lecture, on Dean Swift, to a crowded audience in New York on 19th November 1852 (*The Times*, 6 December 1852, p. 4).

2.

[c. 8 August 1853]¹

My dear Lowell

Instead of dining with you quietly as I should have done, I was on the Friday after I left you some 600 miles out at sea² –

I had no intention however even then of postponing my return beyond September; & no thought that I should instal myself in H.M. Council Office, Downing S^t³ —

My friends here had written to me unfavourably of the place; & so I considered the answer which I had sent wo^d be understood as a simple refusal – –

However when I came over I found that they were no longer unfavourable, & the security of so much per annum, added to the logic, that if I staid, I co^d yet come out; whereas if I gave up this, I sho^d probably have no further chance of returning, decided me – – –

Thackeray is not here – he has been in Paris mostly since his return –

He has got a very good price they say for his forthcoming ‘serial’ – which is to be called “The _____” Somethings – the Clarks, or the Joneses or the – Somebodies, I forget what⁴ – He won’t come out to America till it is over, I suppose. — He came back they say in great spirits, & full of the kindness he had experienced⁵ —

¹ Dated by reference to C’s departure from America and the reference in the continuation part of the letter dated 18th August to ‘ten days ago’.

² C, in company with Lowell and Longfellow, dined with Norton at his club on Friday 24th June 1853, five days before he set sail from New York for England (*Corr.* 451).

³ See Introduction, p. 14 and *CEN* 4, notes 4 and 5.

⁴ See *CEN* 15, note 26.

⁵ Thackeray returned to America for a second lecture tour on ‘the Georges’, in October 1855 (see *RWE* 20, note 3).

For my own part, I confess to have felt rather disgusted at my own country – specially London – upon my revisiting it – I certainly [think] there is more *knowledge* here; but knowledge, it is said, puffeth up; and in the other things that edify, I think you are better off⁶ —

However here, in the mid-metropolis I am to remain without stirring till X'mas – Official life will be rather tedious as it goes on, I do not doubt; & don't know how long I shall stick to it – But at present it is rather a pleasant variation to the pedagogy⁷ to which I have been subjected in “voluntary servitude” for the last 14 years⁸ – Do you know I find that Miss H. Russell is cousin to some one I know very well here – indelicet,⁹ the wife of an old college friend of mine – one of the first persons I went to see on returning — & she was neé, Miss Vincent Thomson – She asked me at once about her cousin – whom I beg you will apprise when she next visits you, of this discovery – which it is odd I sho^d never have made –

I don't know that there is much in the way of gossip to tell you. Macaulay is still invaliding but is not going to die so far as appears. His 1st speech in Parl^t this Session was a great success; his 2^d was comparatively a failure – he had to stop in the middle, having expected to speak first & then to *dine*,¹⁰ whereas Joe Hume got the start & kept him waiting dinnerless, & senza niente¹¹ since breakfast for a couple of hours or so¹² –

⁶ ‘Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth’ (I *Corinthians* 8.1); Cp. *Amours de Voyage*: ‘Faith, I think, does pass, and Love; but Knowledge abideth’ (*Poems*, 132).

⁷ C was Fellow and Tutor at Oriel from 1842–1849, and then Principal of University Hall until 1852 (see Introduction, p. 11); in a letter to Tom Arnold he questioned the usefulness of ‘paedagogy’, describing it as ‘crambe repetita’ [reheated cabbage]; (*Corr.* 278–279).

⁸ In *The Discourse on Voluntary Servitude*, the French philosopher Étienne de La Boétie (1530–63) argued that men submit voluntarily to tyrannous rulers.

⁹ ‘Thence it is allowed’ [Latin].

¹⁰ See *RWE* 9, note 8; *CEN* 5, note 4; *CEN* 32, note 10; on July 19th 1853, Macaulay, MP for Edinburgh, made an ‘elaborate’ speech in support of a bill modifying an unpopular tax for the support of Presbyterian ministers in Edinburgh, which was received with ‘vehement applause’ (*Morning Post*, 25 July 1853, p. 6).

¹¹ ‘without anything’ [Italian].

¹² Probably a lengthy debate on 21/22 July, during which the radical MP for the Borders, Joseph Hume (1777–1855) objected to the establishment of examinations as the sole means of future entry to the Civil Service (*Morning Chronicle*, 25 July 1853, p. 4).

I hear little or nothing said of your enemy Alex^r Smith.¹³ People talk mostly about the Camp at Chobham,¹⁴ & the news from Constantinople.¹⁵ There is actually so strong a party of Greeks here, that a newspaper has been set up on purpose to propagate their views¹⁶ –

Farewell for the present – I shall probably add another sheet or ½ sheet –

Aug 18

My dear Lowell –

This letter has lingered I don't know how long – I sealed it with the Official Seal with Her Majesty's Royal Coat of Arms & that made it too heavy; & I thought H M Coat of Arms wasn't worth an extra shilling, so not being able to change envelopes at the post I didn't send the letter then.¹⁷

However I am living on in the same way, & what was true ten days ago continues true to day – a somewhat oriental observation.¹⁸ In the West it is otherwise, so pray write & tell me what has become true since I came away on the further shore of the sea. Here as you see by the public prints the Turkish Question e.g. remains as much as a question as ever, & as any thing else.¹⁹

¹³ See *CEN* 46, note 11; Appendix 2; in Lowell's opinion, Alexander Smith's book was 'no more a poem than a brush-heap is a tree' (*Letters of James Russell*, ed. by Charles Eliot Norton, 2 vols [New York: Harper, 1894], I, 210).

¹⁴ In June 1853, the increased threat of war in the Crimea led to the setting-up of a large-scale military training camp on Chobham Common, Surrey, which attracted 100,000 visitors a day. According to *The Times*, the 'Chobham experiment' demonstrated Britain's 'admirable army', 'well-organised militia' and an 'artillery second to none' ('The Camp at Chobham', 12 July 1853, p. 5).

¹⁵ See *HWL* 1, note 20.

¹⁶ The avowed aim of the London-based 'friends of Greece' was the emancipation of Greece and the establishment of an empire in the east with Constantinople as its capital; the Greeks no more wanted to live under the dominion of Russia, than the 'tyranny of Turkey' ('Emancipation of Greece', *Morning Chronicle*, 30 September 1853, p. 3).

¹⁷ Queen Victoria's coat of arms consisted of the three lions of England, the lion of Scotland and the harp of Ireland, with the motto 'Dieu et Mon Droit'.

¹⁸ An illustration of the nineteenth-century view of 'the oriental' as a kind of ideal and unchanging abstraction.

¹⁹ See *HWL* 1, note 20.

Farewell. My kindest remembrances at Elmwood – to your wife, your father²⁰ & Mabel, my engagements to whom I do not forget.²¹

Ever Yours most truly

A. H. Clough

Council Office

Whitehall – is what will find me’.

MS H

Corr. 458–9 (part-published).

²⁰ The Unitarian minister, Charles Russell Lowell (1782–1861); (see Introduction to this section, p. 371).

²¹ Lowell’s second daughter Mabel (1847–1898).

3.

My dear Lowell

Your letter was extremely welcome & was a great pleasure¹ –

The last ten days however, have brought me through Charles Norton the news of your loss² –

Certainly it is impossible for any one who has not experienced a similar deprivation to say anything that can really be to the purpose – I myself have lost a father & a brother, but had not lived much with either & what is perhaps more, did not anticipate ever living much with them – The case must be very different with you.³ Still I do not doubt that though lapse of time will in some senses only make you feel the loss the more, it has also abundance of interest and of action for you, and if one holds the belief as I myself cannot help doing, that the dead do continue to exist, & retain relations with this world, that is after all the great thing.⁴ – –

I often wish myself back in America I assure you – & can't help thinking that I shall somehow come back again – Farewell

J. R. Lowell Esq.

Elmswood

Cambridge

¹ Lowell wrote to C on 10th October 1853 (*Corr.* 464).

² Lowell's wife, the American poet Maria White Lowell, died on 27th October, 1853; on 25th November, Norton wrote that Lowell's 'heart was full of grief', but that he was 'bear[ing] up against depression' with 'a most manly courage' (*Norton*, I, 100).

³ See *CEN* 9, note 4.

⁴ Despite C's religious scepticism, it seems he continued to believe in some sort of life after death and explored the possibility in some of his poems; for example, 'What we, when face to face we see' ('Through a Glass Darkly'), probably written in America – 'for still we hope / That, in a world of larger scope, / What here is faithfully begun / Will be completed, not undone' (*Poems*, 341–42; 749). He was interested in articles on mesmerism, and the paranormal, but dismissed table-turning as being 'too much into the 'quasi-quack line' (see *RWE* 19, note 23), and was also sceptical about 'rapping' (*Corr.* 416).

[Cross-hatched across the top]

I enclose this to Chas Norton⁵ – but I shall hope to write again before long — My friend Arnold has been publishing again – I wonder whether you will like the Gipsy Scholar.⁶ Farewell. I must be off (the official day has intervened & ended since I wrote this morning) or else I shall miss the post.

Ever Yours, most truly

A H Clough

Decr. 2d [1853]⁷

MS *H*

Corr. 469 (published in full).

⁵ Lowell's letter was enclosed with a letter to Norton (see *CEN* 10, note 6).

⁶ See *CEN* 10, note 8; *CEN* 11, note 7.

⁷ Year dated by the reference to the death of Lowell's wife.

4.

Council Office

5 June [1856]¹

Saturday

Dear Lowell

We shall have luncheon or a something between that & dinner at ¼ to 2 on Monday –
So pray come if you can to that and I shall fancy myself again your guest at Elmwood. I
have some misgivings as to the possibility of the visit to Windsor, if you really go on
Saturday² – but I hope I may see Mr & Mrs Story after that³ –

Ever Yours most truly

A.H. Clough

MS H

No previous publication traced.

¹ 5 June 1856 was a Thursday so it could have been 5 July which was a Saturday; the year was almost certainly 1856 as C saw Lowell 'for an hour or two' on August 2nd 1856 in England (see *CEN* 33, note 3).

² It appears that Lowell used to visit Queen Victoria at Windsor (Stanley Weintraub, *Victorian Yankees at Queen Victoria's Court* ([Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2011], p. 239). Lowell's relations with the Queen appear in George W Smalley, *Anglo-American Memories* (London: Duckworth, 1910) 174, 374–88.

³ See *RWE* 6, note 14; William Wetmore Story and his wife were staying at Windsor.

5.

Dear Lowell

Please accept the small enclosed with our love for Mabel whose initials are somewhat rudely engraved on it.¹

I have told Galton that you will consider him introduced – He is rather an overworked official, but he is a good sort of man & may come out perhaps in holiday times.²

Ever Yours,

A. H. Clough

Council Office, Downing St

30th July [1856]³

MS *H*

No previous publication traced.

¹ See *JRL* 2, note 21.

² Sir Douglas Strutt Galton (1822–1899), whose wife Mary Anne was a cousin of Florence Nightingale, was secretary to the railway department of the Board of Trade, and visited the United States in 1856 with Robert Lowe MP (see *CEN* 66, note 9), to inspect the railways there.

³ Year dated by the reference to Sir Douglas Galton's visit to the US.

6.

My dear Lowell

I hope you have re-established yourself happily in your native land¹ – Galton I hear was sick all the way, so you cannot have seen much of him² – I gave a few lines to a youth named Coltman [sic]³: I don't know whether he has turned up; he left a fortnight after you – he is a nice fellow I think, but I don't know very much of him. He is in the pleasant flower of adolescence, which gives some charm to those who afterwards turn out unremarkable enough –

The Nortons reappeared in England not long after you left & [are] now touring about seeing cathedrals, and colleges, & castles etc etc.⁴ Chas Norton, they seemed to have already decided, would stay another winter on our side the water⁵ – the rest of the family returning in October with D^r Palfrey.⁶ They promised all to come to London at the end of this month to say goodbye. I hope they will, for I mean to go off *from* London early in October to take some holiday & forget the office & the town for a month at least⁷ –

Emerson's long announced book comes out at last for a shilling – quite a disappointment – It sho^d have been 3 vols 8^{vo}, 32s/6. I think he praises more than we deserve – & I suppose most of his countrymen will be of that opinion⁸ – However I have not read all & perhaps have the alteram partem yet to encounter⁹ – The world at

¹ Lowell had been on a tour of Europe (see *CEN* 28, note 5); he met C prior to his return to the USA on 2nd August 1856 (see *CEN* 33, note 3).

² See *JRL* 5, note 2.

³ Charles Russell Codman (see *FJC* 5, note 8).

⁴ The more Norton got to know England, the more 'beautiful and interesting' he found it; he wrote that the English did not fully appreciate all 'the wonders of art and building' they had seen, including Salisbury, Stonehenge, Stratford-upon-Avon and the Lake District (*Norton*, I, 149).

⁵ See *CEN* 36, note 2; in December 1856 Norton, still not in robust health, returned to Rome to spend the winter there.

⁶ See *RWE* 21, note 9; John Gorham Palfrey (1796–1881), first Dean of the Faculty of Divinity at Harvard and the Nortons' next-door neighbour, looked after Norton's mother and sisters on the return trip from Liverpool to Boston in late September 1856 (Turner, p. 137).

⁷ C spent his holiday at Freshwater on the Isle of Wight (see *CEN* 36; *Corr.* 520).

⁸ See *RWE* 21, note 2.

⁹ 'The other side' [Latin]; cp. C's poem 'Alteram Partem' (*Poems*, 301).

large I suppose has been much more occupied with *Dred*, which I think is very good in its strong satire against the religious, & also in its nigger parts; but the sentimental chapters are a mistake – & the whole thing perhaps has been rather done in a hurry¹⁰ –

Are you involved in the *civilibus undis*¹¹ of the presidential election or does Massachusetts remain undisturbed by reason of the thing being all secure there – Are your young men enlisting for Kansas? or staying at home to vote?¹² –

Here there is nothing going on, that shows itself – the Foreign Office is I dare say busy with finishing up some arrangement, final let us hope this time, about Central America¹³ —

Farewell – I hope before very long you will come over & see us again bringing Mabel with you to whom pray give my love.

Ever yours sincerely

A H Clough

Council Office, Downing St
Sept 11th [1856]¹⁴

MS H

Corr. 518–19 (published in full).

¹⁰ *Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp*, Harriet Beecher Stowe's follow-up to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (see *CEN* 4, notes 20–23) was based on the true story of a slave's legal battle to secure his freedom. The white characters observe the religious pieties of church attendance etc, but regard religion merely as a ticket purchased in order to secure eventual entrance to heaven, while they display a 'leadene indifference' to their neighbours (London: Sampson Low, 1856, pp. 33,34). The *Examiner* found the 'merely sentimental' part of the story defective, but thought it 'full of feeling and power', with the 'negro' characters sympathetically drawn (6 September 1856, 564–565 [p. 564]).

¹¹ 'the tide of civil life' (Horace, *Epistles*).

¹² See *CEN* 41, note 4.

¹³ See *FJC* 5, note 17; *The Times* reported another difficulty looming, after 'our narrow escape from war with the United States' – an American proposal to occupy the Isthmus to protect their citizens from attacks from New Granada, in violation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty ('The New Central American Difficulty', 11, 11 October 1856, p. 10).

¹⁴ Year dated by the reference to Lowell's visit to England in 1856.

7.

Dear Lowell

I was very glad indeed to hear from you¹ – I have no time to write anything like a letter just now, but will just answer you that I can't undertake to be Correspondent to the new Magazine² – I will see what I can do in other respects – but this is just the busiest time of our official twelve-months – In July I shall have some little holiday & will then write to you again & if possible send something³ —

I just saw Tom Appleton the other day, on the eve of departure by the *Persia*, which I hope however this he will be in time to catch.⁴ –

Farewell – Pray come over here every summer at the expense of the publishers of the Magazine & be your own Correspondent yourself⁵ –

Ever Yours

A H Clough

12th June [1857]⁶

MS B

Corr. 528 (published in full).

¹ Lowell wrote on 20th May, 1857 (*Corr.* 527–8).

² Lowell asked C if he would be their 'London Correspondent' for a new Boston magazine [*Atlantic Monthly*, see *CEN* 45, note 41], provide them with literary news, write the occasional poem and give them an article on the 'English Universities' (*Corr.* 528).

³ C went to Ambleside for his holiday.

⁴ See *CEN* 42, note 14; Appleton left England on the *Persia* on 13th June (*Life & Letters of Thomas Gold Appleton*, ed. by Susan Hale [New York: Appleton, 1885], p. 303).

⁵ Lowell did not visit England again until 1872.

⁶ Year dated by the reference to Lowell's letter of 20th May 1857 asking C to be the London correspondent for the *Atlantic Monthly*.

8.

[Education Department headed paper]

5th Jan^y 1858

Dear Lowell

I was very glad to have your letter yesterday,¹ – excepting only that I was sorry to be anticipated: having been on the point of writing to you for this long time² – First of all to offer our best wishes for your domestic happiness, the tidings of your marriage having about three weeks ago reached us³ – Pray present me to M^{rs} Lowell as one who by this time is really rising into the honours of an old friend, & who hopes some day on this side or on yours, to be presented in person –

Secondly, I wanted to give you, as in fairness I should have done long ago, some notion what the *Amours de Voyage* would come to – You have just got half – there will be two more reports, & then all will end in smoke⁴ – I am very glad you have left out the lines that would offend – I wanted the passage for the character: otherwise I had thought of leaving the whole of that letter out⁵ – Pray omit anything in this kind that seems to you undesirable – I shall leave some passages which otherwise I might alter, for this

¹ Lowell's letter was dated 21st December 1857 (*Corr.* 536/7).

² C hadn't written to Lowell since June the previous year (see *JRL* 7).

³ Lowell married Frances Dunlap, his daughter Mabel's governess, on September 16th 1857; she was, apparently, a perfect example of the 'New England type' – 'almost repellently shy' and 'glacially cold' at first, but 'highly cultured' and 'full of a keen appreciation of every word of Mr Lowell' (Horace Elisha Scudder, *James Russell Lowell: A Biography*, 2 vols [Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1901], I, 404).

⁴ Lowell wrote that his Christmas had been made 'pleasanter' by receiving the manuscripts of *Amours de Voyage*, (see *CEN* 48, note 3; 50, note 6), the first part of which was already 'in type' for the February issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*. He was now waiting impatiently for the third instalment (*Corr.* 536/7).

⁵ Lowell wrote that, as editor, he had reluctantly been forced to omit four verses of *Amours de Voyage* to avoid offending the 'so-called religious newspapers' (*Corr.* 537). He goes on to say that the verses in question were a 'paraphrase of Isaiah', which is true of five lines in Canto I, after line 142, where Claude, regretful at having sneered at the Trevellyns' middle-class 'pretensions', parodies Isaiah 1.13: 'the Music, the cards, and the tea so genteel and insipid' – were not 'vain oblations', and 'even the solemn meeting' was 'not iniquity' (*Poems* 98, 622).

exercise of your discretion⁶ – Believe me, I am much [more] doubtful about your prudence in putting in *any*, than in omitting some – I mean any part of this poem at all⁷ – It has been subjected to the orthodox maturity of the ninth year, but like poor wine it is I fear only the worse for not having been drunk & forgotten long ago⁸ –

The Monthly, I hope, makes its way⁹ – I am glad to see it so National – so little characterized by any mercantile importations from our side – I have a great distaste to the prevalent professional literature of the Metropolis – a fungoid vegetation springing up on the rotting remains of the giants of the old literary forest whose honours are no more¹⁰ –

[there is no end salutation or signature]

MS B

Corr. 537–8 (published in full).

⁶ Other omissions from the *Atlantic Monthly* text include: Canto II, Letter xi – the reference to ‘two different kinds ...of human attraction’ (*Poems*, 111, 632); Canto II, 304–12 – what Joseph Phelan calls ‘one of the poem’s characteristically oblique discussions of the nature of religious belief’ (Phelan, 114); ‘We...Manage to hold on our way without, like others around us, / Seizing the nearest arm to comfort, help, and support us’ (*Poems*, 112, 633); Canto V, 86–112. Claude almost believes he ‘had gained a religious assurance’, but immediately rejects the idea as ‘factitious entirely’, declaring ‘the Truth’ to be, ‘as ever’, ‘Flexible, changeable, vague, and multiform, and doubtful.’ (*Poems*, 129/30, 645); Canto V 156–165 (*Poems*, 131, 647). When C was preparing copy for the American book edition he apparently ‘regretted the extent of his earlier excisions’ and sent Norton two lists of revisions and additions to the text. Most of the additions were ‘passages from the earlier and longer manuscript versions of the poem, now to be restored to their original places’. The lists are at Harvard and along with the 1858 printed text are ‘the authoritative source for C’s final intentions about the *Amours* text’ (*The Early Editions of Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by Patrick Scott [New York & London: Garland, 1977], pp. 67–8).

