

THE GENESIS OF CLOUGH'S POETRY

Paul McGrane

Linacre College

University of Oxford

D.Phil. Thesis

Hilary Term, 2008

ABSTRACT**The Genesis of Clough's Poetry**

Paul McGrane

D.Phil.

Linacre College

Hilary Term, 2008

This thesis examines the early poetry of Clough, written between 1830 and 1841, in the light of the information about his personal and intellectual life provided by published and unpublished manuscripts, essays, letters and diaries. More specifically, it sets out to determine the degree to which the seeds (thematic and formal) of Clough's more mature work can be discerned in the earlier.

Chapter One discusses the influence of Clough's childhood reading, and particularly the heroic ideal as encouraged by his mother. It traces the way this developed, particularly under the historical ideas of Thomas Arnold and the Liberal Anglicans, and the fatalistic moral problems this created. Chapter Three considers Clough's responses to the Oxford Movement. It teases out those elements that attracted Clough and those he came to reject, particularly in the light of Tractarian ideas about reserve, in relation to poetry, truth and personal behaviour.

Chapters Two and Four provide chronological, text-by-text accounts of the Rugby and Balliol poems respectively, offering judgments about influences, dates and sources, and interpretations in the light of Chapters One and Three respectively. Chapter Two argues that much of the Rugby poetry reflects an escapist lament for the past and a failure of will to restore it. Chapter Three argues that Clough's engagement with Tractarian ideas about reserved truth provides the key context for many of these poems.

Chapter Five traces the way in which Clough's early poetics, derived from Wordsworth via Thomas Arnold, were gradually replaced by his more mature, ambiguous approach which also emerged from his encounters with Tractarian reserve.

Two appendices collect ten poems and poetic fragments omitted from Mulhauser's standard edition; three additional variant texts for poems included by Mulhauser; and four previously unpublished letters to Clough from his friend William Tylden.

CONTENTS

	Abstract	1
	Bibliographic Introduction	4
	List of Short Titles	9
	Introduction	13
1	Early Influences	15
2	Early Poems: A Chronological Account	70
3	Balliol Influences	131
4	Balliol Poems: A Chronological Account	192
5	Poetics and Practice	266
	Appendix 1 Unpublished Poetic Fragments and Manuscripts	334
	Appendix 2 Correspondence with William Tylden	349
	Bibliography	353

BIBLIOGRAPHIC INTRODUCTION

Clough's Poetry

The standard text of the complete poems is:

The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough, Second Edition, ed. F.L. Mulhauser, (Oxford, 1974).

All quotations are from this edition unless otherwise indicated. The textual notes to the edition take up about one third of the volume and provide details of manuscripts and the main variant readings. Other editions are listed in the Bibliography.

About two thirds of the original poetry in *Poems* was unpublished by Clough, and therefore this edition, while 'standard', can in no sense be regarded as definitive. In researching this thesis, I have reviewed all known manuscripts, and as a result, am able to print in Appendix 1 a number of additional poetic fragments and manuscripts which are not recorded in Mulhauser's edition.

Much textual work has been done since 1974, notably by Patrick Scott on *The Bothie*¹ and *Amours de Voyage*,² and by Joseph Phelan on *Dipsychus* (or

¹ *The Bothie: The Text of 1848*, ed. P.G. Scott (University of Queensland Press, 1976).

² *Amours de Voyage*, ed. P.G. Scott (University of Queensland Press, 1974).

Dipsychus and The Spirit as Clough himself titled it in his later manuscripts, and as Phelan has titled it in his edition).³

Also, Jim McCue has published the early poem, 'He sate, no stiller stands a rock',⁴ – first identified as Clough's by Simon Nowell-Smith in the *TLS* in 1974.⁵

Clough's Prose

There is no complete edition of Clough's prose. The best is still the selection published by Clough's wife in her 1869 edition:

Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough With a Selection from his Letters and a Memoir, Edited by his Wife in Two Volumes, (London: Macmillan, 1869).

The Prose volume of this was later published separately (omitting the review of Newman's *The Soul*):

Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough: With a Selection From His Letters and a Memoir, edited by his wife, (London and New York: Macmillan, 1888).

The only new selection to be published since then is:

Trawick, B., ed., *Selected Prose Works of Arthur Hugh Clough* (Alabama: University Press, 1964).

which contains longer extracts than previously published and a number of previously published and unpublished items omitted by Mrs. Clough. Various other prose pieces have been printed over the years, notably in:

Greenberger, E.B., *Arthur Hugh Clough: The Growth of a Poet's Mind* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970).

³ *Selected Poems*, ed. J.P. Phelan (London: Longman, Pearson Education, 1995).

⁴ *Arthur Hugh Clough: Selected Poems*, ed. J. McCue (London: Penguin, 1991).

⁵ S. Nowell-Smith, 'An Unascribed Clough Poem', *Times Literary Supplement* (8 March 1974).

Houghton, W.E., 'The Prose Works of Arthur Hugh Clough: A Checklist and Calendar, with Some Unpublished Passages', *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* lxiv (1960), 377-94.

Where published materials exist, I make use of them; otherwise, I have used my own transcriptions from manuscript. The best bibliography of Clough's published and unpublished prose is provided in Greenberger's study above. This study also provides a checklist of 'Clough's Undergraduate English Essays'⁶ at 'Appendix A' (pp. 183-9) which I have used in the thesis.

Clough's Letters

The standard text is:

The Correspondence of Arthur Hugh Clough, ed. F.L. Mulhauser (2 vols., Oxford, 1957).

This provides a comprehensive selection of letters, and a 'Catalogue of All Known Letters' (ii, 622-49) which I have used in this thesis. Other editions are:

Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough With a Selection from his Letters and a Memoir, Edited by his Wife in Two Volumes, (London: Macmillan, 1869).

The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough, ed. H.F. Lowry (Oxford, 1932).

This has now been superceded by:

Letters of Matthew Arnold, ed. C. Lang, Vol.1, 1829-1859 (University Press of Virginia, 1996).

Published letters not included in the Mulhauser edition are to be found in the following articles:

Allott, K., 'An Arnold-Clough Letter: References to Carlyle and Tennyson', *Notes and Queries* iii (1956), 267b.

⁶ Bodleian Library MSS. Eng. Misc. d.513-515.

Dunn, W.H., *James Anthony Froude: A Biography, 1818-1894*, Vol. 1 (Oxford, 1961), 224-5. [Letter from Froude to Clough, dated 21 January 1849].

Horn, V.E., 'Matthew Arnold: A Letter Re-Dated', *Notes and Queries* xviii (1971), 248-9.

Leach, S.J., 'Two New Letters from Arthur Hugh Clough', *Notes and Queries* xxiii (1976), 57-9.

Murray, N., 'A New Matthew Arnold Letter', *Notes and Queries* xlvi (1999), 55-7.

Peattie, R.W., 'William Michael Rossetti', *Times Literary Supplement* (30 Jul. 1964).

Peattie, R.W., 'A Clough Letter Further Annotated', *Notes and Queries* xxvii (1980), 209a.

Stubbs, J.K., 'An Unpublished Letter of A. H. Clough', *Notes and Queries* xiv (1967), 377-8.

Tener, R.H., 'Clough to Bagehot: A New Letter', *Notes and Queries* ccxxii (1977), 14-15.

Also of interest are:

New Zealand Letters of Thomas Arnold The Younger, ed. J. Bertram (Wellington: Auckland University Press, 1966).

All quotations are from these published texts except where otherwise indicated.

However, I have referred throughout to the original manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, and am able to quote from unpublished material at various points in the thesis. I print an important unpublished letter from Clough to Blanche Smith, dated 30 December 1851 on page 306 of this thesis. I also print at Appendix 2, the correspondence with William Tylden.

Clough's Diaries

These are held in Balliol College Library, Oxford. They do not have a shelfmark, and are marked with descriptions that are not particularly accurate – and in one

case, wholly erroneous. I have referred to them in this study by the following

Journal numbers:

- 1 Marked ‘March 1835 to July 1836’.
- 2 Marked ‘August to December 1836’. (This is seriously wrong – the diary covers 20 September 1836 to March 1838.)
- 3 Marked ‘March to May 1838’.
- 4 Marked ‘March 1838 to June 1840’.
- 5 Marked ‘July 1840 to Feb. 1841’.
- 6 Marked ‘Lent 1842’ (Covers March 1841 to June 1843).
- 7 Marked ‘Long Vacations 1846/7/8’.

More detailed physical descriptions of the diaries are given in the standard edition:

The Oxford Diaries of Arthur Hugh Clough, ed. A. Kenny (Oxford, 1990).

This appeared well after my own researches in 1972-5, in which I transcribed much of these seven manuscripts, including the first two, written at Rugby, and not reproduced by Kenny. All quotations are from the Kenny edition except for the first two diaries and where otherwise indicated. For my own transcriptions, I have followed Kenny’s ‘Principles of Editing’ (pages lxv-lxvii).

Clough’s Translations

Poems provides ‘as many examples of Clough’s translations as space would permit’. In addition, there is:

Plutarch’s Lives, the Translation Called Dryden’s Corrected and Revised by A.H. Clough (5 vols., Boston, 1857).

‘Four Unpublished Translations by Arthur Hugh Clough’, Leedham-Green, E.S., *Review of English Studies*, 23:90, 179-87, May 1972.

LIST OF SHORT TITLES

- 1839-42 Notebook* Bodleian Manuscript, so described in *Poems*, p. 654.
- Arnold, *Excitement*: Sermon xxix, 'Excitement', Thomas Arnold, *Sermons*, New Edition vi (London, 1878).
- Arnold, *Introductory Lectures*: T. Arnold, *Introductory Lectures on Modern History, Delivered in Lent Term 1842, with the Inaugural Lecture, Delivered in December 1841*, (Oxford, 1842).
- Arnold, *Misc. Works*: T. Arnold, *The Miscellaneous Works of T. Arnold, D.D.* (London, 1845), p. 252.
- BC*: *The British Critic, and Quarterly Theological Review*.
- BC Review*: '[Review of] Poems by Trench and Milnes', *BC*, xxiv (Oct. 1838), pp. 271-301.
- Biswas: R.K., Biswas, *Arthur Hugh Clough: Towards a Reconsideration*, (Oxford, 1972).
- Blank Misgivings*: 'Blank Misgivings of a Creature moving about in Worlds not realised', *Ambarvalia. Poems by Thomas Burbidge and Arthur H. Clough* (London: Chapman and Hall; and Oxford: Francis MacPherson, 1849).
- Campe, *Columbus* (1811): J.H. Campe, *Columbus; or the Discovery of America* (London, 1800); rev. and trans. E. Helme (London, 1811).

- Campe, *Pizarro* (1811): J.H. Campe, *Pizarro, or the Conquest of Peru* (London, 1800), rev. and trans. E. Helme (London, 1811).
- Chorley: K. Chorley, *Arthur Hugh Clough, The Uncommitted Mind: A Study of his Life and Poetry* (Oxford, 1962).
- ‘Contemporary History’: ‘On the Advantages and Disadvantages of Contemporary History’, Essay No. 8 (Jun. 1838), Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. d. 513, fols. 21-25.
- Correspondence*: *The Correspondence of Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. F.L. Mulhauser (2 vols., Oxford, 1957).
- Culler (1985): A. Dwight Culler, *The Victorian Mirror of History* (Yale, 1985).
- Descriptive Catalogue*: R. M. Gollin, W.E. Houghton, and M. Timko, *Arthur Hugh Clough: A Descriptive Catalogue*, (New York, 1967).
- Diaries*: A. Kenny, ed., *The Oxford Diaries of Arthur Hugh Clough* (Oxford, 1990).
- Douglas: J. Douglas, *The Truths of Religion* (Edinburgh, 1830).
- Emerson, *Essays*: R.W. Emerson, *Essays, with Preface by Thomas Carlyle* (London, 1841).
- Forbes (1952): D. Forbes, *The Liberal Anglican Idea of History* (Cambridge, 1952).
- Heeren: A.H.L. Heeren, *A Manual of the History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies . . .* (2 vols., Oxford, 1834).
- Keble, *CY*: John Keble, *The Christian Year*, (Oxford, 1827).
- Keble, *Lectures*: John Keble, *Lectures on Poetry*, trans. E.K. Francis (2 vols., Oxford, 1912).
- ‘Luxury and Refinement’: ‘The Influence of the Progress of Luxury and Refinement on Literature’, Essay No. 11 (Nov. 1838), Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. d. 513, fols. 28-31.

- Mill (1873): J.S. Mill, *Autobiography* (London, 1873).
- Newman, *Remedy*: J.H. Newman, 'Religious Worship The Remedy for Excitements', Sermon xxiii, *Parochial Sermons* (London, 1836).
- 'Peloponnesian War': 'The Social Condition of the Greeks and the State of Moral Feeling Prevalent Among Them Illustrated by the Events of the Peloponnesian War', Essay No 17 (May 1839), Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. d. 514, fols. 4-6.
- 'Philosophy of History': 'The Philosophy of History', Essay No. 13 (Jan. 1839), Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. d. 513, fols. 36-38.
- Plutarch: *Plutarch's Lives, the Translation Called Dryden's Corrected and Revised by A.H. Clough* (5 vols., Boston, 1857).
- Poems*: F.L. Mulhauser, ed., *The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough, Second Edition* (Oxford, 1974).
- Poems* (Norton) A copy of Clough's *Ambarvalia* poems, corrected by Clough, and presented to Norton in Nov. 1852; see *Poems*, p. 564.
- PPR*: *Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough With a Selection from his Letters and a Memoir, Edited by his Wife in Two Volumes* (London: Macmillan, 1869).
- PR*: *Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough: With a Selection From His Letters and a Memoir, Edited by his Wife* (London: Macmillan, 1888).
- RM*: *The Rugby Magazine*, (2 vols., London: William Pickering, 1835-7).
- Stanley, *Life*: A.P. Stanley, *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D.* (London, 1844).
- Stanley, *Prize Essay*: A.P. Stanley, *A Prize Essay, Read in the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford; July 1, 1840* (Oxford, 1840).

- The Bothie*: *The Bothie of Toper-na-Fuosich. A Long-Vacation Pastoral* (Oxford: Francis MacPherson; and London: Chapman and Hall, 1848).
- Thirlwall: C. Thirlwall, *Remains: Literary and Theological of Connop Thirlwall*, ed. Stewart Perowne, (London: Daldy, Isbister, 1877).
- Tract 80*: I. Williams, *Tracts for the Times No. 80: On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge* (1838).
- Tract 87*: I. Williams, *Tracts for the Times No. 87: On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge (Conclusion)*, (1840).
- Trawick: *Selected Prose Works of Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. B. Trawick (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1964).
- ‘Venice’: ‘Venice’, Essay No. 3 (Dec. 1837), Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. d. 513, fols. 7-9.

INTRODUCTION

The research for this thesis was conducted in 1972-75 and the first draft written then. Completion was delayed (by a commercial career) for some 30 years.

The thesis is an examination of Clough's juvenilia (that is, the poetry he wrote up to his leaving Balliol), to establish as far as possible influences, sources and provenances. More specifically it sets out to determine the degree to which the seeds (formal and thematic) of Clough's more mature work can be discerned in the earlier. This is particularly relevant for Clough studies because of the volume of juvenilia that is available to us, through the surviving manuscripts, and the *Rugby Magazine*. (It is assumed throughout that the reader will be familiar with Clough's more mature work, and in examining its genesis, I have regarded close discussion of the mature poetry as out of scope.)

The thesis tackles its subject in two ways. Chapters One, Three and Five examine in general terms, some key influences. Chapter One deals primarily with the pre-Oxford period and centres particularly around the historical and biographical approaches of Mrs. Clough and Thomas Arnold, and the perspective they created

for Clough regarding historical truth. Chapter Three examines the way in which this perspective was modified under the Tractarian influence of the Balliol years, tracing Clough's intellectual and personal relationship with the Oxford Movement. It emphasises continuities as well as contrasts, and dissects the precise aspects of the movement which attracted and repelled him. Here the concept of 'reserve' emerges as a central one – in relation to life, truth and literature. Chapter Five examines how all these ideas affect Clough's poetics over the period and shows how this develops from an essentially Arnoldian stance to an acceptance that the unheroic (anti-heroic even) can be an acceptable subject for poetry.

Chapters Two and Four take a different approach. They provide a chronological, text-by-text account of the Rugby and Balliol juvenilia respectively, offering judgments about influences, dates and sources, and interpretations in the light of Chapters One and Three. Chapter Two argues that much of the Rugby poetry reflects Clough's real personal concerns and represents an escapist lament for the past and a failure of will to restore it. Chapter Four shows that Clough's engagement with Tractarian ideas about reserve provides an additional context for many of these poems.

The two appendices collect ten poems and poetic fragments omitted from Mulhauser's standard edition; three additional variant texts for poems included by Mulhauser; and four previously unpublished letters to Clough from his friend William Tylden.

1 Early Influences

In the ‘Introduction’ to his *Plutarch*, Clough emphasises that Plutarch ‘is a moralist rather than a historian’:

So far as the researches of modern historians have succeeded in really recovering a knowledge [of their political position] . . . these biographies stand in need of correction. Yet in the uncertainty which must attend all modern restorations, it is agreeable, and surely, also, profitable, to recur to portraits drawn . . . upon the broad principles of the ancient moral code of right and wrong.¹

This touches on a lifetime’s interest in the validity of history, and particularly biography, as a moral guide to life. In 1852, in his first ‘Letter of Parepidemus’ on ‘The Evolution of Criteria in Art and Literature’, pondering on the possibility of personal growth, Clough muses:

The wisest of the seven wise men of Greece describes to us how that he ‘Each day grew older and learnt something new’. And, since the something new may possibly contradict, and will assuredly modify, the everything not so new before it, at what age may one consider oneself entitled . . . to affirm anything which everybody else does not already know and believe?²

He draws one tentative conclusion:

There is one thing, indeed, I think one might do, could one only believe that one could . . .

¹ Clough’s ‘Introduction’ to *Plutarch’s Lives, the Translation Called Dryden’s Corrected and Revised by A.H. Clough* (5 vols., Boston, 1857), pp. xvii-xviii.

² *Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough: With a Selection From His Letters and a Memoir, Edited by his Wife* (London, 1888), p. 381.

- to 'copy' or 'represent' the great works of the past, to 'help people to appreciate the great originals'.³ The roots of this perspective can be found in his early childhood moral training. Clough himself was to say as much later in life. In his prose 'Epilogue' to *Dipsychus* he emphasised its roots in Wesleyanism and its subsequent development in Puseyism, and downplayed the influence of Arnold. I see no reason not to take this at face value.⁴

Clough's childhood moral training, received from his evangelical mother, was given emotional force by his 'hermetically sealed'⁵ childhood environment, and can be appreciated by looking at his childhood reading. Not for him were the 'old nursery books, the tales of Jack the Giant Killer and so on'; later in life, at Rugby, he was to remember 'being told that they were foolish things, and as such . . . never saw them much', although he could remember reading Robinson Crusoe.⁶ His mother encouraged him instead to read 'histories, ancient and modern, stories of the Greek heroes, parts of Pope's *Odyssey* and *Iliad*, and much out of Walter Scott's novels'.⁷ Other books that, according to his sister Anne, Clough read, included 'some of Robertson's "Charles V," and the struggle in the Netherlands in Watson's "Philip II"; also the lives of Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro.'⁸ The

³ *PR*, p. 382.

⁴ F.L. Mulhauser, ed., *The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough, Second Edition* (Oxford, 1974) pp. 292-4. Ironically, Arnold himself may have been an unwitting influence on *Dipsychus* and its 'legal' continuation; Stanley records the following: "Mere intellectual acuteness", he [Arnold] used to say, in speaking (for example) of lawyers, "divested as it is, in too many cases, of all that is comprehensive and great and good, is to me more revolting than the most helpless imbecility, seeming to be almost like the spirit of Mephistophiles." See A.P. Stanley, *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D.* (London, 1846), p. 103.

⁵ R.K. Biswas, *Arthur Hugh Clough: Towards a Reconsideration* (Oxford, 1972), p. 11.

⁶ 'A Long Talk', *RM* i (April 1836), 316.

⁷ *Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough With a Selection from his Letters and a Memoir, Edited by his Wife in Two Volumes* (London, 1869), i, 4.

⁸ *PPR* i, p. 5.

emphasis is on history viewed through the medium of individual biography. This Carlylean bias was to have a variety of related consequences.

Clough's boyhood reading seems not to have been particularly unusual. Books such as these were not uncommon in educated - even atheist - homes. John Stuart Mill, born 1806, records having read 'Robertson's Histories', and claims that:

my greatest delight, then and for long afterwards, was Watson's Philip the Second and Third, . . . the revolted Provinces of the Netherlands against Spain, excited in me an intense and lasting interest . . .⁹

Mill also had a passion for travel books and could say that 'Of children's books, any more than of playthings, I had scarcely any . . .'¹⁰ Of the few that he did possess, like Clough, he favoured Robinson Crusoe. James Mill 'was fond of putting into . . . [Mill's] hands books which exhibited men of energy and resource in unusual circumstances, struggling against difficulties and overcoming them . . .'¹¹ Here, heroic struggle becomes a moral value in itself.

Mrs. Clough seems to have linked this ideal with that of self-effacement; Anne Clough was to remark later in life:

She loved to dwell on all that was stern and noble. Leonidas at Thermopylae, and Epaminondas accepting the lowliest offices and doing them as a duty to his country; the sufferings of the martyrs, and the struggles of the protestants, were among her favourite subjects.¹²

Mrs. Clough liked to present her ethic of humility in terms of practical examples of virtuous men whose lives were to be emulated. Qualities of heroism and devotion or purity and humility, were to be learnt from men like Leonidas and Epaminondas respectively. But of equal importance was the fact that these models

⁹ J.S. Mill, *Autobiography* (London, 1873), pp. 6-7.

¹⁰ Mill (1873), pp. 6-7.

¹¹ Mill (1873), pp. 6-7.

¹² *PPR* i, p. 9.

were not men of quiet, retiring virtue, but heroes in the fullest sense: men of giant stature that shaped the course of history, and yet retained the grace of humility.

This nature of Clough's early education can be illustrated by a particular series of books that he probably read as a child. In her memoir of Anne Clough, Blanche Athena Clough - the poet's daughter - informs us that among the favourite childhood books of her father and aunt were:

Rollin's Ancient History, Prescott's Conquest of Peru, the Lives of Cortez and Pizarro, and Washington Irving's Life of Columbus.¹³

The first of these is very likely to be correct; Mill informs us that he too read part of 'a translation of Rollin's Ancient History' - I shall return to this work later.¹⁴

However, the other two works specifically cited here are incorrect. Prescott's major volumes on the history of Mexico and Peru were not published until the 1840's; the Conquest of Peru first appeared in 1847.¹⁵ Similarly, Irving's Life of Columbus was published in 1828, the year that Clough and his family sailed for England, and although Clough may well have read it, his daughter implies knowledge of it earlier than this.¹⁶ Blanche Athena got her information from the various sets of reminiscences and recollections that Anne Clough wrote, both for memoirs of her brother, and for her own amusement 'late in life'¹⁷. Learning from these sources that the young Clough read 'the Lives of Columbus, Cortez and Pizarro',¹⁸ his daughter probably cited those versions of these lives that were, by the time of her writing in 1897, the standard biographies.

¹³ B.A. Clough, *A Memoir of Anne Jemima Clough* (London, 1897), p. 7.

¹⁴ Mill (1873), pp. 6-7.

¹⁵ W.H. Prescott, *The Conquest of Peru* (London, 1847).

¹⁶ W. Irving, *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (London, 1828).

¹⁷ B.A. Clough, *A Memoir of Anne Jemima Clough* (London, 1897), pp. 2-3.

¹⁸ *PPR* i, p. 5.

Anne Clough's mention of the three lives together in a single phrase, points to a strong possibility that Clough read about them in a cheap, uniform edition that was published in 1811: translations by E. Helme of J.H. Campe's biographies of Cortez, Columbus, and Pizarro.¹⁹ This popular edition was conceived as an interrelated series of biographies for children that would instil moral values into their young readers, each volume building upon the lessons of the previous one. They were specifically conceived as an antidote to the kind of modern romantic fiction that the Clough children were discouraged from reading.

The series is didactic in its efforts to 'inspire' in children 'a lively desire of signalising themselves by acts of humanity and public utility'.²⁰ Columbus for example, is 'worthy of our esteem and emulation' for many qualities, but most of all-for-his 'unaffected piety and unshaken probity'.²¹ Pizarro, on the other hand, is held up as a negative example for, although he possesses qualities of fortitude, patience, courage, activity and prudence, 'what are these great qualities, unsupported by probity, or that sensibility and humanity which lead us to feel for others?'.²² Columbus and Pizarro are heroic men in the traditional sense of the term; but the former is a fit example for conduct and the other morally repugnant, because Columbus combines heroic stature with a renunciation of the self-pride which accompanies this.

¹⁹ J.H. Campe, *Columbus; or the Discovery of America* (London, 1800); rev. and trans. E. Helme (London, 1811).

J.H. Campe, *Cortez, or the Conquest of Mexico* (London, 1799); rev. and trans. E. Helme (London, 1811).

J.H. Campe, *Pizarro, or the Conquest of Peru* (London, 1800); rev. and trans. E. Helme (London, 1811).

²⁰ Campe, *Columbus* (1811), pp. v-viii.

²¹ Campe, *Columbus* (1811), pp. 242-3.

²² Campe, *Pizarro* (1811), p. 38.

Clough's preoccupation at Rugby was to match the example set here by Columbus - to strive in the world to achieve great things, while at the same time retaining piety and humility. The call to youth to adopt a role of high seriousness, with its concomitant failure to recognise the intrinsic value of the period of boyhood, reminds one not only of James Mill's intensive education of his son, but of Arnold's own practice at Rugby.

* * *

Arnold took up and developed the historical predilections of Clough's mother. His teaching methods in this respect were summarised by A. Dwight Culler thus:

. . . Arnold started off the little boys with volumes of prints of the famous men of all periods and then moved on to the poetical and heroic part of history, to the stories that would enlist their interest. This done, he gradually filled in the narrative substance and then, in the Sixth Form, brought them to some philosophical historian who would enable them to rise to "the causes of things".²³

His historical theories however, were evolved with very little attempt at codification over a long period, so that it is difficult to decide whether at any particular point in time, a certain view was consciously held, or whether it existed in an embryo form. Duncan Forbes, in his pioneering analysis of the 'Liberal Anglican Idea of History', met this difficulty by distinguishing the two main phases through which his thought passed: the *Science* of history and the *Philosophy* of history.²⁴ This distinction is particularly helpful in understanding

²³ A. Dwight Culler, *The Victorian Mirror of History* (Yale, 1985), pp. 77-8.

²⁴ D. Forbes, *The Liberal Anglican Idea of History* (Cambridge, 1952). [For 'Science', see ch. 2, pp. 12-62; for 'Philosophy', see ch. 3, pp. 63-86; for a summary, see pp. 55-62.]

Clough's own approach, and since it underpins more recent work in this area²⁵, I have adopted it here.

Julius Hare was a close friend of Arnold and a Liberal Anglican historian himself. His book (written with his brother), *Guesses at Truth*, was popular among Arnold's pupils. The July 1836 number of the *Rugby Magazine*, for example, contained three short philosophical pieces in imitation of Hare; the editor (probably Clough) comments:

One good thing is, that they prove his [the author's] having read that delightful little book, *Guesses at Truth*.²⁶

And Clough wrote in his diary nearly a year earlier:

O Julius Hare thou art very good and wise, . . .²⁷

Hare succinctly summarises the core Liberal Anglican idea thus:

The natural life of nations as well as of individuals has its fixed course and term. It springs forth, grows up, reaches its maturity, decays, perishes.²⁸

The Liberal Anglican idea of history was founded on this concept of the congruity of human and historical life cycles. They held this analogy to apply not only socially and politically, but intellectually and morally as well. In order to use history to throw light on the present, one needs to define which phase in the life cycle one's nation is going through, and then make comparison with a corresponding phase in the cycle of a previous nation.

²⁵ Notably, Culler – see p. 293.

²⁶ 'Scraps from my Portfolio', *RM* ii (July, 1836), 88.

²⁷ Journal 1, fol. 23v. Entry for Saturday September 5th, 1835. The Rugby diaries are unpublished. For details of the MS Clough Diaries, held in the Balliol College Library, see Bibliographical Introduction.

²⁸ J.C and A.W. Hare, *Guesses at Truth. By Two Brothers*, (London: Taylor and Walton, 1827), p.21.

Arnold, Hare and the Liberal Anglicans were in revolt against the then current optimistic belief in the doctrine of Progress. Deriving their basic ideas from Vico, through Niebuhr, they rejected such concepts as the ‘march of mind’ and the inevitability of the advance of civilisation; they replaced those linear models with a cyclical one, based upon the single state as the unit of historical enquiry.

Individual states go through universally applicable patterns of growth and decay, thus forming endlessly repeating historical cycles that cannot be broken. From this point of view, progress as usually understood is impossible; history is the study of the rhythmic ebb and flow of the fortunes of individual states.

It was Arnold’s belief that England of the 1830’s was reaching the last stage of its cycle: he found symptoms of decline everywhere, witnesses to the inevitable process of decay which England was now facing:

. . . modern history appears to be not only *a* step in advance of ancient history, but *the* last step; it appears to bear marks of the fulness [sic] of time, as if there would be no future history beyond it.²⁹

British civilisation had reached its height and, like Greece and Rome before it, would soon plunge into barbarism. This deeply pessimistic view, based on moral observation and judgement, and given ‘scientific’ support from a Liberal Anglican theory of history, on the one hand underpins Arnold’s strongly moralistic stance, but at the same time, undermines the will to moral action. If decline and decay and eventual death are the fated lot of both individuals and nations, what is the point of moral struggle?

²⁹ T. Arnold, *Introductory Lectures on Modern History* (Oxford, 1842), p. 36.

These ideas – which Forbes called the Liberal Anglican ‘Science’ of History – were in direct contradiction to an *a priori* belief in Providence. The concept of cycles of growth and decay implied a fatalistic relativism that could not be reconciled with the Christian belief in the free will of man, and the interposition of God in human events. In order to effect a reconciliation, the Liberal Anglicans evolved over time a second phase of their theory: that which Forbes designates the ‘Philosophy’ of History. This theory made the idea of progress possible, but only in a certain sense. God’s Providence assures a continuing moral progress in the world by working in a way which transcends the inevitable historical cycles: that is, through the progressive Christian revelation. The cyclical extinction of races is inescapable, but through its effects on the individual mind and conscience, Christianity has ensured a continuation of true progress; the moral efforts of individual Christians in the ‘broad church’³⁰ sense are not lost with the decay of a nation, because a new nation in a new cycle will build upon the best of the old.

The period of development of the ‘Science’ and then, the ‘Philosophy’ of History, by Arnold and his friends, coincides with the period that Clough was at Rugby and Balliol. And because the metaphor cuts both ways, - because it provides a theory of individual growth as well as historical – it parallels the development of some of Clough’s own most fundamental themes. The first of these we need to note at this point is the dilemma between optimism and pessimism, or between engagement in and withdrawal from, moral action. Clough’s exploration of these themes in relation to ideas about History will help us identify more clearly than before, the

³⁰ The term ‘broad church’ was, apparently, first coined by Clough himself, according to Benjamin Jowett. See Culler (1985), p. 75.

way in which over time he responded to the influences of Arnold and the Oxford Movement.

A convenient starting point is provided by the survival in printed pamphlet form, of two prize-winning essays, written by Clough's close schoolfriends, Thomas Burbidge and C.J Vaughan.³¹ Both essays were recited to the school meeting 'On Wednesday in Easter Week, 1834'. Clough was then head of the fifth form, about to enter the sixth form, and it seems reasonable to assume that the knowledge of Arnold's historical theories displayed in these essays would also be known well to Clough. The essays set out to answer the typically Liberal Anglican question set by Arnold, 'What Symptoms of Decline are Exhibited by the World, Physically and Morally?' The epigrams that both essayists attach to their essays confirm immediately the Liberal Anglican influence:

'We see the world is waxing old'. Keble. [Burbidge]

and

'The world hath lost his youth, and the times begin to wax old.'
Esdras xiv, 10. [Vaughan]

Burbidge's essay begins by examining the physical symptoms of that decay. It was on mainly physical elements that the popular belief in the doctrine of progress was based; the later attacks on this faith in the external trappings of civilization, made by such figures as Carlyle and Matthew Arnold, were prefigured by the relatively isolated warnings of the Liberal Anglicans. Burbidge concludes that on the whole,

³¹ T. Burbidge, *English Essay, Read at the Rugby Meeting, on Wednesday in Easter Week, 1834* (Leicester, 1834).

C.J Vaughan, *An English Essay, Recited in Rugby School, On the Wednesday in Easter Week, 1834* (Leicester, 1834).

All the following quotations from Burbidge and Vaughan are from these two prize essays. Unfortunately, both are now (May 2007) missing from the Bodleian Library.

they provide no evidence either way, although he does admit certain physical signs, for he agrees that natural resources are rapidly becoming exhausted. But these are really only physical manifestations of the underlying moral cause; it is the agency of man, interfering in the equilibrium established by nature, which has brought this about. Arnold himself drew a direct parallel between the exhaustion of physical resources and the moral and intellectual exhaustion that results from the 'Excitement' of modern times: he urged his pupils to 'not allow ourselves to move faster than we must' and to 'warn against excesses . . . of bodily exercise . . . [and] of intellectual exercise'.³² Clough's Rugby diaries are full of agonised reflections on his own tendency to 'excitement' and living 'too fast'.

Burbidge next turns to 'the most fruitful branch' of the subject, namely, the moral symptoms of the world's decay:

And here our subject apparently changes a little, - for whereas we have been hitherto seeking symptoms of positive decay, we must now be satisfied only to find fulness [sic] of power, remembering, that while the bodily strength of an old man is declining, his intellectual faculties only keep growing into a higher degree of perfection . . . Whether therefore we find signs of a failing power, or only of a matured one, they are alike signs of decline . . .

The typically Liberal Anglican analogy drawn here between the life-course of a nation and that of an individual is indicative. Burbidge clearly believed, in common with his headmaster, that society had reached the extreme stage of maturity; civilisation has reached the furthest height to which it can aspire, and a long decay is the inescapable future:

Nations after they have reached a high pitch of power and glory, have fallen and perished . . . The law of death . . . was not merely uttered against every child of man individually, but against every combination and society in which men can unite themselves together.

³² T. Arnold, *Sermons* (Revised Edition: London, 1878), vol. vi, pp. 229-32.

Burbidge provides as evidence the general growth of overheated intellectual excitement – ‘. . . that unsettled, restless spirit, which seems now to animate the whole civilised world.’ Finally, he examines in detail the effect of this spirit on nations, religion and the sciences, and characteristically concludes:

The analogy of the life of the world with that of the human being, has as yet held sufficiently to prevent there being any irrationality in the supposition that the race of man will decline as it has risen . . .

Vaughan’s essay follows much the same pattern as Burbidge’s, and uses almost identical arguments, indicating that Arnold’s basic theories were very well known to his older pupils. Like Burbidge, Vaughan lays his emphasis on moral symptoms, claiming that the ‘height which civilisation has reached’ is not evidence for a belief in progress, but rather a symptom of impending decline:

The mind of man is at its full growth.

Like Burbidge also, he finds further evidence in ‘the temper of men’s minds at the present time’; the final stage in a nation’s cycle is heralded by intellectual excitement:

That restlessness and desire of change, which is now so prevalent, is one of the clearest signs that the moral world is hastening to decay . . . it is the natural, - I had almost said, the necessary, accompaniment of that stage of society in which we are living.

We shall see as we examine Clough’s Rugby poetry in Chapter Two, that key elements of these Liberal Anglican ideas permeate his thought. I have already pointed to one such element – optimism or pessimism, engagement or withdrawal. As he struggled to emulate the moral ideals of his mother and Arnold, he became acutely aware of another dichotomy: the chasm between appearance and reality – between the outward successes of the model schoolboy, and the inner emotional and moral turmoil. The correspondence of history and biography and the belief

that individual, personal decline mirrors historical decline and vice versa, became for Clough a metaphor for his own sense of moral and spiritual decline in his Rugby years. As we shall see, the identification of ‘overheated excitement’ as key symptoms of historical and moral decline, identified by Arnold and reflected in Burbidge’s and Vaughan’s essays, are strongly recurring themes in the Rugby diaries and prose writing, and haunt Clough’s verse, not just at Rugby, but throughout his life. The foundation of the key Cloughian themes of the divided self; the hypocrisy of outer conformity and inner turpitude; and the sense of moral failure: - all have their roots here.

* * *

Over two decades later, Clough’s mature view was very different. This can be illustrated from the manuscript remarks on ‘The Value of Popular History’ which Clough wrote as the first draft of what eventually became his Introduction to his edition of Plutarch.³³ The heart of his general discussion begins with a defence of the historical methods that Arnold among others had been instrumental in introducing into England:

History like other things should be exact - Critical History is real History - Niebuhr, Arnold, Mommsen, Thirlwall, Grote mark the progress of research into the past.³⁴

But he then immediately goes on to show where his real interest and sympathy lies:

What may be maintained however and should be more noticed than it has been is that a knowledge of the popular should precede a study of the Critical History - on the popular the critical rests.³⁵

³³ Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. d.511, fols. 189-200. The following quotations are taken from this unpublished manuscript fragment.

³⁴ Fol. 191r.

‘Popular’ history gains its truth from the fact that countless generations of human experience have proved it to be so, rather than from theoretical speculations.

In the final version of his Plutarch introduction,³⁶ Clough once again reveals the direction of his interest:

He [Plutarch] is a moralist rather than a historian. His interest is less for politics and the changes of empires, and much more for personal character and individual actions and motives to action.

As we saw at the beginning of this chapter, Clough concedes the objective inaccuracy of Plutarch’s portraits, but he points out that the modern historian’s correction of Plutarch may prove to be equally mistaken in the light of further researches and therefore he prefers to rely on ‘the broad principles of the ancient moral code of right and wrong’.³⁷

This last phrase is key: the search for final objective truth must be inconclusive and therefore debilitating; the simple, plain moral truths of the human conscience, sanctioned by centuries of respectful use, alone can provide the necessary ground for moral action.

It is this that characterises much of Clough’s mature, moral outlook. His 1853 review of ‘Recent English Poetry’ for example, applies a similar approach to contemporary poetry.³⁸ The burden of Clough’s article is his comparison between Alexander Smith’s *A Life Drama* and Matthew Arnold’s poetry. In essence, Smith and Arnold become symbols for the two different approaches to life and art which

³⁵ Fols. 191r-192r.

³⁶ ‘Introduction’ to Plutarch.

³⁷ Plutarch, p. xviii.

³⁸ *PR*, pp. 355-78.

we encounter again and again in Clough: timidity versus confidence, pessimism versus optimism:

. . . the two elements of thoughtful discriminating selection and rejection, and frank and bold acceptance of what lies around them . . . the extremes of ascetic and timid self-culture, and of unquestioning, unhesitating confidence . . .³⁹

He discusses the fact that both Arnold's and Smith's poetry, although presenting 'two totally different, repugnant, and hostile theories of life', seem equally to have the quality of truth about them - the reader feels equally at home when turning from one to the other. He distinguishes at first two possible reactions to the situation: ' . . . either to stand still in transcendental doubt, or toss up, as it were, for our side'.⁴⁰ And it is here that we witness again the advance on the position that Clough held under Thomas Arnold. Truth is no longer seen as objectively knowable, but rather as fragmented and relative; the posture we adopt is a moral issue and will depend upon our 'character, capacity, and positions'.⁴¹ It is true that Clough goes on to assert nevertheless that the main need of the present age is for 'exhortations to steady courage and calls to action' rather than 'the maxims of caution'; but the choice is made here on pragmatic grounds.

The review goes on to express this in terms which relate the idea to the Liberal Anglican historical view:

It may indeed be true, as the astronomers say, . . . that the heavenly bodies describe ellipses; and go on, from and to all the ages, performing that self-repeating, unattainable curve. But does it, therefore, of necessity follow that human souls do something analogous in the spiritual spaces?⁴²

³⁹ *PR*, p.372.

⁴⁰ *PR*, p.372.

⁴¹ *PR*, p.372.

⁴² *PR*, p.373.

- and he might have added, does it also follow that societies progress in a similar cyclical fashion? He does not answer his own question, but rather, goes on literally to transcend such questions:

Number is a wonderful thing, and the laws of nature sublime; nevertheless, have we not a sort of intuition of the existence, even in our own poor human selves, of something akin to a Power superior to, and transcending, all manifestations of Nature, all intelligible forms of Number and Law.⁴³

Although he doubts whether the cyclical pattern of the Arnoldian ‘Science’ of history is a valid view of the world, the question ultimately dwindles to insignificance before the far more important implications of Arnold’s ‘Philosophy’ of history, in which the ‘dismal cycle’ of Matthew Arnold’s ‘Hindoo-Greek theosophy’⁴⁴ is transcended by the gradual progress of God’s revelation of himself through the increase of Christian values in the life of the society and of the individual.

This perspective was already apparent a decade earlier. In November 1844, Clough used two other writers as symbols of his key antinomy. He had recently been reading both Elizabeth Barrett and the voguish Swedish novelist, Frederica Bremer; he wrote to Burbidge:

I have read about half of Miss Barrett, and am rather disappointed with one long poem which I expected to find good, viz. the Vision of Poets: it is all in support of the Painfulness and Martyrdom Poet-Theory, the which I don’t agree to; nor I believe do you. Frederica Bremer converted me to the Joy-Theory of Life and the Universe and to that as the more agreeable of the two, I am determined to stick, the arguments on both sides being about equal.⁴⁵

From all the evidence available to man, one can equally conclude in optimism or pessimism; Clough chooses pragmatically to be optimistic. And in fact, it seems

⁴³ *PR*, p. 373.

⁴⁴ *PR*, p. 373.

⁴⁵ F.L. Mulhauser, ed., *The Correspondence of Arthur Hugh Clough* i (Oxford, 1957), p.139.

clear that Clough had already reached this view as early as his second year at Balliol, in 1838 when he wrote ‘Truth is a Golden Thread . . .’:

What if despair and hope alike be true?
The heart, ‘tis manifest, is free to do
Whichever Nature and itself suggest.⁴⁶

The proposition advanced in ‘Truth is a Golden Thread . . .’ is that man is given glimpses of the truth which, though fragmentary, are undeniable, and it is these that he must take as the basis for action. As he later puts it in the 1853 Review:

Upon the whole, we are disposed . . . to put our confidence less in
arithmetic and antinomies, than in
‘A few strong instincts and a few plain rules’.⁴⁷

These are the aspects of the ‘golden thread’ which can be seen and it is these that we must obey.

* * *

Within only a year or two at Balliol, Clough had lost faith in Arnold’s cyclical account of history; truth, whether it be historical or any other kind, can never be reduced to formula or system or science. Action must be based upon some other foundation. This change in Clough’s attitudes can be clearly traced in his undergraduate essays. The first of these directly to concern itself with history was his third essay, written in December 1837 at the end of his first term at Balliol, on

⁴⁶ *Poems*, p.137.

⁴⁷ *PR*, pp. 372-3. The quotation is line 11 from Wordsworth’s ‘Alas! What boots the long laborious quest’:

A few strong instincts and a few plain rules,
Among the herdsmen of the Alps, have wrought
More for mankind at this unhappy day
Than all the pride of intellect and thought.

Poetical Works, ed. E. De Selincourt (Oxford, 1950), p. 250.

Intellectual pride became a major preoccupation for Clough at Rugby and Balliol as we shall see.

the rise and fall of Venice.⁴⁸ Although a common Victorian essay subject, it was conducive to Clough's Arnoldian outlook, and he interprets the subject strictly along the lines of the 'Science' of history.

In the Liberal Anglican interpretation, the reason for Venice's fall can be traced to her inability to make the inevitable transition from the aristocratic to the democratic mode of social organisation; this transition was greatly stressed by Arnold. In the event, Venice was to 'linger':

. . . through centuries of enlightenment, and improved [sic] alike unenlightened and unimproved, with her commerce gone, and character disgraced, to fall at the end of it, as she did. During this period it was, that those changes took place in her already strong aristocratical government, which ended in bringing under the rule of that famous Oligarchy, the Council of Ten, changes at once betokening and encouraging the social weakness and indolence of character which now began to be developed in Venice.⁴⁹

This linking of social and moral decline is characteristic of Arnoldian historicism; when Clough describes the final phase of this decline, the human life analogy comes to the forefront once again:

. . . it is scarcely worth while to trace her through the various periods of that lingering Life in Death down to her final downfall, and the contemptible and cowardly suicide, so to speak, which in her fear and degradation she at last wrought on herself.⁵⁰

In this essay, we are presented with a fatalistic view of inevitable, cyclical decline; with no hint of transcendent escape.

The last essay of Clough's first academic year, however, written in June 1838, demonstrates the beginning of a change of emphasis; although Clough still pays

⁴⁸ 'Venice', Essay No. 3 (Dec. 1837), Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. d. 513, fols. 7-9.

⁴⁹ 'Venice', fols. 8v-9r.

⁵⁰ 'Venice', fol. 9v.

lip-service to Arnoldian historical science, his real interest lies elsewhere.⁵¹ He begins by defining three ‘principle uses of History’, of which only two are relevant to the essay. His second ‘use’ is familiar territory:

. . . the Examples there held up to us for admiration or blame, imitation or warning: whether national or individual: whether properly historical . . . or approaching more or less to Biography.⁵²

The influence of Mrs. Clough and Arnold are still very present as one would expect. Indeed, Clough repeats his old teacher’s warning that:

. . . that which is really an example of one thing and is recorded as an example of another, not only teaches us no truth, but even worse teaches us a falsehood.⁵³

This is a reference to the fact, always stressed by Arnold, that one can only learn from historical periods which were at the same stage in the cyclical pattern as one’s own period. The first ‘use’ of history is:

. . . whatever has for its prime object the Establishment in the Minds of Men, of faith and confidence in the Systems handed from their fathers, and of love and attachment to them.⁵⁴

The ‘system’ of historical truth in question here however begins to sound less Arnoldian than we might expect. Arnold sought to dis sever objective truth from its encrustation of myth and tradition; Clough here is suggesting that the historian’s task is in fact, the opposite:

Such are the benefits that arise from the Tradition we find existing whether orally or in Song or in sacred writings in the infancy of most nations . . . Any Systematic Account of Events, such as these, could not be made, until time and tradition had done their duty in clothing them with a hallowed and authoritative Character.⁵⁵

⁵¹ ‘On the Advantages and Disadvantages of Contemporary History’, Essay No. 8 (Jun.1838), Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. d.513, fols. 21-25.

⁵² ‘Contemporary History’, fol. 22r.

⁵³ ‘Contemporary History’, fol. 23r.

⁵⁴ ‘Contemporary History’, fol. 21v.

⁵⁵ ‘Contemporary History’, fols. 21r-22v.

Arnold's idea of history was essentially a compromise; it was a means of achieving a systematised, generalised view of history while at the same time admitting the complex, particularised facts which modern scientific historical techniques were beginning to discover. In theory this balance was possible, but in practice, a bias in one direction or the other was inevitable and in Arnold's case it was towards the didactic, generalised view. The resulting inconsistencies are most apparent when he addresses historical religion - he would not allow scientific techniques to invade the area of religious belief, because he feared that this would destroy its moral efficacy. Thus Clough was merely claiming for all history, what Arnold had attempted to restrict to religion alone; that tradition and myth have a 'truth' of their own, independent of commonly accepted criteria of objective truth. The intellectual consequence of this approach is inevitably to lessen the importance of objective truth, and hence, of the 'Science' of history as well, in favour of the 'Philosophy' of history. Once again, the attitude we see forming is not one which accepts or rejects the 'Science' of history; rather, it pronounces such investigations as of secondary importance to the moral implications of the 'Philosophy' of history.

The thrust of the essay is away from systematic and scientific approaches to history, and towards a more fragmentary view. A few months later, in November 1838, (only a month after writing 'Truth is a Golden Thread . . .'), Clough had - or found - cause in an essay⁵⁶ to list modern additions to the field of literary modes, and among these he includes:

⁵⁶ 'The Influence of the Progress of Luxury and Refinement in Literature', Essay No. 11 (Nov. 1838), Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. d. 513, fols. 28-31.

. . . Biography, an attempt to set forth in a less difficult form than Systematic Moral Philosophy, or than Poetry, what may assist and guide us best in the direction of our Conduct.⁵⁷

The essay refers to ‘the perplexities and difficulties attendant on Moral Questions’⁵⁸, and in his comments on Logic emerges an attack on the way in which Tractarian sophistry increased these problems:

Where Language is in such constant use as the medium to communicate important Truths, among so many rival and contending sects, what more palpably important than to take precautions against its abuse? More especially when numbers have withdrawn their faith in realities to attach it to mere words, and formulas.⁵⁹

In the essay, biography and morality are elevated above:

. . . Systems of Moral Philosophy, professing themselves the true guides of Human Conduct in Life⁶⁰

A couple of months later, the title set for his January 1839 essay was *The Philosophy of History*.⁶¹ The essay begins with a statement deriving from Bolingbroke’s dictum:

. . . an English statesman should among his most necessary qualifications include a knowledge of his Country’s History.⁶²

Clough possessed a copy of Bolingbroke’s popular *Letters on the Study and Use of History*, and probably had this in mind; but he gives the idea his own individual twist, since such a study is not so much to find analogous situations in the past to throw light on the present, but rather to discover the ‘National Character’ of his countrymen. This can be obtained by ‘daily observation and experience’, but the past affords ‘larger and freer views’ and is useful for supplementing the experience of the present.

⁵⁷ ‘Luxury and Refinement’, fol. 30v.

⁵⁸ ‘Luxury and Refinement’, fol. 30r.

⁵⁹ ‘Luxury and Refinement’, fol. 30r-v.

⁶⁰ ‘Luxury and Refinement’, fol. 30r.

⁶¹ ‘The Philosophy of History’, Essay No. 13 (Jan. 1839), Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. d. 513, fols. 36-38.

⁶² ‘Philosophy of History’, fol. 36v. (And following quotations).

This in essence is the attitude of the whole essay; Clough concludes by refusing to ‘concede it [History] the highest and paramount authority’ but finds it ‘useful’ and ‘necessary’ as a ‘secondary agent’.⁶³ This is in accord with what we have already seen; he nowhere rejects the significance of historical study - but he considered it to be subservient to the study of ‘Character’. Significantly, its function is to prevent such study becoming too ‘exclusive and theoretical’ and therefore its role is purely as an extension of ‘daily practical life’⁶⁴. Whereas the individual is only capable of limited experience, history is the distillation of the experience of ‘tens of thousands.’⁶⁵ In this essay Clough does not discuss the reasons why ‘the discussions of such important matters must be left free from the inductions of a Historian’; he merely rejects history as ‘uncertain foundations’ and concentrates on relating it to ‘the true method of searching for Political Truth’ - ‘the Study of Man’s Nature’.⁶⁶

However, a few months later he did tackle precisely this problem⁶⁷ and his statement of his conclusions demonstrates the long distance he has come by this time:

. . . the peculiar nature of historical evidence lays us open to crude results and premature deductions in their most enticing and plausible forms.⁶⁸

As Clough put it in his diary at the time:

⁶³ ‘Philosophy of History’, fol. 38r.

⁶⁴ ‘Philosophy of History’, fol.37v.

⁶⁵ ‘Philosophy of History’, fol. 38r.

⁶⁶ ‘Philosophy of History’, fol. 37v.

⁶⁷ ‘The Social Condition of the Greeks and the State of Moral Feeling Prevalent Among them Illustrated by the Events of the Peloponnesian War’, Essay No. 17 (May 1839), Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. d. 514, fols. 4-6.

⁶⁸ ‘Peloponnesian War’, fol. 4r.

Whether or not we best communicate truth acquired by Poetry or Systematic Philosophy . . . The great danger for me is to get glimpses of the truth & theorize; & so follow formulas.⁶⁹

He goes on in the essay to explain this danger:

Each succeeding year may furnish us with a new and lively picture of Greek morals and manners, and the experience of the last suffice but to convince us that all we had before imagined was unreal and unfounded.⁷⁰

The essay offers two alternatives:

We must either sacrifice the certainty of Complete Truth to obtain the freshness and vigour of genuine perception, or resign this latter advantage for those cold and half-realised assertions, which one day we believe, we shall recognise as the whole and perfect Truth.⁷¹

Greenberger (in her book on Clough's prose) suggests that Clough himself opted for the latter alternative, but here she misses the point - that Clough himself does not make any choice at all in his essay. And in the realm of history he maintained this position; his thoughts on Plutarch discussed earlier show that his own predilection was indeed for the latter alternative - but nowhere does he reject the former. Rather he maintains that 'critical history' is less important. However, in the sphere of personal moral truth, the issue could not be left like this, since it was on this choice that lay the possibility of action. In fact, the two choices offered here are in essence the same as those considered in the 1853 review: either to make confident, optimistic 'assertions' like Alexander Smith, or to remain forever without 'the certainty of complete truth' like Matthew Arnold. It may be remembered that in 1853, Clough rejected both possibilities in favour of the few plain and clear facts of human nature upon which one can rely; in the poetry that he began to write as an undergraduate, one can see slowly developing this attitude which made action possible in a divided world. The development was long, slow,

⁶⁹ A. Kenny, ed., *The Oxford Diaries of Arthur Hugh Clough* (Oxford, 1990), p. 88. Entry for 18 October 1838.

⁷⁰ 'Peloponnesian War', fol. 4r.

⁷¹ 'Peloponnesian War', fol. 4r-v.

and not without its retreats into the two other alternatives; but the main direction was boldly consistent and admirable in its gradual emancipation from the influence of others.

* * *

What must now be considered are the influences, exerted upon Clough by his experience of Oxford, which caused him to adopt his new attitude towards historical truth. It has always been assumed that these changes in attitude were in direct opposition to Thomas Arnold's thought and came about through Clough's contact with the more sceptical modes of thought spreading from the critical movement in Germany. It is argued that Clough was introduced to these modes of thought through the medium of the Tractarian controversy and, unable to accept the Tractarian refutation of them, slowly drifted into agnosticism. However, we have seen that the movement of Clough's thought in these years was along paths which Arnold himself initiated; Clough was merely removing the element of inconsistency from Arnoldian doctrine. It is highly significant therefore that Clough's period as an undergraduate almost exactly coincides with Arnold's development and expression of what Forbes has called his 'Philosophy' of history.

In a series of articles in the *Durham University Journal*, R.A. Forsythe has traced the development of Clough's religious thought.⁷² However, Forsythe describes Clough's emerging commitment to the possibilities of the human will as being in contradiction to Arnold's historiography. This is not the case. The gradual

⁷² Summarised in R.A. Forsyth, 'Clough's "Adam and Eve" – A Debating Tract for the Times', *Durham University Journal* liii (Jan. 1992), 59-78. For the preceding articles, see Bibliography.

movement of the Liberal Anglican historians in the late 1830's and early 1840's, away from a fatalistic science of cycles, towards an emphasis on free will and the possibility of spiritual progress, is mirrored by Clough's own growing determination to root out his own fatalism in favour of a more optimistic reliance upon the possibilities of moral effort and activity.

The first document to emerge from the Liberal Anglican camp, in which the fatalistic attitude induced by a too rigid concern with the 'Science' of history is replaced by the 'Philosophy' of history, is A.P. Stanley's prize essay which was read in the Sheldonian Theatre Oxford on 1 July 1840, but which was probably known to Clough earlier in the year.⁷³ It addresses precisely the same problem as that with which the Rugby prize essayists were concerned: 'Whether States, like individuals, after a certain period of maturity, inevitably tend to decay'. The heart of Stanley's argument is that the fatalistic attitude to history stands or falls by the truth of the human life analogy:

Now whether we look into the dim apprehensions of great national cycles of prosperity and decay, which have marked the religions of almost all the countries in the world; or examine the philosophical arguments of those, who, like Plato and Tacitus in ancient, or Vico in modern times, have maintained the same in theory; or listen to the echo which the notion seems to awaken in the instincts of the human mind itself; it is plain that whatever truth or error the belief may involve, it has always rested, either in substance or in form, on the analogy between men as individuals and men in their collective capacity.⁷⁴

He then goes on to demolish the possibility of using the analogy in this way, by distinguishing between the physical analogy and the 'spiritual' one:

When we speak of the mind, the moral powers, the virtue, the wisdom of the nation, we are plainly using the terms in the same sense, as that in which we apply them to the individual. But when we speak of the body,

⁷³ A.P. Stanley, *A Prize Essay, Read in the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford; July 1, 1840* (Oxford, 1840).

⁷⁴ Stanley, *Prize Essay*, p. 5.

the head, the strength of a nation, it is evident that we are not merely extending the meaning of our terms, but absolutely changing it.⁷⁵

Stanley therefore accepts the former analogy, but rejects the latter; although the human body is fated to decay and die, the same cannot be said of the social body. The analogy may turn out to be correct in any particular instance, but there is no necessity involved. The moral analogy on the other hand is true and leads to the most important social consequences; if individual men have free will as the Liberal Anglicans believed, and have control over their own futures, then the same is true for nations:

If . . . no one human being ever lost his moral life except through his own free agency . . . [then] no one nation ever perished from off the face of the earth, when its own powers could have saved it.⁷⁶

He recognises that ‘violent external casualties’ form an exception to this rule, since moral rectitude has little influence over superior physical force; but he argues that:

. . . nations have generally been only thus destroyed, when their own internal vices have made it manifest that they would else have destroyed themselves.⁷⁷

Thus Stanley does not deny the cyclical theory of history and indeed refers us to Arnold’s writings for ‘the full statement of this truth’; but, rejecting ‘man’s inherent craving for fatalism’, he claims that this truth has been ‘disfigured by its connexion with a gloomy and unphilosophical fiction’ and that ‘there is no resemblance, either necessary or accidental, between the latter end of a nation, and of an individual’⁷⁸. Both nations and individuals will only decay when their own moral degeneration allows them to do so. The ‘Philosophy’ of history, arises quite naturally from this position. National decay can only be avoided if individuals

⁷⁵ Stanley, *Prize Essay*, p. 5.