⁷ Given his friends’ earlier reactions to *Amours* – Shairp advised him not to publish it (*Corr.* 275) and Matthew Arnold thought it was ‘a thing’ that did ‘not suit’ him (*The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by Howard Foster Lowry [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932; repr. 1968], p. 132), C was understandably apprehensive about the reception of his poem.

⁸ Cf Leviticus 25:22: ‘And ye shall sow the eighth year, and eat *yet* of old fruit until the ninth year.’

⁹ The *Atlantic Monthly* (see *CEN* 45, note 41).

¹⁰ C’s unflattering comments about his national literature contrasts with the more positive opinions expressed in letters to his other American correspondents (see Introduction, p. 37).

9.

[Headed paper – ‘Education Department, Council Office’]

20 Jany 1858

Dear Lowell

I write to ask you to tell your Atlantic corrector to alter a line for me in Part III of the poem which you say you are going to honour with a place in the Monthly.¹ I sent a copy of the first two thirds of this Part III by the Steamer of the 9th from here, directed to you, in a letter; – and a similar copy of the remnant by Southampton steamer of the following Wednesday, and a duplicate of the same remnant through Messrs Truebner who wo^d send it they said by Saturday’s boat – 16th. I think [I] saw that the Southampton steamer put back & handed over her mails to the Cunard (our old Acquaintance, the Canada).² However the line to be altered is in Part III – Letter X line 4

For

What shall I do to thee, O thou Preserver of Men? – Be gracious – accept me.

read

What shall I do to thee, O thou Preserver of Men? Have compassion.³

I have just received the January no of the Monthly – if you have occasion to write, please tell me the “names, weights & colours” of the writers – I can tell some of course – but only a few⁴ –

I am busy with Part 4th & last of my Epistolary Comi-Tragedy – & if it is to be printed, I suppose I should send it to you next week – I will try & do so – Here we are all supposed to be devoted to the one engrossing occupation of marrying our poor Princess-Royal & sending her to “Berlin in February” – She is much the cleverest of the family

¹ *Amours de Voyage* (see *JRL* 8, notes 4–7). Lowell wrote in his previous letter that their proofreader was ‘a capital one’ (*Corr.* 537).

² See Introduction, p. 22.

³ *Poems*, 120.

⁴ See *CEN* 45, note 41.

they say,⁵ – Mother included.⁶ Serenities & Transparencies of various degrees of obscurity⁷ have [been] passing our Council Windows escorted by Guards & Dragoons⁸ from the Dover Railway to Buckingham Palace for the last two or three days⁹ – Farewell this is only Wednesday – so I have a chance of adding a few more words another day.

Friday – 22^d.

To give this a truly official appearance I feel bound to continue in red ink – I sent you a copy of Matt Arnold's Greek Play Merope – if your palate refuses it, try that of some one else – Longfellow perhaps or Felton might get a little further with it.¹⁰ The Preface is interesting I think – and so far [as] the contrast between Merope & Polyphantes goes, I think it is skilfully executed. The choruses seem to me indiscreetly long, & tedious even to the classical amateur¹¹ – Arnold is now, you must know, Professor of Poetry at Oxford – receiving about 100£ a year for four lectures – which hitherto it has been the observance to deliver in Latin – he for the first time or second has been bold enough to employ the vernacular¹² – –

Farewell – I believe I have no more to add – Part IV is very troublesome, but I suppose it will get done in time to go at the end of next week¹³ – Give my kindest remembrances

⁵ Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa, the Princess Royal (1840–1901) – the eldest of Queen Victoria's nine children was known for her intellectual attainments. On 25 January 1858, she married Prince Frederick William of Prussia (1831–1888) at St James's Palace; two days later the couple went to live in Berlin, which she disliked for its lack of culture and dull social life (*DNB*).

⁶ Queen Victoria received a thorough, if religious-based, education, but was not well versed in the Classics, and tended to concentrate on 'female accomplishments' such as the piano, painting and dancing (*DNB*).

⁷ Probably a reference to the title 'His/Her Serene Majesty' – used mainly by German and Belgian royalty and nobility – and their lack of substance.

⁸ The Coldstream Guards – light cavalry units were Queen Victoria's elite personal guards.

⁹ See *CEN* 14, notes 2 and 9.

¹⁰ See *CEN* 45, notes 35 & 36; *CEN* 47, note 6; *CEN* 49, note 16.

¹¹ See *FJC* 7, note 21; *Tait's Edinburgh magazine* was in agreement with C: Polyphantes was a very 'credible' and interesting character, who elicits very little sympathy compared with Merope, the heroine. The constant interruption of the narrative by the chorus was however, ill-judged and 'altogether unnatural' ('Poets and Poetry' [August 1858], 483–4 [p. 483]).

¹² See *CEN* 45, note 35.

¹³ On 15th February 1858, Lowell wrote that he had received C's manuscripts safely, Part 3 of *Amours* was now 'in press', and he was waiting for the next consignment from the 'Privy Council office' (*Corr.* 544).

at Cambridge. Chas Norton I suppose is at Newport.¹⁴ I heard but a bad account of him through some of his relations; but I hope your report may be trusted.¹⁵

Ever Yours sincerely

A.H. Clough

MS *H*

Corr. 540-1 (part-published).

¹⁴ See *CEN* 47, note 1.

¹⁵ Norton had been in poor health and was staying at Newport (see *CEN* 54).

10.

[written in C's handwriting on the envelope, under the seal: 'Arthur Hugh Clough the English Poet'.]

[c. 15.2.1858];¹

Dear Lowell

Messrs Truebner have received Part V. of my composition – & will I hope send it by the same steamer that takes this.² I think IV and V had better go together.

Give my compliments to Mabel and tell [her] that I have got a little girl of my own now, and I hope that in due time Miss Mabel Lowell will come over to England & make acquaintance with this, at present, very young lady – who will I am sure be very happy to make hers.

This domestic event took place on Tuesday [Wednesday] last, the 10th, and is of course a great satisfaction³ – We had been rather anxious for some time before, but all is going on now very well indeed. –

Farewell

Ever Yours sincerely

A. H. Clough

J. R Lowell Esqre

Cambridge

MS H

No previous publication traced.

¹ Dated by the reference to the birth of C's daughter Florence Anne Mary on Wednesday 10 February 1858; (see *CEN* 48, note 2).

² *Amours de Voyage* (see *JRL* 9, note 13).

³ See *CEN* 48, note 2.

(iv) Clough's letters to Francis James Child (1825–96) – (FJC)

Soon after Clough's first meeting with the distinguished philologist and Harvard Professor of Rhetoric, Francis James Child, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in May 1853 (see Introduction, p. 12), they were discussing the possibility of setting up a school together (*Corr.* 425). Two months later, when Clough was at Norton's house and wilting from the extreme heat of a New England summer, Child wrote to Norton that Clough had tasted soda water for the first time and that it was the first American institution on which he had heard him 'bestow unqualified praise'. On another occasion he wrote of his loneliness as the 'gentle Welshman was listening to the Concord frogs and contradicting Emerson' some miles away from him.¹

The letters between Clough and Child are an example of the kind of cross-cultural literary interaction that was taking place between intellectuals on both sides of the Atlantic during the mid-nineteenth-century (see Introduction, pp.14-15). Despite their different nationalities, the two friends shared a common cultural heritage and a keen interest in Chaucer and early British poetry. Appointed professor of rhetoric and oratory at the age of just 26, Child became one of the century's leading Chaucer scholars; in his first letter to Clough he sought Clough's advice on Chaucerian metre and pronunciation and returned the favour by checking the proofs for Clough's edition of *Plutarch's Lives* (*FJC* 1).

Child also kept abreast of Clough's news while sitting round the fire at Shady Hill, 'in flowing cups', listening to Norton reading Clough's letters aloud, and remembering him more as an 'expatriated countryman' who would one day return, rather than a 'flying visitor' over whom they had 'no rights' (*Corr.* 474). Child's letters were similar to Clough's in that they contain nuggets of literary gossip and sometimes rather catty jibes about members of their intellectual circle. The two friends only saw each other one more time – when Child paid a brief visit to Clough's London home in December 1858

¹ *Norton*, I, 90.

(*Corr.* 561), but they corresponded fairly regularly until not long before Clough's death. Clough regularly enquired after Child in his letters to other members of their tight-knit circle, often bewailing Child's dilatoriness in writing. In Child's last letter, which Clough was not strong enough to answer, he urges Clough, with characteristic humour, to return to America in the event of a French invasion dispossessing Queen Victoria (*Corr.* 581).

1.

Council Office, Sept^r 2 [1854]¹

My dear Child

I beg many hundred pardons & forgivenesses for my sins & transgressions to you ward. I should infallibly have written long ago, *had you not* written to me² –

I am very glad indeed to have a remembrance of you in the salt-cellar you have been so kind as to send – my wife admires it very much and the only thing to be wished for in addition is that you should come and eat of our salt out of it³ –

–

I hope the Chaucer is going on prosperously.⁴ I think you should adopt means to make the metre quite obvious, at any sacrifice of typographical prettiness – Yet I don't like the grave accent 'When Zephyrus eke with his sotè breth'⁵ and should almost prefer the ~, sotě, but that it seems unmeaning to use a mark of quantity. Yet it is not a case of accent, either.

I think I should in one way or other mark every syllable that wo^d not now be pronounced *grevès & levës & Emperourës* daughter; sotë.

The most correct mark wo^d be *Ë*; *Emperourës*; sotë and I should prefix to the whole a very plain & short statement of the usage in these points. I suppose there is not much

¹ Year dated by the reference to C's move to St Mark's Crescent (see *CEN* 24, note 10).

² Child wrote to C on 20th February 1854 (*Corr.* 473).

³ Child's wedding present to C – a salt-cellar 'expressive of the Attic Savor' (*Corr.* 484).

⁴ Child eventually abandoned his original intention to publish an edition of Chaucer (see *CEN* 11, note 11), but turned his attention to a minute study of Chaucer's language, and in 1862 published a paper, *Observations on the Language of Chaucer* (Cambridge, Mass: Welch, Bigelow), later included in *On Early English Pronunciation with Especial Reference to Shakspeare and Chaucer* (London: Asher, 1869), which incorporated many of C's suggestions on language and metre.

⁵ Zephyrus' was the benevolent and gentle Greek god of the west wind; various editions have different versions of this line from 'The Prologue' to *The Canterbury Tales*. Tyrwhitt, for example, reads: 'Whan Zephyrus eke with his sote brethe', with no metrical notation (*The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer; with an Essay on his Language and Versification*, ed. by Thomas Tyrwhitt, 5 vols [London: William Pickering, 1830], I, 1).

doubt about a few general rules, though Chaucer did'nt [sic] regularly observe them – as for example the use of the Ë in adjectives after definite articles, which it seemed to me he omits occasionally with *French* adjectives, as if it was a matter of ear rather than rule – So also with such Saxon dissyllables as tymē, which isn't invariably a dissyllable I think – & yet it is [sic] would be worth while giving a list of such words, as are liable to be dissyllables.⁶

However ere this I dare say you have settled all these preliminaries. I don't quite see what you should do about the Miller's & the Reve's tales. I think explanation might be a little retrenched there so as to leave them in the “decent obscurity of a learned language.”⁷ – They are thoroughly English stories⁸ – but I don't know whether they are New-English – they are just what wo^d be relished to this day in public-houses in farming Districts – but I can't say that I could wish them urged upon any palate that does not already fancy them – and I don't much admire the element in the English character that does relish them – It is a great thing no doubt to do dirty *work*, and the English are pretty good at it – but when it ceases to be work, it's a different thing⁹ – & I don't see much good in it – I think the Americans have the advantage in being less “farceurs” than the British subject is apt to be.¹⁰ There is a sort of servant's hall facetiousness which predominates in the Cockney world & finds its way into literature

⁶ The breadth of C's expertise on the subject of Chaucer's versification is all the more impressive if it is true that even nearly a decade later when Child's paper appeared, ‘scarcely anything ... was known of Chaucer's grammar and metre in a sure and scientific way’ (‘Professor Child’, *Atlantic Monthly*, 78 [1896], 737–42 [p.740]). Following C's advice, in his *Observations*, Child included a guide to the Chaucerian pronunciation: the umlaut (the double dot over a vowel [¨] denotes the vowel is pronounced; [˘] indicates that ‘a vowel (not elided) is silent or slurred over’; the grave accent marks ‘the emphatic syllable of a word’; ‘the acute accent is to be used only with words which in French end in é’; adjectives ‘preceded by the definite article... end in Chaucer in ě’; and he lists adjectives of more than one syllable (pp. 452, 465, 466, 469, 494).

⁷ ‘My English text is chaste, and all licentious passages are left in the obscurity of a learned language’ (*The Life of Edward Gibbon*, ed. by The Rev. H. H. Milman [London: John Murray, 1839], p. 295).

⁸ C commented in his ‘Lecture on the Development of the English Language from Chaucer to Wordsworth’ (1852) that the picture Chaucer paints of his ‘fellow-travellers on the highway from London to Canterbury in the year 1383’, could very well be that of a group of contemporary Englishmen (PR 336).

⁹ C is here displaying a certain Victorian prudishness: *The Miller's Tale* and *The Reeve's Tale* were two particularly ribald ‘fableaux’, and Chaucer warned readers in the Prologue that the Miller and the Reve were ‘cherls’ who ‘tolden’ ‘harlotrie’ (Tyrwhitt, II, 4).

¹⁰ A joker, wag (*OED*).

which I think deserves no sort of imitation or admiration¹¹ –

However, of this enough – I have just been taking or preparing to take a house, in the extreme skirts of the Regent’s Park, not far from the Zoological Gardens near the Horners.¹² I think we shall be in it in a month’s time – 11 S^t Mark’s Terrace – with a Canal underneath it & some very unvenetian gondolas called here, coal-barges, passing to & fro upon it¹³ – in the foreground, while in the distance rise the suburban Alps of [H]ampstead & [H]ighgate.¹⁴

“O breathe on them softly”,¹⁵ & a little to one side swells the pastoral eminence of Primrose Hill¹⁶ –

Farewell – pray write & do not despair – I was extremely glad of your first letter.

Ever Yrs most sincerely

A. H. Clough

[cross-hatched at bottom of letter]:

Farewell 7 Sepr – I have just heard from Newport fr C.E.N. who tells me inter alia of your Ph. Doctorale.¹⁷ We are having cholera pretty bad this week, worse I believe than the papers reveal.¹⁸

MS B

PR 228–9 (part-published).

¹¹ See *CEN* 46, note 15; the term ‘Cockney’ was usually used in a pejorative way around the mid-nineteenth century; in its ‘Facetiae’ column, the *London Journal* often included Cockney puns (for example, 27 [1858], p. 78). And the *Theatrical Journal* complained about ‘our facetious *Punch*’, a first class publication in every way, but for its tendency ‘to indulge in personalities, scurrilous and pitiful’ in the extreme, as in the ‘disgraceful’ remarks about an actor’s pug nose (‘A Slash at *Punch*’, 15 [1854], 149–50, [p. 150]). In some of his earlier work – for example his pamphlet on ‘Retrenchment’ (*PR* 283–301) and *The Bothie* – C finds common cause with the working class, but a more puritanical tone seems to have crept in after his return from the USA.

¹² See *CEN* 6, note 5.

¹³ Regent’s Canal, which curves round the northern edge of Regent’s Park, was a John Nash project; it was built during the early 19th century for the transportation of coal and other goods by horse-drawn barges.

¹⁴ The sandy ridge of Hampstead Heath runs from Highgate to Hampstead – both favourite haunts of the working classes for a day out; C is here aping the typical Cockney omission of the initial aspirate.

¹⁵ Perhaps a reference to the Homeric ‘Hymn to Hermes’ – who represents the wind – at first a soft harmonious breeze, but later a hurricane raging over bleak hills and bare heaths.

¹⁶ Primrose Hill, one of the highest points in London, is between Regent’s Park and Camden Town.

¹⁷ Child was granted an honorary doctorate by the University of Göttingen, where he had studied from 1849–1851. The Doctor of Philosophy award originated in Germany in the early 19th century and was not adopted by British universities until a century later.

¹⁸ See *CEN* 22, note 6; *CEN* 23, note 9.

2.

[late January 1855]¹

My dear Child

I was very glad of your letter² which filled up a casual interspace in Charles Norton's usually diligent correspondence³ – just about Xmas time. Many thanks for it. Here are a few of your dramatis personae. I am sorry I can't elucidate them all⁴ –

Savoury *Birch* – was (& perhaps still is) a great confectioner & turtle-soup purveyor in Cornhill.⁵

Lamartine married a Miss Birch of their firm.⁶ St _____le. I don't know. Tyrwhitt is Tyrwhitt but I know no more of him.⁷ Nor do I know Massey as it wo^d seem to be. (Romeo) Coates (Esqre) was a foolish sort of actor, in the part of Romeo.⁸ Str__hl__g, [I] don't know.

R_d_r is Ryder, probably Dudley Ryder one of the family of the Earls of Harrowby.⁹ Wh__rt__on must be Wharton but is not known to me.

¹ Dated by the reference to the resignation of Lord John Russell and Aberdeen's Cabinet.

² Child wrote to C on 2 December 1854 (*Corr.* 492–3).

³ Charles Norton's last letter was 16 October 1854 (*Norton*, I, 115–17).

⁴ In 1856 Child published an edition of the satirical poems of Thomas Moore (1779–1852), in which all the characters referred to by C are mentioned (*The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore*, 6 vols [Boston: Little Brown], II).

⁵ Samuel 'Savoury' Birch (1757–1841), Tory politician, pastry cook and confectioner at Cornhill; vehemently anti-Catholic, his admiration for William IV and his legacy is satirized in Moore's epistle, 'Corruption' (*Moore*, II, 139).

⁶ The French writer, Alphonse Marie Louis de Prat de Lamartine (1790–1869), married Birch's daughter, Maria Ann, in 1820.

⁷ Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt (1762–1833), nephew of the Chaucerian scholar, close friend of the Prince Regent and auditor of the Duchy of Cornwall; in one of Moore's 'Intercepted Letters', the Regent relates how, for 'a laugh', he has arranged for Tyrwhitt to be given a 'sly dose of jalap', as 'there's *nothing so good as old Tommy, kept close / To his Cornwall accounts, after taking a dose*' (*Moore*, II, 187).

⁸ Robert 'Romeo' Coates (1772–1848), eccentric amateur actor; Moore compares him to the Prince Regent: both are 'gay Lotharios', 'learn'd Professors' of serious Farce' and 'circled round ... With cock's combs' wherever they go (*Moore*, II, 203).

⁹ Dudley Ryder, first earl of Harrowby (1762–1847) and Tory MP; in a parody of the Prince Regent's famous letter of 13 February, 1812, justifying his decision to keep the Tories in power and thus stalling hopes for Catholic emancipation, Moore refers to both Ryder and Wharton: 'Between R_d_r and Wharton let Sheridan sit, / And the fogs will soon quench even Sheridan's wit' (*Moore*, II, 227).

Fuller, Jack of that name, was a Tory MP who distinguished himself by menacing the Speaker in the House of Commons, being inebriated.¹⁰

Bishop Legge is Legge Bp of Oxford, “the dandy Bishop” who declined wearing a wig.¹¹ Master Legge is an inconnu to me¹² – I found some of the places in Moore where the names occur but not Lee, Thélo, Massey or Str___klg.

Here we are in our ministerial crisis which will however be over before this goes, so I need say nothing of it.¹³ Layard’s Art. on our War in the last Quarterly deserves reading.¹⁴ There is an Art. by Thackeray apparently on Leech’s pictures.¹⁵ That on Dalton & the Atomic Theory is by Dr Holland,¹⁶ that on Brodie by Dr Fergusson.¹⁷ In

¹⁰ John ‘Mad Jack’ Fuller (1757–1834), eccentric MP for Sussex; Moore alludes to an incident when in 1810, he was forcibly removed from the Commons for being drunk and disorderly, and addressing the Speaker as an ‘insignificant little man in a big wig’: ‘For as sure as Jacky Fuller loves a sup, sup, sup’ (*Moore*, II, 254).

¹¹ Edward Legge (1767–1827); Bishop of Oxford from 1816, was lampooned by Moore as a ‘jolly old idol’ and ‘Episcopal Prig’ who implored the Prince ‘to dispense with his wig’, in reference to an old promise that he be allowed to wear his own hair when elevated to the Bishopric (*Moore*, II, 265).

¹² Master Legge gets a mention in the same poem (*Moore*, II, 266).