⁷⁶ Stanley, *Prize Essay*, p. 8.

⁷⁷ Stanley, *Prize Essay*, p. 8.

⁷⁸ Stanley, *Prize Essay*, p. 10.

exert themselves morally and intellectually to avert it; and thus as Forbes shows, the idea becomes curiously mixed with the evangelical doctrine of the salvation of the individual:

. . . it was to the individual that [Arnold] turned in the crisis of his civilisation. It is a logical transition from the Liberal Anglican science of history to their philosophy of history, that is to say, from process to progress . . . from the history of nations viewed universally from the point of view of law, to the history of nations viewed universally from the point of view of purpose and moral effort. . . . In the science of history they attempted to make history scientific. They had now to take from science its fatalism. As inevitability, law, determinism recede, the science of history gives way in their minds to the philosophy of history.⁷⁹

This movement is precisely that which can be seen in Clough at Balliol. Stanley's essay then goes on to map out the basic points of this Philosophy of history and especially the idea that historical progress can be equated with the rise and spread of Christianity; only the latter can make possible the kind of moral effort needed to transcend cyclical patterns:

It is Christianity alone that, in the case of nations as well as individuals, possesses the peculiar privilege of restoring the lost and raising the dead.⁸⁰

and:

The 'Spirit of the Age' may, indeed, ruffle into every variety of tempest the surface of society; but the fountains of the great deep of human life itself flow on beneath undisturbed.⁸¹

With this image of the buried life, we are back again at 'Truth is a Golden Thread . . .', and even more, with Clough's other poems dealing with a similar theme, such as 'Away, haunt not thou me' ('secret treasure-depths below') and 'How often sit I, poring o'er' ('buried world below')⁸². Stanley explains his image thus:

⁷⁹ Forbes (1952), pp. 59-62.

⁸⁰ Stanley, *Prize Essay*, p. 41.

⁸¹ Stanley, *Prize Essay*, p. 12.

⁸² Printed in *Ambarvalia* as *Blank Misgivings* v.

. . . infinitely various as are their outward aspects, yet in all that most concerns the vital happiness and worth of a nation, one age differs very little from another.⁸³

Although the events of history are inordinately difficult to come to terms with, and although the ‘Science’ of history is problematical when practically applied, nevertheless there are certain ‘vital’ fundamental moral truths which do not change from cycle to cycle and towards which it is the duty of man to aspire. This is precisely the view that Clough came to adopt at Oxford and which he expresses in ‘Truth is a golden thread . . .’.

Stanley’s essay was followed up and confirmed by Arnold himself in the following year when he delivered his ‘Inaugural Lecture’ as Professor of Modern History at Oxford in December 1841.⁸⁴ The lecture begins with all the arguments with which we are by now well familiar, making full use of the human life analogy; but it becomes clear that like Stanley, the fatalistic implications of his historical science were giving him cause for concern. Having argued that the modern era seems to be the last because of the absence of any suitable race to take over the torch of civilisation, he goes on to argue that if this is the case, then it places the onus very heavily on human responsibility. Using his most common imagery, he says:

When an army’s last reserve has been brought into action, every single soldier knows that he must do his duty to the utmost . . . So if our existing nations are the last reserve of the world, its fate may be said to be in their hands - God’s work on earth will be left undone if they do not do it.⁸⁵

Thus, impending decline is no excuse for fatalistic pessimism but rather, individual human effort is imperative for regeneration. In the final lecture of the

⁸³ Stanley, *Prize Essay*, p. 12.

⁸⁴ T. Arnold, *Introductory Lectures on Modern History, Delivered in Lent Term 1842, with the Inaugural Lecture, Delivered in December 1841*, (Oxford, 1842).

⁸⁵ Arnold, *Introductory Lectures*, p. 39.

series, delivered in Lent Term 1842, Arnold returned to precisely this question, and chose to conclude all his remarks with a direct rebuttal of fatalism:

But one great question still remains: if history has its laws, as I entirely believe . . . can the truths which it teaches us to value be really carried into effect practically, or are we rather cursed with that bitter thing, a powerless knowledge, seeing an evil from which we cannot escape . . .⁸⁶

He then employs an image that later had a very important effect on his son's poetry:

. . . being in fact embarked upon the rapids of fate, which hurry us along to the top of the fall, and then dash us down below; while all the while, there are the banks on the right and left close in sight, an assured and visible safety if we could but reach it, but we try to steer and to pull our boat thither in vain; and with eyes open, and amidst unavailing struggles, we are swept away to destruction?⁸⁷

The resemblance between this passage and a poem like 'The River' is fairly obvious and we shall see later the use Clough makes of 'precipice' imagery in poems like 'The Longest Day' and 'The Close of the Eighteenth Century'.

Arnold's answer to his own question is typical - he attempts to have the best of both worlds. He points out that 'God's national judgments are spoken of in Scripture both as reversible and irreversible' and therefore, that we cannot know whether or not our moral efforts will be successful in warding off disaster:

. . . the answer is such as we should most desire to be the true one; an answer encouraging exertion, yet making the responsibility of every generation exceedingly great . . .⁸⁸

Thus, Arnold reserves for himself the right to believe that this is the last generation; but at the same time, such pessimism must not slip into fatalism and encourage moral slackness. As we have seen, Clough's answer to the same problem merely removes the ambiguity of Arnold's position; he argues that since

⁸⁶ Arnold, *Introductory Lectures*, pp. 394-5.

⁸⁷ Arnold, *Introductory Lectures*, pp. 394-5.

⁸⁸ Arnold, *Introductory Lectures*, pp. 396-7.

we cannot know the future, why not choose to be optimistic rather than pessimistic since this, on purely pragmatic grounds, makes life easier to live and moral effort easier to make.

This point of view was to receive confirmation from a new and unexpected source: in November 1841, Clough's diary⁸⁹ reveals him reading 'History' and Self-Reliance' in Emerson's recently published essays.⁹⁰ These essays broadly reach the same conclusions as Clough. Emerson argued that since historical epochs are merely created by the "Application" of man's "spirit to the manifold world", then:

. . . the whole of history is in one man, it is all to be explained from individual experience. . . . The world exists for the education of each man. There is no age or state of society, or mode of action in history, to which there is not somewhat corresponding in his life. . . . All history becomes subjective; in other words, there is properly no History; only Biography.⁹¹

Arnold's historical science might elaborate on this simple definition to show the precise way in which the human life analogy can be applied, but the subservience of all history to the single individual was of far more practical importance to Clough. For, behind Emerson's attitude to history, as indeed, behind his attitude to all areas of truth, the main thrust of his interest was away from the theoretical, objective and systematic, towards the practical, subjective and fragmentary.

In his second essay, 'Self-Reliance', Emerson stresses precisely these points; his message is 'Trust thyself' and his attitude to 'Truth' is summed up famously in his concept of 'Whim':

⁸⁹ Journal 5, fol. 37r.

⁹⁰ R.W. Emerson, *Essays, with Preface by Thomas Carlyle* (London, 1841).

⁹¹ 'History', Emerson, *Essays*, pp. 4-10.

I would write on the lintels of the doorpost, *Whim*. I hope it is somewhat better than whim at last, but we cannot spend the day in explanation. Expect me not to show cause why I seek or why I exclude company.⁹²

This passage brings us back yet again to ‘Truth is a golden thread . . .’. Both Clough and Emerson stress the need to follow out what one instinctively feels to be the right course, without regard to more objective truth. Emerson hopes and believes that in the end, the two will not be incompatible, but we must not ‘spend the day in explanation’; Clough similarly insists that the surface fragments of Truth are indeed part of a greater whole, but we must not stop in our course to question and examine. Activity is all important, and introspective self-examination will only lead to disastrous inability to act. Emerson’s philosophy fleshes out the implications of Clough’s poems:

Suppose you should contradict yourself; what then? . . . A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds . . . Fear never but you will be consistent in whatever variety of actions, so they be each honest and natural in their hour.⁹³

Emerson’s plea for sincerity to one’s ‘buried world below’ here, applies equally to history and to personal relationships. When he encourages his audience to ‘do your thing’, he encourages Clough not only in his new attitudes to Arnold’s historicism, but also to the whole problem of Ward and the others who he felt himself to be dependent on. It is significant that Clough’s poem was written in the midst of a crisis with Ward; and Emerson’s first example of ‘Whim’ in the quotation above, is his decision to ‘seek’ or ‘exclude’ company.

⁹² ‘Self-Reliance’, Emerson, *Essays*, p.52.

⁹³ ‘Self-Reliance’, Emerson, *Essays*, pp.57-9.

And of course, in the case of both Clough and Emerson, this sharp awareness of the nature of sincerity is more generally apparent in their wider attitudes to social hypocrisy. When Emerson comments:

These [i.e. 'Trust thyself'] are the voices which we hear in solitude, but they grow faint and inaudible as we enter into the world . . . Whoso would be a man, must be a nonconformist . . . I am ashamed to think how easily we capitulate to badges and names, to large societies and dead institutions. Every decent and well-spoken individual effects and sways me more than is right.⁹⁴

- he is not only referring to precisely the situation that Clough found himself in at Balliol, attempting to define himself against both Arnoldism and Newmanism; but he uses imagery very similar to that employed by Clough in poems such as 'Why should I say I see the things I see not'.⁹⁵ There are many close parallels between these essays and Clough's poems of the time; it is impossible to tell whether Emerson actually influenced Clough directly or indirectly in any given example, or whether parallel thoughts have simply emerged in parallel language. The Wordsworthian idea of 'the independence of solitude' even in 'the midst of the crowd' recalls not only Clough's constant diary reminders 'to be alone' but also a poem like 'Roused by importunate knocks'⁹⁶. Clearly, the poem is rooted in Clough's personal experience at Balliol, vainly 'sporting his oak' against the incessant demands of friends; but also compare the poem with the following passage from Emerson:

At times the whole world seems to be in conspiracy to importune you with emphatic trifles. Friend, client, child, sickness, fear, want, charity, all knock at once at thy closet-door and say 'Come out unto us'. . . . come not for a moment into their facts, into their hubbub of conflicting appearances No man can come near me but through my act.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ 'Self-Reliance', Emerson, *Essays*, pp. 50-1.

⁹⁵ *Poems*, p. 22.

⁹⁶ *Poems*, p. 30. Printed in *Ambarvalia* as *Blank Misgivings* vii.

⁹⁷ 'Self-Reliance', Emerson, *Essays*, pp. 72-3.

Another example is Clough's interest in the facial expression as a mask for hypocrisy and conformity, which emerges at this time in such poems as 'Believe me, Lady':

Of every class of fixed or moving eye,
The passing smile, the smile unmoving
The twitchings and the lines about the mouth⁹⁸

This is set by Clough against moments like these:

When heart with heart, and mind with mind
Shake hands; and eyes in outward sign
Of inward vision, rest in thine;⁹⁹

Matthew Arnold makes similar use of such imagery in connection with the 'Buried Life' in the poem of that name, in 'Dover Beach', and others. But Clough seems more aware than Arnold of the significance of facial expression in a social rather than sexual context. Both quotations above are from poems that deal primarily with social hypocrisy and conformity, and perhaps owe something to Emerson's recognition of the same kind of phenomena:

Meantime, nature is not slow to equip us in the prison-uniform of the party to which we adhere. We come to wear one cut of face and figure, and acquire by degrees the gentlest asinine expression. There is a mortifying experience . . . "the foolish face of praise", the forced smile which we put on in company . . . The muscles, not spontaneously moved . . . grow tight about the outline of the face . . .¹⁰⁰

(Compare Clough's, 'The twitchings and the lines about the mouth') above. Even the theme of 'Qui Laborat Orat'¹⁰¹ can be seen as a desire to avoid vain insincerity in one's relations with God; both Clough and Emerson arrive at the same remedy and for the same reasons:

The prayer of the farmer kneeling in the field to weed it, the prayer of the rower kneeling with the stroke of his oar, are true prayers . . .¹⁰²

⁹⁸ *Poems*, p. 160, ll. 11-13.

⁹⁹ *Poems*, p. 5, ll. 9-11.

¹⁰⁰ 'Self-Reliance', Emerson, *Essays*, pp. 55-6..

¹⁰¹ *Poems*, p. 14.

¹⁰² 'Self-Reliance', Emerson, *Essays*, p. 78.

Thus, work and activity are moral in themselves, at least partly because, in the act of ‘honest toil’, man is not being insincere; simple actions, ‘honest and natural in their hour’ are for Clough and Emerson, expressions of the buried world of truth, and in connecting with that World, man is connecting with Him who is Truth.

* * *

Clough’s attempt at the Newdigate Prize in 1839, ‘Salsette and Elephanta’, reflects directly much of the above and is particularly revealing for the actual historical sources which Clough quotes in his notes to that poem.¹⁰³ Greenberger discussed these sources in detail in her introduction to the poem when she first published it in *Review of English Studies*;¹⁰⁴ however, I have much to disagree with in her interpretation of the poem. First, she picks out Clough’s reference to Schlegel’s *Essay on the Language and Philosophy of the Indians*, and rightly shows that Schlegel’s views permeate the whole poem.¹⁰⁵ However, in her interpretation of this, she seems to me to misunderstand; she makes a great deal of the unorthodoxy of Schlegel’s views and the daringness of Clough in using them so freely in a prize poem to be judged by an ultra-conservative audience; I intend to show that she has not only exaggerated the novelty of Schlegel’s influence, but missed the essential point that the German philosopher was attractive to Clough precisely because his ideas were a logical extension of Arnold’s own historicism.

¹⁰³ *Poems*, p. 139.

¹⁰⁴ *Review of English Studies*, n.s., xx (1969), 284-305.

¹⁰⁵ F. von Schlegel, trans. M.A. Mazure, *Essai sur la langue et la philosophie des Indiens* (Paris, 1837).

In fact, when we come to examine what Schlegel actually has to say in his ‘Essay’, there seems very little evidence for Greenberger’s view that Clough was associating himself with beliefs ‘equally questionable to orthodox and Tractarians’. In essence, Schlegel’s concept of history begins with the hypothesis that God’s Truth had originally been revealed, not only through the Judaeo-Christian tradition, but also in a primitive form to other peoples, and that traces of this original revelation can still be detected in their religions; the Buddhist and Hindu religions of India provide Schlegel’s evidence. Greenberger asserts that this view was so questionable that Clough quoted another source for his poem in order to give an air of orthodoxy which his argument otherwise lacked; she can find no other explanation for Clough’s citation of J. Douglas’s *Errors Regarding Religion*, of which he seems to have made no discernable use in the poem at all. In fact, a simple bibliographical error on Clough’s part almost certainly misled Greenberger into this conclusion, and when this is cleared up, it is perfectly clear that Schlegel’s essay was far more orthodox than she supposed.

Douglas published his *Errors Regarding Religion* in 1830, together with a companion volume, *The Truths of Religion*.¹⁰⁶ Although Clough cites the *Errors*, a quick glance at the contents of *Truths* is enough to show that he made the understandable mistake of citing the wrong volume in his notes to the poem, for *Truths* promulgates views which were common then and now, and which closely parallel those of Schlegel. The latter hypothesises an original form of Hinduism, of which only fragmentary evidence remains, in which Brahma had the attributes of the God revealed in the Judaeo-Christian tradition; through the ages, this

¹⁰⁶ J. Douglas, *The Truths of Religion* (Edinburgh, 1830).

knowledge of the Truth - God's revelation of Himself in the East - gradually became lost, changed and corrupted into the eastern religions we now know.

However, Schlegel asserts:

If all that has been sung by poets of antiquity concerning the misery of created existence be assembled . . . if we collect each melancholy gleam and fearful conception of the world around, which, born of that gloomy idea of irrevocable destiny, pervades the poetical legends and histories of their gods . . . we shall gain the most perfect conception . . . of this ancient Indian doctrine. . . . Notwithstanding the rude errors and arbitrary fictions, with which the philosophy is everywhere overlaid . . . it cannot be denied that the early Indians possessed a knowledge of the true God.¹⁰⁷

This point of view does seem a little startling at first, until one realises that Schlegel is merely presenting evidence to support a belief that is implicit in Pauline theology. If God punishes men for their sin, then this can only be called justice if at the same time, he has universally revealed the Truth which those sins transgress. Thus, at the beginning of Paul's epistle to the Romans, he begins by establishing this point:

For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness; Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; For God hath showed it unto them. For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse: . . .¹⁰⁸

Paul then goes on to show how man gradually sunk into degradation and sin, losing the original knowledge of God, - as does Schlegel. Thus, when Douglas writes:

The fallen condition of man . . . has been acknowledged by men in every age and country. It is deeply impressed upon the various systems of mythology, it is . . . the tritest and ever recurring theme of poetry. . . . Everywhere we meet with broken, and it may be distorted rumours of the deluge . . . And there are recollections which ascend still higher to the

¹⁰⁷ F. von Schlegel, 'On the language and philosophy of the Indians', trans. E.J. Millington, *The Aesthetic and Miscellaneous Works of F. von Schlegel* (London, 1849), pp. 470-2.

¹⁰⁸ Romans 1: 18-20.

time when man lived in a state of innocence, and of delight, before he had forfeited the favour of heaven . . . ¹⁰⁹

he was being no less unorthodox than the Apostle. Pauline theology distinguishes between God's specific revelation through Christ, and his general or natural revelation through his creation. If either Douglas or Schlegel had been suggesting that we place parts of the Hindu Vedas, for example, on a par with the Bible, as definitive revelations of God's truth, they would have been controversial indeed, but there is no suggestion of this. In the following passage, Douglas makes it clear that he is referring to the natural religion championed by Paley; he shows also that even Schlegel's application of this to the Hindu religion was by no means original:

. . . even on the ground of natural religion, the hope of a divine interposition in behalf of fallen man was considerable . . . This hope is strongly marked in the mythology of the Hindoos; it formed part of those prophetic rumours which, proceeding we know not from what source, circulate dimly through the world like faint fore-shadows of things to come, and had reached even to the Chinese, who expected a new religion from the west. . . . A doctrine which spread to the far extremities of the west in the recollection of some happier and golden age, and in the dim or vivid expectation of its distant return. ¹¹⁰

The epigraph to Clough's poem clearly refers to one such golden age; and we shall see in our closer examination of this poem in Chapter Four that Clough had memories of his own golden age.

The appeal of Douglas' views to Clough derives at least partly from the fact that the former stands in the tradition of belief in history as a series of cycles of growth and decay; or, in Christian terms, Fall and Salvation:

Still more evidently in the history of man than in the history of nature is the recurrence of the one universal plan apparent. The same cycles of moral retribution occur again and again . . . In the history of ancestors, we read the history of their remote descendants. ¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Douglas, p. 155.

¹¹⁰ Douglas, p. 161.

¹¹¹ Douglas, p. 114.

Indeed, at one point in his book, Douglas makes a plea for precisely the kind of scientific and philosophical approach to history that Arnold and his colleagues were to develop during the 1830's:

There is one work which is much wanted . . . A moral picture of the world. A work which would give the image of a man's condition in different ages, and in the different stages of his moral existence.¹¹²

He goes on to list the various peoples and ages that such a work would need to encompass, and perhaps significantly, includes,

The timidity or ceremony under which the Hindoo or the Chinese hides his deceitful and selfish heart.¹¹³

Again, we shall see in Chapter Four that the use of these terms to characterise eastern peoples and their religions, is an essential part of Clough's condemnation of them in 'Salsette and Elephanta', and this condemnation is fully echoed in the writings of Schlegel. We shall also see that the mention of timidity here recalls Clough's own concern with this theme in relation to his own 'deceitful and selfish heart'.

In the passages quoted above, Douglas is connecting his belief in the cyclical nature of history, with the 'distorted rumours' and 'recollections' of God's Truth which can be found in all cultures and civilisations; the two ideas seem to provide mutual 'proof' of each other's validity. Schlegel's theories about the Hindu and Buddhist religions are of precisely this kind; when Greenberger claims that 'Schlegel went far beyond even so Liberal a thinker as Thomas Arnold in broadening the definition of revelation', she is patently wrong. In fact, as I shall

¹¹² Douglas, p. 161.

¹¹³ Douglas, p. 161.

now show, Schlegel's theories reflect an attempt to come to terms with the key problems of historical knowledge - an attempt very similar to Arnold's own.

Clough was probably introduced to Schlegel's works, as indeed can be said of much of his reading at Balliol, by an article in the *British Critic, and Quarterly Theological Review* which was published in January 1837. The *British Critic* was a quarterly magazine which had become the principle organ of the Tractarian Movement besides the Tracts themselves. Newman was editor from July 1838 to July 1841. This article, 'Philosophy of History',¹¹⁴ was ostensibly a review of Guizot's *Cours d'histoire moderne*, and Schlegel's *The Philosophy of History*; however, as is the case with many of this Tractarian organ's reviews, this becomes an excuse for a defence of the Tractarian belief in God's providential intervention in history, against the researches of the modern critical historians. The problem was, as we have seen, precisely that which faced Arnold; greatly influenced by the views of such continental critical historians as Niebuhr, he had evolved a 'Science' of history that could come to terms with the fragmentary and complex multitude of facts which modern historical scholarship was revealing; however, this left no room for the workings of God's Providence, and he had to erect a 'Philosophy' of history above this. The Tractarian solution, as expressed in this article, was very different from Arnold's; the article concludes by commending the system worked out by Miller, which had been praised in a previous article:

Dr Miller has insisted upon the discoverable combination of all events through that long and various period of human history, in producing, directly or indirectly, as one common result, the advancement of the social progress of man, . . .¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ *The British Critic, and Quarterly Theological Review* xxi (Jan. 1837), 140-67.

¹¹⁵ *BC* xxi (Jan. 1837), 162.

Miller postulates a purely linear concept of progress, which Arnold's theory totally rejected: for Arnold, social progress is an illusion because it will inevitably be followed by a cyclical phase of decline; the only progress which he held to be possible was a spiritual one which transcends the merely social. Miller introduces the concept of providence into his scheme and at the same time avoids negating belief in free will, by seeing 'divine superintendence' in the existence in the world from time to time, of 'agents specially fitted to take leading parts in accomplishing the great purposes of the divine government'¹¹⁶. Whether we find this particular view any more convincing than that of Guizot or Schlegel, as the reviewer clearly does, is not really relevant here; what is important is that the article locates the fundamental problem about philosophising on history and clearly places Schlegel's position in relation to this.

Guizot is criticised because although he 'appears to have taken a just view of his subject in conceiving that to be progressive is the essential character of human society', he does not show the way in which 'great' individuals fit into his general scheme as Miller had done; in other words, he had failed to base his general philosophy of history upon a sound scientific basis as Arnold had attempted to do.¹¹⁷ However, at least Guizot did have a firm theoretical grasp of the problem, as the reviewer is forced to admit, by quoting these words from Guizot:

"If the thought should wish to mount too quickly to that elevated region, from which it shall see all things in their mutual relations and results, and without having previously acquired a knowledge of the territory, which it will have to contemplate, the chance of error and failure is incalculably great."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ *BC* xxi (Jan. 1837), 162.

¹¹⁷ *BC* xxi (Jan. 1837), 144.

¹¹⁸ *BC* xxi (Jan. 1837), 150.

The thought here will be familiar; and the imagery employed was very common at the time - Heeren for example, who shared Arnold's cyclical view of history, and was commended extensively by Arnold to his pupils, used the same image to question the possibility of a general theory of history:

It was . . . the author's endeavour to pass nothing more than a human judgment upon human affairs. He never contemplated raising himself to that more elevated point of view from which our speculative historians, looking down upon the European system of states as constituting merely a link in the great chain of events, affect to measure the progress of mankind by referring to this standard. Those who have looked from this lofty point of view, have assured him that they could discover little more than what might already be seen from below; . . .¹¹⁹

Newman on the other hand took the opposite point of view; his criticism of English theology is that, because of its unsystematic nature,

. . . even when a student has mastered some great work of our theology, the idea of its subject left upon his mind is often not more complete and adequate than that (to use a familiar illustration) which a ride across country gives of the relative position and importance of the tracts passed over, or which a stroll along green lanes affords of the *lie* of the neighbouring fields and villages.¹²⁰

English theologians are thus criticised by Newman, in the field of religious truth, for not gaining a general view; Guizot is criticised by the Tractarian reviewer, in the field of historical truth, for attempting to reach a general view that is not grounded in the individual and the particular.

However, at least the reviewer finds Guizot more acceptable than Schlegel, because despite the former's inability to balance providence and free will satisfactorily, he at least believes in a linear view of historical, social progress.

Schlegel also believes in progress, but like Arnold, only spiritual - not social:

¹¹⁹ A.H.L. Heeren, *A Manual of the History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies* . . . , trans. from the 5th German edition, 2 vols., (Oxford, 1834), 'Preface to First and Second Editions'. Among the Clough MSS at Balliol is Clough's History notebook from Rugby which is based extensively on Heeren, as filtered through Arnold's teaching.

¹²⁰ *BC* xxiv (Oct. 1838), 349.

. . . a lofty disregard of the details of historical events, a reference of all political changes to the spiritual regeneration of the human heart, . . .¹²¹

Thus, Schlegel has solved for himself the key philosophical problem, by simply ‘disregarding’ the particular completely, and concentrating solely on the general, providential viewpoint; he stands at the very summit of the mountain surveying ‘the general plan of the whole’. In doing so, Schlegel was going too far for Arnold and Newman alike, - but herein lay the significance of Clough’s interest in Schlegel - not in any particular views he held, but in his general historical outlook.

‘Salsette and Elephanta’ rejects explicitly in its argument, and implicitly in its underlying philosophy, the whole ‘dismal cycle of . . . Hindoo-Greek theosophy’. We shall see that this ‘rejection’ was never to be wholly completed in Clough’s lifetime - the world of multitudinous fact must be lived with, no matter how strong the belief in the possibility of transcending it. We have already seen that Clough’s practical solution, as expressed in ‘Truth is a golden thread . . .’, was to carry out those few moral truths which are obvious in every generation; but as we shall see later as we examine Clough’s Balliol poetry, the movement of each individual poem, often closely mirrors the movement from the particular to the general.

The *British Critic* reviewer complained that Schlegel’s general view had no foundation in particular events; but Clough’s poems are deeply rooted in a scientific concern for the hard facts of existence, before they move on to general,

¹²¹ *BC* xxi (Jan. 1837), 152.

moral philosophy. And in that movement, they rarely lose sight of 'the obvious rather than the rare facts of human nature', which make it possible to lead a life while one is constantly pulled between fact and ideal.

* * *

We have seen the essential continuity of Clough's moral training from Mrs Clough to Thomas Arnold. This continuity had an important emotional dimension. The headmaster of Rugby was the living embodiment of all that Clough had been brought up to revere and emulate. He not only preached the ethic of heroism mixed with humility, - he was himself a figure of giant stature. That Clough should come to depend on him as mentor was probably inevitable; and the relationship confirmed him in a habitual attitude of dependence which was to be a principal concern of his school and university days.

In an article contributed to the *Rugby Magazine*, he dilated upon the benefits of such a relationship between a man and a boy:

Of the deep and pure happiness of throwing one's whole being unreservedly into the friendship - I had almost said, protection - of a superior being, whose superiority is not hidden, but sweetened by affection, - of shaking off all the proud thoughts and selfish feelings of independence and dignity, and feeling the confidence of childhood in the love and friendship in a being above you, yet still with you!¹²²

Here he is speaking of his friendships with older boys at Rugby, illustrating how his 'dependence' on Arnold was but part of a more general problem. Note in particular the term 'unreservedly' used here as one of approbation; we shall see that Clough's consequent struggle to resist his tendency to dependence finds part

¹²² 'October', *RM* i (Oct. 1835), 203.

expression in a revaluation of his attitude towards the concept of 'reserve' and his new attitude has important consequences for his poetry. From his struggle for independence, emotionally and intellectually, from the giant figures to whom he became attached, was born the tough, general independence of his mature poetry, which, because of its intimate acquaintance with dependency, never loses its 'sensitivity and humanity which lead us to feel for others'¹²³.

Two of Clough's most anthologised poems, concerned with such relationships, are 'Sic Itur' and 'Qua Cursum Ventus'. The two titles are from the *Aeneid*, Virgil's tale of an epic journey. 'Sic itur ad astra', (*Aeneid* ix, 641), means 'This is the way to the stars'. 'Qua cursum ventusque gubernatorque vocabat' (*Aeneid* iii, 269) means 'Where the wind and the pilot chose us a course'. In my view however, Clough did not mean to imply the full quotations, or the *Aeneid* context. 'Sic Itur' here simply means 'So it goes' or 'That's life' or even, 'Stuff happens'. And 'Qua Cursum Ventus' similarly means 'Whichever way the wind blows' or even perhaps, 'Carried about with every wind [of doctrine]' (Ephesians 4, 14).

Although written at Oriel in 1844 and 1845 respectively, the roots of these two poems go right back to the Rugby period. In one of his earliest letters, of 28 May 1833, he wrote at length to Anne about the salutary effect of separation on a friendship, and concludes:

I believe that separation far from breaking asunder (as it is commonly supposed to do) the ties of affection only renders them stronger and I believe that no one knows how fast these ties bind till their strength is proved by separation.¹²⁴

¹²³ Campe, *Pizarro* (1811), p. 38.

¹²⁴ *Correspondence* i, p. 4.

This discussion arises explicitly in the letter out of Clough's separation from his family, and in the end, is no more than an embellished version of 'absence makes the heart grow fonder'. However, it serves to point up the continuity in Clough's emotional concerns. A year later, on 28 April 1834, he wrote to Anne about the optimum number for 'rational conversation' - two - especially when out walking,

In many cases I think it is even preferable to a solitary walk, particularly if one has nothing to take particular hold of one's thoughts at the time, though in general at Rugby I am very fond of taking a solitary walk.¹²⁵

The debate about the respective advantages of a walk with a friend, and a solitary walk approaches closer to the subject of the two later poems, and especially 'Sic Itur', in which two people take what they believe to be solitary walks, only to find in the end that they have been heading for the same goal. This analogy between letter and poem, separated by 10 years, is borne out by a *Rugby Magazine* article of a year later, 'Ten minutes Before Locking Up' which describes a walk taken by Clough, with another schoolfellow, at the time described in the title. However, although walking beside a friend, Clough feels that paradoxically, he is also walking alone:

And first I was struck very strongly with the almost ridiculous relation of my companion and myself. There were our thoughts and fancies wandering as far from each other as they well could, whilst our physical parts were moving on in the most amiable agreement. It was in very truth a realisation of the old Irishism of 'taking a solitary walk together'.¹²⁶

This experience is very close to that described in 'Sic Itur', although it lacks the optimistic ending of the poem, since in this walk, the common direction is never in any doubt. Clough goes on to use an image to describe this experience, which he clearly feels to have some significance beyond its merely 'ridiculous' exterior aspects:

¹²⁵ *Correspondence* i, p. 7.

¹²⁶ *RM* i (Jul. 1835), 91.

. . . I could not help indulging in a comparison, and thinking of the Great River of the West, whose three mighty streams united but unmingled, pour onward side by side, whilst the same everlasting forest on either shore is reflected in the broad flood that has cut its way through the midst, - but here in the dark and turbid Mississippi, there in the clear blue depths of the Ohio.¹²⁷

The same image was used by Tennyson in describing 'Isabel':

A clear stream flowing with a muddy one,
Till in its onward current it absorbs
With swifter movement and in purer light
The vexèd eddies of its wayward brother:¹²⁸

- but here, one stream is seen as clearly superior to the other, finally absorbing it.

(Keats also used the similar myth of Alpheus and Arethusa in *Endymion*). In Clough's use of this metaphor, it is the paradoxical fact of 'a solitary walk together' that is important, and in his later poems, the stress is upon the 'agreement' that can underlie a solitary walk. This is placed in a nutshell in a cancelled passage of *Amours de Voyage*, in which Claude describes his relationship with Vernon in this way:

(We have outgrown each other, as you I suppose and I shall,
Shooting-up one of us one way, the other exactly the other,
Always of course with a sense of a common root at bottom)¹²⁹

Thus, this paradox was one that occurred to Clough very early in his career, and appears and reappears afterwards in his poetry.

The two poems of 1844 and 1845 perhaps refer specifically to his friendship with Ward; the latter's *The Ideal of a Christian Church*¹³⁰ was published in 1844, the month before Clough sent the first draft of 'Sic Itur' to Burbidge, and in 1845,

¹²⁷ *RM* i (Jul. 1835), 91.

¹²⁸ 'Isabel', *The Poems of Tennyson*, ed. C. Ricks (London: Longman, 1969), p. 183, ll. 30-3.

¹²⁹ *Poems*, p. 619. Variant from MS.A.

¹³⁰ W.G. Ward, *The Ideal of a Christian Church Considered in Comparison with Existing Practice* (London, 1844).

Ward followed Newman into the Catholic Church. However, quite apart from this, they seem to be closely connected attempts to come to grips with, and verbalise, a complex, ambiguous idea upon which Clough had been meditating since boyhood. When he sent 'Sic Itur' to Burbidge in 1844, Clough tentatively suggested 'Shots at a Meaning' as a title, and indeed the form of both poems reflect this title. 'Sic Itur' begins with one image of a man at a railway junction, which is then abandoned for the 'solitary walk' imagery he had used before. It is significant that the poem begins as a simile, ('As, at a railway Junction, . . . / . . . Ah, much more as they'), but the expected 'So . . . !' never arrives to complete it, and the final impression of the poem remains one of metaphor. Similarly, with 'Qua Cursum Ventus', although stanzas three and four complete the simile ('As ships, . . . / E'en so . . .'), the manuscript reveals that these were written and interpolated later (- they are written out separately on the facing page-), and that Clough had trouble knowing exactly at which point to introduce them. As the poem says: '. . . why the tale reveal?'. It is as if Clough cannot find an image that exactly conveys the meaning he has in mind, and thus, when he does take a specific image, he is not able to make a precise simile as he would wish, but only a more generalised metaphor.

The problem in both poems is in the nature of the ultimate goal towards which we are assured, both individuals are making their separate ways; in 'Sic Itur', there seems no logical reason why at the end of the street, the two solitary walkers should meet. It is then significant that in the latest example of the imagery given above – that of Claude and Vernon in *Amours de Voyage* - Clough changed his tactics; the two individuals are linked, not by their common goals, but by their

shared organic 'root', from which they both grow in their separate directions. The nature of this 'root' perhaps, is more clearly revealed in 'Qua Cursum Ventus':

Through winds and tides one compass guides:-
To that, and your own selves, be true.¹³¹

These lines solve the paradox that plagues all these examples. The two ships are headed for the same goal, despite their separation, because they are true to their compasses; man's compass is his true self, expressed through his conscience, which he must follow, no matter how at variance with others it seems. And since each man's conscience is God - given, ultimately it will lead to the same goal. Here we are yet again in the territory mapped out by 'Truth is a golden thread . . .'; we cannot see the whole truth now, any more than we can see how two divergent friends can possibly be reconciled, but we must obey the compass of our true selves in faith that all will one day be revealed. The 'port' to which both ships sail is a goal only in a certain sense, for that port is the home-port:

Together lead them home at last.¹³²

Thus, 'Qua Cursum Ventus' provides a link between the images of 'Sic Itur' and *Amours de Voyage*; Clough moves from a future goal as his uniting principle, to past roots.

The reason why this subject should have had such a strong hold over his imagination for such a long time is not difficult to see - what is true of two friends with divergent beliefs will also be true of an individual who is divided within himself. The problem which Clough objectified in terms of the complexity of human relations was one with important connections with his internal

¹³¹ *Poems*, p. 34, ll. 19-20.

¹³² *Poems*, p. 35, l. 24.

ambivalences. We can see this in another very early letter which Clough wrote to Gell on 9 November 1835:

. . . I believe this is the great difficulty, that for a certain distance pleasure and feeling take the same path as duty and understanding, then they gradually split; and how is one to hit just the right moment for turning ourselves with the one and keeping out of the other?¹³³

Clough felt himself to be walking a constant tightrope between opposing principles that sometimes coincide, but more often diverge; in this situation, as in that of personal friendships, the answer must always be to follow the path laid down by his best self; if this meant the loss of friends and of inner unity, he must nevertheless continue in faith that there will be an ultimate reconciliation – as at the end of ‘Adam and Eve’ where despite all evidence to the contrary, nevertheless, Adam dreams of a reconciliation between Cain and Abel, and says:

And that which I had witnessed thus in you,
This fusion and mutation and return,
Seemed in my substance working too. . . .¹³⁴

* * *

Mari Magno, written at the end of Clough’s life, seems to incorporate various elements and themes from Clough’s early life. ‘The Lawyer’s First Tale’ in particular seems to give us a tantalising glimpse into Clough’s Rugby summers spent among his cousins in Flintshire. The hero of this last poem is a schoolboy, 12 years of age, spending his holidays with his bachelor uncle, at his Rectory ‘the mountain o’er’. Emily is 14 and his third cousin, living in a vicarage nearby ‘by the sea’, with five sisters. Her pet name is Emilia. She invites him to ‘dine with us

¹³³ *Correspondence* i, pp. 25-6.

¹³⁴ *Poems*, p. 186, ll. 33-5.

at three' and he sets out on a pony down the mountain to the town by the sea. He plays all afternoon, particularly with Emily, and returns soon after to stay for a fortnight. During this happy period, he is taught drawing by Patty; teaches them chess; but resists the charms of music. On one memorable day, Emily kisses him. A year later they exchange Valentines in the post – his being hand made and containing self-penned verses. Nothing more happens for five years until one Xmas, when the hero is 18, he again visits his Rector uncle. He is a prize winning, bookish schoolboy, about to start at college. Emily's family now live in a country parsonage – nearby, but 'there was scarcely light to see them and return by night'. Emily again invites him to stay for a week when they are holding a ball. He is reluctant to go, being bookish and shy, but on arrival is captivated by all the now grown up cousins, and particularly Emily. However, he still dislikes music and dancing. Emilia on the other hand:

Amid the living, heaving throng,
Sedately, somewhat, moved along,
Serenely, somewhat, in the dance
Mingled, divining by a glance,
And reading every countenance;¹³⁵

This contrasts sharply with the hero who sees himself as racked by religious and social 'troubles' that 'tear and agitate' his mind. The description of self-obsessed, self-important adolescence becoming uncomfortably aware of awakening manhood and sexuality, under the gentle teasing of the more mature, attractive Emilia is nicely done. He leaves – characteristically for Clough as we shall see later – 'half glad, half wretched'. The following year, after his first year at college, he returns for another week. Now he has come out of his schoolboy shell, but has swung the other way and is now superior, showing off his 'college wit':

¹³⁵ *Poems*, p. 383, ll. 75-9.

It was, now hard at work again,
 The busy argufying brain
 Of the prize schoolboy; but, indeed,
 Much more, if right the cause I read,
 It was the instinctive wish to try
 And, above all things, not be shy.¹³⁶

Again, the subtlety and deprecating, wry wit is Clough at his best. Emilia's comfortableness with music and dance becomes a metaphor in the poem for an intuitive understanding of and continuity with life and the world that is barred to the tone deaf, clay footed intellectuality of the hero. On achieving his degree, the hero goes on his European travels and finds that travel and distance help soothe and clear his 'argufying brain'. He then at age 23 comes across Emilia and discovers she is happily married (to one of his old school friends). They quarrel and she tells him to stop hanging back from life, but to leave college and embrace life and experience. Then:

Next year achieved me some amends,
 And once we met, and met as friends,
 Friends as apart; . . .
 As she had counselled, I had done,
 And a new effort was begun.¹³⁷

There the story ends. Clearly, the hero – as shy prize schoolboy, as overwrought, pompous college student, and as unsettled graduate on the verge of momentous life choices - is in some sense Clough – though to read this, or indeed *Mari Magno* as a whole, as sentimental autobiography is to underestimate its objectivity, subtlety and craft.

The experiences revisited in this poem were clearly very important to Clough.

Was there perhaps some special friend – perhaps a real Emilia – sitting behind all

¹³⁶ *Poems*, p. 387, ll. 36-41.

¹³⁷ *Poems*, p. 395-96, ll. 103-10.

this? Certainly, the family situation in the poem mirrors Clough's own. He did indeed spend summers among cousins in Flintshire, and with his uncle who was Rector at Mold. And it is probable that we can identify the girl with confidence.

On 19 September 1841, Clough made a weekend visit to his uncle at Mold. In his diary¹³⁸ he wrote a girl's name, and then wrote in large letters, the word 'foolish' across the name in such a way as partly to obliterate it. Anthony Kenny, in his edition of the Oxford *Diaries* was unable to decipher the name, although he guessed it was perhaps 'Dora'.¹³⁹ In his more recent biography of Clough, Kenny has tentatively suggested that this might be Dora Howard.¹⁴⁰ I personally first looked at the diary in manuscript in the early 1970s and my notes from then record that I deciphered the name as Dora Howard. In 2007 I checked again and still believe this reading is correct. The Howards were a Denbighshire family, related to the Cloughs, and we know he stayed with them often. Letters from that time record incidents that are described in the *Mari Magno* Tale – the dislike of music and learning to draw with the Howards. They lived at Soughton House, in Soughton which is barely 2 miles from Mold. The mother's name was Dorothea Catherine Howard, and one of the daughters was christened also Dorothea Lloyd Howard. The latter was born on 1 July 1812, making her 7 years older than Clough. Given the same name as her mother, it seems likely that she would be known as Dora for short – as of course in the poem, Emily is called Emilia. Whatever the 'foolishness' was, it seems an appropriate term for the sort of anguished social embarrassment Clough records for the hero of his poem at this age.

¹³⁸ Journal 6, fol. 33v.

¹³⁹ *Diaries*, pp. xlv and 177.

¹⁴⁰ A. Kenny, *Arthur Hugh Clough: A Poet's Life* (London and New York, 2005), p. 64.

But there is more to it than this. Emilia and the protagonist of the poem end up ‘friends as apart’, and this theme takes us right back again to the twin poems on that theme of 1844/45 and the preoccupation with it through the preceding years. Clough's ineptness at dancing, probably due to his weak ankles, provides much of the emotional force behind his later extensive use of the dance as a symbol of social life, in *Mari Magno* and elsewhere. The preoccupation with music and dance, and the inability to join in, emerges in poems like ‘Why should I say I see the things I see not’ and ‘With graceful seat and skilful hand’. The first of these in particular has an interesting gestation. P.G. Scott has pointed out a parallel use of metaphor in this poem and J.H. Newman's first novel:

In J.H. Newman's first novel, *Loss and Gain*, published in February 1848, Charles Reding, the undergraduate hero, and his friend Sheffield discuss the introduction of religious images. Sheffield thought they were useless: Charles's reply and their subsequent discussion provide a commentary on the poem.

“You would destroy externals of every kind. You are like the man in one of Miss Edgeworth's novels who shut his ears to the music that he might laugh at the dancers.” “What is the music to which I close my ears?” asked Sheffield. “To the meaning of those various acts,” answered Charles; “the pious feeling which accompanies the sight of the image is the music.” “To those who have the pious feeling, certainly,” said Sheffield; “but to put up images in England in order to create the feeling is like dancing to create music.”¹⁴¹

In both cases the metaphor is composed of two stages of development:

- 1 a man watching a dance, but unable to hear the music
- 2 the same man taking part in the dance, in the hope that this will enable him to hear the music.

The parallel with *Mari Magno* should also be clear – Emilia's innate intuition which the hero feels so keenly contrasting with his own sterile intellectuality, is

¹⁴¹ P.G. Scott, ‘Dancing as a Metaphor in Clough and Newman’, *Notes and Queries* (Nov. 1968), 417-8.

exemplified by her skill in music and dance to which the hero cannot respond. At the end of the poem, she tells the hero to plunge into life and he agrees to make a ‘new effort’ in the hope that by doing so he will achieve continuity and relationship with the world. Scott points out that *Loss and Gain* was published in 1848 and therefore it could not have been a source for Clough’s poem, which although published in 1849, was composed no later than 1847, and perhaps as early as 1845 (which would make it contemporary with ‘Qua Cursum Ventus’).

However, an article in the *British Critic* provides what is almost certainly a joint source for the first stage of the metaphor in both Clough and Newman. In October 1842, it published a review of Newman’s own *Select Treatises of St. Athanasius* and we can be certain that the Tractarian leader would have been well acquainted with its contents. Similarly, Clough’s interest in Newman makes it very likely that he read the review; as we have seen, his letters and diaries reveal that he had read previous issues of the magazine, and that he was often guided in his general reading by its reviews. The reviewer of Newman’s *St Athanasius* discusses the value of such ‘editions of the controversial works of the Fathers’ and cites as a ‘very important object’, the ‘just appreciation of Church history’:

No one can be at all familiar with the stress laid by the Fathers on purity of faith, and the very prominent place which its preservation holds in all the events in which they take part, without seeing that any view of Church history which shall not take as the central point of the figure the orderly, legitimate, and gradual development of doctrine, is really, to use a common comparison, like the play of Hamlet, the part of Hamlet being omitted: or, to take a still lighter illustration, it is like a person looking on a group of dancers, while his ears are carefully closed against the music; the scene presents to him no higher idea than a disjointed series of irregular, unmeaning, fantastic movements; and this, because he is not conscious of the inspiring strain, which gives life, harmony, and reality to the whole scene.¹⁴²

¹⁴² *BC* xxxi (Oct. 1842), 403.

The passage sets forth the fundamental idea of unheard music giving meaning to otherwise ‘fantastic movements’; and as a metaphor for a characteristic Newmanistic theme, it enables us to see Clough’s poem as, partly at least, a reply to the kind of arguments put forward in *Loss and Gain*. I would suggest that unhappy experiences with music and dance in his youth in Flintshire provide the emotional force to the poem, while the *British Critic* article provided the intellectual bridge to using the experience for metaphorical purpose.

The idea of ‘dancing to create music’, as Sheffield puts it in *Loss and Gain*, is not mentioned in this passage, since the simile is being used to illustrate Newman’s concept of the ‘gradual development of doctrine’, rather than an act of religious or social conformity. In Chapter 3, we will turn to examine in more detail the theme of gradual revelation, and Clough’s relation to it.

2 Early Poems: A Chronological Account

During the early period in England (1828-33), we know for certain that Clough composed four poems, only two of which have survived. In 1833, he seems to have submitted an entry for the English Verse Prize at Rugby on the given subject of 'The Ark on the Mountains of Ararat'. It did not get the prize – this went to W.L. Collins, (whose own poem was later to be quoted with approval by Thomas Burbidge).¹ Collins' poem survives in the Rugby archives, but Clough's unfortunately does not. Nevertheless, in an unpublished letter of 21 August 1841, J.P. Gell, a contemporary of Clough's at Rugby, wrote to Clough thanking him for some poetry he had sent him:

But you should not have apologised for their possibly containing affectation, to me at least who never remember to have accused your composition of that vice, since the 'Ark on Mount Ararat' which I saw before I knew you . . .²

We shall see later the idea of 'affectation' as a critical criterion; here it provides an insight into the kind of poem that this almost undoubtedly was, in which the heavy

¹ T. Burbidge, *Poems, Longer and Shorter* (London, 1838), p. 351 (Note 2).

² Bodleian MS. Eng. Lett. d. 175. fol. 27v. Catalogue of all Known Letters Number 122.

piety was so overt that the young Gell could not believe that the unknown poet was writing sincerely.

The other early poem which we have now lost was 'written by him on the Vale of Clwyd as a school exercise whilst at Chester'; no details of this poem have survived either.³ However, two poems have come down to us. On 25 June 1830, one year after Clough's arrival at Rugby, George IV died, and on 12 July, Clough sent his mother some heroic couplets written in the intervening period, lamenting the loss of 'our late noble King'.⁴ The poem he wrote a year later on 'Snowdon', seems to owe more, as Biswas points out, to 'the imprint of Mrs. Clough's pietistic literary values' than to Arnold's development and complication of those values.⁵ The year between the writing of these two early poems saw improvement in Clough's technique. 'O Muse of Britain . . .' is stilted and straining for rhythm and rhyme:

At George's death sure Eton will be sad⁶

- the use of 'sure' to fill out the metre, is a favourite device in Clough's early poems. But for all its faults, 'Snowdon' has a sureness of touch that could only be the result of much practice, and the fluency of its seventy four lines bears out Blanche Clough's statement in her memoir that at this time her husband was:

. . . perpetually writing verses, not remarkable except for a certain ease of expression and for a power of running on, not uncommon at that early age.⁷

³ *Poems*, p. 805.

⁴ *Poems*, p. 453, 'O Muse of Britain teach me now to sing'.

⁵ R.K., Biswas, *Arthur Hugh Clough: Towards a Reconsideration*, (Oxford, 1972), pp. 46-7.

⁶ *Poems*, p. 453, l. 13.

⁷ B. Clough, 'Memoir', *PPR* i, p. 10.

That Clough was encouraged to develop his poetic talents at Rugby is not surprising. J.D. Coleridge records that Arnold himself wrote poetry “‘on principle’”; he thought it a useful and humanizing exercise’.⁸ The flavour of this poetry can be tasted in the following stanza from a poem that Arnold wrote in 1839, in which he apostrophises an 'infant stream':

Between this upland Vale
And yon far Ocean, canst thou nothing see?
A wide Space parts the two - and there is set
God's Task for thee.⁹

This was the poetry that Arnold would have his pupils write, and in this he certainly succeeded; the didacticism and the moralising tone displayed here are characteristic of the poems which Clough wrote at Rugby. Kenneth Allott has pointed out the relevance of Arnold's imagery here to his son Matthew's similar use of rivers as a symbol of human life.¹⁰ In his *Rugby Magazine* article, 'October', Clough shows that he also is well versed in this analogy; he speaks of those schoolfellows going on to university in terms which are strongly reminiscent of both Arnolds' treatment of river imagery:

. . . the stream which hitherto had flowed, if perchance in a rough and broken channel, yet still with clear unsullied waters, was now to enter on the great plain of manhood . . .¹¹

Nothing could demonstrate more succinctly how completely Clough came to accept his mentor's moral approach, than the following brief plan for an article for the *Rugby Magazine*, entered in his diary in June 1835:

Poet – Public-School ist – Moral being¹²

Clough's Rugby poems are indeed those of a 'moral being', propagating the values

⁸ Stanley, *Life*, p. 12.

⁹ K. Allott, ed., *The Poems of Matthew Arnold* (London, 1965), p. 610.

¹⁰ Allott, p. 610.

¹¹ *RM* i (Oct. 1835), 199.

¹² Balliol MSS, Clough Diaries, Journal 1, fol.18r. Entry for 28 June 1835.

of the school and its headmaster.

However, it would be wrong to assume that Clough only wrote poetry at Rugby for this reason. Poetry had its place in the Arnoldian scheme, but not a pre-eminent one. So Clough often felt guilty when he yielded to its impulse:

Instead of turning to God last night I wrote a sonnet and poeticised till 10 o'clock. Composed two more in bed.¹³

But in the struggle between impulse and conscience, it was the former that seems, as in the above example, to have won. Clough spent two hours one Saturday night writing an article for the magazine, and he commented in his diaries:

Began a new article, went on against my conscience.¹⁴

Clough's desire for literary expression did not derive solely from the desire to impress Arnold; as in the case of the diary itself, literary expression for Clough was fulfilment of an inner necessity.

An example of this, and also of the way in which, while it gave vent to Clough's impulse, at the same time as it added fuel to the fire of his already over-heated conscience, can be seen in the genesis of the poem which won him the Verse Prize in 1835: 'The Close of the Eighteenth Century'. The subject was announced in February, and by 24 March, the writing of the poem was already giving his conscience trouble. He noted in his diaries:

. . . to guard against The Poem & its Vanity – the Journal ipse & its vanity, & over intellectualities of every genus.¹⁵

In attempting to deal with this particular source of vanity, he became involved in

¹³ Journal 1, fol. 24r. Entry for 6 September 1835.

¹⁴ Journal 1, fol. 31v. Entry for 27 February 1836.

¹⁵ Journal 1, fol. 3r. Entry for 24 March 1835.

the kind of tortuous examination of motives that we have seen over other matters; two weeks after the above entry, he noted:

I recollect I resolved once not to touch the “ <Close of the> 18th <Century>” for a week – but after 2 or 3 days were over I persuaded myself all was right – & that I was quite justified in setting too again.¹⁶

He was almost consciously deceiving himself, by giving intellectual justification to an impulse that had nothing to do with the moral conscience. The strength of this impulse is made clear in the following passage, written later on 24 May when Clough was reviewing the events of the previous half year:

Then the Verse – how well I remember the night when I sat up till 12 to write out what I had composed that evening[;]that excitement I shall never forget, it was indeed rich and overpowering excitement – My head throbbd with aching & my Eyes were half sealed up, but I went on – on – on till it was all done.¹⁷

The immense ‘excitement’ of composition was not limited to verse alone. In Easter week of 1835, Clough won not only the Verse Prize, but also the English Essay Prize; this had the same effect on his inner spiritual life:

Then came the Prizes – and the thoughts and feelings of Religion occasionally broke out like sunshine in a clouded day, they soon grew fainter and fainter and when conscience just lifted her still small voice to tell me I was going from the right away – the Essay served the purpose of wine to drown all thought of changing – to be sure it was a right intoxicating draught.¹⁸

Elsewhere, he described a period of 'restless feelings and half-despair' which might have pricked his conscience into action, but:

The Essay was an excellent potion to charm such thoughts away - & Circe had other cups besides [i.e. the verse Prize].¹⁹

If poetry (and other forms of literary expression) were so strongly motivated in Clough, even while still at Rugby, one would expect to find evidence of this in his

¹⁶ Journal 1, fol. 11v. Opposite Entry for 24 May 1835.

¹⁷ Journal 1, fol. 11v. Entry for 24 May 1835.

¹⁸ Journal 1, fol. 11v. Entry for 24 May 1835.

¹⁹ Journal 1, fol. 3r. Entry for 24 March 1835.

poetry. And indeed, I will show that although Clough's Rugby poems always have an overt didactic purpose, in accordance with the Arnoldian ethical poetic, nevertheless, there are certain elements in the poetry which constitute what can only be called a subversive undercurrent, antithetical to the conscious intention.

The emotional source of this undercurrent is indicated by the poem, 'I watched them from the window'²⁰ This poem was published in the January 1836 issue of the *Rugby Magazine*; however, we know from other sources that it is the next poem to have survived after 'The Ark on the Mountains of Ararat'. Clough wrote to his sister Anne in September 1834, describing events which clearly stimulated the poem:

. . . last half year, when I was unwell, I was in a room <look> ing on Arnold's garden, and I saw all his children at their play and I was quite by myself and how could I help thinking of you all and I put my feelings into verse that I might remember them afterwards, and since then I have often looked at them and added on a patch, so that I have got rather into a habit of be-rhyming my feelings about you. . .²¹

This description has significance, not only for the poem under consideration, but also, for the genesis of Clough's poetry as a whole, and it warrants close inspection.

Clearly, the poem had its origin in a mood of nostalgia for home; it does not escape the charge of sentimentality, but Clough is making an attempt to express sincerely, a very real emotion of loneliness. As he recalls his early life with his family in America, the heat of the Eastern Seaboard summers, and the 'rambles on the beach', one is aware that the predominant memory is probably of the many

²⁰ *Poems*, p. 471.

²¹ *Corrrespondence* i, p. 8.

summers which the Clough family spent at Sullivan's Island, which Anne was later to remember so vividly.²² However, as Biswas has rightly pointed out, the final stanza of the poem comes from a very different source of inspiration; it is an attempt by Clough the moralist to make respectable the impulses of Clough, the lonely schoolboy.²³

The 'estranging look' theme which Biswas points out in this final stanza, evidently belongs to the poetry which Clough was writing in the midst of his crisis, a couple of years after 1834. 'An Incident', for example, published in December 1836, deals with a sense of estrangement from the world. Biswas emphasises the 'cold strange glances'²⁴, which epitomise Clough's state of alienation – he is almost like a ghost walking the street. Two other poems published a year earlier further exemplify this. 'O Moon, and stars, and sky! . . .', published in October 1835, celebrates Wordsworthian 'mysterious sympathy'²⁵ between the self and nature. 'O Heaven, and thou most loving family', published at the same time, and dealing with similar ideas through similar images, describes an estrangement between self and nature brought on by sin:

Mine is no cup for you, blest stars, to pour
The rich draught of your sympathies therein; . . .²⁶

Indeed, these two sonnets are evidently a pair, in typical Cloughian manner, exploring two sides of a single coin.

²² B. Clough, 'Memoir', *PPR* i, pp. 4, 6-8.

²³ Biswas, pp. 55-6.

²⁴ *Poems*, p. 487, l. 36.

²⁵ *Poems*, p. 471, l. 8.

²⁶ *Poems*, p. 471, ll. 9-10.