¹³ Lord John Russell resigned as Foreign Secretary (see *CEN* 32, note 9), followed by the resignation of Aberdeen’s cabinet at the end of January 1855 after Parliament voted for an enquiry into the incompetent management of the Crimean War (see *CEN* 26, note 12).

¹⁴ See *CEN* 26, note 7.

¹⁵ Thackeray reviews *Pictures of Life and Character* – a collection of cartoons from *Punch* by John Leech (1817–1864), whose humorous but sympathetic illustrations of characters from all echelons of society – from Etonian ‘*Enfans [sic] Terribles*’ to ‘poor little ragged Polly making dirt pies in the gutter’ – constitute ‘a social history of London’ in the mid-nineteenth century’ (*Quarterly Review*, 96 [1854], 75–86 [pp.83, 84]).

¹⁶ The article by the physician Sir Henry Holland (1788–1873) refers to *Memoirs of the Life and Scientific Researches of John Dalton*, and *An Introduction to the Atomic Theory* by Charles Daubeny (see *RWE* 4, note 2). The two are linked together because it was the discoveries of the chemist and natural philosopher John Dalton (1766–1844) that laid the groundwork for Daubeny’s history of the development of ‘atomic philosophy’ – ‘the investigation of matter in its molecular parts’ (*Quarterly Review*, 96 [1854], 43–75, [p. 57]).

¹⁷ The article, by the physician Robert Ferguson (1799–1865) reviews ‘Psychological Inquiries’, a series of essays by Sir Benjamin Collins Brodie (see *CEN* 51, note 17) on the subject of self-knowledge, ‘the interdependence of mind and body’ and ‘the mysteries of dreams, madness, and death’ (*Quarterly Review*, 96 [1854], 86–117 [p. 86]).

the Westm^r Carlyle writes one:¹⁸ Miss Martineau on the Anglo-French alliance,¹⁹ some German on Prussia²⁰ – the rest I don't know – nor any in the Edinburgh. The Volume of Fynes Clinton's Memoir is worth reading I think. I am sorry I didn't send it out with my parcel the other day²¹ –

31 Jany [1855]²²

Here we are; with, I am just told, the Tories in once again.²³ When they last came in, they drove me from England into New England.²⁴ I don't know how it will be now. I hope I shall see your Spenser²⁵ & your Chaucer²⁶ – I suppose you do not fail to see Bell's new Editions published by Parker, West Strand.²⁷ I of course do not; – it is so *near* – but in general they are well-spoken of – But indeed our literature at present is the

¹⁸ Carlyle's article in the *Westminster Review*, entitled 'The Prinzenraub; A Glimpse of Saxon History', recounts the little-known story of the abduction and safe return of two Saxon princes in July 1455 (63 [1855], 89–113).

¹⁹ See *CEN* 11, note 5; Martineau's article explores the origins of the often turbulent relationship between the two nations which stretched back to Roman times when they shared a common religion – Druidism. She argues for free trade, a wider intellectual union, facilitated by the abolition of the passport system, and sees the Anglo-French alliance as an instrument for the establishment of a permanent peace in Europe ('The Anglo-French Alliance', *Westminster Review* 63 [1855], 1–25).

²⁰ The article on Prussia, by the Prussian journalist Lothar Bucher (1817–1892) looks at the geographical, ethnic and religious make-up of the state, her growing strength and the 'contemptible' and duplicitous foreign policy of her absolutist Hohenzollern monarch under whom she would never achieve freedom and unification (*Westminster Review*, 63 [1855], 53–89 [p. 88]).

²¹ The *Literary Remains of Henry Fynes Clinton*, ed. by the Rev C. J. Fynes (London: Longman, Brown, 1854), contains the autobiography of the classicist (1781–1852), his literary projects – including the renowned *Fasti Romani*, a chronological history of Rome, and theological essays.

²² Year dated by the references to the journal articles mentioned in the letter.

²³ See *CEN* 26, note 12; Lord Derby's second Conservative Cabinet was formed in February 1855 (*The Times*, 1 February, 1855, p. 6).

²⁴ A Tory government, under the Earl of Derby, took power in February 1852, a few months before C left for New England (see *CEN* 5, note 16).

²⁵ In 1855 Child published *The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser* (5 vols in 3 [Boston: Houghton Mifflin]), originally intended to be 'little more than a reprint' of George Hillard's popular 1839 edition'; however, Child's textual emendments, together with a reduction in Hillard's annotation and the addition of his own notes, meant that it constituted a new edition (I, iii). In C's 'Lecture on the Development of English Literature', he refers to the way in which, Spenser, by tuning his ear to 'Italian cadence and rhythm', 'learnt to remodulate, after an age of disuse, the language in which Shakespeare was to delineate the traditions of Verona and Venice, and give immortality to Florentine romances' (*PR* 333–351 [p.342–3]).

²⁶ See *FJC* 1, note 4..

²⁷ Robert Bell's edition of *Poetical Works of Chaucer* was published in 1854 (London: John W Parker) as part of his *Annotated Edition of the English Poets*, which included Dryden and Cowper. In his *Observations on the Language of Chaucer* (see *FJC* 1, note 4), Child questioned Bell's competency and willingness to 'do thorough work with the manuscripts', and regretted that his volumes had 'ever [seen] the light (p. 449). Bell's edition, however, received generally favourable reviews in the English press: Horatio Mansfield in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* thought it had, by its 'honest hard labour', succeeded in its aim of making Chaucer more accessible to the modern reader (22 [1855], 55–56 [p. 56]).

War Column in the Newspaper – the best military reports are those of the Morning Herald Correspondent I believe²⁸ – but Macdonald the Hospital Corresp^t at Constantinople has been more successful practically than ever Newspaper Corresp^t yet had the glory of being.²⁹ –

Friday 2 Feb^{y30}

I will add a few lines & despatch this though but an unworthy answer. This steamer it appears will not quite certainly tell you – “Under which” Prime Minister we are to “do our duty” – but Palmerston must manage somehow we suppose. The Duke of Newcastle’s speech last night seems to be an Extinguisher for poor Lord John Russell – whose reign in spite of all his popularity with the Middling Classes must I think now be ended³¹ – Yesterday we believed that Ld Derby wo^d be our king & Disraeli our Foreign Minister, Palmerston holding the War Departm^t: but that seems to be over altogether.

Pray tell me all possible gossip when you favour me with another letter. Is it not possible that some of you will be coming over here next summer? The Longfellows really must sometime avail themselves of their release from professorial trammels³² – If any of my Ethic pupils come over I hope they will not fail to enquire for me, as they pass (which they must do) this corner of Whitehall³³ – My kind remembrances to the

²⁸ Nicholas A Wood (d 1880), war correspondent for the *Morning Herald* during the Crimean campaign, reported the ‘pitiful plight’ of the troops; he described, for example, the ‘terrible cruelty’ of the Russian who ‘hacked [injured soldiers] to death’ on the battlefield, and how the lack of waterproof clothes in the driving rain and snow had caused 60 deaths by disease in just one month (quoted in *Remarks on the Providence of God in the Present War, by an Officer* [London: Thomas Hatchard, 1855], pp. 13, 48).

²⁹ John C. Macdonald, the *Times* correspondent, filed a detailed report on ‘deplorable’ conditions in the hospitals at Scutari (see *CEN* 24, notes 3 & 4), and administered a fund for the relief of the sick and wounded (‘The Sick and Wounded Fund’, *The Times*, 3 February 1855, p. 8).

³⁰ Year dated by the reference to the articles mentioned in the letter.

³¹ See *CEN* 65, note 8; the Duke of Newcastle, the Secretary of State for War in Aberdeen’s government, gave a ‘manly defence’ of his conduct over the Crimean débacle in the Commons, in the face of accusations of incompetence by Lord John Russell (*The Times*, 2 February, 1855, p. 6).

³² Longfellow had recently resigned his Harvard Professorship (*Corr.* 479).

³³ The private pupils C tutored at Harvard (see *RWE* 10, note 3; *Corr.* 483).

Nortons & to Felton³⁴ – And now farewell –

Believe me Yrs faithfully

A H Clough

MS B

Corr. 497 (part-published); *PR* 232 (part-published).

³⁴ See *RWE* 10, note 2.

3.

Council Office

3 May [1855]¹

My dear Child

If Lowell has not left when this arrives, I wish you wo^d tell him to let me know where he is likely to be as I may be abroad myself for a month & we might possibly be in some place together without knowing it – which I sho^d be sorry for.²

I shall however be in London during July – Decr inclusive, most likely, so that there, if he comes at all, to the British Metropolis I may hope to see him. If he is gone, will you let me know his probable whereabouts – I think of taking some holiday in about 3 weeks time. My wife has been ill, and we shall go abroad I think then for a month.³ –

I hope your Chaucer is getting on⁴ – I think Bell's is a very poor affair⁵ – I can't but believe that all the verses were strictly (with certain very strictly observed licences, eg 'glory' elided) of the ten-syllable verse⁶ – without anapests as they call them. I suppose a few 9 syllable verses must be admitted – Jingling in a whistling wind to clear [sic], where Jingling is however almost a trisyllable.⁷ Tyrwhitt was right in his instinct of what the verse sho^d be, though he took illegitimate means for bringing it back to its proper [shape?].⁸

¹ Year dated by the reference to the visit of the Emperor of France.

² See *CEN* 28, note 5.

³ See *CEN* 28, note 2.

⁴ See *FJC* 1, note 4.

⁵ See *FJC* 2, note 27.

⁶ In *The Canterbury Tales* Chaucer perfected the use of that 'mobile and musical' ten-syllable verse in English heroic couplets, in which 'the lines glide freely and naturally', so suited for narrative, but which was allowed to lie for centuries unused till Keats and other 19th century poets used it ('The English Poets', *Quarterly Review*, 153 [1882], 431–463 [p. 433]).

⁷ In the Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales*, there is a reference to the Monk's horse's 'bridel' 'Gingeling in a whistling wind' (*Tyrwhitt*, I, 7).

⁸ According to Tyrwhitt, 'a great number of Chaucer's verses labour under an apparent deficiency of a syllable, or two'; for example, the *ed* past tense ending, and the final *e* in words imported from the French were always pronounced. Restoring Chaucer's words to their 'just number of syllables' would also go a long way towards 'restoring his accents' to their 'proper places'; it should not be concluded that he accented the same syllables as 'modern' English, but probably followed French in accenting the last syllable in contrast to English – eg coráge for cōrage (*Tyrwhitt*, I, cxxxix – cxlvii [pp. cxxxix, cxlvii]).

I had a letter from Chas Norton, from Charleston a few days ago, enlightening me as to his proceedings.⁹ I don't know whether Lowell [will] be back before this reaches Cambridge.¹⁰

We had Emperors [sic] and Empress passing by here under our windows with Queen and Prince, in the midst of applauding multitudes¹¹ – & certainly there is no denying Louis Napoleon's courage.¹² He is not it seems to go to the Crimea¹³ – Unless Sebastopol get[s] taken before long, it will I think upset the present Ministry¹⁴ and perhaps the present aristocracy along with them,¹⁵ – & Laing, Layard and Lowe, if they can provide themselves with a sufficient C^o may come in as the new parliamentary firm.¹⁶

There is an Art. by Senior in the Edinburgh on Slavery which I believe has excited some attention.¹⁷ You know I suppose that Henry Reeve, the translator of de Tocqueville, & sometime writer on foreign politics in the Times, conducts the Edinburgh, provisionally

⁹ 'Exhausted' and 'feeling poorly', Norton spent the early summer of 1855 in Charleston to relax in coastal Carolina's 'balmy climate' (Turner, 123). He found it the 'most picturesque' American city he had seen and, thinking often of C, asked whether, from C's childhood (see Introduction, p. 11), he recalled the wide piazzas, 'pretty gardens' with oranges and oleanders and the 'air of ancient elegance'. Norton also felt a 'tender and compassionate sympathy' for responsible slave-owners who were 'bewildered by the perplexities of their position' (*Norton*, I, 122–3).

¹⁰ See *CEN* 28, note 5.

¹¹ See *CEN* 28, note 8.

¹² On 29th April 1855 an Italian named Liverani fired several shots at the French Emperor in the Champs Elysées, one of which passed through his hat; with great courage he 'made his horse caper' and 'raised his hat several times', smiling to show he was unhurt ('The Attempted Assassination of the Emperor Napoleon', *Daily News*, 1 May 1855, p. 5).

¹³ During Louis Napoleon's state visit to England (see *CEN* 28, note 8), Palmerston and Prince Albert persuaded him to abandon his plan to take command of the Allied Armies in the Crimea (Guy Arnold, *Historical Dictionary of the Crimean War* ([Maryland: Scarecrow, 2002], p. 92).

¹⁴ See *CEN* 30, note 8.

¹⁵ See *RWE* 20, note 5; *The Times*' revelations of the troops' sufferings in the Crimea caused such public anger that the position of the aristocracy, who comprised an absolute majority in the Commons, and were predominant at Oxbridge (see *RWE* 1, note 5), was threatened (E. D. Steele, *Palmerston and Liberalism 1855–65* [Cambridge: CUP, 1991], p. 51).

¹⁶ Three Liberal MPs elected in 1852: Samuel Laing (1780–1868), Sir Austen Henry Layard (1817–1894) (see *CEN* 26, note 7), and Robert Lowe (1811–1892); (see *CEN* 66, note 9). The origins of the parliamentary Liberal party date from 1859, with the formation of anti-Tory alliances between Liberals, Peelites and Radicals (see *CEN* 76, note 10).

¹⁷ See *CEN* 28, note 11.

while Cornwall Lewis, who cannot afford to sacrifice his Editorship, remains Chancellor of the Exchequer¹⁸ –

The War which the great people, Lords and statesmen, thought wo^d be unpopular in a few months, is more likely I think to become a popular question versus Lords and statesmen.¹⁹ There is no murmuring at the new taxes – but a good deal at the old politicians.²⁰

Farewell

Ever Yours

Yours faithfully

A.H. Clough

My kindest remembrances to Felton.

MS B

Corr. 500–501 (part-published); *PR* 232–2 (part published).

¹⁸ Henry Reeve (1813–1895), translator of Alexis de Tocqueville's *De la démocratie en Amérique* (a study of America's national government, egalitarian ideals, and character, published in 1835), and foreign correspondent of *The Times*, took over the editorship of the *Edinburgh Review* from Sir George Cornwall Lewis (1806–1863), who became Chancellor of the Exchequer in Palmerston's government in February 1855.

¹⁹ The British public would have liked the War to have gone on longer to ensure a more emphatic victory with more stringent peace terms; the growing resentment among the middle classes against aristocratic rule and their ineffectual leadership led to attacks by Layard (see *FJC* 3, note 16) in the Commons. The Administrative Reform Association was also gathering huge popular support in their call for the selection of MPs by merit (Norman Gash, *Aristocracy and People: Britain 1815:1865* [Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1979], pp. 264–5).

²⁰ Income Tax had risen from 6 to 7% and the spiralling costs of the Crimean Campaign – at least £43 million for the current year – made further sharp increases inevitable. The price of tea, coffee and spirits had also risen, but *The Times* predicted that there would be no complaints from the public who had been wholeheartedly in support of the war and whose sufferings could not begin to compare with the privations borne by the troops (21 April 1855, p. 8).

4.

C O Whitehall

29 Oct^f [1855]¹

My dear Child

I hear you have undertaken the kind labour of putting my Reliquiae² through Mr. Bartlett's press.³ I really am half sorry that any of your meagre leisure should [be] put to so gratuitous a piece of editorial trouble.⁴ However I add to it by sending you a *last word* – see annexed paper – to be printed last if you please.⁵ –

I have been astonished & delighted at once to see Shady Hill reposing it in St. James's Street.⁶ I had hardly had faith I confess to expect the removal of that Mountain to this side of our Common Sea⁷ – I do not think Cha^s [is] looking ill – though I think it is a very good thing that he sho^d take a year's thorough recreation. I hope some day or other will bring the same to you –

This day in – “I forget the year”⁸ was that of my departure from London to embark for your side of the water.⁹

¹ Year dated by the reference to the publication of Child's *The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*.

² An ironic reference to the relics of a saint or martyr [Latin].

³ John Bartlett (1820–1905), the American publisher.

⁴ C is referring to the deferred reprint of *The Bothie* and other poems (see *CEN* 32, note 20; Appendix 2). Child replied in December 1855, complaining that ‘these Russians of booksellers refuse to come to terms’; Bartlett was too timid and would ‘make no ventures’, and Ticknor and Fields had too much in hand. Child, however, was extravagant in his praise for *The Bothie*, and hoped the new edition – ‘with other poems’ would be out within the year (*Corr.* 512).

⁵ Presumably C's ‘Last Words; Napoleon and Wellington’, first published in *Fraser's Magazine* in February 1853 (see Appendix 2).

⁶ Norton's visit to London (see *CEN* 32, note 2); Norton had written to Child of his pleasure in finding C happy, and of making Blanche's acquaintance (*Corr.* 512).

⁷ The proverb: ‘If the mountain won't come to Muhammad, Muhammad must go the mountain’ was first told by Francis Bacon (*Oxford Dictionary of Word Origins*, ed. by Julia Cresswell, 2nd edn. [Oxford: OUP, 2002], pp. 281–2).

⁸ An allusion to Alexander Pope's ‘An Epistle to a Lady’ (*Eighteenth-Century Poetry: An Annotated Anthology*, ed. by David Fairer & Christine Gerrard, 3rd edn [Chichester: Blackwell, 2015], p. 167).

⁹ C set sail for America on 30th October 1852 (see Introduction, p. 12).

Novr 4th

This should have gone before; but has been delayed. CEN and his party went on to Paris, leaving us to our humidity. I hope they will go on quickly to Rome, or at any rate to the coast of the Mediterranean – M^{rs} Norton did not seem to me looking very well.¹⁰

I congratulate you on having achieved Spenser – I hope I shall some day, here or there, see the work – let me confess to having never yet read above one quarter of the *Fairy Queen*¹¹ – But you are a much more literary nation than we [sic] – Few people I fear will return in England to the study of Plutarch’s lives, & in working slowly to the end of that attempt, I can only [look] forward to the readers of America – I fear it can’t be got out till the beginning of the next season, but I hope it will be pretty tolerably readable & correct when it does at last present itself¹² – Certainly if I had tried to translate it myself, it w^{od} have had more of a Greek tone, but I don’t think we any of us write so idiomatically now as my friends of Chas II’s time¹³ – The order for Macaulay when I asked at Longman’s a week ago was 20,000. People had talked of 40,000¹⁴ –

Florence Nightingale if you care for my news of her, remains at Balaclava & probably will remain there & not at Scutari.¹⁵ She has a hard battle of it with doctors & other recalcitrants – the English nurse too is sadly given to drinking, much like the English soldier. They expect a very sickly winter, and “a good rattling campaign” next spring – What the deuce the Allies will do when they have beat [sic] is the greatest enigma.¹⁶

¹⁰ See *CEN* 32, notes 2, 3.

¹¹ See *FJC* 2, note 25; Child’s edition of Spenser mainly comprised the twelve books of ‘The Faerie Queene’. For Child this ‘great’, but challenging epic poem was ‘vision unrolled after vision to the sound of endlessly varying music’; he recommended it be read in the light-hearted spirit intended, and while relaxing on a grassy bank under a tree on a summer’s morning, skipping the notes and making no attempt at formal analysis (*Spenser* I, lvii–lviii).

¹² C’s revision of Dryden’s *Plutarch’s Lives*, which was not published until 1859 (see *CEN* 66, notes 2, 5; Appendix 2).

¹³ In his ‘Lecture on the Development of English Literature’, C notes that, before Dryden, English prose tended not to use the vernacular, but the conversational habits of the Augustans made their writing ‘thoroughly idiomatic’ (*PR* 333–351 [p. 346]).

¹⁴ See *CEN* 32, note 10; 42, note 10; *CEN* 59, note 22.

¹⁵ See *CEN* 24, notes 2–4; in October 1855 Nightingale left Scutari for Balaclava but hurried back there at the end of November after hearing of a serious outbreak of cholera at the Barrack hospital (Edward Tyas Cook, *The Life of Florence Nightingale*, 2 vols [London: Macmillan, 1913], I, 283).

¹⁶ See *RWE* 19, note 7.

You see that we, that is our Newspapers, after considerable bluster mean decidedly to back out of any quarrelling with you – The Times I think decidedly feels that it took a wrong step & is walking out of its first position with all possible celerity¹⁷ –

Farewell – if you like to add *Epigraphs* on fly leaves you might put before the Bothie

Pauperis et tuguri congestum cespite culmen¹⁸

or Ite, meae, felix quondam pecus, ite, *camenae*

& before the Roman verses

Navibus atque

Quadrigis petimus bene vivere.¹⁹

Farewell

Ever yours very truly

A H Clough

MS B

Corr. 509–10 (published in full); *PR* 234 (part-published).