On a similar point, Biswas assumes that the final stanza to 'I watched them from the window . . .' is the 'patch' that Clough alludes to in his description of the poem, but the genesis of the poem is not as straightforward as this. The final stanza, echoing as it does these poems of estrangement, was very probably added when the poem was prepared for publication in 1836, and Clough's reference to adding on a 'patch' must indicate that the first four stanzas were written over the period April to September 1834, probably in two stages of two stanzas each, since there seems to be a natural break after stanza two. The importance of this has to do with the fact that Clough put his 'feelings into verse that I might remember them afterwards'. He makes the same point in his final stanza; when he feels himself to be spiritually drowning in 'selfishness and sin', he will 'think upon these moments'. Thus, subjective poetry seemed to perform a dual function for Clough; to provide therapeutic release for emotions arising out of his spiritual turmoil, and then, to help stimulate further moments of release when needed in future periods of depression. 'I watched them from the window' seems to have been the result of at least three such moments; the poem we have is a record of three distinct experiences, recorded as they occurred, rather than a poem recording one moment through a perspective of past moments - the reader is left to construct the perspective for himself.

Clough's habit of 'be-rhyming' his feelings about personal matters is further illustrated by the next poem in the chronological sequence, 'Those three short years have wrought a change',²⁷ which Clough sent to Anne in the same letter in

²⁷ *Correspondence* i, p. 8. Mulhauser printed this poem in full in his edition of the *Correspondence*, but for some reason omitted to include it in *Poems*.

which he described this habit. The poem is an expression of his feelings about his sister and their separation, but there is no moral section at the end in the manner of 'I watched them from the window'; Clough only added these balancing sections for poems published in the *Rugby Magazine*, or shown to others outside of his close family. However, it is clear that Clough viewed such techniques as merely expedients; the kind of poetry that he strove to write for public eyes was of the objective kind. The next poem in the chronological sequence, 'Count Egmont', is an example.²⁸

'Count Egmont' was published in the October 1835 issue of the *Rugby Magazine*, but there is a draft version of the opening section of the poem, in Clough's diary for 4 April 1835.²⁹ The likeliest source for the poem is the description of the same events in Watson's *Philip II*; as we have seen, Clough read 'the struggle for the Netherlands' in this as a child.³⁰ Watson's popular style concentrates on the career of Egmont, treating him as the heroic figure he became in the Flemish imagination, and lingering on the details of his trial and execution. This theme of heroic martyrdom ensured that Watson's account remained in Clough's mind long after having read it, and provided a bridge between the biographical/historical didacticism of Clough's early training, and his present need for an inspiring example of heroic humility. The idealisation is embarrassingly sentimental; far more so than the subjective 'I watched them from the window'. To the very end, Egmont rejects all thoughts of self and personal safety, and dies a perfect example

²⁸ *Poems*, p. 469.

²⁹ *Poems*, p. 806.

³⁰ R. Watson, *The History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain* i (London, 1777), Book viii.

of the man of action and popular acclaim combined with the man of self-composed humility.

'Count Egmont' shows no evidence of Arnold's theories of history. However, the next poem chronologically that has survived - the prize poem of 1835 – begins to show how these ideas shaped Clough's own attitude to history and in particular, how Arnold's historical pessimism begins to influence these poems. 'The Close of the Eighteenth Century' begins with an affirmation of Clough's belief in Providence. We saw earlier that among Clough's childhood reading was Rollin's *Ancient History* - a standard work at the time. Rollin's attitude to history would have made Clough well acquainted with the idea of God's providential dealings with man:

. . . nothing gives history a greater superiority to many other branches of literature, than to see in a manner imprinted, in almost every page of it, the precious footsteps and shining proofs of this great truth, viz, that God disposes all events as supreme Lord and Sovereign; that he alone determines the fate of kings and the duration of empires.³¹

Rollin treats the study of ancient history as a kind of supplement to the Bible, filling in the details about post-lapsarian man that are omitted by the Old Testament account. Clough's prize poem clearly shows that he has moved beyond such a simplistic concept, and has adopted Arnold's view of Providence. The opening lines assert that at the end of time, history will be seen to have been 'one harmonious whole':

Harp of the Ages! though thy chords alone
By Time's slow hand touched singly well may seem
To human ear of rough and jarring tone,
Yet beautiful their unison I deem,³²

³¹ C. Rollin, *The Ancient History of the Egyptians . . . Grecians* (London, 1738-40), pp. iii – iv.

³² *Poems*, p. 455, ll. 1-4.

However, it is the third stanza that makes clear that this is not a reflection of contemporary ideas about progress, but derives from Arnold's own historical beliefs. Clough says that between the present, and the future consummation of God's providential plan, there lies a 'long course of Weal and Woe'; this prediction is based on knowledge of the Present, which is 'drowned in Error's din' and the 'rude tangles' of the Past. He bases his ultimate optimism on a belief in the moral truths which survive each age - which do not decline in the inevitable cycles of history, but which survive and make each cycle an advance on the preceding one:

I have but dared to catch the passing sound
Of a few notes, and echoings which they
Within the bosoms of the wise have found,
Yet theirs is beauty that may ne'er decay
And theirs are tones full high to swell the kindling lay.³³

The responsibility for the operation of true progress, though clearly the result of God's providence, is placed squarely on the shoulders of individual men whose moral consciences are attuned to the Viconian 'echoings' of the divine purpose. The cyclical conception of history is denied its fatalistic implications because in nations as well as individual human beings, the moral life does not decay unless allowed to do so by the organism's own free will.

The poem consists of a survey of the history of western civilisation up until the turn of the eighteenth century, and attempts to forecast the future on this basis. The structure of the survey is loosely based on A.H.L. Heeren's *A Manual of the History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies*, which Clough

³³ *Poems*, p. 456, ll. 23-7.

mentions in a footnote to the poem.³⁴ In April 1834, a year before he recited his prize-poem, Clough wrote to Anne at some length about this book:

You seem rather fond of history, and, I am sure, you cannot be more so than I am. The best general work of modern history . . . is . . . written by a German professor of the name of Heeren . . . It is I believe, a work of immense learning and deep research, of very extended views, and great originality, and Dr. Arnold himself, a first - rate historian, praises it exceedingly, insomuch that he has given it as a prize, both in the Fifth and Sixth forms, in the former of which I was included.³⁵

He goes on to speak of using the book frequently, and the importance of it to him can be judged by his inclusion of 'Heeren's Europe' against 1833 in his chronology of 1838.³⁶ Heeren divides the history of Europe into three periods which follow the basic cyclical pattern of Arnold's own historical approach, and accounts for the latter's favourable opinion.³⁷ While Burbidge in his prize essay argued from the growth and decline of 'taste', and Vaughan from that of 'property', Heeren saw the balance of power as the key. His first period, 1492 -1661, saw the rise of the balance of power, and he denotes this the 'political-religious' period. The second period is that which Clough spends most time examining in his poem; this was 1661-1786, the 'mercantile-military' period. Heeren shows that the growth of mercantile ambitions by the European states made this a time of conflicts 'such as no age had witnessed',³⁸ and which resulted in the establishment of the balance of power.

The third period was the crucial one for both Heeren and Clough; from 1786 to the time of Heeren's writing, was the 'political-revolutionary and constitutional'

³⁴ A.H.L. Heeren, *A Manual of the History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies . . .*, (2 vols., Oxford, 1834).

³⁵ *Correspondence* i, pp. 7-8.

³⁶ See page 55, footnote 119 above.

³⁷ Heeren, 'Introduction'.

³⁸ Heeren i, p. 206.

period, which was witnessing the decay and dissolution of the balance of power. However, the real attraction of Heeren for Clough, and probably for Arnold as well, lay in his optimism concerning the future. Heeren admits that:

No eye indeed, but that of the Eternal, can see through the whole maze of history.³⁹

and Clough makes the same comment:

Scarce may the Past's rude tangles be unwound,-⁴⁰

But Heeren feels sufficiently justified to assert that although the third period was seeing the decline of an historical cycle, nevertheless a new cycle would grow up to replace it, and this would be greater than the one before:

But perhaps the modest enquirer, in the representation here given of the past, at the same time as it may serve to illustrate the present, will also be able to discover the prospect of a greater and more glorious future . . . that is even now rising in its strength.⁴¹

Heeren clearly shared Arnold's view of history as a spiral, in which each cycle leads on to ever higher cycles, and this optimistic model is undoubtedly the influence behind the optimistic note which Clough tried to strike in his poem. But Heeren's divisions of European history were also to give Clough an opportunity to strike a far more sombre note.

This note is sounded in the first line of the fourth stanza, contrasting strongly with the opening stanzas:

The time we tell of is a fearful Time

- that is, the second period distinguished by Heeren, from the accession of Louis XIV to the French Revolution. From this period, we are to learn a 'great argument':

³⁹ Heeren, 'Preface'.

⁴⁰ *Poems*, p. 456, l. 22.

⁴¹ Heeren, 'Preface'.

Where God's high good and Man's worst evil blent
Have writ a lesson that may ne'er be lost:⁴²

The combination here of providence and human responsibility is characteristic of Arnold. Clough goes on to describe briefly 'the movement of men's minds caused by the Reformation', and then the period that followed, (i.e. the eighteenth century):

Yea the proud Spirit now is cold and dead
And stirless lies the Mind; the Nations sleep,
And each doth downward droop her drowsy head,
Her might in ease and guilty joys to steep,
Nay scarce can Virtue's self her wonted vigils keep.⁴³

The eighteenth century is here seen in terms of moral stagnation, and incipient degeneration. This idea of decline is immediately seized upon, as soon as announced, and in the following stanza, Clough relates the European decline to the decline of previous eras in the history of the world:

But strong the cup and terrible the curse,
That waits on days of Wisdom warped to ill;-
Of that cup's dregs did Hellas drink her fill,
And hardy Rome and free-born Italy.⁴⁴

Biswas has pointed out this image of a cup being drained to the dregs, in other of the Rugby poems; it is a symbol of revelling in sinfulness. In particular, in 'Sonnet IV', the image is developed throughout the sestet to describe Clough's personal sinfulness:

Mine is no cup for you, blest stars, to pour
The rich draft of your sympathies therein;
It mantled once with all the joys of sin,
And I have quaffed them; now is nothing more,
Save only dregs of bitterness; and woe,⁴⁵

Herein lays the importance of Arnold's historical beliefs for Clough and his poetry.

⁴² *Poems*, p. 456, ll. 32-3.

⁴³ *Poems*, p. 457, ll. 50-4.

⁴⁴ *Poems*, p. 457, ll. 57-60.

⁴⁵ *Poems*, p. 471, ll. 9-13.

Clough could see only too clearly a parallel between the cycles of growth and decay in history, and a similar phenomenon in his own life; Arnold's analogy between organic life cycles and the cycles of history was not merely a matter of theory for Clough, but a continuing personal experience. When he speaks of 'days of Wisdom warped to ill', he is not referring merely to the fate of Greece or Rome or even Europe; under the tutelage of Arnold at Rugby, he considered himself to be living in 'days of Wisdom'; but Clough was aware of a personal betrayal of this privilege,- his own life was 'warped to ill'.

Clough exploited this analogy in his poetry in order to give vent to his own awareness of personal moral decline. By describing the decay of historical epochs, he was able to express subjective impulses while maintaining an objective mode. The importance of this to his poetic inspiration is made clear by a further example of his use of the prevalent cup and wine imagery. We have already seen the various descriptions in the diaries of Clough's excitement over composing this poem; in those descriptions, the exciting effect of literary composition, both in prose and in verse, is described in terms of this imagery, as for example 'right intoxicating draft' and 'excellent potion'. The excitement here was clearly partly caused by the temptation to vanity offered by the prize poem and essay; but if the poem was a means of expressing subjective impulses under the guise of the objective Rugby poetic, the cathartic release effected through this means is probably equally responsible for Clough's excitement. The problem of 'excitement' provided Clough with another paradox: Arnold had located the primary symptom of the moral degeneration of his age in the overheated 'excitement' visible in all spheres of human activity, including modern literature,

but for Clough, literature and 'excitement' could not be separated. Excitement was paradoxically both a symptom of moral sickness and at the same time, a possibility of cathartic release from that sickness.

'The Close of the Eighteenth Century', having established the cyclical pattern of history, and that Europe, like Greece and Rome before her, 'will quaff the cup' of moral decay, asks the question which we have seen cause Arnold and his prize essayist disciples so much heart searching:

. . . the death too shall she die?⁴⁶

The final stanzas affirm that God's Providence will not allow the light to be wholly extinguished; but meanwhile the central section of the poem deals with inevitable decay and it is here that Clough's emotions are centred. The moral 'degradation' of Europe in the eighteenth century is summarised in the line:

The niggard merchant and the sensual lord⁴⁷

- men were the 'slaves' of the twin evils, 'Sense and Gold'. The theme of 'Western Gold by Western Misery stored' is undoubtedly derived from Heeren's thesis that the unparalleled conflicts of the period were the direct result of mercantile greed. But the theme of 'Self and Sensuality' and the 'live-long carnival' of 'Sin and Shame', (while it reminds one of Carlyle's later judgment of the eighteenth century in his *French Revolution*, published in 1837) evidently owes as much if not more to the moral concerns of Clough's diaries, as to historical reality.

⁴⁶ *Poems*, p. 457, l. 63.

⁴⁷ *Poems*, p. 458, l. 71.

Clough then turns to address individual nations, and to describe the peculiar qualities, both of their rise and their fall. The first nation to receive his attention is Holland:

Thine early tale is bright in History's page,
 Thou fought'st the fight of freedom and of faith,
 But thou hast altered with the altering age . . .
 Good wert thou, worst thou art, and lo thy meed is death.⁴⁸

Recognisable here are all the elements that we saw in Chapter One, of growth, maturity, decay and death. But the significance of this stanza goes further than this, for in a note, Clough informs us that the turning point for Holland with which he is here concerned, is 'her struggle against *Philip II*'. We are reminded of Clough's childhood reading of 'the struggle in the Netherlands in Watson's *Philip II*'. This not only points to the strong continuity between Clough's historical education under his mother and under Thomas Arnold, but also it helps us to see the real significance of the ending of 'Count Egmont'. The 'good and gallant' Egmont was a heroic figure in accordance with Mrs. Clough's ideal, and at the same time, an example of all that was best and noblest in Holland's 'early tale . . . bright in History's page'; he stood for all who had fought 'the fight of freedom and of faith'. Thus Egmont's death was a symbol of the death of that 'early tale'; it signified Holland's turning point, and it ushered in 'the altering age' and eventual decline.

Continuing the cup and wine imagery, Clough now turns to France and Spain, and contrasts their medieval, chivalrous pasts, to the present when Ease and Luxury are the prevalent vices. This idea is taken directly from Arnold, who considered these to be the chief cause of vice in his own age, and a sure sign of overheated

⁴⁸ *Poems*, p. 458, ll. 78-81.

maturity in any nation, to be followed by moral and physical collapse. Stanza XI which follows closes this section of the poem by addressing England; she too has sinned, but Clough holds out the hope of recovery through penitence. However, the hope suddenly disappears again as the next section begins with the phrase, reiterated from Stanza IV:

The Time we sing - a fearful Time was this,⁴⁹

Europe is pictured as being 'stood upon a Precipice'; Arnold, Vaughan and Burbidge were all agreed that Europe had ascended to the height of maturity, from which the only possible direction was downwards. Clough invokes the awful warning of past nations which had reached this turning point; other nations had 'Sported' on this Precipice, and:

The bones of Nations still of mighty Name;⁵⁰

lay at the bottom as a grim testimony to their fate.

Clough now drops his precipice image, and takes up another one which he develops at much greater length; this is significant because the image recurs many times in these early poems. Clough pictures the turning point between periods of growth and periods of decay, in terms of a man on a sick or death bed:

Thou, that hast knelt beside the loved one's bed,
And watched the slumber on his sickly brow, . . .
Thou – thou canst feel this Time, this Crisis thou couldst tell.⁵¹

We shall see many examples of this concern with the sick or death bed as we continue our chronological examination of the Rugby poems. One fact which obviously contributed to this was Clough's own continuing bad health; on several occasions, his diaries reveal that he feared himself to be suffering from

⁴⁹ *Poems*, p. 459, l. 100.

⁵⁰ *Poems*, p. 459, l. 105.

⁵¹ *Poems*, p. 459, ll. 109-17.

consumption, and he feared he was destined to die young. In the July 1835 edition of the *Rugby Magazine*, Burbidge wrote an article, ‘George Esling’ about a consumptive friend who never loses his faith throughout his long and fatal illness.

Clough wrote in his diary a few months later:

Can I write something from myself & him in the mag<azine>. “An Infidel”. – It is a fearful subject but very fine – Mark how he said today of George Esling – that one who was consumptive & not religious wod be a better subject. Has he felt as I have done that his days are numbered.⁵²

However, these fears and fascinations were, in many of the poems, channelled into the direction that we have observed here. The death of Egmont for example, can be seen in this light; although he does not die in bed, his symbolic death is the subject of the poem, and the first four stanzas are spoken by ‘Count William’ (of Orange), looking down at Egmont sleeping on his bed on the eve of his execution.

As a poetic tool, deathbeds open up the possibility of lament. This possibility is far more radically subversive to the Rugby ethic, than mere identification of individual and social life cycles. In describing his own sense of moral decline in terms of the decay of nations, Clough could defend himself against the accusation of subjective morbidity, by claiming that such poems were only preparatory to the struggle to awaken his conscience and halt the downhill drift. But as soon as one admits the principle of lament, the emphasis is taken from future action, and placed on past loss. As we shall see, in recording the passing of historical eras, Clough found himself indulging in a potentially escapist exercise, lamenting the loss of a golden age.

⁵² Balliol MSS, Clough Diaries, Loose Sheet c. September 1835. Transcribed by me in the early 1970s and now seems to be missing.

The existence of this theme in Clough's early poetry, is directly related to his sense of loneliness and isolation, and as such, can be seen to predate the influence of Arnold. Clough's experience of isolation has been thoroughly explored by his biographers. His family was isolated in Charleston, racially, socially and economically; the family unit was exclusive with Mrs. Clough at its centre, and constituted Clough's whole world until 1828, when he was taken to England and then left at Rugby. All the evidence we have points to the traumatic effect on Clough of being plunged into society, and the profound loneliness he felt, despite his swift outward adjustment. It is to this lesson in inner reality and outer appearance, that Clough's concern with this theme throughout his life is due.

The theme keeps reappearing also in the prose items Clough contributed to the *Rugby Magazine*. In one article, he was to describe the 'misery and helplessness' he felt at Rugby, where 'there was and could be no brother, no cousin', and he concluded:

I had been at school a full year myself, a whole long year, yet I was still a new boy.⁵³

And in another passage, discussing Wordsworthian solitude, he states:

. . . it is very good to be alone in childhood! not, indeed, alone in the deep and dreadful sense of those words, without any to love you - no, that is indeed deeply evil.⁵⁴

We have already seen how this miserable experience sought expression in a poem like 'I watched them from the window', and in other 'be-rhymings' of his feelings, now lost. However, Clough's sense of lonely isolation at Rugby revealed itself covertly in poems which lament the passing of heroes such as he had always been

⁵³ *RM* ii (Jul. 1836), 59.

⁵⁴ *RM* i (Apr. 1836), 315.

encouraged to admire; and in lamenting the lost heroes, he was lamenting not only the golden age in which they lived, but his own golden age, when as a child, he had had complete possession of a mother's love, and a close family around him.

The connection I am making between loneliness, isolation, lament for historical heroes, and lament for lost childhood, may seem fanciful. I hope to give sufficient evidence from the poems themselves presently, but an article (quoted above) which Clough contributed to the *Rugby Magazine* in July 1836, 'Henry Sinclair or, 'Tis Six years Ago', provides strong evidence that Clough had an inkling of what he was doing. The article concerns the period six years before writing, when Clough was in his first year at Rugby. He is describing the feeling of 'distressing bashfulness' that 'pressed heavily' upon him when he 'first came to school':

. . . the misery and helplessness of being cast among so many many boys . . . was great indeed. The certainty that there was not one to be kind, that all kindness was to be something extraordinary and supererogatory, and all this for so long!⁵⁵

The explanation Clough gives, of the origins of his bashfulness, is key:

The years of man's early life are marked and divided by broad lines through the gradual increase of consciousness. First, there are but scattered forms, and images, and pictures, rising up like the names of great and noble kings and princes in the dawn of history. You can get no chronology for them and their deeds, for they belong to no time; and though perchance they were real flesh and blood themselves of old, yet things long after have hung themselves around these forms, till they become less like persons than personifications. So too, there are things in our minds which are picked up in childhood, what day, what year of our life, who will tell us? only it was long ago: and thence, perhaps, is

“that strange fancy
Which makes the present (while the flash doth last)
Seem but the semblance of some unknown past.”

Of these, unless something higher comes, unless thought, and the consciousness of thought, appears, they dwindle and fade away. But often

⁵⁵ *RM* ii (Jul. 1836), 58.

it does spring up; and hope, and fear, and love, attach themselves to these images. . . . I do not know why I have said all this . . .⁵⁶

Clearly, this passage derives in large part from Wordsworth's account in *The Excursion* of his childhood education in the Lake District. Clough discusses this account in very similar terms to the above passage in his article, 'A Long Talk':

. . . it has set forth . . . the wonderful power of connecting one period of life with another by the same thoughts suggested by the same imagery, and also by the same objects impressed by deep feelings on the mind.⁵⁷

He goes on to argue, as in 'Henry Sinclair', that boyhood is the period for 'gathering from the world beautiful images', and youth is the period for 'impregnating those images with feeling':

. . the breathing a reasonable soul into what before was cold and lifeless in its beauty.⁵⁸

- these 'two great divisions' are the 'broad lines' referred to in 'Henry Sinclair'.

He also discusses the twin benefits and drawbacks in travelling about in childhood, and the experience of solitude; of the latter in particular, he comments that in moderation it gives the child an opportunity to exercise the feelings and the memory. Thus, in both articles, Clough seems to be saying that his early years at Rugby were of paramount importance to his poetry, because they provided the conditions of solitude in which his childhood images became 'impregnated' with both reason and feeling. In this way, objects and forms from his childhood, through the exercise of memory, become images that can express the concerns of the present. But what concerns us most here is the analogy Clough chooses in 'Henry Sinclair' to demonstrate this process; an analogy with 'great and noble kings and princes', - the heroic figures emphasised in his childhood reading. In his

⁵⁶ *RM* ii (Jul. 1836), 57.

⁵⁷ *RM* i (Apr. 1836), 312.

⁵⁸ *RM* i (Apr. 1836), 314.

Rugby poetry, Clough evoked past golden ages, and their representative heroes, and in doing so, created a composite historical golden age in which historical 'chronology' was of secondary importance to its correspondence with his own golden age of childhood in Charleston.

The earliest poem of Clough's to have survived, 'O Muse of Britain', written while at Chester in 1830, is a lament for the passing of a king, and an era. It is not difficult to see the lonely young Clough identifying his own loss with that of England. The other early poem to have survived, 'Snowdon', was firmly rooted in the moral values of Clough's pietistic upbringing; however, the poem shows signs of conflicting impulses at work, and also reflects the subversive aspect of the heroic ethic. In particular, the third paragraph of the poem seems to have only tenuous links with the first two; the last are wholly concerned with the (poetical) works of 'mortal man', which the former is wholly concerned to discount:

Leave then the works of mortal man behind.⁵⁹

In fact, while the third verse paragraph is obviously a moral 'tag' in accordance with Clough's poetic, the first two verse paragraphs covertly disclose Clough's personal feelings of loss. The theme of lament is built into the very structure of these first two paragraphs: they are divided into five sections by the four times repeated phrase, 'Ages have past . . .', each section then going on to lament the passing of a different aspect of the past glory. It is the golden age of the Welsh past, with its warriors, bards and wizards, of which 'few traces now remain' that has fired Clough's imagination, rather than thoughts of 'Man's Creator God'.

⁵⁹ *Poems*, p. 455, l. 71.

However, it would be wrong to read too much into these two early poems. Indeed, the second paragraph of 'Snowdon' is a sentimental picture of a young poet attempting to revive the poetic glories of Wales; presumably this is Clough imagining himself in the heroic role. Both these poems were written in Clough's first two years in England, when his loneliness was intense, but was not yet conjoined with an accompanying sense of his moral decline; it is the conjunction of these two factors, with the deepening of Clough's understanding of the processes of history that was the result of closer intimacy with Arnold in the fifth and sixth forms, that precipitated the more disturbed poetry I have been discussing. It is sufficient here, merely to note once again the continuity between Clough's childhood and Rugby training. And now we must look once again at the first fruition of all these influences, 'The Close of the Eighteenth Century'.

In this prize poem, the question of lament does not arise; in 1835, Clough had not reached the crisis of his final years at Rugby, and although the poem is pessimistic about the possibility of decline, and this receives the more sincere emotional force, finally, the poem does manage to look to the future hopefully. Europe is pictured as turning and tossing on a sick bed, but it does not become a death bed.

Although in stanza xiii, the possibility is strongly suggested:

That bed may be the death-bed even now,⁶⁰

the next stanza looks to Europe's renovated life,

. . . she shall not die;
Yea, though the sounds of Misery still be rife,
And the tired Century set on sin, and blood, and strife.⁶¹

⁶⁰ *Poems*, p. 459, l. 113.

⁶¹ *Poems*, p. 459, ll. 124-6.

Though Europe continues on its 'course of Vice and Woe', Clough claims that even in the midst of this, 'yet Truth is true'. True progress is assured by the continuance of Christianity. Although Europe is sleeping, it is the sleep of sickness not of death; and now:

She wakes, the Voice is heard, the Spell is broken.⁶²

Clough finally turns to another variety of this related imagery. In the passages from 'Henry Sinclair' and 'A Long Talk' discussed above, we saw that Clough considered boyhood to be the period when childhood images needed to be impregnated with both feeling and reason. Arnold believed that childhood is the period of feeling and that adulthood is the period of thought, leaving boyhood as a transitional period in between, which he felt it his duty to get his pupils through as quickly as possible. In his prize poem, Clough now uses this human analogy to reinforce his optimistic view of the future. The eighteenth century has been a period of transition, in which the reason has been awoken, but not as yet united with the earlier stage of feeling; with the turn of the century, Europe is on a sick bed - if she recovers, it will be because she has managed to unite the two phases:

Sweetest of all, most beautiful and bright
The warm fresh feelings of our Childhood's day;
Proud too the times of intellectual might,
But oh less bright, less beautiful are they;
Most blest to bid, when both have past away,
Our childhood's love the pride of man restrain
And Feeling's warmth on Reason's strength to stay,
Such blessed lot may'st thou, fair Europe, gain,
And heart and mind alike o'er all thy nations reign.⁶³

This analogy is not of Clough's invention; Arnold's attitude to education and especially his determination to hasten his boys into manhood, derives from his

⁶² *Poems*, p. 460, l. 138.

⁶³ *Poems*, p. 461, ll. 154-62.

historical belief that nations go through a similar period of transition, and that many nations failed in this transition. Clough articulates here the belief that Europe will indeed recover; but in the poems we must now turn to, written in the midst of his crisis of conscience, he adopted Arnold's pessimism about civilisation, and by analogy, about his own moral failure.

A poem which Clough wrote at approximately the same time as his prize poem and 'Count Egmont' was 'And he is in his dungeon deep';⁶⁴ the draft for the poem is found in Clough's diary for 4 April 1835.⁶⁵ Together, these three poems form a single group, concerned with modern European history, and demonstrating the themes of Chapter One. *Poems* prints 'And he is in his dungeon deep' as a poem of four pentameter quatrains; however, Clough headed the poem 'Sonnet 3', and close attention to the poem's argument shows that this was his intention. The first eight lines, rhymed abbaabba, form the octet; its function is to set the historical scene and contrast the opposing qualities of uncle and nephew. The next four lines are the beginning of the sestet, (cdcd), in which the symbolic value of the two rulers is made clear. Clough seems to have intended a clinching couplet, (although the sonnet does not begin as a Shakespearian one) but could only come up with two couplets, neither of which could stand on their own.

John Frederick, 'the Magnanimous', was forced by his nephew Maurice to abdicate as Elector in 1547; he was imprisoned and sentenced to death, but the sentence was never carried out, and he eventually regained the Electorship and outlived Maurice by a year. The way in which Clough conceives of these two men reminds

⁶⁴ *Poems*, pp. 461-2.