¹⁷ *The Times* had upbraided the US for reneging on its promise of ‘hearty’ support for Britain in ‘pluck[ing] down the despotism of the East’. Attempts to recruit men for the Crimea had met with a hostile reception in America, and the paper accused its erstwhile ally of secretly siding with the Russian aggressor and of attempting to ‘force a quarrel on Britain’ just when it most desired the continuance of ‘friendly relations’ (1 November 1855, p. 6). By November 17th, however [which indicates the letter was finished some time after the 4th, and that C therefore held onto it for about 3 weeks which fits the pattern of his ‘journal type’ letters] the newspaper had retreated somewhat from its earlier stance, acknowledging that, with the exception of criminals and political refugees, the vast majority of ‘wealthy’ and ‘respectable’ Americans sympathized with Britain in its fight for the principles of universal ‘civil and religious liberty’ (p. 8).

¹⁸ The epigraph ‘pauperis et tuguri congestum cespite culmen’ [My humble cottage with its turf-clad roof] (Virgil, *Eclogues* I, 69) was not included in either the Boston or London 1862 editions of *The Bothie*. The first edition of *The Bothie* (1848) had the epigraph *Nunc formosissimus annus* [now the year is at its loveliest], (Virgil, *Eclogues* 3.57); in *Boston* (1862) this was followed by *Ite meae felix quondam pecus, ite camenae* [‘go, my Muses, a fortunate herd once’], (*Eclogues* I. 74), (with *camenae* [‘Muses’] replacing *capellae* [‘she-goats’] of the original (*Poems*, 44, 594). C also suggested other epilogues for *The Bothie* (see *CEN* 57, note 7; Appendix 2).

¹⁹ ‘Navibus atque / Quadrigis petimus bene vivere’ [‘By travelling, traversing both sea and land; We seek happiness abroad, although we might find it at home’], (Horace, *Epistles*, I. IX, 28/9; *The Works of Horace*, ed. by George Bomford Wheeler, 3rd edn [Dublin: McGlashan & Gill, 1856], I, p. 310.); this epigraph was not included in *Amours de Voyage in Boston 1862*, which has ‘*Flevit amores / Non elaboratum ad pedem*’ – ‘He lamented his loves / in unpolished metre’ (Horace *Epodes* 14.11), with *amores* instead of *amorem*]; (*Poems*, 94, 618).

5.

Council Office, Whitehall

Jan. 16, 1856

My dear Child

I was very glad to have your letter this morning.¹ To say the truth I am very glad also that ‘the Bothie and other Poems’ are not to appear at present.² I should *not* be sorry to postpone them, if not sine die,³ at any rate till after Plutarch, when perhaps I might look them up better than I could at present –

I hope I shall get your Spenser:⁴ for Ballads I am not enthusiastic;⁵ but the Chaucer I really think you may bring to better shape than anyone hitherto has done – & hope you will be able to give your leisure to it without any desperate hurrying.⁶

I have not heard as yet of the arrival of the Nortons at Rome, but I suppose they are probably there. The Sturges family have taken a country house close to my father in law.⁷ I went with him last Sunday & called there and saw a pretty Miss (Louisa) Sturges who had come out with the Nortons and who, as Mr Sturges privately informed my father in law was shortly to give her hand to a Mr Codman, who was sitting in the room with a handsome black beard & a bridegroom-like air.⁸ I compassionate your forlorn condition during the abandonment of Shady Hill;⁹ however, I do not doubt they will all return thither, no worse Americans than they left it – q.e.f.¹⁰ Sometimes under the

¹ Child’s letter dated Christmas Eve [1855] (*Corr.* 511).

² See *FJC* 4, note 4.

³ ‘indefinitely’ [Latin].

⁴ See *FJC* 4, note 11.

⁵ Child’s publication *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (*FJC* 7:6).

⁶ See *FJC* 1, note 4.

⁷ The Boston merchant and later head of Barings Bank, Russell Sturgis (1805–1887), and his wife Julia had their English country house at Mount Felix, Walton-on-Thames, Surrey, near Samuel Smith’s home at Combe Hurst, Kingston Surrey (see *CEN* 3, note 4). Mount Felix was a hive of literary activity, and Thackeray, Browning, and later Henry James, were frequent visitors. Sturgis was probably the original of Mr Touchett in *Portrait of a Lady* (Robert L. Gale, *A Henry James Encyclopedia* [Westport CT: Greenwood, 1989], p. 637).

⁸ Sturgis’s daughter Lucy Lyman Sturgis (b. 1833) married American lawyer Charles Russell Codman (1829–1918), the son of a wealthy Boston mercantile family, on February 28 1856.

⁹ In his last letter Child had written: ‘You may imagine how wretchedly I manage without the Nortons’ (*Corr.* 512).

¹⁰ ‘which was to be shown or demonstrated’ [Latin].

burden & oppression of London I also form schemes & visions – However we do pretty well here. –

I liked Hiawatha and I think it is liked here very generally, & none the worse for being Indian.¹¹ *Is* Emerson's book really coming out?¹² He has introduced a Mr Henry James of New York to me, who is staying here for some time.¹³ To whom is the Lotus Eater engaged?¹⁴ Thackeray's ballads are, alas, as you say, too trashy¹⁵ – but Populus vult emere.¹⁶ – –

Are you really any of you going to fight with your ancestors about Costa Rica & the Clayton-Bulwer treaty?¹⁷ I hope not; not even the ambitious Franklin P. himself – But Palmerston is a sad haggler, and may I dare say go on making a fool of himself about his Mosquito protectorate until he gets a warning to be quiet – I am examining among others for App'tments in the Engineers and Artillery, which are opened to general

¹¹ In his letter Child reported that Longfellow was 'much annoyed by the vulgar fun of some of our newspapers, evoked by Hiawatha'. Child thought 'the metre 'tempt[ed] to parody' and he had 'such a repugnance to Indian stories' that he could not read it. Despite the negative reviews, however, the poem had sold 9–10,000 copies in a week (*Corr.* 512). *The Song of Hiawatha*, published in November 1855, was critically acclaimed, and hugely popular in England, selling 12,000 copies in a month. For the *British Quarterly Review*, it was 'the red man's story', told in the authentic voice and 'simple', 'uniform' metre of those 'rude tribes'. Through his unique genius, Longfellow had thereby preserved the traditions of a race that had almost been wiped out by its white conquerors (23 [1856], 267–8 [p. 267]).

¹² *English Traits* (See RWE 21, note 2).

¹³ Henry James (Senior), (1811–1882); theologian and father of the novelist Henry James and the philosopher William James. In his letter of 17 July 1855 introducing him to C, Emerson describes James as 'the best man in New York' (*Corr.* 503).

¹⁴ George William Curtis (1824–1892), author of *Lotus-Eating: A Summer Book* (New York: Harper, 1852), a 'shrewd and satirical' account of a summer tour in the hills and lakes of America ('George William Curtis', *Littell's Living Age*, 38 [1853], 801–6 [p. 802]). He married the social reformer, Anna Shaw (1838–1927), daughter of Sarah Sturgis, in 1856. Child wrote that Curtis was coming to Cambridge (Mass.) to 'read his six lectures on English novelists' (*Corr.* 512); he had not been impressed by Curtis's previous lectures on 'the predominance of Materialism ... over Spiritualism', which were 'charming, but 'vague' and 'golden-misty' (*Corr.* 492–3).

¹⁵ Child had referred to the recent publication of a collection of Thackeray's ballads, written over the previous 15 years (*Ballads by William Makepeace Thackeray* [Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1856]). He added that he 'would not give the Bothie for forty such volumes', and that he '[knew] forty men who would scorn to print such indifferent stuff' (*Corr.* 512).

¹⁶ 'people want to buy' [Latin].

¹⁷ Under the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 Britain and America agreed to abstain from acquiring control over any part of Central America or any rights over a future 'interoceanic' canal. But in his annual message to the Union (December 31, 1855), the American President, Franklin Pierce (see *CEN* 79, note 14) accused Britain of continuing to assert its authority over that part of Central America known as 'the Mosquito Coast' (Nicaragua and part of Costa Rica) and of venturing into Honduras. Palmerston's government maintained that the treaty did not apply to existing British protectorates and Britain was not obliged, therefore, to abandon her protectorship of the Mosquito Indians and neighbouring possessions ('The President's Message', *The Times*, 15 January 1856, p. 7).

competition & the candidates examined inter alia in English Compⁿ, Literature and History¹⁸ – Hence I can more than pay my income tax & like the farmers, rejoice in the War.¹⁹ But at present we all half expect peace.²⁰ Louis Napoleon is said to be pacific, for many good reasons.²¹ I also am pacific; for if the War went on even two years longer, we should kill Turkey with our kindness & have to encounter all the difficulties & disgrace of a Partition of her – The sick man is really very sick after all & doesn't get at all better but rather worse.²²

Farewell

My kindest remembrances to Felton & the Longfellows

Ever yours sincerely

A. H. Clough

18th Jan^y

After all you see Peace they say is to be – So say all papers & people pretty unanimously²³ – Rothschild, they say, has been buying into the Funds for some time back – & says he has long been aware that Russia had no money to go on with.²⁴ The great thing is not so much the actual conditions as the fact if it be true that Russia is really crippled²⁵ – farewell –

MS B

Corr. 515–16 (part-published); *PR* 235–6 (part-published).

¹⁸ See *RWE* 20, note 6.

¹⁹ According to the *British Farmer's Magazine*, 'the temporary sun of prosperity' shone on farmers during the Crimean War, when the price of wheat shot up – from 40s 9d in 1852, to an average of 76s a quarter for the duration of the war (51 [1866], pp. 72, 335).

²⁰ Russia's response to peace proposals was imminent (see *CEN* 32, note 17).

²¹ After the fall of Sebastopol (see *CEN* 30, note 8) Louis Napoleon rejected the idea of an invasion of Russia which he perceived to be in English interests, and threatened to withdraw 100,000 men from the Crimea (see *CEN* 32, note 8).

²² The power of the Ottoman Empire was on the wane; it was militarily weak, had lost vast tracts of its territories and was described by Czar Nicholas as 'the sick man of Europe'.

²³ The Treaty of Paris was signed in March 1856 (see *CEN* 30, note 9).

²⁴ The banker Lionel Nathan de Rothschild (1808–1879) loaned the British Government £16 million in 1856 to finance the Crimean War; N. M. Rothschild & Sons were major brokers to the Bank of England and were able to provide political intelligence through their business associates in Europe.

²⁵ C's views on Russia were not consistent; he had previously expressed an interest in the idea of 'communes', and only a few months earlier was of the opinion that Russia should be 'let off easily', in order to maintain the balance of power in 'North Asia' (see *CEN* 12, note 5; 30, note 9).

6.

Council Office, 13 Nov^r '56

My dear Child

I shall not have time to write much of a letter, but I must send a few lines to thank you for the Spenser, which I am very much pleased to have, and so far as I have yet seen, like extremely – I am only sorry that the notes are so *very* unobtrusive¹ –

I only received the packet quite recently – Messrs Low & C^o,² not finding me at the Council Office at the time when they happened to call, thought it might as well wait – & it might have waited long enough, but that Little & Brown sent some Plutarch thither, & forewarned me of its despatch. On calling for this, I was put in possession of the previous deposit³ –

I have just seen Charles Norton, returned yesterday from the Isle of Wight & preparing to start for Paris tomorrow.⁴ He is looking fairly well, but not so well as to make it at all a question whether he should have stayed another winter on this side the water – He says he is well enough – though not quite sound. –

I also was in the Isle of Wight, but not at the same time or place – he at Bonchurch, I at Freshwater, near Tennyson's house.⁵ Tennyson is going on with fragments or idylls as I believe he calls them on the Morte d'Arthur subjects.⁶ Two considerable ones are

¹ See *FJC* 2, note 25; although he originally intended to reduce Hillard's notes to a more compact form, Child's edition is quite extensively annotated. The purpose of the footnotes, he declared, was to enhance readers' enjoyment of the work, and to save the effort of searching for a reference at the end of the volume (*Spenser*, I, iv).

² Sampson Low & Co (see *CEN* 18, note 7).

³ See Appendix 2.

⁴ See *CEN* 36, note 2; for Norton the Isle of Wight was 'to the rest of England ... what Newport [was] to New England' – 'England made more beautiful by soft, southern airs' (*Norton*, I, 151).

⁵ See *CEN* 36, note 3.

⁶ See *CEN* 66, note 8.

complete & he seems to be working steadily – studying Welsh moreover⁷ – I like him personally better than I do his manner in his verses; personally he is the most unmannerly simple big child of a man that you can find⁸ –

How is Cambridge, which I hear Lowell reports so changed that he should not have known it?⁹ I still retain a dollar note (not very dirty) with the portraiture of the College buildings, flanked by the faces of Judge Story & some other Eminence¹⁰ – but all this I suppose – Eminences included – will have become obsolete by this time¹¹ –

Here there is nothing very new, nor any thing particularly true¹² – to tell – Until the next French Revolutions all things will continue.¹³ How your affairs have ended, or what is the commencement of the end, we shall hear I suppose on Monday.¹⁴ Meantime omnes omnia mala dicere¹⁵ – we anticipate no good – C.E.N. dines with us this evening – valedictorily – if anything occurs to add here, in consequence it shall be tomorrow. Meantime adieu.

⁷ Shortly after the visit, on November 1, 1856, C wrote to Tennyson: ‘The best collection of Welsh books is, I am told, to be found in the Library of the Gwynneddion Society in London . . . it would be easy to get access to it. The Myvyrian Archaeology is reported “very scarce” – a copy in the Jesus College Library – I have some hopes of getting a copy of Llywarch Hen for you’. Around 12 December, 1856, C wrote again saying that he had ‘just received . . . both Llywarch Hen and the Gododin’, which he would send via Palgrave who was going to visit Tennyson before Christmas; but if Tennyson needed them immediately he would send them by post (*The Letters of Alfred Lord Tennyson*, ed. by Cecil Y. Lang and Edgar F. Shannon Jr., 3 vols [Oxford: Clarendon, 1987], II, 164 & 167).

⁸ C was not a fan of Tennyson’s earlier work, but liked *Maud*, as it marked ‘a change from his old mannerism’ (see *CEN* 29, note 9); he thought the *Idylls* ‘much the best thing [Tennyson had] done’ (see *CEN* 66, note 8). Tennyson counted C among ‘the rarest spirits of the century’ who he ‘knew and loved best’ (James B. Kenyon, *Loiterings in Old Fields: Literary Sketches* [New York: Eaton and Mains, 1901], p. 11).

⁹ Lowell had recently returned to Cambridge having spent several months in Europe (see *CEN* 28, note 5).

¹⁰ See *CEN* 5, note 14; prior to the US National Banking Act, 1863, there was no uniform national currency.

¹¹ Joseph Story (1779–1845), Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Harvard Professor of Law and instigator of the first savings bank in America (*Life and Letters of Joseph Story*, 2 vols [Boston: Little, Brown, 1851], I, 207).

¹² Cp. *Dipsychus*: ‘And nothing’s new and nothing’s true;’ (VI. 44; *Poems*, 248).

¹³ Despite his disillusionment with the outcome of the Italian and French popular uprisings he had witnessed a decade earlier, C’s American letters demonstrate his continued interest in diverse revolutionary movements abroad, and even an expectation of radical change in the social order at home (see *CEN* 12, note 5; *CEN* 49, note 7; *RWE* 20, note 5).

¹⁴ The election of the Democrat James Buchanan as president, which did not bode well for the future of the Union (see *CEN* 41, note 6; 50, note 5).

¹⁵ A corruption of ‘Omnes omnia bona dicere’ [Latin: ‘Everyone spoke well of him’]; (Terence, *Andria*, in *Bibliotheca Classica: Publii Terentii*, ed. by George Long and the Rev. A. J. Maclean [London: George Bell, 1857], p. 14).

14 Novr [1856]

C.E.N. came & dined yesterday & today at 1 o'clock was to set forth for Paris, hoping to reach Rome at the end of next week, & stopping at Calais tonight¹⁶ – He sends his love to you – I have been reading pretty nearly through Crabbe lately.¹⁷ Have you re-published Crabbe? If not, you ought to do so.¹⁸ There is no one more purely English (in the Dutch manner).¹⁹ No one who better represents the general result through the country of the last century – His descriptions remind even me of things I used to see, hear & hear of in my boy-hood.²⁰ And sometimes though rarely, he has really the highest merit – e.g. Ruth in the Tales of the Hall.²¹ The Life prefaced to Murray's Edition is very amusing, chiefly because of the naïve way in which the son talks about his father – I suppose an abridgement wo^d be necessary for your Series²² –

¹⁶ See *CEN* 36, note 2; *CEN* 41, note 3.

¹⁷ George Crabbe (1754–1832).

¹⁸ See *CEN* 11, note 11; Child supervised the publication of the title *British Poets*, which did not include Crabbe.

¹⁹ Crabbe's close attention to detail and unadorned depiction of the harsh realities of country life were described by William Hazlitt as the poetic equivalent of Dutch interior paintings (*The Spirit of the Age, or Contemporary Portraits*, 2nd edn. [London: Henry Colburn, 1825], p. 368).

²⁰ Crabbe wrote in the tradition of the Augustan poets – Dryden, Pope, etc – whom C admired for their 'austere love of truth' (*PR* 347); it has been suggested that the 'austere' poetic language of the *Mari Magno* tales owed something to Crabbe's manner (James Insley Osborne, *Arthur Hugh Clough* [London: Constable, 1920], p. 174).

²¹ 'Ruth', in *Tales of the Hall* (1819) is about a woman left pregnant by her lover who is press-ganged into the navy before they can marry and who drowns herself rather than succumb to a predatory suitor (*Poetical Works of the Rev George Crabbe*, ed. by his Son, 8 vols [London: John Murray, 1834], VI, 93–110). C's 'The Lawyer's Second Tale' has a similar theme – the vulnerability of women to 'the horror of seduction' and the 'miseries to the woman that ensue'; like 'Ruth' it is written in iambic pentameter with rhyming couplets (*Poems*, 426–439, [p. 427]).

²² Crabbe's son attempted to portray his father in the best light and explain away some of the more questionable aspects of his life. He was, supposedly, 'subject to vertigoes' which passers-by witnessing him fall over in the street after leaving an inn erroneously attributed to the bottle. And, far from having an injurious effect on his health, his daily doses of opium contributed to his long and healthy life, while the romantic dalliances of his later life are dismissed as a 'pardonable sort of weakness' (*The Poetical Works of the Rev George Crabbe, with His Letters and Journals, and His Life*, ed. by his Son, 8 vols [London: John Murray, 1834], I, 161, 224).

Give my best remembrances to Felton & Lowell, and at Shady Hill – Who will come over & represent Cambridge on our side the water next Spring. C.E. N talks of returning here in June²³ –

Ever Yours sincerely

A. H. Clough

MS B

Corr. 521–2 (published in full); *PR* 236–7 (part-published).

²³ Norton and his family returned to England the following year.

Council Office, 10th April [1858]¹

My dear Child

Many thanks for your letter and its kind congratulations.² My wife & family are both doing very well – specially the family³ – My wife is rather slow in recovering strength, but is otherwise well – I am very glad there is a prospect of your coming over here⁴ – but doubtless you will transform yourself into a worm & be during your whole visit lost to sight in the MSS of the British Museum.⁵ Nevertheless even so pray do not fail to come over, & to let me know when it is likely to be. –

Charles Norton I hope is well through the Winter. By this time the snows are beginning I suppose to disappear in your parts. In a month or so the Common will begin to exchange its brown for its green suit – there will be buds in the Washington elm, frogs will again be vocal & double-robins be visible – Do you look at Kingsley's Poems, I don't – I find it impossible to do so.⁶

Oulita I have not tried.⁷ Froude's History is interesting I think, but have only read a little of it.⁸ Gladstone's Homer is I suspect [a] torrent of ponderous rapid rhetoric⁹ –

¹ Year dated by the reference to the birth of C's daughter, Florence.

² Child's unpublished letter of 5th March 1858 (B).

³ See CEN 48, note 2.

⁴ Child eventually arrived in London in December 1858.

⁵ In 1857/8, Child published the first volumes of what was to be his lifetime's work: *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, which was to include a version of every extant English or Scottish ballad. In his tireless pursuit of original manuscript material he consulted several collections in the British Museum, including the 1657 'King's Pamphlets' (*The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, 5 vols. [Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1882], I, [part I, pp. vii, xxvii; V, part II, p. 400]).

⁶ See CEN 41, note 17; CEN 42, note 28.

⁷ See CEN 49, note 15.

⁸ See CEN 54, note 20.

⁹ See CEN 50, note 26; CEN 51, note 8.