⁶⁵ *Poems*, p. 805.

one of Campe's attitude towards Columbus and Pizarro; both are heroic men of stature, but only one is worthy of real emulation, because the other is lacking in Christian 'piety' and 'probity'. Both uncle and nephew are like 'fair trees', and both have bright spirits, though Frederick's is 'pure' and 'noble', while Maurice's is 'glaring'. At bottom, the important difference is that although Maurice has great mental qualities and has achieved a great deal in the world of men, Frederick is nevertheless the superior man because of his moral qualities. This is made clear through a precise use of diction. Maurice is 'mightier' than Frederick and yet:

The Uncle's might the nephew ne'er hath known⁶⁶

We are dealing here with varying shades of heroism. The 'might' of one is a matter of 'craft and art'; the 'might' of the other is an altogether 'nobler' affair. The full significance of this is made clear in these two lines:

This doth Religion's purer beauty show
And here is grasping minds' great littleness.⁶⁷

- Maurice's 'might' is that of 'great littleness'. That this contrast is also the 'tale of Europe' is familiar to us from the prize poem: the contrast between 'grasping minds' and Christian values was how Heeren characterised the second period of European history.

At the beginning of the sonnet is a cancelled line that Mulhauser's edition does not quote:

And Frederick hath past away⁶⁸

Perhaps Clough had at first thought that when Maurice deposed his uncle, the order for execution had been carried out; or perhaps he intended to write about the

⁶⁶ *Poems*, p. 462, l. 7.

⁶⁷ *Poems*, p. 462, ll. 12-13.

⁶⁸ Balliol MSS, Clough Diaries, Journal 1, fol. 10v.

period following on Frederick's death. Either way, his overriding concern with the theme of death as a symbol of a turning point in the moral life of both nations and individuals, again stands out. In the first edition of the *Rugby Magazine*, published in July 1835, Clough printed two of his poems, one serious and one light-hearted; in each case, the interest centres on the subject of death, and both have the word 'dead' in their titles.

'The Poacher of Dead Man's Corner',⁶⁹ is not an entirely serious poem, although the tale itself is serious in intention at least. The melodramatic imitation of Coleridge's supernatural effects in *Christabel*, (the tale is written in the same varied metre as that poem), and perhaps of Wordsworth in 'Peter Bell', provide a good deal of humour which may or may not have been conscious. If Coleridge was attempting to demonstrate imaginative truth through the medium of the supernatural, Clough was attempting to demonstrate Arnoldian morality by the same means. A poacher, returning home from his night's sinful employment, sees a ghostly vision of his own funeral. The part of the narrative that owes least to Coleridge is the description Clough gives of the effect which the vision has on the poacher. On arriving home, he finds his family cottage 'looking still the same' as always, and this sameness clashes disturbingly with his own agitated sense that there is something wrong:

Oh, he had given much, I trow,
 To see some little change,
 For to the poacher's feelings now
 Sameness was cold and strange.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ *Poems*, p. 462.

⁷⁰ *Poems*, p. 466, ll. 149-52.

It seems that the poacher needs to feel a change in the world of external reality, because he feels that the vision has brought about an internal change, and this loss of congruence has destroyed his sense of 'sympathy' with the outer world. If he could feel this fundamental 'sympathy' once more, then he would know that he 'was not alone':

. . . that his were not
Feelings none may know or guess,
That his was still a human lot,
Nor yet was he a thing forgot,
Lonely and companionless;⁷¹

The last line shows the close symbolic relationship between Clough and his fictional character; both have undergone an experience of isolation caused by personal sin. (Cf. The last stanza of 'I watched them from the window'). The key word here is 'sympathy'.

Another poem, 'Lines',⁷² describes the way in which Clough, like Wordsworth in 'Intimations of Immortality', or like Coleridge in 'Dejection, An Ode', loses his Wordsworthian sense of 'the sympathies of outward things'. But in Clough's case, it is because of the 'estranging' effect of sin:

My eyes could see, my ears could hear,
Only my heart, it would not feel;⁷³

Significantly, the particular sin responsible for this loss was in this case, that Clough had forgotten a schoolfellow:

Who on his bed of sickness lay,
Whilst I beneath the setting sun
Was dreaming this sweet hour away.⁷⁴

⁷¹ *Poems*, p. 466, ll. 157-61.

⁷² *Poems*, p. 480.

⁷³ *Poems*, p. 480, ll. 11-12.

⁷⁴ *Poems*, p. 482, ll. 54-6.

This seems absurd. - that such a minor infringement of his strict ethical code should result in such far-reaching consequences. But this absurdity results from Clough's attempt to express something more fundamentally serious. Seen in the context of the death bed imagery of 'The Close of the Eighteenth Century', it becomes clear that the schoolfellow lying on 'his bed of sickness' is a symbol of Clough's own spiritual condition. Clough has been 'dreaming the sweet hour away' when he should have been engaged in the moral struggle to prevent his own soul from falling over the precipice. It is Clough's soul that is hovering between life and death, between the spiritual growth in the past, and the long spiritual decline that lies ahead. It is this symbolic meaning of the specific sin mentioned in the poem, a meaning only apparent from external knowledge, that is the real source of Clough's alienation from nature.

To turn again to 'The Poacher of Dead Man's Corner', it is clear that the same kind of association is at work. It is the loneliness that the poacher feels after the vision that is emphasised; he is 'Lonely and Companionless', and weighed down by 'lonely thought'. This description of the poacher's estranged condition is not only analogous to Clough's own loneliness in England, but more specifically, to the increasing moral isolation which he felt to be creating 'a worse and wider sea' between him and his family than the merely physical Atlantic. He makes this observation in 'I watched them from the window', where he describes this isolation in terms of the 'estranging look' theme, as 'cold strange looks without'. Thus, he describes the sameness to the poacher of the external world, which contrasts with his awareness of change, also as 'cold and strange'. Bearing all this in mind, the ending of the poem, although it seems as absurd as the resolution of 'Lines', is

nevertheless the logical, symbolic outcome of the poacher's experience. Having wilfully sinned in poaching night after night, he has experienced 'estrangement' from the world 'without', and therefore 'on his death-bed laid him'; his physical death is the logical outcome of his spiritual death.

The second poem published in July 1835, was 'The First of the Dead';⁷⁵ written in fourteeners, it clearly belongs to the period of experimentation in this metre which produced 'Count Egmont' and his article on Macaulay's 'Battle of Ivry' in which he discusses the properties of this 'favourite' metre. The speaker of the poem is a man who has just suffered the loss of a child for the first time; the emphasis of the poem is on the Christian faith that fortifies both the dying child, and the surviving parents in their grief. The child dies 'with 'a word of hope and humble trust' on his lips, and the parents' sorrow is 'tempered' by their faith that distinguishes their mourning from that of the 'desolate' infidel. The second stanza, although it does not clash in any way with the mood of the poem, nevertheless articulates a feeling that one suspects goes deeper in Clough's experience than the rest of these imagined emotions:

Yes, I have read full often of the dying and the dead
 And from mine eye a tear belike hath started as I read;
 And I have bent me o'er the dead and the dying one ere now,
 And looked upon the glazing eye and on the clammy brow;
 And Death in fiction and in truth not seldom have I known,
 But never, never till to-day have I felt him for my own.⁷⁶

The poem also introduces imagery that constitutes yet another facet of the Arnoldian imagery we are discussing. In the final stanza of the poem, the death of

⁷⁵ *Poems*, p. 468.

⁷⁶ *Poems*, p. 468, ll. 7-12.

the child is seen as like the setting of the sun; although the glories of the daylight are lost, this is compensated for by the 'blessed lights' of the moon and stars:

Joy's sunny day hath passed away, and Sorrow's night hath found us,
But the worlds that glaring lustre hid, are beaming now around us.
. . . And be that night, as be it may, the darker and the longer,
Those blessed lights will only beam the brighter and the stronger!⁷⁷

The description of sunlight here as 'glaring lustre', verbally recalls the similar imagery employed in 'And he is in his dungeon deep'!

Bright are they both - high deeds hath Maurice done . . .
Men marvel at his spirit glaring bright
But love wise Frederick's pure and nobler light.⁷⁸

In that poem, we are warned against allowing the 'glaring' light of Maurice's achievements, to blind us to the 'pure and nobler' quality of Frederick's piety; in the present poem, the same contrast is made between a 'glaring lustre' and the 'blessed light' of 'infinity'. In both cases, Clough is concerned with the optimistic view that the death of his own soul might eventually be a blessing in disguise; that in the long night of the sinful soul, the light of God will not desert him wholly. Frederick may have been overthrown, but he triumphed in the end; and the death of a child or the coming on of night, reveals truths that were hidden before. One is reminded of Clough's later light imagery, but also of the surprising conclusion to Clough's later poem, 'Look you my simple friend, 'tis one of those', where 'crime' is seen as:

Our truest, best advantage, since it lifts us
Out of the stifling gas of men's opinion
Into the vital atmosphere of Truth
Where He again is visible, tho' in anger.⁷⁹

The crime here, as in the Rugby poems is that of vanity.

⁷⁷ *Poems*, p. 468, ll. 25-30.

⁷⁸ *Poems*, p. 462, ll. 13-16.

⁷⁹ *Poems*, p. 26, ll. 31-4.

The imagery used here was often used in these early poems, and its source is to be found once again in Dr. Arnold's historical views. We have seen that his 'Science' of history was based upon a belief that each nation goes through a series of cyclical stages, and that these are morally and intellectually analogous to the stages in the life cycle of a human being. However, this was only one of a number of analogies with natural cycles of growth and decay – plant life; astronomical cycles; circadian rhythms; and seasons. We have begun to see how Clough used the analogy between nations and individuals to express his subjective emotions; presently, we shall see how he used the analogy with 'plants' and 'seasons'; but in the last stanza of 'The First of the Dead', he is clearly employing Arnold's analogy with the growth and decay patterns inherent in the rhythms of day and night.

A central poem in this respect is 'The Old Man of Athens', published in the April 1836 issue of the *Rugby Magazine*; this is again written in fourteeners, but is linked to the other poems in this metre more fundamentally in its use of imagery. The 'Old Man' in question is Isocrates who is traditionally said to have committed suicide four days after the crushing defeat of the Greeks at Chaeronea, at the hands of Philip of Macedon. The death of Isocrates is yet another turning point, this time between the ascendancy of the Greek Empire, and that of the ensuing one created by Philip and his son Alexander. This suicide held a symbolic significance for Clough; and this seems to be supported by the fact that in his 1851 (B) Notebook, fifteen years later, he copied out Milton's sonnet 'Daughter to that good Earle . . .' in which the Earl of Marlborough is compared to Isocrates.

In Clough's poem, Isocrates looks back over his long life, and remembers the great figures of the Athenian golden age, men such as Pericles who 'bore, for Athens'

sake, her anger and disdain', thus exhibiting the same qualities of humility as Epaminondas, Sophocles and Socrates. He compares this glorious past with the inglorious present of Athenian defeat, and he muses:

O strange it is I ween, to see the changes of the past,
A people wax so rapidly, and wane again as fast;⁸⁰

The Arnoldian cyclical theme here hardly requires pointing out. As the second and third stanzas set out the contrast between past and present, one is reminded of the feeling of inevitability that haunted Clough's similar description of historical waxing and waning in 'The Close of the Eighteenth Century':

And they have come and passed away - and I have lived to see;
O 'tis enough to tire the brain of an old man like me.⁸¹

Isocrates finds it unthinkable 'that all this light, this beauty shall depart', but in the final stanza he makes direct appeal to the typical Arnoldian analogies, and it is this evidence for the inevitability of decline, that finally decides him for suicide:

Yet true, the clearest, longest day, must sink at last in night,
And winter ever followeth on the summer tide so bright.
Yet poets say that there are climes where time is one long day,
And cold and barrenness ne'er drive the summer hours away;
And such fair clime I deemed wert thou, my country, - so in thee
I deemed would wisdom's light endure, and the warmth of poesy;
But if it was then but a dream, and this light must soon pass by,
O time it is, in very sooth, for an old man now to die.⁸²

In this passage can be seen almost every form of the cluster of images deriving from Arnold's historical views that we have been examining. It is impossible therefore, not to conclude that through Isocrates' lament for the decay of his country, Clough was expressing similar fears about his own moral decline; as Isocrates perceives that his only remaining course is to take to his death bed, one remembers the identical inevitability in the fate of the poacher in the earlier poem.

⁸⁰ *Poems*, p. 476, ll. 13-14.

⁸¹ *Poems*, p. 476, ll. 23-4.

⁸² *Poems*, p. 477, ll. 41-48.

If Clough is here indulging fears for the future, he is also lamenting that which he has lost, - the pristine innocence of his own golden age in Charleston. The imagery employed here, derives not only from Arnold's historical views, but also more generally, from Clough's childhood experience. The analogy with the day/night cycle, with its related imagery of the seasons, carries associated images of the sun and light and warmth, as opposed to darkness and cold. These connotations present in the Arnoldian imagery, were particularly attractive to Clough because they are reinforced by his experience of the different climates in America and England. If we examine 'I watched them from the window' again, we shall see that Clough makes this connection quite explicitly:

The evening's cooling breeze is fanning my temples now,
 But then my frame was languid and heated was my brow,
 And I longed for England's cool, and for England's breezes then,
 But now I would give full many a breeze to be back in the heat again.⁸³

Thus England, and therefore Rugby and its moral struggles, are linked with cold, while Charleston and his loving family are associated with heat; one remembers especially in this context, the 'rambles on the beach' (l.8.) during the long, hot summers that the Clough family spent on Sullivan's Island. Thus, as memories of this childhood golden age return to Clough,

. . . feelings frozen up full long, and thoughts of long ago,
 Seemed to be thawing at my heart with a warm and sudden glow.⁸⁴

'The Song of the Hyperborean Maidens'⁸⁵ was published in the issue of the magazine preceding 'The Old Man of Athens', but can only really be understood in terms of the imagery which that poem develops in its final stanza quoted above.

⁸³ *Poems*, p. 472, ll. 21-4.

⁸⁴ *Poems*, p. 472, ll. 5-6.

⁸⁵ *Poems*, p. 472.

Certainly, there seems little enough reason on the surface, why Clough was attracted to this episode from the fourth book of Herodotus. The passage in question (IV, 33), describes all that was known of the mythical Hyperboreans, who live in the unbearably cold and wintry, but unexplored, land north of the Scythians. They are said to have sent offerings to Delos, the home of Apollo and Artemis, under the care of the two maidens of Clough's title, Hyperoche and Laodice.

A comparison between Herodotus' and Clough's accounts reveals that the former makes no mention of the implicit contrast between the climate of the Hyperborean land, and the Aegean island of Delos, while for Clough this is the central interest of the tale. The first four lines (echoing Shelley's 'Hymn of Pan') establish this theme:

We have come from the North, we have come from the North,
From the frost-mantled realms of the ends of the earth,
From the land where the voice of all nature is dumb,
From the cold, sluggish North, we are come, we are come.⁸⁶

They have been drawn from this land by the sight of:

The rosy-red orb of the day-beaming star, . . .
As he climbed the cold height of the far northern skies, . . .⁸⁷

and they travel to Delos in search of the 'monarch of light and of day'. The description of the effect of Delos on them when they arrive, recalls in particular, Clough's description in 'I watched them from the window', of the similar 'thawing' effect when he remembers his childhood:

And quickly now rushes the blood in our veins,
For we come to the clime where the Sun ever reigns.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ *Poems*, p. 472, ll. 1-4.

⁸⁷ *Poems*, p. 473, ll. 10-12.

⁸⁸ *Poems*, p. 473, ll. 23-4.

This should be compared to the land that Isocrates had in mind in Clough's poem, when he says:

Yet poets say that there are climes where time is one long day,
And cold and barrenness ne'er drive the summer hours away.⁸⁹

In the land of the Hyperboreans, 'the bright days of summer past quickly away' and the long arctic night set in, but on Delos, even the 'Lady of Night' makes their 'hearts' blood' 'warm with fresh love'. Delos, birthplace of the sun and moon, givers of warmth and light, contrasts with the arctic home of the maidens, where the long summer day is never warm, and the long winter night is bitterly cold. In this passage from Herodotus, Clough found an ideal vehicle to express his inner concerns through the related imagery of the seasons and day passing into night. The Hyperborean maidens have made the journey that Clough longed to make. Clough is indulging a purely escapist fantasy; in almost all the other Rugby poems, the escapism is ambiguously linked to a willed commitment to his self-imposed, stern morality.

A poem written in June 1836, two months after the publication of 'The Old Man of Athens', takes up another aspect of the imagery adumbrated in the final stanza of that poem, and develops it in such a way as to illustrate this ambiguity.

Isocrates makes the analogy between the maturity and decay of Greece, and the movement of the sun in the heavens:

Yet true, the clearest, longest day, must sink at last in night.⁹⁰

This pessimistic analogy is at the heart of a poem which Clough wrote as a school exercise in 1836, 'The Longest Day':

⁸⁹ *Poems*, p. 477, ll. 43-4.

⁹⁰ *Poems*, p. 477, l. 41.

The Longest Day, the Longest Day,
 The time of full and perfect light;
 Whose glories scarcely pass away
 E'en before thee, Thou Shortest night.⁹¹

The longest day of the year is a turning point between growth and decay, and this provides yet another symbol for Clough's internal crisis; as a symbol, it works in two ways, which unite the 'day' and 'seasons' analogies. The longest day represents the height of the year's maturity; but in history and all natural cycles, maturity also contains the signs of approaching decline, as both Burbidge and Vaughan pointed out about the modern era. In 'The Close of the Eighteenth Century', we saw Clough describe this both as like a sick bed, and like a precipice; here he reinforces his other analogies, by a return to the precipice image:

Is it not awful then to think
 How growth and progress now are o'er,
 That we are on the mountain's brink,
 Where we have clomb, to climb no more?⁹²

The longest day itself will inevitably plunge into night, and this turning point heralds the long, slow decline through autumn to winter.

The third stanza testifies in a striking way to the peculiar popularity of this poem among those people connected with Rugby and Thomas Arnold:

And shall we speak of power and gladness
 Where all things high and great abound?
 Is there no tone of sobering sadness
 In that thine high and swelling sound:
 O well indeed the Greek of old
 Thy purer, better lesson told; . . .⁹³

The 'Greek' is Sophocles, and the passage referred to, probably that from *Oedipus Coloneus*, translated by Clough in around 1844:

⁹¹ *Poems*, p. 479, ll. 1-4.

⁹² *Poems*, p. 480, ll. 31-4.

⁹³ *Poems*, p. 479, ll. 21-6.

. . . for as the billows high
 That vex and lash a Northern strand;-
 So driving on from every side,
 The headlong billows burst on thee,-
 Misfortune's never ceasing tide,
 The many waves of misery . . . ⁹⁴

The idea of a 'note of grief' reappears in the fourth stanza, where Clough also calls it an 'echo of decay' which 'tempers' the triumphant glory of the longest day. The Greek of old also reappears in the fifth stanza:

O well indeed the Greek hath spoken,
 But wiser words our lips may say: . . . ⁹⁵

The resemblance of all this to Matthew Arnold's 'Dover Beach', is striking. The themes of the two poems are very similar; both are concerned with cycles of growth and decay, but while Clough uses the imagery of the seasons and days, Matthew Arnold uses that of the tidal rhythms of the sea, which bring 'The eternal note of sadness in'.

Clough's 'Greek of old' bears a close resemblance to Matthew Arnold's:

Sophocles long ago
 Heard it on the Ægæan, and it brought
 Into his mind the turbid ebb and flow
 Of human misery; . . . ⁹⁶

Matthew Arnold goes on to speak of the ebb and flow of the 'Sea of Faith' in darkly pessimistic terms, agreeing with Sophocles except in his specific application of the image. In Clough's poem, the final stanza attempts to assert that:

The spell that hung o'er him [i.e. the Greek] is broken
 And all things are not for decay:⁹⁷

⁹⁴ *Poems*, p. 531, ll. 31-6.

⁹⁵ *Poems*, p. 480, ll. 41-2.

⁹⁶ Allott, p. 241.

⁹⁷ *Poems*, p. 480, ll. 43-4.

Matthew Arnold may well have derived this theme from his father, but his handling of it certainly points to his having read Clough's poem. On 3 December 1836, in the same year as Clough wrote 'The Longest Day', Clough wrote to Simpkinson about Sophocles:

As for Oed [ipus] Tyr [annus] certainly the part about Creon is very dull, but the chor<uses> are very fine, and the dialogue between Oed [ipus] and Tiresius esp<ecially> so. But the main merit is in the characters and the conception of the play, I think; and that art. of C. Thirlwall's in the *Philol. Mus.* vol. II on the Irony of Sophocles shows this a good deal; though I don't think it has got the complete idea of it - some things that Arnold has remarked to us are wanting.⁹⁸

Thirlwall was not only a friend of Thomas Arnold's, but also a Liberal Anglican historian and translator of Niebuhr. His essay, 'On the Irony of Sophocles', first published in the *Philological Museum* became famous and celebrated; in essence, it is an attempt to apply the Liberal Anglican Science of history to the study of literature. In the essay, Thirlwall distinguishes between the various kinds of verbal irony on one hand, and what he calls 'Practical Irony' on the other. The latter is his primary concern in the essay, and he systematically discusses 'the characters and conception' of each of Sophocles' plays in terms of this practical irony. He defines this as being when 'man's short-sighted impatience and temerity' is 'tacitly rebuked by the course of events', - when the ironical twist of events leads through evil to a higher good.⁹⁹ This takes place in the history of individuals and nations. Thus, practical irony represents the mysterious workings of Providence, which ensures a true progress that transcends the rhythmical ebb and flow of human fortunes; practical irony represents the interplay between the endlessly cyclical Science of History, and the ironical effect of the Philosophy of History, which ensures, in the

⁹⁸ *Correspondence* i, p. 55.

⁹⁹ C. Thirlwall, 'On the Irony of Sophocles', *Remains: Literary and Theological of Connop Thirlwall*, ed. S. Perowne, iii (1878), p. 5.

words of Clough's final stanza, that 'Goodness never never fadeth/ And Love's bright sun no darkness shadeth, . . .':

The moment of the highest prosperity is often that which immediately precedes the most ruinous disaster, . . . It is not however these sudden and signal reverses, the fruit of over-weening arrogance and insatiable ambition, that we have here principally to observe: but rather an universal law, which manifests itself, no less in the moral world than in the physical, according to which the period of inward languor, corruption and decay, which follows that of maturity, presents an aspect more dazzling and commanding . . . than the season of youthful health, of growing but unripened strength. . . . as all things human are subject to dissolution, so and for the same reason it is the moment of their destruction that to the best and noblest of them is the beginning of a higher being, the dawn of a brighter period of action. When we reflect on the colossal monarchies that have succeeded one another on the face of the earth, we readily acknowledge that they fulfilled the best purpose of their proud existence, when they were broken up in order that their fragments might serve as materials for new structures.¹⁰⁰

Thirlwall and Thomas Arnold provide the sources for Clough's poem, and I would suggest, as the verbal and Sophoclean parallels might indicate, that Matthew Arnold in turn was partly inspired by Clough's poem - powerful testimony to the popularity of Clough's obscure school exercise. Shairp informs us that Thomas Arnold was 'immensely taken with it at the time', and as we shall see later, Clough sent Shairp a copy of the poem in the midst of his crisis of conscience in 1848. Certainly, someone thought sufficiently highly of the poem to have it made up as a pamphlet, and Clough's interest in it, and the themes it discusses, lasted till the final period of his life. Such widespread appeal must in part be explained by the way in which the poem enshrines so much that is essentially Arnoldian.

A poem which is clearly related to 'The Longest Day', in theme and imagery, is 'The Vernal Equinox'.¹⁰¹ This also was written as a school exercise, on 21 March - the vernal equinox - of 1837, one year after 'The Longest Day'. Clough's mood

¹⁰⁰ Thirlwall, iii, pp. 5-7.

¹⁰¹ *Poems*, p. 488.

does not seem to have changed at all in the intervening year; indeed, the poem is cast in almost the same stanzaic form ('The Longest Day' has an extra couplet), and seems to carry on from where 'The Longest Day' left off, - another 'alteram partem' - with the long decline that follows summer:

November's day is drear and chill,
The day of Pride and Joy decayed
But sadder far and drearier still
Those weary days of 'Hope delayed'.¹⁰²

Clough is saying that the decay of his moral life to which he looked in June 1836, has now become an accomplished fact, and he must look to a rebirth with the spring. However this 'hope is delayed' because 'it should be, but is not Spring'. In 'Sonnets in the Abstract' he mentions:

. . . a Spring so utterly belying its propitious name as this present one of 1837, wherein neither primroses, nor violets, nor cowslips, - no, not even lady-smocks, and butter-cups - have been over-abundant . . .¹⁰³

But the theme of spring, and especially of its late arrival, is very common in Clough's Rugby poetry, and Clough's fellow-poet, Thomas Burbidge, devotes a whole section of his first volume to 'Spring Sonnets', in which the theme of 'No hint of Spring!'¹⁰⁴ figures prominently. The reason for this lies in Dr. Arnold's emphasis on the importance of the spring - period in natural cycles: Spring is the transitional period between youth and manhood, not only in historical terms but also in the individual life.

The vernal equinox, when the sun 'With darkness holds an equal reign', is a more precise version of this turning point; from then onwards, the days will get longer

¹⁰² *Poems*, p. 488, ll. 1-4. The quotation is probably from William Cowper's 'The Waiting Soul': 'But hope delay'd fatigues the mind,'. [*Olney Hymns* iii (London, 1781), p. 322.]

¹⁰³ *RM* ii (Jul. 1837), 270.

¹⁰⁴ Thomas Burbidge, *Poems, Longer and Shorter* (London, 1838). Section begins p. 127 and this is the first line of the first poem.

until they reach their pinnacle, 'Triumphant at the Longest Day'. The longest day is seen here unambiguously in terms of 'glory' and 'conquest' as it had been in 'The Longest Day', but without the 'note sobering sadness'. However, 'The Vernal Equinox' is far more explicit about the personal relevance of the imagery to Clough. The fourth stanza expresses the fear that his own life cycle will not inevitably follow the path of spring and summer; just as there was little hope for a new historical cycle, so:

Off falls it, ne'er to rise again;
No spring, no summer cometh then.¹⁰⁵

The final stanza begins 'Yet . . . ' and as we have seen so often with these poems, attempts unconvincingly to offer a more optimistic view, by transcending the cyclical view. The power of God is the same throughout the year, and by analogy, whatever our spiritual condition:

He shines the same through all the year.¹⁰⁶

Clough drafted an alternative ending that concludes:

And e'en in Spring-tide's day of dread
The Branch, that bears not, must be dead.¹⁰⁷

The alternative line places the responsibility for regeneration squarely upon the individual moral conscience; by the exercise of his free will, the individual can escape the inevitability of decay.

The theme of delayed spring appears often in the poems written in his last two years at the school. In July 1836, he contributed a poem called 'An Apology' to the magazine;¹⁰⁸ it seeks to blame an inability to write poetry, on 'the lazy spring',

¹⁰⁵ *Poems*, p. 489, ll. 31-2.

¹⁰⁶ *Poems*, p. 489, l. 40.

¹⁰⁷ *Poems*, p. 808.

¹⁰⁸ *Poems*, p. 482.

which, in 'dallying all so long', has also 'deferred' his poetic inspiration. Exactly a year later, in July 1837, the magazine included 'A Peripateticographical Article' which contained seven poems in appreciation of the Rugby countryside. The *Descriptive Catalogue*¹⁰⁹ suggests that two of these poems might have been by Clough - 'To Certain Elm Trees' and 'They came in crowds' - since the article is attributed in the index to 'T.Y.C. & co.'. 'They came in crowds' is in fact by Burbidge, and was subsequently reprinted in his first volume of poems; 'To Certain Elm Trees'¹¹⁰ was not included in *Poems*, but its reference to 'weary days of Hope / Deferred'¹¹¹ points to it being by Clough, as the *Descriptive Catalogue* suggests.

'To a Crab Tree',¹¹² published in November 1837, is another example of Clough's concern with the theme of spring. He addresses a crab tree, which in spring-time was beautiful with white blossom, and compares this to its state in autumn, when it produces its sour fruit. This contrast reminds Clough of 'one I might have loved', but whose life cycle had followed in the moral sphere, the same cyclical pattern of growth and decay as is visible in the physical sphere, as symbolised by the crab tree:

The fair and blossomy promise of whose youth
Had wholly vanished, leaving but behind
Sour useless fruit . . .¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ R. M. Gollin, W.E. Houghton, and M. Timko, *Arthur Hugh Clough: A Descriptive Catalogue*, (New York, 1967).

¹¹⁰ *RM* ii (July 1837), 232-3.

¹¹¹ Compare 'The sickening pang of hope deferred,' Walter Scott, *The Lady of the Lake* iii, (Edinburgh, 1810), Canto xxii, p. 126, l. 10.

¹¹² *Poems*, p. 503.

¹¹³ *Poems*, p. 503, ll. 10-12.

Clough finally addresses the 'human tree' - presumably himself – and says that in his own case, matters have not gone so far; his 'Springtime tarries yet', and autumn has not yet arrived. The final stanza gives an image of transplantation:

It may still be, (Oh! may it be) that thou,
Shalt in thy Father's garden planted be,
A plant of grace, to bear good fruit and live.¹¹⁴

In a manuscript variant of the last line of 'The Vernal Equinox', Clough concluded:

The Branch, that bears not, must be dead.¹¹⁵

The Pauline 'fruits of the Spirit' are only possible for individuals who choose to accept the power of the Spirit; only by Providential interference in the cyclical laws of history can those laws, and their ill effects, be circumvented.

Another poem published in 1837 shows the growing tendency in Clough to make his analogies with natural cycles more explicit. In 'April Thoughts',¹¹⁶ Clough is looking ahead to the summer, with hope and joy; yet here also, there is a 'note of sobering sadness', which intrudes on his optimism; 'wintry gloom' casts an ominous 'shade' over the approaching season:

How should the thought of Summer's coming dawn
Make hearts that love the Summer feel forlorn?¹¹⁷

The answer to this is given in the second stanza, which is best quoted in full:

True, it is sad mere fancied forms to see,
When Summer's real joys should now begin;
But they have sadder meanings far to me,
As types of doubtful griefs that are within;
And of dim visions in my soul, that be
Like ghosts, which back their former life would win,
Ghosts of high thoughts, whose day of life is o'er,
Of feelings high that were, and are no more.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ *Poems*, p. 504, ll. 18-20.

¹¹⁵ *Poems*, p. 808.

¹¹⁶ *Poems*, p. 490.

¹¹⁷ *Poems*, p. 490, ll. 7-8.

¹¹⁸ *Poems*, p. 490, ll.9-16.

The fourth line of this stanza is of particular importance; here, Clough again explicitly recognises the symbolic relation of his habitual imagery, to his sense of personal moral decay. Note also the way in which these feelings of decay are expressed, not only in the imagery with which we have come to be familiar, but also in 'ghost' imagery that recalls 'The Poacher of Dead Man's Corner'. The poacher is haunted by a vision of his future punishment for sin; Clough is here haunted by 'dim visions' of past glory. The final stanza of 'April Thoughts' pictures Clough's situation in much the same way as in the earlier 'Lines'; he is engaging in trivia and thus reneging on his moral responsibilities. The difference is that in the former poem, a simple recognition of his sin brought about an 'Ancient Mariner' - like regeneration; here, because Clough feels that he has 'dared to slight' the plain guidance of his conscience for so long, the 'ghosts' of his 'former life' will never again achieve solidity. The image of 'children with their toys' to describe this 'dallying' in sin, or moral apostasy, is one which Clough used elsewhere:

As a glass of rich wine in the hand of a careless
Child, so are God's gifts to a vain man.
The hand is unsteady, the step uneven; the
Liquor is spilled on playthings and the floor.¹¹⁹

In 'To ----, On Going To India'¹²⁰ the dedicatee is perhaps the same friend as appears in 'To Certain Elm Trees', since in this poem also, Clough seems to be walking with him to what is there referred to as 'Cuckoo's Clump'. This walk and conversation reminds Clough of many such which they have had 'In boyhood's sunny weather'; the past is seen once again as a golden age, a happy era which is about to pass because of the parting from a loved one. Characteristically, this

¹¹⁹ *Poems*, p. 157.

¹²⁰ *Poems*, p. 474.

parting is to result in the loss of 'Nature's sympathies', but there is consolation in the knowledge that whatever their physical isolation, they are joined by the possession of a common deity:

And oh, when crushed and dead,
The sympathies of outward things have fled,
Remember *that* which lives and cannot die;¹²¹

Both this poem and 'To Certain Elm Trees', are concerned with the theme of parting; in the former it is the loss of a friend and in the latter, Clough looks ahead to 'after-days' when he will be separated from the Rugby countryside. In 'Stanzas',¹²² a poem written just before he actually did leave Rugby for Oxford, Clough uses his familiar imagery to evoke these themes again. The poem is divided into two more or less equal halves; the first eighty lines are a general celebration of Rugby, its school, its countryside, and the magazine. The second section begins on a new note by describing a specific walk in that countryside, taken by Clough and two friends 'A few short months ago' - that is, in Spring, 1837. Four stanzas enumerate, in the now familiar manner, the glories of springtime and the way in which this mirrored the 'fonder brotherhood' that linked the three friends. However:

This was, but it is vanished; - long ago
That light of loveliness has waned and set;¹²³

- it is now autumn, and all that is left is:

A dim faint light of Summer, - a serene
Memento of the glories that have been.¹²⁴

¹²¹ *Poems*, p. 476, ll. 43-5.

¹²² *Poems*, p. 504.

¹²³ *Poems*, p. 507, ll. 113-4.

¹²⁴ *Poems*, p. 507, ll. 127-8.

The echoes here of 'The Longest Day' and all its attendant imagery, hardly require comment; the next stanza, however, reintroduces another theme that we have noticed before:

And in the reeking hedge-rows the soft steam
 Dwells till mid-day, and, ere noon parts, returns,
 A strange night-scent at noontide! and a gleam
 Of evening's unreality calmly burns
 From morn to night, the illusion of a dream;
 And the unreasonable heart within us yearns
 For days gone by, and household seats grown cold,
 And fears, and loves, and hopes laid low in the green mould.¹²⁵

The period of autumn here not only links with the autumn of the moral life, but also, with an imagery of ghostly unreality, of a dreamlike world in which past moral glories are reduced to the status of spectres, haunting the declining moral conscience. The connection of this with similar imagery in 'April Thoughts' is self-evident. The poem ends on a vision of winter, symbolising not only Clough's old age, but also the decline of his moral and imaginative life.

The symbolic representation of these themes of growth, decay, and the crisis points which divide them, occur in the most unexpected places in these Rugby poems. Even a totally light-hearted poem, such as 'The Effusions of a School Patriarch',¹²⁶ although it does not make use of the characteristic imagery, contains the basic opposition between Rugby's heroic past when 'There were giants in the land!', and the inglorious present. And in the single piece of imaginative, semi-dramatic prose that Clough wrote for the magazine these concerns emerge in their most characteristic fashion.

¹²⁵ *Poems*, pp. 507-8, ll. 129-136.

¹²⁶ *Poems*, p. 502.

The prose play, 'Two Autumn Days in Athens Two Thousand Years Ago'¹²⁷ relates a minor incident in Piraeus at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. Clough quotes as his source, Thucydides' brief mention of this passing incident, and Thirlwall's *History of Greece* (iii, 157), in which Thucydides' account is retold. Dr Arnold was of course an expert on Thucydides and the night battle image used by both Clough (in *The Bothie*) and Matthew Arnold (in 'Dover Beach') was a Thucydides passage very popular with Dr Arnold. The significance of this particular incident can be seen by another reference which he makes to Thirlwall (iii, 166) in a footnote. Thirlwall gives an account of the death of Pericles, around October 429 BC, which Clough quotes in the same footnote, as the date of the Piraeus incident.¹²⁸ Thus Clough is relating a key turning point in the history of Greece. The period of Pericles' ascendancy marked the very height of Athenian civilisation; the long Peloponnesian War, and the way in which the Athenians handled it without the guidance of Pericles, marked the long, slow decline of the Greek era.

We may remember that the battle of Chaeronea marked both the end of this war, and of the life of Isocrates, in 'The Old Man of Athens'. A comparison with that poem shows that the same concerns are at work in the prose play. Isocrates remembers the great personages of Periclean Athens; here, we hear of Aristophanes, Socrates, etc. as still alive and active in the affairs of the state. But, we also see the prominent character of Cleon, criticising the policies of Pericles in the hawkish and rough style which was to become his hallmark in the years after Pericles' death. Against this is set the picture of Pericles himself, literally on his

¹²⁷ *RM* ii (Nov. 1837), 348.

¹²⁸ *RM* ii (Nov. 1837), 348, First Footnote.

death bed, tossing and turning from the fever that was soon to kill him. Even on the verge of death, his one self-sacrificing thought is for the well-being of Athens; he longs to join his people, rising from their 'ease and security' to strive 'with their very hearts and souls' for 'freedom of body and spirit'. But his optimism is mocked by our superior knowledge: that they were defeated by their own disorganisation, that men of little real principle, like Cleon, are gaining the ascendancy, and above all, that Pericles himself is soon to die. In the contrasting figures of Pericles and Cleon, we are back to the contrast between Columbus and Pizarro, the two opposing forms of heroism; the play tells of a victory, but contains the seeds of the coming defeat, symbolised characteristically, by the death at the critical point, of the heroic Pericles.

Clough himself had a significant turning point in his life in the summer of 1836 when his family came over from America. The change this wrought in Clough is very clear from his diaries. Clough's first diary¹²⁹ was begun in March 1835, in the midst of his Arnoldian moral crisis, and seems to have ended around March to April 1836. There are various odd entries after this date, (some dating from May 1838), but it seems that Clough stopped keeping regular diary entries at this time. He did not begin again¹³⁰ until late September 1836, when he reluctantly went back to Rugby again after spending the summer with his family. During these unrecorded summer months, a very great change seems to have overtaken Clough. At the end of 1836, Clough was still working hard, both academically for the approaching Balliol scholarship examinations, and in the school, befriending other

¹²⁹ Journal 1.

¹³⁰ Journal 2. The first entry is actually in September 1836, and the diary continues until March 1838.

pupils with the aim of encouraging their moral improvement. But what is conspicuously absent from these entries, is the strain that had always accompanied such hard 'fagging'; of course, there is still self-criticism, but the really frantic, 'half-crazed' soul-searching has disappeared. The fierce, self-crucifying morality is replaced by one that is stern but no longer self-destructive.

In September 1836, Clough's diary shows him taking things easily; he is doing a great deal of walking and bathing, his favourite forms of exercise. His most often used phrase of self-condemnation now seems to be a weak, 'I fear'; the moral urgency seems to have been drained from him. The curious tone of these entries is caught by this remark:

What an utterly idle week this has been.¹³¹

or this:

Might however have done more by getting up, and so forth.¹³²

The comparative ineffectuality of such remarks as these can be seen when placed alongside similar entries from the diary of 1835 - 36. A good example is the following entry of March 1836, caused by some schoolfellow's rejection of his attempts to lift him up morally:

Have I been so very conceited to them all, so as to call for this. It does seem unkind in some of them – yet I suppose I have caused it by my own sin of superiority – It is very painful, yet I suppose it is one step in the cure of vanity.¹³³

On September 29th of the same year however, a very similar situation is noted very simply without moral comment:

¹³¹ Journal 2, fol. 5r. Entry for 8 October 1836.

¹³² Journal 2, fol. 7r. Entry for Saturday, 15th October.

¹³³ Journal 2, fol. 39v. Entry for Friday, 18th March 1836.

. . . Kinloch and Poole very disagreeable: the whole party seem against me.¹³⁴

Only six months separates the two extracts, but they are radically different in attitude. Before the return of his family, the loss of his closest friends to the universities had made him desperate for the company of these schoolmates; now, with his family in Liverpool, he could endure loneliness at school.

This 'relaxing of the reins' as Clough himself called it can be traced in his increasing fondness for reminiscence. On Sunday 2 October 1836, he records:

– many nice thoughts of home, instead of all the petty politics and squabbles of school.¹³⁵

The following day, he received:

A dear, delightful letter from my own dearest Charley¹³⁶ - with much strange and striking news. Read it & thought about him and dear Annie & George¹³⁷ & my Father & Mother & poor Aunt Crowder & her dear Harriet & Julia till ½ past 9 o'clock>. . .
After 3 the Match in high & familiar spirits, not I hope quite so coxy as usual – touched the balls sufficiently well & had my hat crushed in a great scrummage for it, - . . .
I wish I was more self-contented, and less apt to be drawn away from my work and my home-feelings –¹³⁸

Here we can see clearly Clough's new priorities; the moral improvement of self and school is now beginning to take a back seat to his new-found security, and the desire to win the Balliol scholarship. On 5 November, he admits that his 'Conduct' towards the school, though 'rather improved', was 'still faulty';¹³⁹ but on the whole, this takes less space than recording his goalkeeping and athletic activities.

¹³⁴ Journal 2, fol. 3r. Entry for 29 September 1836.

¹³⁵ Journal 2, fol. 3v. Entry for 2 October 1836.

¹³⁶ His older brother.

¹³⁷ His sister and younger brother.

¹³⁸ Journal 2, fols. 3v-4r. Entry for Monday 3rd October 1836.

¹³⁹ Journal 2, fol. 21r. Entry for Saturday 5th November 1836.

This concern with the past was to become of great importance to Clough and to his poetry at this time; it was part of a general tendency to imaginative escapism, which was growing in strength almost daily, and emerging as lethargy in his attitude to the heroic ideal. For most of January and February 1837, Clough made no entries at all, and when he broke silence on 1 March 1837, it was to recognise his radically altered situation:

It is quite necessary for me to enter on a regular system of discipline. For now, as soon as ever Christ's service ceases to be a pleasure, I leave it. –

As the months drift by, Clough's standards seem to drop lower and lower, so that even a 'tolerably' good day pleases him, in lack of anything better. He speaks often of not being vigorous enough in his efforts to revive his old moral conscience, but the effort needed is beyond his powers of accomplishment. The verses he appended to the fly-leaf of this journal, sum up the mood of this last year at Rugby:

Ah! well a day!
How quick they slip away!¹⁴⁰

The days were indeed slipping by, and Clough was made powerless to take a grip on them, by his new-found emotional security which he was naturally very loath to lose.

This change in Clough is perhaps connected with the increasing awareness that he shows, of the imagery he has been using; as he distanced himself from his old sharp awareness of moral decline, he was able to come to terms with it more easily, and to exercise more conscious control over his expression of it. 'Foliage, and grass, and western glow' for example, explores the theme of the passing of

¹⁴⁰ *Poems*, p. 484.

time, the days drifting by and his inability to take control of his destiny. The fourth stanza in particular, in which the passing of time is symbolised by the chimes of a clock, anticipates 'He sate, no stiller stands a rock'.¹⁴¹ This last poem pictures a man sitting before a clock, listening to the hours pass, but unable to rouse himself. This powerlessness of will is expressed in an image of a wax idol melting before a fire, and also of a 'captive' who is 'bound head and foot'. Simon Nowell-Smith¹⁴² suggests that the sentiment, the metre, and the cadences are all Cloughian, as is the proverbial climax.¹⁴³ I think he is right, especially as the proverb includes Clough's characteristic use of 'half' (see Chapter 5). The poem clearly dates from the late Rugby/early Balliol period. However, I suspect if it had been written at Rugby, it is good enough to have been published in the *Rugby Magazine*. The concern with paralysis of the will is a characteristic theme of Clough's first year at Oxford. The poem closest to it is probably 'Verses Written in a Diary'.¹⁴⁴ The following lines (13-20) are particularly apposite:

List! What was that the silence broke?
 Three chimes, and once again,
 And now the single solemn stroke,
 The clock is striking ten.
 I hear, - as phantoms in a dream
 Its moments reach and fly me,
 I seem to stand in time's great Stream
 And feel it hurrying by me.

This poem, along with 'A Stray Valentine' was published in June 1838, but sent as a fair copy to Anne Clough on 15 October 1837. It was almost certainly in my view written over the summer holiday of 1837, between leaving Rugby and

¹⁴¹ Printed by J. McCue in *Selected Poems* (Penguin, 1991), pp. 5-6. [Originally published in T. Burbidge, *Poems, Longer and Shorter* (Rugby, 1838), where line 23 has 'thy will' – not 'they will' as printed by McCue.

¹⁴² Nowell-Smith first identified the poem as Clough's in 1974, from an annotated copy of Burbidge's *Poems, Longer and Shorter*, at that time in his possession but sold on after his death.

¹⁴³ S. Nowell-Smith, 'An Unascribed Clough Poem', *The Times Literary Supplement* (8 March 1974).

¹⁴⁴ *Poems*, p. 508

arriving at Balliol. I would suggest a similar composition date for 'He sate, no stiller stands a rock,'.

Another poem that demonstrates Clough's concern about exercise of will is 'Rosabel's Dream',¹⁴⁵ which was published in the final issue of the magazine, and was probably written in Clough's last year at Rugby. As the title would suggest, the poem imitates *Christabel* in subject, atmosphere, and metre. There are also echoes of *Alastor* in the theme of solitude. However the implications of its themes are wholly Cloughian and owe little to Coleridge or Shelley and we are soon plunged into a world with a recognisably Cloughian landscape. Rosabel, like the 'wretch' in 'He sate, no, stiller stands a rock' and Clough himself in 'Foliage, and grass, and western glow', hears the clock chiming the quarters as she gazes 'long time' from her window. As was the case in the other two poems, the passing of time is connected here with the sense of moral isolation and estrangement as expressed in the plight of the poacher:

The quarters chime, - the long hour tolls,
 She heard the slow and solemn tone,
 And as the Lady's eye looked down
 Upon the great and silent town,
 It seemed of all its thousand souls
 She heard the awful sound alone.¹⁴⁶

In fact, we soon discover that Rosabel's temptation is to sexual sin; she has that day been in the company of her lover, Lord Ethelbert, and it is of him that she is thinking. But the significance of the poem lies in the fact that Clough has chosen to show the temptations of isolation, when one is estranged from nature and from man. We have seen that this isolation was intimately connected in Clough's

¹⁴⁵ *Poems*, p. 492.

¹⁴⁶ *Poems*, p. 493, ll. 50-5.

experience, with a dream-like state; hence, he chooses to show Rosabel's temptation in the form of dreams whose 'visionary unreality' is clearly closely allied to the 'thoughts and fancies' of the extreme intellectual indulger.

Rosabel is thus tempted in the same way, to essentially the same sins, as Clough:

Thing as dread as aught e'er known
Is it to be left alone,
When the cup of earthly joy
Mixed, 'twould seem, with no alloy,
Mantles higher yet and higher, . . .¹⁴⁷

The image here of an intoxicating cup, points to this parallel; it will be recalled that Clough called the achievement of Prizes 'a right intoxicating draught' and 'Circe's cup'. The image here merges with the water imagery of his later poetry:

And all powers that in us be,
Like the surges of the sea,
Fiercer each one than the first,
Rise, and swell, and roll, and burst;¹⁴⁸

This image is taken up again a few lines later and developed strikingly in a way which looks forward to Clough's more mature use of water imagery:

This hath been a day of pleasure,
Joy hath come, and out of measure,
And the strong exciting power
Of each sweet impassioned hour,
As the flood-tide of the ocean
Up a quiet inland water,
Hurries on with mighty motion
Through the soul of Luce's daughter.¹⁴⁹

This sexually charged image is strongly reminiscent of the love scene between Philip and Elspie in *The Bothie*; however, the significant difference (apart from rhetorical power) is that the later handling of the image has no hint of the guilty, sinful overtones which, in 'Rosabel's Dream' require the aid of the 'Holy, cleansing

¹⁴⁷ *Poems*, p. 493, ll. 56-60.

¹⁴⁸ *Poems*, pp. 493-4, ll. 62-5.

¹⁴⁹ *Poems*, p. 494, ll 72-9.

Spirit¹⁵⁰ to remove. And just as Clough's attitude to this image was to change in coming years, so was his attitude to the dream-state which is to follow. Rosabel kneels to pray to the 'cleansing Spirit' to overcome her temptations, but the difficulties she encounters in this endeavour are a reflection of Clough's own experience; she maintains her prayerful attitude by an effort of the will, but nevertheless, 'wild fancies'¹⁵¹ interpose between herself and God. These 'fancies' are merely a precursor of the full-blown fantasy that she now acts out in her first dream. She finds herself in a 'winding, wooded valley', among 'shady alleys', and with a 'shining mere' in the middle.¹⁵² This description evokes a womblike landscape, in which she is about to be tempted to abandon her moral duty, to satisfy the demands of the self. The fact that it is 'A sunless, moonless, starless sky'¹⁵³ emphasises the amorality of the psychological landscape, for as Biswas has pointed out, Clough uses the moon and other heavenly bodies as symbols of Arnoldian morality.

The womb-like and therefore, escapist imagery, is reinforced by the fact that a 'haze' or a 'scented cloud' descends from the trees;¹⁵⁴ that it is 'perfumed', taken together with the following sexual imagery of the sky and mere as lovers, introduces the sexual element to the temptation; but it also reminds one of the 'mist' which Clough described as surrounding him in similar moments of excited temptation. The song which the dancing 'light forms' sing to Rosabel is, once again, obviously a temptation to sexual abandonment, but also to 'Yield the

¹⁵⁰ *Poems*, p. 494, l. 81.

¹⁵¹ *Poems*, p. 494, l. 92.

¹⁵² *Poems*, pp. 494-5, ll. 98-102.

¹⁵³ *Poems*, p. 495, l. 108.

¹⁵⁴ *Poems*, p. 495, ll. 116-119

service of thy soul'¹⁵⁵ to total abandonment to self. Arnoldian morality is reduced to 'traitorous whispers'.¹⁵⁶ Thus the temptation of Rosabel reflects perfectly the confusion between sensual and intellectual indulgence which we have already noticed; how far this confusion was conscious, it is difficult to say.

Rosabel resists this 'spectre-like' temptation and awakes to find the moon in the sky, symbolising her triumph over temptation. Because she has resisted, her experience on awakening is diametrically opposed to that of the poacher. The latter awoke to find that the sameness of the external world threatened him, because of his inner change; Rosabel attempts to regain her sense of reality in the same way, by fastening onto the external objects on which she was gazing at the start of the poem. Unlike the poacher, these objects reassure her in the midst of her confusion as to what is dream and what is reality. The strange nature of her dream-like state is made apparent by Clough's repeated use of the 'half/half' construction:

Yet half in doubt and half in fear
Were she there, or were she here.¹⁵⁷

This half/half construction is then used to describe the state of the conscience in the dream-state:

And conscious half, half slumbers still
Our god-like sense of good and ill?¹⁵⁸

The 'ghost-like' state was one that Clough knew well; when in its grip, individual moral choice becomes exceedingly difficult to make. When he had escaped his Arnoldian morality, Clough was able to explore poetically the moral ambivalence

¹⁵⁵ *Poems*, pp. 495-6, the repeated last line of each stanza.

¹⁵⁶ *Poems*, p. 496, l. 167.

¹⁵⁷ *Poems*, p. 497, ll. 208-9.

¹⁵⁸ *Poems*, p. 498, ll. 241-2.

of the state but in his Rugby poems, the existence of the state can not be used as a plea of extenuation: ambivalent or not:

An iron chain is on us still,-
The electric test of good and ill.¹⁵⁹

As Rosabel goes back to sleep again, Clough addresses the reader, and makes clear the exact relevance of Rosabel's experience to himself:

Oh, who has felt the anguish deep
Of troubled and excited sleep; . . .
And the demon starts up from his prison within,
With whispered words of strangest sin;
And the very heart-strings burn and swell
With longings unaccountable?
. . . this in very truth I know,
That they who with it once have met
Have not forgotten, nor will forget; . . .¹⁶⁰

It was not till *Dipsychus* that Clough finally faced this 'demon . . . within' and the curious dream-like state in which he operates. The moon in that poem, rather than an unambiguous image of truth and beauty, becomes part of the protagonist's self-deception. And in that mature poem, the atmosphere, like that of so many of Clough's poems, often verges on the nightmarish quality of Rosabel's dream or the 'delightful and astonishing imaginings' of Gell's schoolboy; and the demon, unlike that which tempts Rosabel, may turn out not to be the devil after all:

'That's the beauty of the poem; nobody can say.'¹⁶¹

'Rosabel's Dream' on the other hand, ends in moral assurance and security, as an angel sings to Rosabel; but before this can take place, there are three more 'Visions

¹⁵⁹ *Poems*, p. 498, ll. 235-6.

¹⁶⁰ *Poems*, pp.499-500, ll. 269-87.

¹⁶¹ *Poems*, p. 292.

wild of fear and wonder¹⁶² to be undergone. The first two of these are clearly related to the sexual desires and the phallic water imagery already noticed; one concerns the desire to stab with a knife, and the other, to pierce with a spear. But once again, it is equally important to the meaning of the 'fancy' that it occurs in a place of total moral isolation:

That through all that region wide
Living thing was none beside.¹⁶³

The final dream however, is the most revealing of all. It begins with another description of isolation - Rosabel is 'all alone' in a boat on a 'wide, waste sea'. The actual temptation finally introduces an image of desire to return to the womb such as Chorley has shown¹⁶⁴ to be prevalent in Clough's poetry:

She was standing at the side,
And longed to plunge amid the tide.¹⁶⁵

That this image is unquestionably one of escapism is demonstrated by the lines that immediately follow:

And then, so was it in her dream,
It altered to a rippling stream, - . . .
By which on many a summer day
Young Rosabel had loved to play.¹⁶⁶

The imagery here is perhaps borrowed from the Tractarian sympathiser, R.C. Trench. His poetry was reviewed favourably by F. Rogers in the *British Critic*,¹⁶⁷ in 1838, and his *The Story of Justin Martyr and Other Poems* was published in 1835. In the title poem, Justin Martyr contemplates suicide by drowning:

And death grew beautiful to me
Until it seemed a mother mild,
And I like some too happy child;

¹⁶² *Poems*, p. 499, l. 265.

¹⁶³ *Poems*, p. 500, ll. 301-2

¹⁶⁴ K. Chorley, *Arthur Hugh Clough, The Uncommitted Mind: A Study of his Life and Poetry* (Oxford, 1962), ch. xiii, and esp. pp. 342-7.

¹⁶⁵ *Poems*, p. 500, ll. 321-2.

¹⁶⁶ *Poems*, p. 500, ll. 323-329.

¹⁶⁷ 'Poems by Trench and Milnes', *BC* (1838), 271-301.

A happy child, that tired with play,
 Through a long summer holiday,
 Runs to his mother's arms to weep . . .
 And the lulled Ocean seemed to say
 'With me is quiet, - come away . . .'¹⁶⁸

The imagery here of death as both a mother's embrace and sinking into the ocean, also recalls 'Sweet streamlet basin . . .', the other poem Chorley cites in her Jungian interpretation. In fact, such interpretations are unnecessary: we are in the world of Clough's childhood summers on Sullivan's Island again. Rosabel's final dream links Clough's new escapist imagery of water with his earlier covert desire to return to a personal golden age. At Rugby, immersion in water, like immersion in the dream-like, misty state, is wholly an image of temptation to escapism to be deplored and resisted. The freeing of this imagery from this Arnoldian straightjacket in Clough's later poems produced some of Clough's best poetry.

¹⁶⁸ R.C. Trench, *The Story of Justin Martyr and Other Poems* (London, 1835).

3 Balliol Influences

In Chapter One, we noted briefly the link between two poems of 1844/45 ('Sic Itur' and 'Qua Cursum Ventus') and W.G. Ward – Clough's tutor at Balliol. The nature of this friendship has been known since Ward made his claim to have been mainly responsible for Clough's troubles at Balliol. However, until the publication of Clough's Oxford diaries, and Kenny's subsequent biography, it was not possible to see just how misleading Ward's claim was. The very first mention of Ward in Clough's Balliol diaries demonstrates the fundamental difficulties inherent in their friendship, and the way in which Clough characteristically attempted to gain control of the situation. On 7 February 1838, barely halfway through his first year at Oxford, he wrote:

I am afraid Ward is, & will be a trial, though I hope it may be only passing irritability.¹

and the following day he records a conversation with Ward in which he discussed not only Tractarian matters, but also 'the "being alone" question' and the "'expression of affection" question', and he commented:

¹ *Diaries*, p. 5.

A most pleasant & happy conversation, & opening with Ward, as to my need of being left alone, brought on unconsciously, and I almost dare to think, by God's express providence.²

The emotional dependence on Clough, which one can see in Ward's letters to his pupil the following summer, had already begun. Right from the start, Clough's relationship with Ward presents a mirror image of his relationship with Tractarianism; intellectual and emotional aspects become hopelessly tangled.

On 22 February 1838, Clough recorded,

Did scarcely any work. Went to Ward at ¼ to 2, stayed till 2¼. Went to Congreve till ¼ to 5. Dined with Ward. Ward here from ¼ to 8 to ¼ to 11. Very poorly & fanciful, poor man. What can I do?³

The amount of time which Clough records as having been spent with Ward during this year is remarkable; he often records having been kept from his bed or his work by the excessive demands of his friend. Clough found himself torn between pity for Ward's condition, and his duty towards himself - between exposing himself to Ward as an act of Christian charity, and remaining reserved.

The desire to be in Ward's company was not always purely out of humanitarian concern for the latter's mental and emotional state; their conversations often resulted in an inflation of Clough's self-pride:

March 1st [1838] . . . With Ward almost all the day . . . some part of the day [‘my Vanity’] . . . was sadly strong, especially when with Ward, to whom I talked far too much de re Christiana – Ecclesiastica [*on Christian church matters*]. And how disappointed I felt after the least word, which fell under my extravagant notions, from Ward's mouth. . . . If I can controul my vanity a little, Ward's society will be of great benefit. I think I may now make the Resolution for one week to avoid altogether any trying at interpreting Scripture without seeking an immediate practical lesson.⁴

² *Diaries*, pp. 5-6.