Béranger's Memoir is I think worth reading;¹⁰ and so I suppose is Guizot.¹¹

Do you see in the papers that the Frenchman who translated the Canterbury Tales has found at Paris the original of the Squire's Tale – 30,000 lines.¹² I wonder if it is like Spenser's in any respect.¹³ –

Do you read the literary articles in the Saturday Review? – they are generally of a better kind. In its political [posture?] the Saturday is not agreeable, though able – clever, but not I think *very* well informed.¹⁴

The Chevalier Bunsen you see has accepted nobility. He is you must know to be the commencement – or the first-born shall I say – of the Baronage of the Future. He is an innovation upon antiquity – the first peer of Germany in the mixed British pattern – his patent is for himself & the eldest sons in succession – the other descendants remaining [von-less?] & plebeians – so at least I am told – this is the legacy which Frederic William bequeathes [sic] to his country¹⁵ –

¹⁰ *Memoirs of Béranger* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1858), by the French poet, Pierre-Jean de Béranger (1780–1857); *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, praised the 'sweetness and power' of the poetry of the old 'chansonnier' – a 'patriot' and 'republican', whose stirring songs were sung by the revolutionaries in Paris in 1830 (83 [1858], 102–120 [pp. 119, 120]). C was in Paris with Emerson shortly after the 1848 revolution (see Introduction to *RWE* letters, p. 67), and several references to Béranger in his letters (*Corr.* 178, 287), in *Dipsychus* (*Poems*, 250) and in the allusion in *The Bothie* to the Chartist hymn – 'So the good time is coming' (IX. 151, *Poems*, 91) – show that he was acquainted with Béranger's work.

¹¹ Volume 1 of *Memoirs to Illustrate the History of my Time* (trans. by J. W. Cole, 4 vols [London: Richard Bentley, 1858]), by the French statesman, François Guizot (1787–1874), covers the period of his life from the return of Napoleon in 1815 to his support for the constitutional monarchy of Louis Philippe after the Revolution of 1830. C recommends Guizot's *Shakspeare* [sic] and *His Times* (London: Richard Bentley, 1852) for an explanation of the 'incongruities' in Shakespeare's comedies (*PR* 337).

¹² *Reynold's Newspaper* reported the discovery by the Chevalier de Chatelain, 'talented' translator of *Canterbury Tales*, of the source of 'The Squire's Tale', which was, apparently, a poem entitled 'Cleomades', by Adenes le Roy (the King of the Minstrels), consisting of 19,000 octosyllabic verses ('Literary Miscellanea', 11 April 1858, p. 3).

¹³ The Squire in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* is derived from Chaucer's *The Squire's Tale*, in which a knight fights the two brothers of Canace to win her for his wife; in Spenser, however, there are two knights fighting for two ladies 'Canacee' and 'Cambine' (*The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. by Francis J. Child, 5 vols in 2 [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1855], II, 31–32; 38–39).

¹⁴ The *Saturday Review* originally sought to promote the conservative principles of its founder, Alexander James Beresford Hope (1820–1877), but its 'lively writing' and sarcastic tone earned it the nickname the 'Saturday Reviler' (Anthony Brundage, *The People's Historian: John Richard Green and the Writing of History in Victorian England* [Westport CT: Greenwood, 1994], pp. 55–6).

¹⁵ The German-born scholar and one-time Prussian Ambassador, Christian Karl Josias von Bunsen (1791–1860) who was a friend of Thomas Arnold, and helped popularise classical studies; in 1857 Friedrich Wilhelm IV raised him to the rank of baron and made him a life peer (*DNB*).

Will you give my kindest remembrances to Felton.¹⁶ I have sent him by Miss Nightingale's request a copy of some Diagrams on Army Mortality – part of the Report which has been making such a disturbance in the Times and other papers, if haply you have noticed it.¹⁷ But you have disturbances enough of your own I suppose, the upshot of which it is not very easy to gather from the newspapers¹⁸ – Things in Europe do not look pleasant – Louis Napoleon will [be] playing some disagreeable game or other before long, but will not I think quarrel right out with us, just yet.¹⁹

April 14th.

The great literary success of the last twelvemonths *has* been Buckle's History of Civilisation or whatever it is called – Really it is wonderful what numbers of people have read this thick volume & what a reputation its author has gained by it – I cannot say I have any desire to read it – But high & low & high quite as much as low, unite in its praise.²⁰

April 16

You will see by the Reviews that Arnold's *Merope* has attracted some critical notice & some, though not quite so much commendation. I cannot say that I received much natural pleasure from it when I read it – & the fault I found was that on its own hypothesis it was defective, from the want of unity of interest. Does anybody like it over with you.²¹ I do not suppose either that anybody finds much natural pleasure in my 5 act epistolary tragi-comedy or comi-tragedy – I like pt III rather better than its predecessors, myself, but other people I dare say will not – I think it will have some merit in its

¹⁶ See *RWE* 10, note 2; *CEN* 18, note 3.

¹⁷ See *CEN* 56, note 10.

¹⁸ See *CEN* 50, note 18; *CEN* 53, note 13.

¹⁹ See *CEN* 56, note 12.

²⁰ See *CEN* 50, note 19; *CEN* 51, note 13.

²¹ See *CEN* 45, note 36; *CEN* 47, note 6; 49, note 15; *JRL* 9, notes 10, 11; the reviews of *Merope* were not hostile. In general, critics praised its technical accomplishment – it was a 'skilful imitation' of the classical poetry that Arnold so admired ('*Merope*', *Saturday Review*, 5 [1858], 19–20, [p. 19]), but for the *Athenaeum*, Arnold's theory of 'poesy' (see *CEN* 47, note 6) was 'much better than his practice', and the result lacked originality and the unity of purpose that Arnold strove for, and was ultimately tedious (2 January 1858, p. 13).

conclusion: – but to that also I dare say there will be no affirmative voice but my own –
 – So much for keeping poems nine years instead of burning them at once.²² –

Tennyson's two unpublished Arthur-poems which I saw some months ago certainly gave me pleasure – & I am sorry they do not appear.²³ Otherwise England seems as unpoetic as between Chaucer and Spenser.²⁴

Farewell

Ever Yours

A H Clough

MS B

Corr. 546–7 (part-published); *PR* 240–1 (part-published).

²² *Amours de Voyage* received very good reviews in the States (See *CEN* 48, note 3; *CEN* 50, note 6).

²³ See *CEN* 47, note 16; *CEN* 53, note 10; *CEN* 66, note 8.

²⁴ Cp. C's comments on the period from the Restoration through the eighteenth century, when literature's 'predominant and characteristic form' was no longer 'the highest, the *poetical*', but rather 'a source of elegant amusement' (*PR* 341–2).

Council Office, 15 Feby 59

Dear Child

I had your letter yesterday, & was grieved to find it give [sic] no better news¹ – I sent on your letter at once to Dr Todd (whose name everybody knows) with a note asking him to let me know what your debt to him would be.² Perhaps before this is completed I shall hear from him. – A letter from Jane Norton to my wife which came a week ago reported the receipt of a letter from you with not a very favorable [sic] account – Charles himself seemed to be doing fairly well in spite of the desperate winter –

Your new volumes of Ballads have not yet reached me. I don't look often either into the Athenaeum or any other literary weekly – The Illustrated News announced with some high complimentary flourishes that you would be in England next month & talked of the Chaucer that was to be.³ – This perhaps you may have seen at Milano.⁴ – I have not anything else to report. –

¹ Probably regarding Child's future wife Lizzie (Elizabeth Ellery Sedgwick, 1824–1909) with whom he was carrying on an epistolary courtship and married in 1860; she was often weak and unable to walk, but attributed her condition to 'nerves' rather than 'muscles' (Mary Ellen Brown, *Child's Unfinished Masterpiece: The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* [Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2011], p. 35).

² Sedgwick consulted a variety of medical specialists, including Dr Robert Bentley Todd (1809–1860), a leading London medical practitioner, and an expert on paralysis, whose habit of prescribing large doses of brandy for a range of conditions led to his eventually falling out of favour (*DNB*).

³ The announcement in the *Illustrated London News* read: 'Our American brethren will like to hear that America is about to send to England a ripe scholar to complete his studies of Chaucer in Chaucer's native country. Professor Child of Havard [sic] College, is to be in England next month. The Professor gave us a good edition of Spenser in 1855, and has recently printed eight volumes of old ballads and popular poetry. He will find English scholars ready to receive him with a warm hand, and just as ready to assist his studies towards a new, and in America much-looked-for, edition of Chaucer' ('Town and Table Talk on Literature, Art &c.', 22 January 1859, p. 75).

⁴ Child was granted leave of absence from Harvard to help with Lizzie Sedgwick's care (see note 1 above). From Milan they travelled slowly through Switzerland and France (*Child's Unfinished Masterpiece*, p. 35).

Mill “On Liberty”,⁵ Hanworth, a novel in one Vol from Fraser’s Magazine,⁶ Blakesley’s Algeria,⁷ Dasent’s Tales from the Norse⁸ – these are books which may interest or amuse. Masson’s Life of Milton I have only seen reviewed in the Saturday Review, which gave it considerable praise: but rather found fault with its Carlylese phraseology here & there – & pointed out numerous mistakes in the translations of the Latin poems. The style does look to me disagreeable, but Masson is a very painstaking hard working man & must I suppose have added a good deal to the known facts, though probably in a small way.⁹ Mill “on Liberty” gave me great pleasure.¹⁰ – The Scouring of the White Horse by Tom Hughes alias Brown is worth looking at for amusement.¹¹ –

I have not seen Tennyson since last June – He went to Norway & came back – I hear he has now completed a 4th story, & this a very long one, out of the Arthur Cycle. It is the complete story of which the Lady of Shalott is a late abridgement.¹² I have seen the two

⁵ See CEN 59, note 9.

⁶ ‘Hanworth’, by Lady Pollock (Sarah Anne Amowah Langslow Pollock, d. 1895), was serialized in six parts in *Fraser’s Magazine* (58 [1858]), and published anonymously by John W Parker (London) in 1858. The plot turns on the uncertainty of two friends as to which has won the heart of a ‘love-creating coquet’ of a nobleman; of no great literary merit but a ‘good readable tale’ was the verdict of the *Saturday Review* (‘Hanworth’, 2 [1859], p. 19).

⁷ *Four Months in Algeria: with a Visit to Carthage* (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1859), by the Rev. Joseph Williams Blakesley, Dean of Lincoln (1808–1885) is a sympathetic account of the religion and customs of this ‘very curious’ and ‘little known’ country. Blakesley found a great deal of hostility toward the French colonists whose ‘unflinching severity’ had ‘effectually cowed’ the ‘native’ population, but done little ‘to reconcile them to the yoke, and less to inspire a love for European civilization’ (p. 34).

⁸ *The first collected edition of Popular Tales from the Norse: an anthology of myths and folk tales* (Edinburgh, Edmonston & Douglas), translated by the Scandinavian scholar, Sir George Webbe Dasent (1817–1896), appeared in 1859.

⁹ *The Life of John Milton* by David Mather Masson (1822–1907); the *Saturday Review* criticized the disrespectful and ‘irreverent’ tone, borrowed from Carlyle, that Masson uses to talk about even well-known historical figures; and disapproved of language, such as ‘rubbish’ and ‘trash’, with which he dismisses revered texts. But a far ‘graver fault’ was that Masson’s translations of Milton’s Latin often failed ‘to represent the sense of the original’. Overall, though, the reviewer concluded that the biography was very well researched and its merits counterbalanced its defects (‘Masson’s Life of Milton’, 7 [1859], 128–30 [p. 129]).

¹⁰ See note 5 above.

¹¹ Thomas Hughes (1822–1896), the author of *Tom Brown’s Schooldays* (see CEN 48, note 7), published *The Scouring of the White Horse, or, The Long Vacation Ramble of a London Clerk* in 1859, in which, after witnessing the ancient Uffington festival, the titular character realizes that squires are not all oppressors of the poor, and that the past has something to teach the present (London: Macmillan).

¹² In the 1859 edition (see CEN 66, note 8), ‘Elaine’ is the third *Idyll* and ‘Guinevere’ the fourth. ‘Elaine’ was a reworked version of *The Lady of Shalott*, first published in 1833 (*Poems by Alfred Tennyson* [London: Moxon]); (David Staines, *Tennyson’s Camelot: The Idylls of the King and its Medieval Sources* [Ontario: Wilfred Laurier, 1982], p. 51).

first, & have heard the third – Arthur and Guinevere – which I thought on the whole quite the best thing he had done¹³ –

The Twistletons are here – I saw them last night – Mrs Twistleton enquired about you – she looks well.¹⁴ –

I shall keep this over till tomorrow at the risk of being too late for you at Genoa,¹⁵ in the hopes of having something from Dr Todd¹⁶ – You, I hope, will hear something consolatory from him. –

To the books above mentioned let me add Adam Bede a novel¹⁷ – & the biography of Grace Dalrymple Elliott.¹⁸ –

Friday 18th I have heard nothing from Dr Todd, & can only hope he has written to you ... If in a day or two I hear nothing, I will write to him again & enquire.

Ever yours faithfully

A H Clough

MS B

Corr. 564–5 (part-published).

¹³ C listened to Tennyson read a ‘3rd Arthur poem’ on 23rd June 1858 (see *CEN* 53, note 10).

¹⁴ See *CEN* 59, note 2.

¹⁵ See note 4 above.

¹⁶ See note 2 above..

¹⁷ See *CEN* 60, note 9.

¹⁸ *Journal of my Life during the French Revolution* (London: Richard Bentley, 1859) by Grace Elliott (*née* Dalrymple), (1754?–1823), is the ‘lively’ and ‘graphic’ account of the colourful life of the courtesan and divorcee who had an illegitimate daughter by the Prince of Wales, and was later imprisoned in Paris during the ‘terrible Revolution’ (*Westminster Review*, ‘History and Biography’, 71 [1859], 613–4 [p. 614]).

(v) **Clough's letters to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–1882) – (HWL)**

The first mention of Longfellow in Clough's correspondence comes in a letter from Emerson in January 1849 congratulating Clough on the publication of *The Bothie* (*Corr.* 232-3). So impressed was Emerson by the poem, that he had sent copies to several of his friends, including Longfellow, who, after hearing it read to a distinguished and admiring audience, which included James Russell Lowell, pronounced it to be 'altogether fascinating' and of a 'very high order of merit'. Longfellow was 'most favorably' struck by the 'fine delineation of the passion of love' and 'delighted' to see another poem in hexameters.¹ Longfellow's own use of the classical dactylic hexameter in his poem *Evangeline* (1847) was both unusual and controversial. For William Whewell, in *Fraser's Magazine*, however, Longfellow's new work was an 'indigenous' American poem – a welcome exception to the 'derivative' and 'imitative' verse which harked back to the poets of the 'old country'. His innovative use of the hexameter lent itself ideally to an 'idiomatic plainness' of expression, and the presentation of imagery 'fresh from nature'.² In his reply to Emerson, Clough acknowledged his debt to Longfellow – reading *Evangeline* to his mother and sister, after a 'reperusal' of the *Iliad*, had, he said, inspired him to write *The Bothie* (*RWE* 5); it has also been suggested that *Evangeline* might have served as an 'anti-model' for Clough's *Amours de Voyage*.³

Some years later, while in America, Clough wrote an article praising Longfellow for succeeding in the difficult task of making English hexameters 'readable' – for accustoming his countrymen to 'the flow and cadence' of this 'hitherto unacceptable measure'.⁴ Clough's first meeting with Longfellow came almost immediately after his arrival in Boston in November 1852 (see Introduction, p. 12); it was, perhaps, a mark of his high social status that the celebrated American poet should have paid him such an

¹ *The Letters of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, ed. by Andrew Hilen, 5 vols (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1972) III, 189.

² 'Evangeline, a Tale of Acadie', *Fraser's Magazine for Town & Country*, 37 (1848), 295–298 (pp. 295, 298).

³ *Clough: The Critical Heritage*, ed. by Michael Thorpe (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), p.7.

⁴ 'Letter of Parepidemus, Number Two', *Putnam's Magazine* 2 (1853), 138–40 (p. 138).

early call (*Corr.* 330). A few days later, Clough, in company with his new friend Charles Norton, the poet James Lowell and Harvard Professor Cornelius Felton, was invited to Craigie House, Longfellow's Cambridge home where they had an 'English dinner' of 'grouse, pheasants and milk punch'. Clough, seemingly quite unfazed by his new-found popularity, was much taken with Longfellow's library and wrote punningly to Blanche that his host was 'a very good fellow', and that he was beginning to 'like the beautiful wife better' (*Corr.* 338).

Throughout his stay in New England Clough was most often in the company of the Longfellows and Nortons, whom he liked best among the members of his illustrious new circle (*Corr.* 354). And the feeling was mutual: after one of Clough's frequent visits, Longfellow wrote in his journal that he 'like[d] Clough exceedingly', with his 'gentleness and his bewildered look and his half-closed eyes'.⁵ Several of Longfellow's journal entries record enjoyable evenings spent with Clough; on November 26th 1852, for example, he attended some 'private theatricals' at the Nortons with 'a nice little epilogue' written by 'Mr Clough';⁶ and in January 1853 Clough came to dinner bringing with him a volume of Arnold's poems, which Longfellow found 'very clever'.⁷ In his letters Clough often refers to the lavish Craigie House dinners, one of which consisted of oysters, champagne and wild duck, washed down with copious quantities of milk punch (*Corr.* 399).

Some six months later, Clough's sudden departure occasioned a great deal of regret amongst all his American friends, not least Longfellow, who 'never cease[d] to regret' him and wished him to return (*Corr.* 479). Sadly, he likened Clough's leaving to the crusader in Schiller's *Ritter Toggenburg*, who, unable to bear the separation from his sweetheart, flees the Holy Land to return to her.⁸

⁵ *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, ed. by Samuel Longfellow, 3 vols (Boston & New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1891), II, 246.

⁶ *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, II, 245.

⁷ *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, II, 249.

⁸ *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, II, 251.

Hardly had Clough settled into his new job as Examiner in the Council Office (see Introduction, p. 13) before he was wishing himself back in New England and writing nostalgically to his friends across the Atlantic, including Longfellow, begging for news and assuring them of his firm intention to return before too long (*HWL* 1).

1.

Sept ____ & 9 1853

My dear Longfellow

You are back by this time or rather will be by the time this touches the western shore, in Cambridge¹ – So I send a few words of greeting across. I confess I could far more pleasantly be under the shadow of your balcony than in this dim darkness of London mist² – it is not quite fog at present. But what is much worse is that all friends & acquaintance are away – Carlyle alone survives,³ but in Chelsea as far distant from me in Bedford Square⁴ as Dr Howe in South Boston is from you.⁵

A dim presentiment I think must have led me, quite unwittingly, to your door that last preceding afternoon before my departure. I certainly felt there was no particular reason for coming.⁶

My office here is called an Examinership under the Committee of Privy Council for Education. I am paid 300£ a year which rises gradually, by 20£ a year, to 600£.⁷ I stay

¹ Longfellow had a summer cottage at Nahant, Massachusetts, which he used to escape from the ‘suffocating’ routines of teaching and college administrative duties, neither of which gave him any pleasure. The family left for Nahant in early July 1853, and Longfellow wrote that they drove to the beach daily where the children went ‘wild with the sea-air and the bathing’ (*The Letters of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, ed. by Andrew Hilen, 6 vols (Cambridge: Harvard U.P., 1972), III, pp.151, 388–9).

² According to a visitor the winter-fogs of London ‘surpass[ed] all imagining’; the air was ‘grey-yellow, of a deep orange’, and black at the same time, and ‘full of bad smells, and choking’ (Max Schlesinger, *Saunterings in and about London* [London: Nathaniel Cooke, 1853], p. 84).

³ Carlyle spent the summer at his home in Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, unable to face watching the slow decline of his mother in Scotland (see *CEN* 12, note 16). He was, however, rather relishing the solitude; London was, he wrote to Emerson, not a bad place at that time of year with its ‘long clean streets’ and ‘green parks’, and no fear of bumping into someone he knew (9 September 1853, *CLO* 28: 263–66).

⁴ C moved to 7, Caroline Street, Bedford Square, London in August 1852, after resigning his post at University Hall (see Introduction, p. 11); the distance from Carlyle’s house in Chelsea, south-west London, is approximately 4 miles.

⁵ Dr Samuel Gridley Howe (1801–1876), the prominent abolitionist; C stayed at his home in Dorchester Heights, South Boston for a few days in November 1852 (*Corr.* 332–3).

⁶ See Introduction, p. 13; *Corr.* 452–3; *CEN* 2 & 3; C sailed home from New York aboard the *Asia* on 29th June 1853; Longfellow later wrote expressing his admiration for the ‘wonderful *stampede*’ by which C had ‘extricated’ himself from ‘all the petty cares of a teacher’s life’ (*Corr.* 478).

⁷ See Introduction, p. 14 & *CEN* 5, note 1.

in there, up two pair,⁸ at the very corner of Downing S^t & Whitehall from 11 to 5 or 5½ daily, pretty well occupied all the time. I find it however as yet rather agreeable work than otherwise, chiefly perhaps by way of contrast to past pedagogic occupations⁹ –

Of news at present, political, literary or anything else, one hears nothing – Everybody is gone. Carlyle is building himself a sound-proof room at the top of his house,¹⁰ being much harassed by cocks & hens & hurdy-gurdies.¹¹ I think he is working pretty hard at Fred^k the Great.¹² Tennyson is away in the North – at Glasgow, when I last heard, with his sister’s husband – Lushington.¹³ In Tom Taylor’s life of Haydon there are some pages about Keats that are of interest I believe.¹⁴ I was looking to day in the British Institution at his large picture of <the> the Judgement of Solomon belonging, it seems, to Landseer.¹⁵ It is really rather fine. Kingsley is going to publish a poem in Hexameters, on Perseus & Andromeda I think. But I have no faith in his poetics.¹⁶ –

⁸ Situated above ‘two pairs’ or flights of stairs, ie on the second floor (*OED*).

⁹ C’s previous teaching posts at Oriel College, Oxford (see *RWE* 1, note 6), University Hall, London (see *RWE* 5, note 12), and tutor of Greek and Mathematics at Cambridge, Mass (see *CEN* 1, note 3).

¹⁰ Carlyle had been plagued by the ‘winged forces’ of his next-door neighbour’s cocks crowing at night and parrots squawking during the day (letter to John Carlyle, *CLO* 28: 268–269, 14 September, 1853), which was why he was having a new sound-proofed top storey to his house built; he was now complaining about the tremendous noise above, and the Irish labourers who had fallen through the ceilings five times bringing ‘cartloads of dust and broken laths and plaster down with them (to John Carlyle, *CLO* 28: 261–262, 7? September 1853).

¹¹ A musical instrument with strings, similar to the lute or guitar (*OED*).

¹² See *CEN* 48, note 6.

¹³ Tennyson’s lifelong friend, fellow ‘Apostle’, and brother-in-law, Edmund Law Lushington (1811–1893), Professor of Greek at Glasgow College; in the summer of 1853, Tennyson went with Palgrave to Glasgow, and then on to Edinburgh, where he wrote ‘The Daisy’ (Hallam Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir*, 2 vols [London: Macmillan, 1897], I, p. 364).

¹⁴ See *CEN* 22, note 7; the playwright and comic writer, Tom Taylor (1817–1880), edited the *Life of Benjamin Robert Haydon, Historical Painter*, (3 vols [London: Longman, 1853]). Haydon (1786–1846) and John Keats (1795–1821) were close friends, and Haydon included Keats’s face in his painting *Christ’s Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem*. Haydon was greatly attached to Keats but angry that he would not ‘bend his great power to some definite object’ and saddened by his flight into ‘dissipation’ as a result of the malicious envy and ‘sneers’ of his enemies (II, 8–10). (C was involved in the production of the first edition of Keats’s letters in 1848 (Phelan, p. 110).

¹⁵ Haydon’s *The Judgement of Solomon* was exhibited in 1814 to enthusiastic public acclaim; one admirer swore it was ‘the finest work England had produced’ and it sold for 600 guineas on the first day (*Haydon*, I, 220). The picture was exhibited for the second time in 1853, at the British Institution, at which time it was owned by the painter Sir Edwin Landseer (1802–1873), a former pupil of Haydon.

¹⁶ See *RWE* 5, note 6; *RWE* 19, note 20; *CEN* 41, note 17; *CEN* 42, note 28. In his review of *The Bothie*, Kingsley had criticised C’s irregular hexameters; it was his belief that there was ‘something sacramental in perfect metre and rhythm’ (‘The Bothie of Toper-Na-Fuosich’, *Fraser’s Magazine*, 39 [1849], 104–109 [p. 107]). But, as Patrick Scott points out, ‘C was committed not merely to attempting classical metres in English, but to a verse-theory which specified that accent and quantity should occasionally clash’ (*The Bothie*, *Arthur Hugh Clough: The Text of 1848*, ed. by Patrick Scott [St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1976], p. 7).

Disraeli, it is conjectured, being put aside by the Tories may not improbably join the Radicals!¹⁷ – I saw the Pulzskys¹⁸ the other day at the Horners'.¹⁹ They are now living not far from the Horners, at the bottom of Highgate Hill – You are not to have them out with you at Cambridge at present. Not I suppose at any rate until it is quite certain that the Czar will keep the peace.²⁰

I hope you will write me a line – & send some Cambridge news in return for this – which really, considering the time of year is a very reasonable budget.

Some wind I think, stormy or otherwise must yet mean to blow me across the Atlantic again. I tell all the people here that they have not seen anything of the world <until> so long as they have not crossed the seas —

The Wedgewoods left London just after my arrival.²¹ I just saw them. I just missed seeing M^{rs} Mackintosh.²²

- - - -

Written some few days ago and now it is September 9, and to morrow is the day of a steamer. London continues infinitely dull, but almost disagreeably cool, which I confess

I prefer myself to the dreadful heats reported of from your side²³ – Do you hear

¹⁷ See *CEN* 5, note 16.

¹⁸ See *CEN* 7, note 8; the Pulzskys often dined with Longfellow and they greatly admired his poetry – ‘finished’, ‘refined’ and ‘the expression of classical taste’. In his conversation, manners and appearance, Longfellow himself bore the stamp of ‘natural nobility’ (Francis and Theresa Pulzsky, *White, Red, Black: Sketches of American Society*, 2 vols [New York: Redfield, 1853], II, 170).

¹⁹ See *CEN* 6 note 5.

²⁰ In the build up to the Crimean War (see *CEN* 15, notes 5 & 8), Czar Nicholas I of Russia had moved troops into the Turkish Balkans to force Turkey to submit to his demands regarding the guardianship of the holy places (see *CEN* 5, note 6; *CEN* 10, note 12). Austria-Hungary feared invasion because Russia had crossed the Danube and began to mobilise.

²¹ See *CEN* 70, note 13; Hensleigh Wedgwood (1803–1891), philologist and intellectual companion to Darwin, was married to Frances Emma Wedgwood (1800–1889), sister-in-law of Mary Appleton Mackintosh.

²² See *CEN* 42, note 13; *CEN* 73, note 5.

²³ *The Times* reported that there had been more than 400 deaths in New York in the week ending 20 August, due to the extreme heat (5 September 1853, p. 7).

anything of Hawthorne? I suppose he hides himself sedulously in a corner of the Consul's Office at Liverpool, & will very likely return to America without coming up to London.²⁴ I heard indirectly of Emerson the other day through Carlyle. The sound-proof room is gradually "getting itself built" –

I met Charles Murray your semi-compatriot, the other day – he had just come back from Egypt & is now gone off to be minister at Berne.²⁵ He seemed to me to <have> be really more an American than an Englishman²⁶ – & though he had been reading Arabic and Persian during all his time at Cairo, he had not orientalized himself in the least²⁷ – he expressed, amongst other things, his opinion that the English were the most conceited nation in the world. – Have you studied by the way, the new decoction of Christianity à la Tien-teh?²⁸ which really has been the most interesting phenomenon to be heard of lately – The fragments of the Trimetrical Classic which appeared in some of the

²⁴ American novelist, Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–1864); as US Consul in Liverpool he dealt with the 'distressed and downfallen' of every nation – from 'Italian bandits' to 'scarred French soldiers' – all hoping for 'a bit of bread' or 'a passage to the blessed shores of Freedom' (Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Our Old Home: A Series of English Sketches* [London: Smith Elder, 1864], pp. 4–5).

²⁵ Sir Charles Augustus Murray (1806–1895) was Consul-General in Egypt from 1846–1853, before taking up the position of British Envoy in Switzerland. During his time in America he spent three months in the wilds with an Indian tribe which he described in his *Travels in North America* (1839).

²⁶ Had Clough become 'Americanised' during his stay in New England (see Introduction, p. 16)? Cp. Matthew Arnold's criticism of *The Bothie's* modernity; a fault he considered to be typically American (*The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by Howard Foster Lowry [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932; repr. 1968], p. 95).

²⁷ See *RWE* 6, note 8; to adopt the customs and culture of the 'exotic' 'orient'. In the context of India this meant familiarising oneself with 'Oriental' institutions 'utterly at variance with our own free institutions' and with forms of a 'mythological' religion that nobody but a philosopher could comprehend (*The Times*, 19 February 1858, p. 5).

²⁸ Tien-teh ('celestial virtue'), the self-styled 'younger brother' of Christ, was leader of a Chinese band of insurgents calling themselves the 'worshippers of Jesus', whose 'boiled down' version of Christianity seems to have sprung up in 1850, quite independently of any Catholic missionary efforts. In their creed there was no mention of the Church or the Virgin, no crucifix was seen and no priesthood recognised. The writer on China, Anthony Grant (1806–1883), in the *Quarterly Review*, described the rebels as a 'semi-barbarous people newly professing a certain number of Christian doctrines and the main principles of Christian morality', but among whom 'some old heathenish follies and tricks' still lingered' (94 [1853], 171–95 [pp. 180, 190]).

newspapers were quite worth literary examⁿ.²⁹ Has the French account of Messrs Ivan & Caillery come over to you? I only know it by the abridgements which one sees, in Blackwood & the Times, but I suppose it is the book to be relied upon.³⁰

Farewell – Will you remember me, if you please, to M^{rs} Longfellow; & tell the young people, who probably however have forgotten me some little time ago, that I mean to come over & see them before they have quite grown up?³¹

Believe me
truly yours,

A. H. Clough

MS H

Corr. 462 (part-published).

²⁹ Tien-teh's rebel forces were phenomenally successful in routing the Imperial army at every turn; a British contingent sent to Nankin [sic] to negotiate with the insurgents were amazed to find that the new sect's religious texts, in particular, a poem or psalm called the 'Trimetrical Classic' – 'one of the most singular productions' they had ever perused – were undoubtedly derived, in some large part, from the Old and New Testaments (*The Times*, 2 August 1853, p. 5). The language of the Bible pervaded the 'Trimetrical Classic' – so-called because each line contains only three metrical feet; in its 'simple announcement of the chief Scriptural events, without comment or inference' and its lack of conventional language and absence of doctrine, it was said to closely resemble the work of the early Church fathers, and to be 'drawn directly from the Word of God' (*Quarterly Review* 94 [1853], 171–95 [p. 185]).

³⁰ In the account of Tien-teh by two eminent French writers, MM Callery & Yvan (*L'Insurrection en Chine; depuis son origine jusqu'à la prise de Nankin*, Paris, 1853), the 'sacred' pretender to the Imperial throne is swathed in mystery; 'dignified', 'serene' and with an 'incontestably superiority of mind', the 'distinguished personage' avoids exposing himself to danger, but directs his army from afar while maintaining a 'lofty reserve'. It was likely, the authors concluded, that should the revolution be successful, China would be divided into states along the lines of the USA, but governed by Tien-teh's vassals or 'Kings' ('The History of the Chinese Insurrection', *The Times*, 25 August 1853, p. 6).

³¹ Longfellow was married to Frances Elizabeth Appleton (Fanny), (1819–1861); at the time of C's letter they had four surviving children: Charles Appleton, Ernest Wadsworth, Alice Mary and Edith.

2.

Whitehall, Aug^t 4 1854

My dear Longfellow

I delayed answering your kind note till I should be able to say that the gift which it announced had actually arrived.

About a week ago the much expected box came to Whitehall – very soon after our own return from visiting some of my relations in Wales. My wife has been wearing your beautiful present ever since, and is extremely pleased with it. She does not venture to write to M^{rs} Longfellow, but she has written to Felton whom she has had the advantage of seeing;¹ and I may convey her best & kindest acknowledgements with my own –

The mosaic is really just the ornament that I should have wished to have given her myself.²

I wish I could look forward to some future day when I might join a party once more under your roof tree – but here I am chained to the desk, & can only hope that you & M^{rs} Longfellow will visit us.

I am glad you have seen Lawrence, & have submitted to be the subject of his art. I wish he wo^d take Emerson also, before he leaves Massachusetts.³ –

¹ See *RWE* 10, note 2; *RWE* 18, note 3.

² Longfellow wrote to C on 5 June 1854, describing the gift he had sent to him and Blanche as a ‘token of remembrance and love’ for their wedding on 13th June 1854 (see *RWE* 17, note 1). It was a Florentine mosaic pin, “Naiad-like lily of the vale, whose tremulous bells are seen through their pavilions of tender green”, and ‘whose interpretation in the floral dialect’ is “Return of Happiness” (*Corr.* 483).

³ See *CEN* 11, note 6; although Emerson met Lawrence whilst he was in New York in March 1854, and was impressed with his work, Lawrence does not appear to have painted a portrait of Emerson, but seems to have painted Longfellow (see *CEN* 21, note 3), (*The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson 1834–1872*, ed. by Charles Eliot Norton, 2 vols [Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1896], II, 263).

I enclose a few words to M^{rs} Longfellow –

Believe me

Ever Yours sincerely

A.H. Clough

I hear little of literary matters now. Curzon's Armenia is the pleasantest book I have read lately.⁴ Hooker's Himalayan journals are also readable⁵ – and the World talks much of Whewell's Plurality of Worlds.⁶ W^m Allingham has thrown up a place in the Customs, of 300£ a year & has come to London to earn daily bread (without butter) by literature – I like him, & I hope to see him soon, which I have not yet done.⁷ Did you read Matt Arnold's Sohrab & Rustum? I should like to know what you think of it. I myself have rather a feeling of the pseudo-antique about it – & do not concur properly in the Pre-Shakespear[ean?] theory⁸ –

Farewell for the present – I must do some schools

Ever Yours most truly

A H Clough

MS B

Corr. 488 (part-published).

⁴ *Armenia: A Year at Erzeroom, and on the Frontiers of Russia, Turkey, and Persia*, by the Hon. Robert Curzon (1810–1873), (London: John Murray, 1854), documents the author's travels as part of a Government Commission charged with defining the boundaries between Turkey and Persia. Armenia he describes as 'the cradle of the human family' that for centuries had been 'a bone of contention between conflicting powers' (p. vii).

⁵ See *CEN* 16, note 14.

⁶ See *CEN* 14, note 12; *CEN* 16, note 10.

⁷ See *RWE* 5, note 14; *RWE* 6, note 10; *CEN* 56, note 4.

⁸ See *CEN* 10, note 9; *CEN* 11, note 7; *CEN* 15, note 13.

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APPENDIX 1**TIMELINE OF ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH'S LIFE**

- 1819 Born in Liverpool.
- 1822–3 Family moves to Charleston, South Carolina for father's cotton business.
- 1828 C returns to England to attend school at Chester then Rugby (1829).
- 1836 Wins scholarship to Balliol College, Oxford.
- 1837–41 Balliol College, Oxford.
- 1842–48 Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.
- 1847 C invites Emerson to Oriel College.
- 1848 C goes to Paris with Emerson during the French revolution; resigns his Fellowship; publication of *The Bothie*.
- 1849 Publication of *Ambarvalia* – poems by C and Thomas Burbidge. C goes to Rome during the French occupation; first draft of *Amours de Voyage*; appointed Principal of University Hall, London.
- 1850 Visits Venice; writes first draft of *Dipsycus and The Spirit*.
- 1851 Meets Blanche Smith, his future wife.
- 1852 Resigns his post at University Hall; sails to New England aboard the same ship as Thackeray and James Russell Lowell; meets Charles Eliot Norton and Longfellow in Boston, and Francis Child in Cambridge.
- 1853 Publishes several poems and prose works in American magazines (Appendix 2). Commissioned to produce a new edition of *Plutarch's Lives*; returns to England to take up post of Examiner in the Council Office.
- 1854 Marriage to Blanche Smith.
- 1855 Birth of Clough's first son who lives only one day; Norton begins work on proposed American edition of C's poems.
- 1856 Reprint of *The Bothie* deferred.

- 1858 *Amours de Voyage* published for the first time in the *Atlantic Monthly*; C's daughter, Florence Anne Mary born; C sends poems to Norton for proposed American edition.
- 1859 C sends revised *Amours de Voyage*, *The Bothie* and other poems to Norton. *The Bothie* is lost in the post. C's review of *Poems and Ballads of Goethe* in *Fraser's Magazine* (Appendix 2); publication of *Plutarch's Lives* and Florence Nightingale's *Notes on Nursing*; C's son, Arthur Hugh Clough born; C goes to Hastings to convalesce.
- 1860 C sends a corrected copy of *The Bothie* to Norton; death of C's mother.
- 1861 C goes to Malvern for the 'water-cure', then Greece, Constantinople and France, where he stays with the Tennysons; Blanche joins C in Paris and they travel to Italy; C dies in Florence in November.
- 1862 Editions of Clough's poems published in London and Boston (Appendix 2).

APPENDIX 2**CLOUGH'S PUBLICATIONS 1852-1862****1. Poems & Prose works written during Clough's voyage to America, or in America (page numbers refer to *Poems*)**

In the Great Metropolis (p. 305).

Lips, lips, open! (p. 332).

Four black steamers plying on the Thames (p. 332).

Farewell, farewell! Her vans the vessel tries (p. 333).

Green fields of England (p. 334).

Lie here, my darling, on my breast (p. 334).

Ye flags of Piccadilly (p. 335).

Come home, come home! And where an home hath he (p. 336).

Come back, come back! behold with straining mast (p. 337).

Some future day, when what is now is not (p. 338).

Epilogue to Box and Cox (p. 339).

Come, pleasant thoughts, sweet thoughts, at will (p. 339).

How in all wonder Columbus got over (p. 340).

What we, when face to face we see (p. 341).

Where lies the land to which the ship would go? (p. 342).

Were I with you, or you with me (p. 342).

Were you with me, or I with you (I & II), (p. 345).

That out of sight is out of mind (p. 347).

When at the glass you tie your hair (p. 347).

Am I with you, or you with me? (p. 348).

The mighty ocean rolls and raves (p. 349).

O Qui Me – ! (p. 350).

The Angel (p. 351).

O ship, ship, ship (p. 351).

Tomorrow will come with morning light (p. 352).

Nay draw not yet the cork, my friend (p. 352).

Epithalamium (p. 355).

2. **Poems and Prose Works published during Clough's stay in America**

'As Ships Becalmed' (*Thalatta: Book for the Seaside* (Boston: Ticknor, Reed, 1853), p. 205).

'Last Words. Napoleon and Wellington' (*Fraser's Magazine*, 47 [February 1853], 155–6), (*Poems*, p. 343).

'Oxford University Commission': a review of a government report into the English University system, based on Clough's own experience, which concludes with an appeal for America to adopt a more egalitarian system of higher education which might benefit 'the fittest' not 'the richest' (*North American Review*, 76 [April 1853], 369–397).

'Letters of Parepidemus, Number One' (*Putnam's Magazine*, 2 [July 1853], 72–75); includes 3 poems: *Upon the water, in a boat* (*Poems*, p. 354); *To spend uncounted years of pain* (*Poems*, p. 313); & the final stanza of *Come, Poet, come!* (*Poems*, 353).

'Recent English Poetry' (*North American Review*, 77 [July 1853], 1–31).

'Recent Social Theories': C endorses Charles Norton's call for a return to the values of self-sacrifice and service to the community which count for more than abstract concepts of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity (*North American Review*, 77 [July 1853], 106–118).

'Letters of Parepidemus, Number Two' (*Putnam's Magazine*, 2 [August 1853], 138–40).

3. **Poems and Prose Works published after Clough's return from America**

'Contemporary Literature in America' (*Westminster Review*, 60 [1853], 593–609 [pp. 604–5]).

'Peschiera' (*Putnam's Magazine*, 3 [May 1854], 522).

Specimen Pages of Plutarch's Lives (Boston: Little, Brown, 1855).

Amours de Voyage, in 4 parts – February–May, 1858, (*Atlantic Monthly*, 1 [1858], 419–26; 536–544; 667–74; 784–91).

Plutarch's Lives: The Translation called Dryden's, 5 vols (Boston: Little, Brown, 1859; London: Sampson Low, 1859).

Review of *Poems and Ballads of Goethe*, (*Fraser's Magazine*, 59 [1859], 710–17).

Greek History from Themistocles to Alexander in a series of Lives from Plutarch (London: Longman Green, 1860).

The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough, with a memoir by Charles Eliot Norton, ed. by Charles Eliot Norton (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1862)

Poems by Arthur Hugh Clough, with a memoir, ed. by Mrs Clough (London: Macmillan, 1862).

4. **Note**

The Bothie of Tober-na-Fuosich was first published in 1848 (London: Chapman & Hall, 1848); there was also an unauthorised 1849 pirate American edition which had sold out by 1855.

Mari Magno, or Tales on Board was inspired by Clough's voyage to America in 1852; Thackeray and Lowell were the models for characters in the poem (*Poems*, 374).

(Page numbers for the poems are from *The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by F.L. Mulhauser, 2nd edn., (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974).

APPENDIX 3**SAMPLE MANUSCRIPT LETTERS****FROM ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH TO *RWE, CEN, JRL, FJC, HWL***

- 1) Letter *RWE* 19 dated 7 May [1855] p. 454
- 2) Letter *CEN* 50 dated [17-21 April [1858] p. 460
- 3) Letter *JRL* 6 dated 11 September [1856] p. 466
- 4) Letter *FJC* 4 dated 29 October [1855] p. 469
- 5) Letter *HWL* 2 dated 4 August 1854 p. 472

bms AM 1280 RWE 19 (i)
362

Clough, Arthur Hugh, 1819-1861.
A.L.S. to RWE; London, 7 May [1855]
2s. (Sp.)

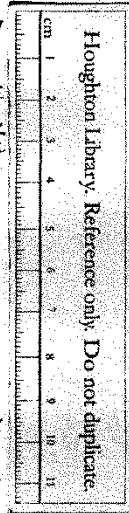
THE HOUGHTON LIBRARY 5613

Council office
Whitehall, London
7th May.

Dear Emerson

I have more than once
begun a letter to you in
some lull of official business,
which has not lasted long
enough to allow its completion.
However this I hope will fare
better —

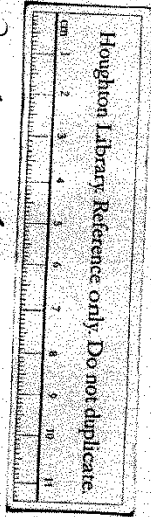
You are by this time I
suppose more than gathering
colleagues on the banks
above Concord; and enjoying
in Spring what with us is
so slowly given & so many
half-recalls that we never
feel properly grateful if
at last we get it —



BMS AM 1280 RWE 19 (ii)

Clough, Arthur Hugh, 1819-1861.
A.L.S. to RWE; London, 7 May [1856]
2s. (Sp.)

THE HOUGHTON LIBRARY 5613



Since you found of me lately, your this as a compliment
 I have to leave but a fine. But you know that I have
 a little boy. This I believe remembers among her own
 He will come in in a domestic life. We are
 settled in a part what you perhaps may remember
 we were far from where the Captains (and) blue,
 just outside the spirit pack. I travelled some
 time into good my three Carlyle, and found him
 very over Frederick & his high attic, among
 and notes. He was very well-tempered & placable
 and I think did not think about any one with
 it might be young for

Then we are remarkable
 probably, as it seems to me,
 better for being with
 and for not being altogether
 as successful as we
 thought we should be.
 I have occasionally of

BMS AM 1280 RWE 19 (iii)

1712

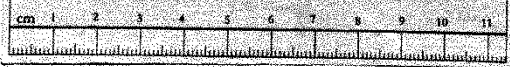
Clough, Arthur Hugh, 1819-1861.
A.L.C. to RWE; London, 7 May [1856]
2s. (8p.)

THE HOUGHTON LIBRARY 5613

Florence Nightingale's proceady;
at Sutan, where she is
doing pretty hard work -
controlling nurses, and
contending with doctors &
officials. - She is my wife's
first cousin both by the father's
& the mother's side, and
I, as it happened, had the
honour of being her escort
as far as Calais. You
know I dare say that Mikey
was for a long time her
sister -

Farewell, for the present;
the work has come in; so
this first letter must close.
However I hope it will
be provided with a sequel
before Saturday's steamer
departs. -

Houghton Library. Reference only. Do not duplicate.



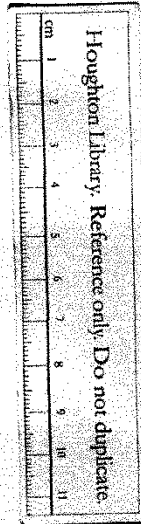
BMS AM 1280 RWE 19 (iv)

352

Clough, Arthur Hugh, 1819-1861.
A.L.S. to RWE; London, 7 May [1855]
2s. (9p.)

THE HOUGHTON LIBRARY 5613

~~Thursday~~ Thursday 10 June
Another brief letter will I hope
carry me on a little way
towards the end of this -
Prof. Janssen with whom we worked
in the year of revolutions is
now living under Mrs Carlyle's
auspices a street or two off
St. Chrysostom's Road - These continue
from friends, having looked with
our other companion in Paris
Mrs Paullet - - - concerning which
the letter - - - the better I suppose
the pretty Julia who used to play
tricks with Carlyle's paper & write
anything else that came in her way
is married to some friend; her other
Nestor who came with you to
Oxford lives here & does occasional
assistance for Carlyle; & writes by
the way, an article in the Westminster
of January - on some foreign political
matter - he asked me after you
the other day - Founden is busy
writing a history of England under
Henry VIII & Elizabeth - some
schools of which may be found
in an article or history in a
late Westminster another on date



BMS AM 1280 RWE 19 (vi)

1852

Clough, Arthur Hugh, 1819-1861.
A.L.S. to RWE; London, 7 May [1855]
2s. (Sp.)

THE HOUGHTON LIBRARY 5613

war - ~~the~~ or the other
we seem likely to have -

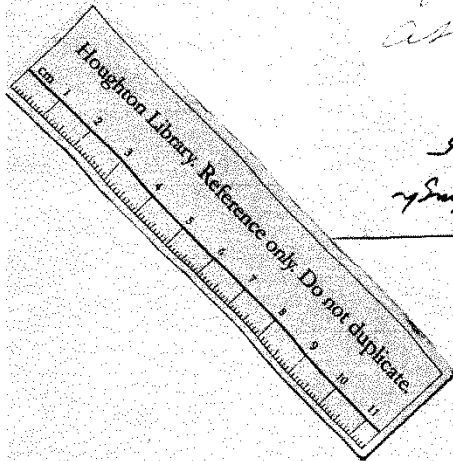
I go with my wife a
little way abroad for the
month of June - to Bonn
perhaps or the Moselle -
some where there perhaps
may meet Lovell -
wish it were an easier
holiday-journey to cross
the Atlantic - But we
have only 48 days, Sunday
excluded, allowed in the
year, & it wd not be easy
to get them all at once
farewell -

Dear Yours

A. H. Clough

5-581

A. H. Clough



C. O. 17th April
1858

(EN 50 (1))
My dear Charles

I begin a letter to you
in good time, hoping that
in the course of a week
it may come to its completion.
Perhaps the beginning of May
will find you once more at
Shady Hill for the brief
North-American interval
between the two penal fierce
extremes of hot & cold. If
so, pray give me all the
Cambridge news possible -
Who is the Revd F. Huntington
to whom I was deputed the
other day to write a letter?
I do not remember having
made his acquaintance while
with you. - I have received
the last 20 of the Atlantic &
have read Emerson & Hafiz
& ... a Buchanan &
as yet no more. My own part III
or act III will I fear not
be much approved of, & the
impotent conclusion of act IV is
still less - However - as it was
& no otherwise could be -

1318

On this side the seas - the world
 is reading Buckle, & ^{evening} ~~evening~~
 Two articles on Caste in the
 Times of about Saturday, 3rd
 & Monday 5th April perhaps
 Monday 5th & Tuesday 6th may
 interest you - they are evidently
 by Max Muller - The net
 which had been spread about
 Lucknow has I fear proved
 to have a large hole in it
 & to have let the fish
 out into Bundelcund. However
 as yet we know little.
 Between the two India Bills
 the Directors it is thought will
 escape for the present &
 survive a little longer -
 I myself was not so absolutely
 unfavourable to the Ellenborough
 bill as the English would
 represent - I desire much
 to see a fair share given
 to those who have served
 that opposed to the present terms

CEN
50ciii

is perhaps impracticable. My notion is to make a great Council of all who have served certain offices - & give them the appointment of half the Executive Council. But our people hate all refinements of this sort - Politics are almost at a deadlock with us. Palmerston cannot come back with his own party alone to back him. Lord John Russell has joined Milner Gibson & has formed a sufficient body of opponents in the liberal part of the House to make it impossible for Palmerston to get sufficient support there. - So that for the present the Derby people stay, and we are almost ashamed & indignant to stay by the help of Lord John - & his Manchester allies. -

109

(EN
50v)

I fear things will take a long time
to get right - even in a military
point of view - out there: &
the victories of peace will probably
be matter of still harder
fighting - into what condition
has the North American Review come?
do you still write in it - I see
it lying in the London Library
but without the encouragement
of knowing the author - do not
read the articles -

Have you any one coming
over here this summer?
Mr Ward to see her lay at
Veray? Longfellow? Tom
Appleton? - I expect to be
here with the exception of a
week in May, & three
weeks perhaps in August
in steady attendance at the
official desk - Will Child
come this summer? I suppose
Laudy. -

1318

I am reading Gladstone's Homer
 hastily for the summary of the
 things - but it also seems to me thus
 far to have some considerable
 merit - it is very direct &
 plain sailing - & in that respect
 is an agreeable contrast to
 German annotations. I have
 also read Roudé's two volumes III & IV
 which at any rate add a
 certain map of consistent repre-
 sentation to the former, &
 give one the sense of probable
 correctness - We expect the
 Day Ministry to last in all
 probability into another Spring.
 About February next it is thought
 that the country & the parliament
 will be mature in resolution
 to send them about their business.
 Lord John is playing for office
 in company with the Peabodies
 perhaps, & the Manchester men
 as any rate as supporters, & counting
 on Palmerston's "predeceasing" him.
 He is thought to be wise enough in his
 generations - but the old whig party in
 general are indignant with him -
 Farewell with kindest remembrance
 A. H. C.

 GEN
 50
 (VI)

JRL 6(i)

My dear Lovell
 I hope you have
 re-established yourself
 happily in your native
 land. Gulton I hear was
 sick all the way, so you
 cannot have seen much
 of him - I gave a few lines
 to youth named Colman.
 I don't know whether he has
 turned up; he left a fortnight
 after you - he is a nice
 fellow I think, but I don't
 know very much of him.
 He is in the pleasant flower
 of adolescence, which
 gives some charm to those
 who afterwards turn out
 unremarkable enough -
 The Newtons reappeared in
 England not long after you

JRL 6(ii)

left & was touring about I think he found more
 being collected all, and then we became - & I
 college, per other, we do suppose most of his family
 this winter, they seemed like he of that opinion -
 have already decided and however I have not
 they another winter on read all & perhaps have
 and will the water - the afternoon Boston yet
 the rest of the family when I encounter - The world
 in October with Bradley & I suppose he has
 they promised all to come to at long I suppose he has
 London at the end of week more occupied with
 their month to my judge. Good which I think is
 I hope they will, for I very good in its story the
 mean to go off from London against the religious, &
 early in October to take also in its bigger part,
 some holiday & forget but the sentimentality
 the office & the time for and a mistake - & the
 a month at least - whole this perhaps has been
 Emerson's long summer rather one in a hurry -
 book comes out about are you involved
 for a shilling - first in the circles and
 an appointment - 1846 of the presidential election
 have been 3 vols p 10 2/16 in Isaac Hapgood's

JRL 6 (iii)

Remain undisturbed by
reason of the things being all
secure there — Are your
young men enlisting for Kaiser
or staying at home to vote?

Here there is nothing going
on that shows itself —
The Foreign Office is doing
very busy work preparing
up some arrangement, and
let us hope the time, that
Central America —

Farewell — I hope
before very long you will
come over & see us again
bringing Mabel with you
to whom I say give my love.

Ever yours most truly

C. H. Lloyd
Council office, Downing St
Sept 11th

ESC 4 (1)

819 C. O. Mitchell 98

1857

Lower unalutka

My dear Child I have unalutka

the bird whom I pulled my

Beligie I really am happy my

help - I got my own map &

found out to go to the

piece of adirill timber

however I did it by reading

you a last word - see answer

you - the hundred last of you

please - I have admired &

delighted at your Grace study

well looking it in the morning

I had hardly had faith & you

to expect the removal of Ketch

Mountain to the side of our

Summer sea - I do not think

that looks like - I think I think

valley good thing that I think

take a year's thought & work

I hope some day or other will

bring the word to you -

My day is - I forget the year's

as that of my departure for

side of the water.

FTC 4(ii)

Now Qth
 Mrs. Stinson (have you before;
 but has been delayed. Cth
 when party went on to
 Paris, leaving 9 days they met
 her sister - & Rome, on
 so on possibly to the coast
 at every rate to the coast
 of the Mediterranean - Mrs
 London. Robert from some
 living very well - then
 I of superlatives you or having
 achieved honors - like
 I rate some that make
 a then see Stans never
 Berna enjoy above me granted
 yet read above me granted
 of the Fairy Queen - But
 you are a much more likely
 a when we - had
 people I fear the return in
 England) to the study of the
 lives, & in writing study of
 the end of that attempt. I
 can only forward to the

readers of America - I felt
 it could be put out the the
 beginning of the next year.
 Mrs. Stinson's article in party
 to the study of the return
 when it was at least had
 the end of the study of the
 return (the study of the
 home had more of a Greek the
 but I do think we any
 of us with so (simultaneously
 him as my friends offered,
 time - '...'. He order for
 Broadway when I asked
 Chapman, a week ago was
 20.000. People had had
 of 20.000 -
 Thomas right to the if you
 me for my new of the. Mrs.
 at Black Lake & probably
 the the air there & not at
 tobacco - He has a good bottle
 of it with Doctors & other
 certain - the English were
 too is badly given to drinking.
 much like the English's
 they spent a very richly in it
 and "a good making company's
 next spring - but at the house

HWL 2 (i)

Whitehall, Augt 4
1854

My dear Longfellow

I delayed answering
your kind note till
I should be able to say
that the gift which
it announced had actu-
ally arrived.

About a week ago
the much expected box
came to Whitehall - very
soon after our own
return from visiting
some of my relations in
Wales. My wife has
been

HWL 2 (ii)

wearing your beautiful
 present ever since,
 and is extremely pleased
 with it - She does
 not venture to write
 to Mrs Longfellow, but
 she has written to
 Felton whom she has
 had the advantage of
 seeing, and I may
 convey her best
 thanks & kindest ackn-
 ledgements with my
 own -

HWL 2 (iii)

The mosaic is really just
the ornament that I
should have wished to
have given her myself.

I wish I could look
forward to some future
day when I might
join a party once
more under your
roof tree - but here
I am chained to the
desk, & can only hope
that you & Mrs Longfellow

HWL 2 (iv)

will visit us.

I am glad you have
seen Lawrence, & have
submitted ^{to} the subject
of his act. I wish
to see Emerson
also, before he leaves
Massachusetts.

I enclose a few words to
Mrs Longfellow -

Believe me

Ever Yours sincerely

A. H. Clough.

HWL 2 (v)

I hear little of literary matters now. Curzon's Armenia is the pleasantest book I have read lately. Hooker's Himalayan Journals are also readable - and the Wald talks much of Lowell's Plurality of Worlds. Tom Allingham has thrown up a place in the Customs of 300 £ a year & has come to London to earn daily bread (without butter) by literature - I like him, & I hope to see him soon, which I have not yet done. Did you read Matt Arnold's Sohrab & Rostum? I should like ^{to know} what you think of it - I myself have

HWL 2 (vi)

rather a feeling of
the pseudo-antique about
it - & do not concern
properly in the Pre-shakespeare
theory —

Farewell for the
present - I must
do some school

Ever Yours most
truly
A. C. Clough.

APPENDIX 4

SUMMARY CHART OF CLOUGH'S LETTERS

CLOUGH'S LETTERS TO RALPH WALDO EMERSON

LET NO	MS LOC.	DATE	MAIN TOPICS
1	B	Novr 26th.[1847]	C's invitation to RWE to visit Oriel.
2	B	March 12th [1848]	Arranging a date for Emerson's visit to Oxford.
3	B	22.3.[1848]	Ditto
4	H	[31.3.1848]	Arrangements for Emerson's visit; directions to Oxford colleges.
5	B	10.2.[1849]	Thanks Emerson for his praise of <i>The Bothie</i> ; sends Emerson a copy of <i>Ambarvalia</i> ; mixed UK reviews of <i>The Bothie</i> ; acknowledges influence of Longfellow's <i>Evangeline</i> ; C's resignation from Oxford & move to University Hall, London.
6	B	July 22d 1850	Emerson's <i>Representative Men</i> ; news of Carlyle, Froude & Milnes; C's delight in <i>The Gulistan</i> ; article on Goethe; <i>Poems</i> by William Allingham; Thoreau; Margaret Fuller; Wordsworth's <i>The Prelude</i> ; Tennyson's marriage.
7	B	June 17 th 1852	C's wish to emigrate to afford to marry; his resignation from University Hall; asks about the possibility of teaching posts & cost of living in US; news of Carlyle, Milnes & Tennyson. Margaret Fuller <i>Memoirs</i> .
8	B	August 6 th [1852]	Acceptance of Emerson's invitation to come to New England as his guest.
9	B	October 1 st [1852]	C's forthcoming departure for US; letters of introduction from Lyell & others; Carlyle's <i>Frederick the Great</i> ; Macaulay.
10	B	28.3.[1853]	Dinner at Emerson's home in Concord; C's private tutoring in Aristotle's <i>Ethics</i> ; C's commission to translate <i>Plutarch's Lives</i> .
11	B	[27 May 1853]	Acceptance of Emerson's invitation.
12	B	June 4 [1853]	Cancellation of dinner date with Emerson.

LET. NO	MS. LOC.	DATE	MAIN TOPICS
13	B	June 9 th [1853]	Postponement of dinner date; C moving to Norton's house for summer; C's dilemma about his future.
14	B	[16? June? 1853]	C going to stay with Emerson for the weekend.
15	B	22.7.[1853]	C back in London; his new post in the Council Office; Giles's life of Alfred; Carlyle's <i>Frederick</i> .
16	B	October 9 th [1853]	C's Sunday visits to Francis Newman, Crabb Robinson, the Brookfields, Carlyle etc; articles on Job, Queen Elizabeth; Leigh Hunt's <i>The Religion of the Heart</i> ; Thackeray going to Paris.
17	B	June 10 th [1854]	C's forthcoming marriage; passing of Kansas-Nebraska Act; Emerson's condemnation of the Fugitive Slave Law; C settled in new post but bemoans the influence of the Church on education in Britain and the USA.
18	B	Augt 22d [1854]	C's thanks for wedding gifts from US friends; compares Britain unfavourably with USA; mounting tension in the US after the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.
19	H	7 th May [1855]	C's visit to Carlyle; C's escorting Florence Nightingale to Calais; her difficulties in Scutari; news of Carlyle; Froude's <i>History of England</i> ; various articles; Kingsley's <i>Westward Ho</i> ; George Sand's <i>Histoire de ma vie</i> ; spiritualism and table-turning; 'deplorable' state of British politics.
20	H	14 Septr 1855	Ending of Siege of Sebastopol; Thackeray's lecture tour of the US; future of aristocracy; C examined candidates for army commissions; Florence Nightingale's illness & problems with 'drunk', 'thieving' nurses;
21	B	12. Septr 1856	Emerson's <i>English traits</i> '; declining Church attendance; C's visit to European Military Schools; Lowell & Norton in England; US elections; Walt Whitman's <i>Leaves of Grass</i> .
22	B	March 23[1857]	<i>English Traits</i> ; English elections; Kane's <i>Arctic Explorations</i> ; Faraday and Owen lectures; meetings with Tennyson on the Isle of Wight;; Olmsted's <i>Slave States & Texas</i> '; C's inspection of foreign military schools.
23	B	4 July 1861	C's illness –travelled to Greece & France to recuperate; suffering of Concord youth in American civil war; British sympathy for the Unionists; C sends photographs of himself to his American friends.

CLOUGH'S LETTERS TO CHARLES ELIOT NORTON			
LET. NO.	MS. LOC.	DATE	MAIN TOPICS
1	H1269	[7.December1852]	<i>C thanks Norton for his kindness and asks him to look for his letters at Norton's Club.</i>
2	H 1270	[29 June 1853]	C about to embark for England; last minute instructions to Norton about his belongings.
3	B	July 7 [1853]	Written on board the <i>Asia</i> ; C's 'horrid, dull' fellow passengers.
4	H1271	July 15 th [1853]	C explains his hurried departure & decision to stay in England despite preference for America; Plutarch; Lorenzo Benoni; Carlyle's 'Discourse on The Nigger Question'; Harriet Beecher Stowe; Thackeray; condition of the poor in Britain.
5	H1273	July 20,1853	C's justification for leaving America & plans to marry; Macaulay's <i>History of England</i> ; Arnold's <i>The Strayed Reveller</i> ; Disraeli's overthrow;
6	H1275	Augt 29, 1853	US political situation; C compares USA – 'young hopeful & humane republic', with Britain – 'inveterate old monarchy'; Horatio Greenough; Leonard Horner; Thackeray's <i>The Newcomes</i> ; C's 'Letter of Parepidemus'.
7	H1274	[August 1853]	C's meeting with Charles Babbage & the Horners; Alexander Smith; Lady Lyell; Ambrose Phillips– 'spirit rappings'.
8	H1272 & 1276	[August/Sept 1853]	Agenda for C's school inspections; Tennyson & Palgrave in Scotland; cholera outbreak; Matthew Arnold's <i>Sohrab & Rustum</i> ; literary news.
9	?	[October 13 1853]	Commiserations on death of Norton's father; C recalls death of his own father.
10	H1278	Novr 29 th [1853]	Norton's kindnesses in shipping C's belongings; Arnold's <i>Gypsy Scholar & Chapel of Brou</i> ; articles in <i>Quarterly & Westminster Reviews</i> : Italian religion; Jerusalem 'Holy places'; Mesmerism; Frederick Maurice's <i>Theological Essays</i> ..
11	H1279	[Decr 9 th 1853]	Harriet Martineau's translation of Compté; Samuel Laurence in America; Reviews of Arnold's Poems & 'Preface'; Francis Child's proposed edition of Chaucer.

<u>CLOUGH'S LETTERS TO CHARLES ELIOT NORTON</u>			
LET. NO.	MS. LOC.	DATE	MAIN TOPICS
12	H1280	[26-30 December 1853]	C's Xmas visits to the Ashburtons; Palmerston & the Reform Bill; German 'extreme radicals'; Frederick Maurice; various publications; deaths of Carlyle's and Emerson's mothers; Bruno Bauer.
13	H1281	[January 1854]	Articles on England's foreign policy; English religion & 'Strikes & Lockouts in the <i>Westminster Review</i> '; reviews of Arnold's poems & <i>Edinburgh</i> recent reviews; England's 'inveterate feudalism'.
14	H1282	[late January 1854]	Queen's opening of Parliament; Norton's article on Indian Canals; Prince Albert's unpopularity; John Bright & secular education; Crimean hostilities begin; Whewell's <i>Plurality of Worlds</i> ; 1854 Census and decline in churchgoing.
15	H1283/4	c. 25.2.[1854]	People quite glad to go to 'just' war; proposed annulment of Missouri Compromise; Arnold's poems; progress of C's Plutarch; Longfellow's resignation; C's 'Peschiera' & 'Epithalamium'; Thackeray in Rome; John Kenyon
16	H1285	March 10th[1854]	Dryden's Plutarch; progress of Crimean War; controversy over Whewell's <i>Plurality of Worlds</i> ; Owen's scientific denunciation; Whewell's possible bishopric for orthodox inductive philosophy.
17	H1286/7	May 9. 54	Ruskin and wife scandal; Sebastopol; Norton's <i>British Poets</i> ; C's marriage; William Arnold's <i>Oakfield</i> ; books on Buddhism; <i>Amours de Voyage</i> .
18	H1288	May 15 th , 54	Scottish educational reform; Oxford Bill; Gladstone refusal to borrow for the war, but abused by gt capitalists & bankers; C's uncle – Dean of St Asaph;
19	H 1289	June 28 th [1854]	Thanks for letter of congratulation & wedding gift; description of Lea Hurst; 'Fugitive Slave Case'.
20	H1290	July 21 st [1854]	Wedding presents.
21	H1291	26.7.[1854]	Wedding gifts from US; C house hunting;
22	H1292	Augt 19[1854]	C's new house; cholera epidemic; Mrs Howe's <i>Passion Flowers</i> , Brodie's <i>Psychological Inquiries</i> ; proposed sale of Alaska to America; Nebraska Bill.

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON LETTERS (continued)			
LET. NO.	MS. LOC.	DATE	MAIN TOPICS
23	H1293	Sept 12 th [1854]	Scaliger's <i>Poetics</i> ; C's childhood memories of Newport; cholera; Crimea; 'Know-nothing' party;
24	H1294 - 1295	Octr 21[1854]	Florence Nightingale goes to Scutari; sinking of the <i>Arctic</i> ; US financial crisis; C's move to 11 St Mark's Crescent; Lord Raglan.
25	H1296	18/11/1854	C's house move; Apprehension re troops in Crimea; Ld. Raglan's missing despatch; Nightingale accused of being a 'Puseyite'; deficiencies of Scutari hospitals.
26	H1297	18 Jany 1855	Plutarch; <i>The Angel in the House</i> ; Whewell's English hexameter translations; news from the Crimea; Indian Civil Service examination reform; Aberdeen's resignation; <i>The Englishwoman in Russia</i> & other new publications.
27	H1354	[February 1855]	Article in North American Review on 'Metempsychosis'; C's account with Norton; John Payne Collier; Lowell's lectures.
28	H1298	[c. 20. 4.55]	Death of C's baby son; C's finances; death of James Brown; state visit of Louis Napoleon; article by Senior on slavery.
29	H1299	27 th July [1855]	Thanks for books; C overwhelmed with work; Nightingale's sickness; Tennyson's <i>Maud</i> .
30	H1300	14 th Septr [1855]	C's proposed new volume; ending of Siege of Sebastopol; Macdonald's <i>Within and Without</i> ; C's mother-in-law goes to Scutari.
31	H1301	Octr.1855	<i>Norton in London – date for C to visit.</i>
32	H1302	[11 January 1856]	Norton's visit to Rome; C's memories of 1848; Peace in the Crimea; Macaulay's <i>History of England</i> ; election of speaker at Washington; publication of <i>The Bothie</i> deferred; news of the Sturges, Lyells and Horners.
33	H1303	7 th Augt [1856]	News of CEN, Lowell and others; CEN's health.
34	H1304	4 th Septr [1856]	Encloses note of introduction to MA & directions to C's mother's house at Ambleside

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON LETTERS (continued)			
LET. NO.	MS. LOC.	DATE	MAIN TOPICS
35	H1305	[26 September 1856]	<i>Norton in London; invitation to dine with C.</i>
36	H1306	22.10.[1856]	Visit to Tennyson & Coventry Patmore on Isle of Wight.
37	H1307	23.10.1856	<i>C on holiday; going to Petersfield; illness of Thackeray's mother.</i>
38	H1308	28 th [October 1856]	<i>Arrangements to meet Norton in London.</i>
39	H1352	2d Novr [1856]	<i>Arrangements to meet Norton in London.</i>
40	H1353	[12 November 1856]	<i>C meeting Norton in London; invitation to dine with C.</i>
41	H1309	27 th November [1856]	US Presidential election; Kansas a free state?; Italian independence; death of John Kenyon; political and literary news; <i>Aurora Leigh</i> ; Kingsley's poems; Froude's <i>History of England</i> .
42	H1310	22d Jany '57	Plutarch; <i>Aurora Leigh</i> ; financial crisis; literary news; Kane's <i>Arctic Explorations</i> ; Kingsley's <i>Two Years Ago</i> ; Maurice lecture on Milton.
43	H1311	23 June [1857]	<i>Norton's visit to London; Randolph Coolidge.</i>
44	H1312	[28 August 1857]	Norton's return to Boston; Dr Bodichon's theories on 'negroes'; Indian atrocities; C sends 2 nd batch of 'Roman Hexameters'; Mrs Gaskell; General Havelock.
45	H1313	31 st October [1857]	World financial crisis & C's investments; Arnold's <i>Merope</i> & Oxford professorship; fall of Delhi; Lucknow; Sikhism v Buddhism; Livingstone; Lowell's marriage.
46	H1314	23 rd November 1857	Lucknow; Parker Snow & the Falklands; Alexr Smith; Emerson's poems; Longfellow's 'Santa Philomena', C asks for postponement of <i>Amours</i> publication; Douglas Jerrold; Mrs Gaskell; Manchester Exhibition; Brigham Young & Mormons.

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON LETTERS (continued)			
LET. NO.	MS. LOC.	DATE	MAIN TOPICS
47	H1316	15 Jany1858	Siege of Lucknow; MA's <i>Merope</i> , Indian government; colonisation of Arizona; Tennyson's Idylls; Carlyle's <i>Sartor Resartus</i> ; Froude's <i>History of England</i> .
48	B	[11-17 February 1858]	Birth of C's daughter; publication of <i>Amours de Voyage</i> ; Carlyle's <i>Frederick</i> ; Rugby School article;
49	H1317	26 March[1858]	Orsini's attempted assassination of Louis Napoleon; fall of Palmerston & new Tory Govt; East India Co & John Mill's Petition; Kingsley's poems; <i>Merope</i> negative view; <i>Oulita the Serf</i> ; Herodotus; Livingstone.
50	H1318	17 th April [1858]	Publication of <i>Amours</i> in <i>Atlantic Monthly</i> ; Buckle; Livingstone; Max Mueller on caste; <i>Tom Brown's Schooldays</i> ; Rugby School; Gladstone's <i>Homer</i> ; Buchanan & slavery; 'Hodson's Horse'; fall of Derby's govt.
51	H1319/ 1320	May 17/ 1858	Oudhe proclamation; Carlyle's <i>Frederick</i> ; Hogg's <i>Life of Shelley</i> ; Buckle, Holt Hutton; Gladstone's <i>Homer</i> ; Bagehot's <i>Essays</i> ; Collins Brodie; Oxford Museum & Pre-Raphaelite paintings.
52	H1321	[June1858]	C's finances; Holman Hunt & Millais.
53	H1322	[18.6. 1858]	Emerson on <i>Amours</i> ; Longworth's wine; East India Co; French population; American war; marriage of Frances Parthenope Nightingale; Dr Thorne; Dickens's scandal; Acland & Brodie.
54	H1323	30 th July [1858]	Thames pollution; Rawdon Brown; C's first payment for his poetry; Plutarch; Tennyson's <i>Idylls</i> ; Henry Ward Beecher; Froude's <i>History</i> ; Henry Halford Vaughan.
55	H1324	10 th Septr [1858]	Thomas Arnold's RC conversion; Newman; William Arnold; Dr Barth & Africa; Eastbourne; Donati's comet; Henry Hallam; fall of Derby; Lincoln/Douglas debates.
56	H1325	Octr 20 th 1858]	Bagehot; Carlyle; William Allingham; Thackeray's <i>The Virginians</i> ; Woolner's busts of Tennyson & Maurice; the Brownings' flight to Florence; Holman Hunt's <i>Christ and the Doctors</i> ; Nightingale's presentation to Queen Victoria; France & Portugal; Nat. Assn for Promotion of Social Science; Chinese treaties; Bright & reform of the franchise.
57	H1326	28 th Decr [1858]	Rowse's portrait of Emerson; proposed American volume of C's poetry; C's amendments to <i>Ambarvalia</i> ; Plutarch; Child's visit to London.

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON LETTERS (continued)			
LET. NO.	MS. LOC.	DATE	MAIN TOPICS
58	H1327	26 Jany 1859	<i>The Bothie</i> corrections; addition of more poems to proposed US edition; Francis Child's marriage; Sidney Herbert's report on Crimean War; Mansell's Bampton Lectures; articles on Army Hygiene, women novelists; Bright's Reform Bill.
59	H1328	9 Feby 1859	Austro-French war; Mill's pamphlet on parliamentary reform; Blakesley's Algeria ; the Bible in India; amendments to <i>The Bothie</i> ; Burns Festival; Mill's <i>On Liberty</i> ; Education and investment; US/UK cotton trade.
60	H1329	[16 March 1859]	Poems for American publication– corrections/additions; Reform Bill; <i>Adam Bede</i> ; Mill's <i>Dissertations and Discussions</i> ; <i>Adam Bede</i> ; Mill's essay; Kingsley's novels; C's 40 th birthday.
61	H1330	1 April [1859]	<i>Defeat of Derby's govt; Atlantic Monthly contributors.</i>
62	H1331	April 21 st 59	Revisions to <i>The Bothie</i> & order of poems in new edition; William Arnold's death.
63	H1332	May 12th [1859]	<i>Loss of The Bothie in the post; C in Somerset staying with Bagehot.</i>
64	H1333	27 May [1859]	C's holiday in West Country; Italian war of independence; Garibaldi; Buckle & Judge Coleridge; C's review of Goethe's poems.
65	H1334	[9 June 1859]	Norton's article 'Despotism in India'; Battle of Magenta; Derby's defeat; Indian rule; Hungarian rebellion; Prussia.
66	H1335	22d July [1859]	Publication of C's <i>Plutarch</i> ; Napoleon II & Italy; Arnold's pamphlet on England & Italy; Dana on Cuba.
67	H1336 & 1337	7 September [1859]	C's move to Kensington; <i>Plutarch</i> failing to sell; Tennyson in Lisbon; Max Mueller on Sanscrit literature & marriage into Grenfell family.
68	H1338	13 Octr/59	Reviews of C's <i>Plutarch</i> ; C's preparations for move to Kensington; Speke's discovery of source of the Nile.
69	H1339	18 th Novr [1859]	Fear of French invasion of Britain; <i>Plutarch</i> – publication of 6 'Lives'.

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON LETTERS (continued)			
LET. NO.	MS. LOC.	DATE	MAIN TOPICS
70	H1340/ 1341	5 th Decr [1859]	Louis Napoleon & the Italian question; Froude's <i>History of England</i> ; Tennyson's 'Sea Dreams'; Thackeray and the <i>Cornhill</i> ; birth of C's son; C's scarlatina; Darwin's <i>Origin of Species</i> ; William Stillman; John Brown's execution.
71	H1342	29 Decr 59	C in Hastings to recuperate; Greenhill's Cottage Improvement Society; Kossuth & Hungarian rebellion against Austria.
72	H1343	26 th Jan. 1860	Norton's review of C's Plutarch; Norton's translation of Dante; Nightingale's <i>Notes on Nursing</i> ; Tennyson's 'Tithonus'; C's <i>Greek History from Themistocles to Alexander</i> ;
73	H1344	3 March [1860]	Stillman's portrait of C; Norton's critique of Plutarch in the <i>Atlantic</i> ; Samuel Rowse; French war mongering; Austria bullying Hungary, and Russia Turkey.
74	H1345	1 st May 1860	C's investments; Stillman's portrait of C; Rowse; Stillman and Ruskin in America; Holman Hunt's <i>The Finding of the Saviour in the Temple</i> ; Death of Froude's wife.
75	H1346	13 July 1860	C's broken toe and mother's death; Rowse's portrait of C; Stillman.
76	H1347	20 July 1860	C's attendance at International Conference on Statistics; Prince of Wales in USA; Whigs, Tories & Radicals; Bright's Reform Bill defeated; France and Syria.
77	H1348	30th July 1860	<i>Letter of introduction to Patrick Cumin of Balliol</i>
78	H1355	11.10.[1860]	C's tour of Yorkshire & Scotland; McNeill's Highland clearances; titles for C's American edition; forthcoming American election.
79	H1277	23 rd Octr [1860]	Promise to send corrected Bothie & other poems; C in Malvern for water cure; Prince of Wales' visit to New York; US election; Garibaldi; marriage of Blanche's sister; C's translations of Homer.
80	H1349	15 Feby 1861	C's continued ill health; Malvern – convalescence; build-up to American Civil War; improved relations with France; French liberation of Italy; Arnold's lectures on Homer.
81	H1350	10 March 1861	C's health; election of Lincoln; bad UK reviews of Emerson's <i>The Conduct of Life</i> .
82	H1351	July 4, 1861	C home from Greece and Constantinople, but in poor health – now going to Switzerland; British attitude to American Civil War & attack on Fort Sumter; C sends photos of Rowse's portrait to his American friends.

CLOUGH'S LETTERS TO JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

LET NO.	MS. LOC	DATE	TOPIC
1	H	[24 December 1852]	Humorous verse-letter 'to Brother Hexametrist', declining invitation to JRL for Xmas dinner as dining with Longfellows; Eyre Crowe; Thackeray's US lectures.
2	H	[c 8 August 1853]	Justifies sudden return to UK; Thackeray's <i>Newcomes</i> ; C 'disgust with London – US better; C prefers office life to teaching; Macaulay's speech; Alexr Smith; military camp at Chobham; Constantinople; Greeks; 'Turkish question'.
3	H	Decr 2d [1853]	Death of Lowell's wife; Arnold's <i>Gipsy Scholar</i> .
4	H	5 June [1856]	<i>Arrangements to meet Lowell in London.</i>
5	H	30.7.[1856]	<i>Gift for Lowell's daughter; Douglas Strutt Galton.</i>
6	H	Sept 11 th [1856]	Nortons' visit to UK; Emerson's <i>English Traits</i> ; Beecher Stowe's <i>Dred</i> ; US presidential election; US 'aggressive policy in Central America.
7	B	12 th June [1857]	C declines invitation to be London correspondent of the <i>Atlantic Monthly</i> ; Tom Appleton.
8	B	5 th Jany 1858	Congratulations on Lowell's re-marriage; sends next 2 instalments of <i>Amours de Voyage</i> for the <i>Atlantic</i> ; asks Lowell to omit 'undesirable' passages; C's distaste for his national literature.
9	H	[20 Jany 1858]	Corrections to Part II of <i>Amours</i> – C will send Part IV next week; marriage of Princess-Royal; Arnold's <i>Merope</i> & Oxford professorship.
10	H	[c 15.2.1858]	<i>Part V of Amours de Voyage; birth of C's daughter.</i>

CLOUGH'S LETTERS TO FRANCIS JAMES CHILD

LET NO.	MS. LO C.	DATE	MAIN TOPICS
1	B	Sept 2 [1854]	Detailed advice on language and scansion of Chaucer for Child's proposed edition; C's move to St Mark's Crescent.
2	B	[Jan 1855]	Characters in Thomas Moore's poems for Child's proposed edition; articles on <i>Punch</i> ; atomic theory; Carlyle on Saxon princes; election of Tory govt; Crimean War.
3	B	3 May [1855]	Lowell's visit to London; Child's Chaucer; Sebastopol; slavery; Crimea; eventual demise of aristocracy.
4	B	29 Octr [1855]	Deferred reprint of <i>The Bothie</i> ; C's 'Last Words. Napoleon and Wellington'; Norton's visit; Child's Spenser; C's <i>Plutarch</i> ; Nightingale at Balaclava; alcoholism among nurses & troops'; epigraphs for <i>The Bothie</i> and <i>Amours</i> .
5	B	Jan 16, 1856	Postponement of <i>The Bothie</i> ; Child's Spenser and Chaucer; <i>Hiawatha</i> ; Henry James; Thackeray's ballads; C's examination for officers in army; Crimean peace; US/UK quarrel over Mosquito Coast; partition of Turkey after war; Danger of a crippled Russia.
6	B	13 Novr '56	Child's Spenser; C with Tennyson on Isle of Wight; Tennyson's <i>Idylls</i> ; dinner with Norton; C's admiration for Crabbe;
7	B	10 th April [1858]	Child's visit to UK; Froude's <i>History of England</i> ; Chevalier Bunsen; Nightingale's report on army mortality in <i>The Times</i> ; Louis Napoleon threat; Buckle's <i>History of Civilisation</i> ; reviews of <i>Merope</i> ; <i>Amours de Voyage</i> ; Tennyson's <i>Idylls</i> .
8	B	15.02. 1859	Elizabeth Sedgwick's illness; Mill's <i>On Liberty</i> ; Child's visit to England; Blakesley's Algeria; Milton; Tennyson's <i>Idylls</i> ; <i>Adam Bede</i> ; <i>The Scouring of the White Horse</i> .

CLOUGH'S LETTERS TO HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW

LET NO	MS LOC.	DATE	MAIN TOPICS
1	H	Sept. .& 9 1853	News of Carlyle, Tennyson, Kingsley, Emerson, Kingsley. C tells of job – ‘Examinership’ (Education Cttee) salary £300 pa. Wants to return to US; Disraeli & the Radicals; Hawthorne; Charles Murray; Christianity in China.
2	H	Augt 4 1854	Thanks for wedding gift – mosaic. C ‘chained to desk’ but would love to ‘join a party under L’s roofree’ again one day; Longfellow’s portrait by Lawrence; Armenia; Whewell’s <i>Plurality of Worlds</i> ; William Allingham; Arnold’s <i>Sohrab & Rustum</i> ..

Letters in Bold and Italics = completely unpublished (most letters are only partially published)

H = Houghton Library

B = Bodleian Library.