³ *Diaries*, p. 11.

⁴ *Diaries*, p. 16.

Ward's claim to have unsettled Clough's mind by his incessant rational enquiry into theological issues can be shown to have little or no substance at all. Clough wanted to cultivate Ward as a friend because he felt he could learn from his tutor's experience, but he was prevented from this by Ward's intensity of feeling and his appreciation of Clough's intellect, both of which inflamed Clough's vanity and unsettled the spiritual basis of his life. When Ward said of Clough much later:

. . . my impression is that from the first he very much abstained from general society. This was undoubtedly the case at a later period, when his intellectual perplexity had laid hold of him; but I think it began earlier.⁵

we can see that Clough chose to erect a barrier of reserve between himself and his tutor, to maintain his own individual integrity. The idea of 'reserve' is key to this period of Clough's life – as the idea of 'history' was to his boyhood.

Ward's emotional dependence on Clough continued throughout February and March 1838; Clough records occasions when his lateness for an appointment with Ward, or the delay of a note sent by him to Ward, would place his tutor in 'a bad way' and Clough would have to sacrifice a great deal of his time to soothe him. He recorded that he had been 'impatient with Ward's troubles' and berated himself for his lack of sympathy, but at the same time he made resolutions not to allow himself to be 'kept up by Ward'.⁶ Finding a middle ground between hurting Ward and hurting himself was his constant preoccupation.

A good example of his difficulties is provided by the diary entries for 7 April 1838; he records during the day:

⁵ W. Ward, *William George Ward and the Oxford Movement* (London, 1889), p. 110.

⁶ *Diaries*, pp. 17-32.

. . . I must go to Ward or else I don't know what will come to him

but by the end of the day, his gesture to help Ward turns out to have caused moral damage to himself:

I had begun to see what I ought to do, and now I have done myself grievous & (to night) (I fear) irreparable harm by neglecting to manage my conversation with Ward so as to tend to humility. I have been with him from 1½ to 10 o'cl, and during that time have often quite gone wrong . . .⁷

The mention here of 'managing' his conversation with Ward demonstrates that Clough's practice of reserve was more complicated than simply a matter of 'being alone' as much as possible. Clough deliberately tried to appear in a bad light in company in order to force his vanity down; this self-conscious manipulating of a social mask constantly appears in his relations with Ward.

During Passion and Easter weeks of 1838, Clough made a determined effort to confront his motives and his conclusions are recorded at great length in his diary. It is significant, if not paradoxical, that during this period, it was the practical example of leading Tractarians that encouraged him; on 10 April he wrote that 'the example of Ward and the thought of Newman' should serve to make him humble,⁸ and on 17 April that he 'ought to be strengthened by Ward's noble example'.⁹ Ward was both an acute problem and at the same time a cure; on 27 April he concluded that the 'Trials of Temper' which Ward, (and Lake at that time) induced in Clough were simply 'my punishment justly due'.¹⁰

⁷ *Diaries*, p. 38.

⁸ *Diaries*, p. 42.

⁹ *Diaries*, p. 47.

¹⁰ *Diaries*, p. 53.

But Ward was not the only relationship of this sort. Until the publication of Clough's Oxford diaries, the name of William Tylden had never appeared in any book on Clough. Yet the name appears in the diaries with a regularity only surpassed by that of Ward, and often linked with Ward as a source of emotional problems to Clough. He was descended from an old Kentish family of the same name. His father, the second son of Richard Tylden of Milsted Manor, entered the army and had attained the rank of Brigadier General when he died in the Crimea. His brother was also an army man and distinguished himself in Africa and the Crimea. William became a country parson and spent his whole life after Oxford in obscurity as Vicar of Stanford, Kent (population 289 when he died). He matriculated at Balliol the year before Clough and took his finals in the same year as the latter. There exists at Balliol Library a series of three letters written by Tylden to Clough and more important, a single letter from Clough to Tylden in which the nature of their relationship is made manifest. The letter from Clough to Tylden is printed in the *Diaries*¹¹; I have reproduced the letters from Tylden in Appendix 2.

Before looking at these letters, there is one other piece of evidence. Chorley mentions a correspondence in various journals after Clough's death, debating the causes of his loss of religious faith and his subsequent departure from Oxford.¹² The correspondence was sparked by A.P. Stanley's obituary notice on 9 January 1862 in the *Daily News*. Stanley suggested that Clough had 'cut adrift from Oxford with delight' and that the cause of this was directly attributable to the Tractarian controversy which had destroyed his faith:

¹¹ *Diaries*, pp. xxxviii-xxxix.

¹² Chorley, Footnote 2, pp. 103-4.

The reserve which marked, I believe, all his communications on these subjects i.e. religion, not less than the opinions themselves which he entertained, was a direct result of the vehemence of the struggle through which he had passed.¹³

But although Stanley wished to lay the blame at the Tractarians' door (as Arnold's biographer, he could hardly lay it at the door of Rugby's headmaster), his statement is an unconscious reflection of the ambiguities inherent in the movement. Once again, we should notice the idea of 'reserve' as characterising Clough's behaviour.

On 22 January 1862 in *The Guardian*, a High Church weekly, 'A Rugby and Oxford Friend of Mr. Clough' argued against Stanley; and in the following week, there appeared a letter signed W.T., supporting the 'Friend':

Sir, those who were in any degree intimate with the late Mr. A.H. Clough are likely to be sensitive of remarks made upon his character, and jealous of liberties taken with his memory. I have read with care and much interest the letter from his 'Rugby and Oxford Friend', . . . and though I could [not] claim to so near an intimacy with him as was possessed by the writer, I knew him sufficiently well to recognise the truthfulness of the statements in that letter, *as contrasted* - I speak after consideration - with those of Dr Stanley. An affectionate regard for his memory induces me to beg for space in your columns to convey my grateful acknowledgement to your correspondent (unknown to me) for what amounts, in certain respects, to a vindication of Mr. Clough's character.¹⁴

There can be little doubt that W.T. is in fact William Tylden. Chorley did not print the letter, and in fact, she wrongly recorded that W.T. wrote in support of Stanley. The most likely candidate for the 'Rugby and Oxford Friend' is Lake who fits the description and was converted to Tractarianism (though not, finally, to Roman Catholicism) while Clough was at Balliol.

¹³ *Daily News*, 9 Jan., 1862.

¹⁴ *The Guardian*, Jan 1862.

The fact that both writers chose to use a high church organ like *The Guardian* demonstrates that both were probably more than a little affected by the Tractarian movement. The letter which Tylden endorses, as one would expect, counters Stanley's assertions by placing the blame upon Clough's premature forcing under Arnold, thus defending the Tractarian position. The letter ends with an attack on Stanley for his defence of *Essays and Reviews*, the debate about which was then at its height. Thus, we must recognise that both Stanley and 'Lake' have their judgments impaired by a desire to uphold their respective polemic positions. In death, as in life, Clough finds himself in the centre of controversy, claimed equally by the Tractarian and Arnoldian camps.

It is therefore of interest to note the cautious wording of Tylden's 1862 letter. It seems likely that having been deeply influenced by the Oxford Movement, he had followed the example of Keble, and devoted his life to reserved, self-effacing pastoral care of his flock. Although writing from a high church point of view Tylden was nevertheless able to be more moderate. He stresses that 'Lake's' letter is true '*as contrasted*' (Tylden's italics) with that of Stanley; and again, he claims that 'Lake's' letter amounts 'in certain respects' to a vindication of Clough. It seems that Tylden, if no one else, had some inkling of the deeply divided response which Clough brought to the Oxford Movement and which he also developed towards Arnoldism.

If Tylden was a Tractarian at Oxford, then the resemblance between Clough's relationship with him and with Ward becomes clearer. The first reference to Tylden in the diaries occurs on 17 February 1838, only ten days after the first

reference to Ward, and it sets the tone of the whole friendship as subsequently revealed by the diaries:

. . . let myself get excited by talking to Tylden.¹⁵

However, during Clough's first year at Balliol, the friendship does not appear to have been particularly strong or therefore disagreeable. In fact, Clough quite seems to enjoy Tylden's company until around April 1839, when it became 'not very pleasant'.¹⁶ On 4 May 1839, in considering 'Ward's business', Clough adds 'this new one of Tylden's', and from this point onwards the relationship seems to have been constantly verging on crisis.¹⁷ The letters which have survived illustrate the nature of the emotional troubles in which Tylden involved Clough. They also form a remarkable testimony to the powerful effect Clough had on his contemporaries. Tylden admits that he has not had much opportunity to make friendships in the past, as Clough had at Rugby, and therefore

. . . it was somewhat natural that I should love you after a little time and though I must have seen that there was little chance of winning your friendship, yet I liked better to see what I could of you than all kinds of people to find something to fill up the gap.¹⁸

The four notes that Tylden sent to Clough are all very reminiscent of the letters which Ward sent to him, except that while the latter seems to have considered it his right to demand as much of Clough's time and affection as he needed, Tylden is constantly aware of his own unworthiness, and importunes Clough to be as friendly with him as possible out of charity. If this was the kind of adoration Clough attracted, it does not seem at all surprising that he should be plagued by vanity.

¹⁵ *Diaries*, p. 9.

¹⁶ *Diaries*, p. 108.

¹⁷ *Diaries*, p. 111.

¹⁸ Appendix 2, Letter 1.

Clough on the other hand, seems to have regarded Tylden as a pleasant companion, but not one with whom he could feel sufficient sympathy to elevate him to the exalted ranks of his Rugby friends. Clough's letter to Tylden, dated 25 January 1841, sheds some light on the poetry of this period and in more than one case, contains verbal parallels with specific poems. He begins by reassuring Tylden that his fears are unfounded and that 'there is no one here for whom I feel more kindly'. But he goes on to warn Tylden that because of his own difficulty in regulating relationships, anyone who seeks his friendship must expect 'uncertain behaviour' and a habit of 'now saying overmuch and then withdrawing'. He cannot find the mean between exposure and reserve, and can only fluctuate between them:

Indeed, I am so apt to promise what I cannot in the end perform that you run some considerable hazard in accepting any such promise from me.¹⁹

There are strong verbal echoes here of one of the recurrent themes in Clough's contemporary *Blank Misgivings* series - that of the debt which he cannot pay:

I owe all much, much more than I can pay²⁰

In another poem, he is plagued by 'qualms' of vague misgiving:

That payment at the last will be required,
Payment I cannot make²¹

and in another poem in the *Blank Misgivings* sequence, he imagines the stars to be:

As angry claimants or expectants sure
Of that I promised and may not perform.²²

¹⁹ *Diaries*, pp. xxxviii.

²⁰ *Poems*, p. 29, iii, l. 4.

²¹ *Poems*, p. 30, vi, ll. 6-7.

²² *Poems*, p. 31, viii, ll. 12-13.

So close a verbal parallel suggests that behind many of these poems, lays Clough's difficulties with personal relationships; that concrete experiences with Ward, Tylden and others are the real material out of which his undergraduate poetry emerges. In a recent article,²³ Patrick Scott has shown how the economic circumstances of Clough's life as an undergraduate, in the context of his father's business failures, provides another, concrete origin for this debt imagery. Both contexts seem to me to be relevant and show, in Scott's words, that these early poems are far more than just 'Oxonian reminiscence, post-Evangelical *angst*, or post-Romantic aesthetic quest'²⁴. We shall examine this in more detail as we come to examine the poems individually. But here we need to take a closer look at the idea of reserve.

* * *

Arnold's views on reserve in communication were set out in a sermon preached in Rugby Chapel on 25 September 1836, on 'The Parabolical Language of Christ'.²⁵

He begins by fully accepting that

Our Lord's habitual language was parabolical; I use the word in a wide sense, to include all language which is not meant to be taken according to the letter.²⁶

Christ spoke in parables not only to his enemies such as the Pharisees, but also to his audiences in general and even the disciples. He points out however, that although the only elucidation which Christ gave to the Pharisees was usually yet

²³ P.G. Scott, 'Clough, Bankruptcy, and Disbelief: The Economic Background to "Blank Misgivings"', *Victorian Poetry* xliv (Summer 2006), 123-134.

²⁴ As above, p. 128.

²⁵ T. Arnold, 'The Parabolical Language of Christ', *Sermons* iv (London, 1878).

²⁶ *Sermons* iv (London, 1878), p. 268.

more parables, to the disciples, he would carefully explain his meaning. He asserts that then, having been entrusted with the whole of God's Truth, the disciples:

. . . were no niggards of this heavenly treasure; nor did they, according to the vain heresy of the worst corrupters of Christ's gospel, imitate and surpass that sin which they had so heavily judged in Ananias. They kept back no part of that which they professed and were commanded to lay wholly and entirely at the feet of God's Church. They did not so lie to the Holy Ghost, as to erect a wicked system of priestcraft in the place of that holy gospel of which they were ministers. They had no reserve of a secret doctrine for themselves and a chosen few, keeping in their own hands the key of knowledge, and opening only half of the door; but as they had freely received, so they freely gave; all that they knew they taught to all. . .²⁷

But the Tractarian view was very different. Tract 80, *On Reserve In*

Communicating Religious Knowledge.²⁸ was written by Isaac Williams, though published anonymously. By 'Reserve', Williams referred to his belief that:

. . . in God's dealings with mankind, a very remarkable holding back of sacred and important truths occurs, as if the knowledge of them were injurious to persons unworthy of them, . . . a tendency to conceal, and throw a veil over it, as if it were injurious to us, unless we were of a certain disposition to receive it.²⁹

Williams goes on to substantiate his belief by examining the way in which God's revelation over the ages, because of its gradual nature, entails by definition, a practice of reserve. If God, in all his dealings with men, has exercised considerable reserve about the mysteries of His Truth, then it behoves men, and especially those chosen from amongst men to be priests, to practice a similar reserve in communication with other men about holy matters.

It is this conclusion which made the principle of reserve a tendentious one, for it could be used by the Tractarians to reinforce their belief in the mystical, apostolic

²⁷ *Sermons* iv (London, 1878), p. 271.

²⁸ *Tracts for the Times No. 80: On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge* (1838).

²⁹ *Tract 80*, i, 1.

nature of the priesthood, whose duty it was to mediate God's Truth. In reviewing the tract, the Tractarian organ, the *British Critic*, sought to justify this High Church point of view, by showing that every religious teacher practices reserve in some form or another:

The title of the tract . . . expresses a general principle, which all admit practically, if not in theory, viz. that there is, and must be, some reserve in communicating religious knowledge, something will be kept back, something come first, some regard be had to the capacities, conditions, and tempers of those under instruction, and that this will be done upon system and principle.³⁰

This justification is based on taking the long, historical point of view; that which is reserved today, will be revealed tomorrow, so that reserve is not so much a matter of concealment, as of discretion. And indeed, the writer of the tract claimed that such discretion about 'sacred subjects' is 'natural both in conversation and writing'.³¹ However, from a non-Tractarian perspective, it looked more like deceitful concealment, aimed at establishing a privileged, hierarchical priesthood which would keep the laity in ignorance of the full Truth.

In 1840, *Tract 87* was published, which was the promised continuation and conclusion by Isaac Williams of *Tract 80*,³² in January 1842, the *British Critic* published a review, not only of *Tract 87*, but of four pamphlets which had arisen from the ensuing controversy.³³ Since we know for certain that Clough was a regular reader of the *British Critic*, and would with equal certainty have read the Tracts in question, the principle of reserve must have been constantly in the intellectual background to his thoughts during these years.

³⁰ Anon., '[Review of] Tract for the Times 80 . . .', *BC*, xxv (Apr. 1839), 258.

³¹ *Tract 80*, iii, 6.

³² I. Williams, *Tracts for the Times No. 87: On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge (Conclusion)*, (1840).

³³ Anon., 'Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge', *BC*, lxi (Jan. 1842).

Tract 87 expands and amplifies points already touched upon in *Tract 80*; it concludes with a useful 'Summary of the whole subject':

God discloses Himself, in all natural and revealed, religion [by reserve] . . . Such reflections should encourage in us habits of reverence, reserve, and fear, as considering the awful dispensation under which we walk . . . ³⁴

But it is clear that the author of the tracts sees the necessity for rebuttal of the charge of hypocrisy and deceit:

It will be observed, that nothing whatever is said in this treatise to recommend our forming a system of reserve, nor our watching over ourselves to suppress the natural expression of what we revere and love, nor our forming a close society for the freer communication of religious sentiments . . . That has been said has been put forth defensively, in order to show that the assuming (i.e. the affectation) of a religious tone is so far from being necessary, that it is highly to be deprecated, as injurious to ourselves and others.³⁵

And the *British Critic* reviewer makes such a rebuttal, the specific object of his article:

People, however, do and will suspect the word [i.e. reserve]. There are those who in common life suspect all reserve in manner, and think it only a cloke for pride or vanity or dislike, or something else wrong; and often they are right in this suspicion; but yet it is true that all modesty, humility, reverence, and deep affectionateness, in a word, all goodness will appear reserved to the coarser styles of character, to people who blurt out everything the moment they see it, or think it, or feel it, and always emptying themselves have never anything left in reserve.³⁶

The last line is a significant one. The Tractarians viewed, as one among the many assets of reserve, its usefulness as an antidote to the 'exhausting' effect of the excitement of the modern age; thus, the Tractarian concern with reserve, could potentially offer Clough both a solution to his problems of vanity and insincerity, but also the means of dealing directly with the related problem of excitement.

³⁴ *Tract 87*, p. 11.

³⁵ *Tract 87*, p. 108.

³⁶ Anon., 'Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge', *BC*, lxi (Jan. 1842), 212.

We have seen how Arnold saw excitement as one of the symptoms of a decadent age like his own, and how Clough came to regard excitement as one of his own besetting sins. In fact, Arnold recognised two kinds of excitement. In his Sermon on the subject, preached in Rugby Chapel on 28 June 1835,³⁷ while reinforcing his general message that the world is moving too fast and in danger of ‘exhaustion’, he nevertheless recognises that the ‘world is moving at a quicker pace, and we cannot help moving on with it’³⁸. He recognises two types of excitement therefore: that which is ‘good and healthy’ and that which is ‘bad and mischievous’³⁹. In practical terms, he exhorts his listeners to do two things:

. . . to watch ourselves amidst this worldly excitement, and not allow ourselves to move faster than we must; the other to have recourse betimes . . . with that other and divine excitement of which the Apostle speaks [i.e. be filled with the holy spirit] . . .⁴⁰

Handling worldly excitement is therefore about degree:

. . . it is quite needful to warn against excesses . . . of bodily exercise, . . . of intellectual exercise, whether in reading or in society . . .⁴¹

and this watchfulness is what preoccupies Clough in his diaries and letters. Divine excitement on the other hand is a matter of cultivating personal holiness, and in this regard, Arnold and Newman were in considerable agreement.

Newman was greatly concerned with the evils of excitement in its various forms.

In a sermon published in 1834, 'The Religious Use of Excited Feelings', which Clough read along with the rest of Newman's printed sermons, on arriving at

³⁷ Sermon xxix, ‘Excitement’, Thomas Arnold, *Sermons*, New Edition vi (London, 1878), pp. 228-235. The text for the sermon is Ephesians v. 18 & 19. – ‘Be not drunk with wine . . . but be filled with the Spirit; . . .’

³⁸ Arnold, *Excitement*, p. 231.

³⁹ Arnold, *Excitement*, p. 229.

⁴⁰ Arnold, *Excitement*, p. 231.

⁴¹ Arnold, *Excitement*, p. 232.

Balliol, Newman argued that religion must not be based on excited feelings, since these are only transitory, but rather:

Learn to live by faith, which is a calm, deliberate, rational principle . . .⁴²

Excited feelings were merely of use in setting an individual off on the Christian road:

. . . to give us an impulse which may carry us over the first obstacles, send us on our way rejoicing.⁴³

But, in a sermon of 1836, 'Religious Worship the Remedy for Excitements', which Clough read on 10 February 1838,⁴⁴ Newman takes his argument much further; excitement for him has now become a disease. Taking for his text, 'Is any among you afflicted? let him pray. Is any merry? let him sing psalms' (James v.13), he comments:

But the text supposes the case of a Christian, not of a mere penitent,- not of scandalous wickedness, but of emotion, agitation of mind, regret, longing, despondency, mirthfulness, transport, or rapture; and in case of such ailments he says prayer and praise is the remedy.⁴⁵

Thus, 'excitement of mind' is evidence of 'indisposition of the soul' because it

. . . takes us off from the clear contemplation of the next world, ruffles us and makes us restless.⁴⁶

Newman is dealing with the same problem that Clough found insoluble at Rugby: to find the mean among fluctuating hopes and fears. Newman also defines two types of excitements; secular excitements are:

. . . pursuit of gain, or of power, or of distinction. Amusements are excitements; the applause of a crowd, emulations, hopes, risks, quarrels, contests, disappointments, successes.⁴⁷

⁴² J.H. Newman, 'The Religious Use of Excited Feelings', Sermon IX, *Parochial Sermons* (London, 1834), p.142.

⁴³ As above, p. 133.

⁴⁴ *Diaries*, p. 6.

⁴⁵ J.H. Newman, 'Religious Worship The Remedy for Excitements', Sermon xxiii, *Parochial Sermons* (London, 1836), p. 367.

⁴⁶ Newman, *Remedy*, p. 367.

⁴⁷ Newman, *Remedy*, pp. 367-8.

Once again, he could almost be describing Clough's own experience; and furthermore, the result which Newman envisages of such excitements, exactly parallels the process taking place in Clough's life:

. . . the object pursued naturally absorbs the mind, and excludes all thoughts but those relating to itself. Thus a man is sold over into bondage to this world . . . by a gradual process, until every thought of religion is lost.⁴⁸

The antidote which he recommends is that of the sermon text – daily personal devotions, in order to centre the mind upon God.

But Newman's argument now becomes rather circular. His second type of excitement is religious- a type already dealt with in his previous sermon. Once again, he says that the emotions must be kept on an even keel, so that the mind can worship God in faith, free from distractions; but he has just argued that such worship is itself the only way to achieve such a balance. In other words, daily devotions are both the antidote to excitement, and at the same time, destroyed by excitement. Clearly, in Newman's thought, this apparent vicious circle is broken into by the principle of reserve. The reserved individual does not exhaust himself in vain and transitory excitements; rather, he conserves his strength and uses it economically in his worship of God.

Newman's ideas about reserve, and particularly about the practical application of the principle in the individual life, are clearly expressed in a *British Critic* review that he wrote, on the 'Remains and Occasional Publications of the late Rev. John

⁴⁸ Newman, *Remedy*, p. 368.

Davison'.⁴⁹ The essential character of Davison's life, as interpreted by Newman, was one of reserve. He had printed hardly anything of what lay within him; he was:

. . . allowed but once or twice to give utterance to the truths on which he lived and to manifest the flame which burned unceasingly within him.⁵⁰

One is reminded by this description of almost identical reviews of Clough's own posthumously published work. Davison's reserve was demonstrated in a variety of ways: he ordered all his manuscripts to be destroyed upon his death; the editors of the posthumous collection were prompted to maintain reserve upon the subject of his biography, because they felt that this would have been his wish; he was distant and cold to people who were not in moral sympathy with him; and finally:

. . . the difficulty he seems to have had in expressing himself, the consequent effort which, not only composition, but even conversation, or we may say speech cost him, and the effect of this visible in his writings.⁵¹

Thus, for Newman and the Tractarians as a whole, reserve became a principle of life whose application was almost universal; in every sphere of interaction, between the individual and his God, and between the individual and the created world, the practice of reserve was a moral imperative.

* * *

The principle of reserve was anything but 'natural both in conversation and writing' to the Dr. Arnold that Clough knew at Rugby. Arnold's written works, although didactic, were not, in the words of Stanley:

⁴⁹ '[Review of] 'Remains and Occasional Publications of the Late Rev. John Davison.', *BC* xxxi (Apr. 1842), Article iv, 367-401.

⁵⁰ Article IV, p. 367.

⁵¹ Article IV, p. 370.

. . . so much words as deeds; not so much the result of an intention to instruct, as of an uncontrollable desire to give vent to the thoughts that were struggling within him.⁵²

And reserve was equally foreign to him in conversation; indeed, his writings were in a sense, purely an extension of unreserved personal intercourse,

His works were not merely the inculcations of particular truths, but the expression of his whole mind; and excited in those who read them a sentiment almost of personal regard or of personal dislike . . .⁵³

It is true that Stanley records Arnold having a:

. . . natural reserve and shyness which made him shrink from entering on sacred subjects with comparative strangers . . .⁵⁴

but he continues that Arnold considered this a defect in himself, making him unfit to take charge of a parish, and he 'latterly somewhat overcame it'.⁵⁵

The equation of reserve in social intercourse and in literary endeavours also appears in the following letter written in 1834, from Arnold to 'an old pupil', thanking him for a frank letter about his disappointment with Oxford:

. . . you should, I am sure, make an effort to speak *out*, as I am really grateful for your having *written out* to me. Reserve and fear of committing oneself are, beyond a certain point, positive evils; a man had better expose himself half a dozen times, than be shut up always; and after all, it is not exposing yourself, for no one can help valuing and loving what seems an abandonment to feelings of sympathy, especially when, from the character of him who thus opens his heart, the effort is known to be considerable.⁵⁶

Thus, for Arnold, reserve is reprehensible evidence of moral timidity; and if he does not yet view reserve itself as necessarily hypocritical, the implication is there that it can be, for its opposite, 'exposure', is evidence of moral honesty and sincerity. The last point is an important one; it is not the views expressed which

⁵² Stanley, *Life*, p. 148.

⁵³ Stanley, *Life*, p. 147.

⁵⁴ Stanley, *Life*, p. 182.

⁵⁵ Stanley, *Life*, p. 182.

⁵⁶ Stanley, *Life*, p. 313.

make exposure a moral proceeding, but the sincerity inherent in opening one's heart to a sympathetic hearing. It is this attitude which lies behind Arnold's ability to separate men from their opinions (except in the notable case of the 'Oxford Malignants'):

To men of such variety of opinion and character, that the very names of some of them are identified with measures and views the most opposite that good men can entertain, he retained to the end a strong and almost equal affection.⁵⁷

For Arnold, exposure was no threat to friendship; however, other men did not see things in this light, and when his friends allowed differing opinions to come between them and himself:

The absence of greater mutual sympathy was to him almost the only shadow thrown over his happy life; no difference of opinion ever destroyed his desire for intercourse with them; . . .⁵⁸

Because of the strength of his views, and his distrust of reserve, differences of opinion occurred throughout the 1830's and Stanley records that for this reason, towards the end of his life, Arnold underwent a change of mind on the subject; he determined:

. . . to dwell on those positive truths on which he agreed with others, rather than to be always acting on the defensive or offensive.⁵⁹

Thus, from 1838 onwards, Arnold came more and more to exercise a form of reserve, although in theory he would probably never have recognised it as such. Reluctantly, he had come to realise that relationships between people can only be preserved by a judicious use of reserve, and perhaps, that such a practice was not wholly inconsistent with sincerity. We shall see presently that Clough was to undergo a similar change in attitude under the Tractarian influence at Oxford; but

⁵⁷ Stanley, *Life*, p. 180.

⁵⁸ Stanley, *Life*, p. 180.

⁵⁹ Stanley, *Life*, pp. 456-7.

at Rugby, he seems to have accepted, intellectually at least, the dismissal of reserve which Arnold preached from the pulpit.

Arnold's progress was from a constitutional distrust of reserve towards a pragmatic acceptance; Clough on the other hand, had a fundamental antipathy to exposure, but tried to adopt it in his life-style, in an effort to fulfil the injunctions of Arnold. Chorley has remarked of Clough's first year in England, that he was learning to keep his balance by keeping his centre within himself;⁶⁰ to put this another way, Clough was learning to mediate his relationships with the world by means of a mask of reserve. His experience of isolation during his childhood at Charleston, established his temperament as essentially shy and retiring; this interpretation is only confirmed by his later experiences in England, - the way in which he found mixing with hordes of young relations, little short of traumatic, and the long time, by his own confession, before he made any friends at Rugby. What we have here to consider, is the likely impact on such a temperament, of the personality and beliefs of the headmaster whom he came to worship. Arnold not only encouraged his older pupils to discard all reserve in their intercourse with himself, even to the extent of practicing a form of confession, but to practise exposure in their schoolboy friendships as well. The duty of a Christian, whatever his age, was to seek 'intercourse with other men, for the purpose of doing them good, in body or soul'. This principle was expounded at length in a series of sermons printed in 1832, which Clough greatly admired.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Chorley, p. 12.

⁶¹ T. Arnold, *Sermons Preached in the School Chapel at Rugby* (London, 1832). See *Correspondence* i, pp. 47-8.

Gollin has traced in particular how Clough adopted this duty as his own during his latter years at Rugby.⁶² In order for Clough to carry this out, he was forced to lower his guard of reserve, and mix with pupils with whose views and morals he had little or no sympathy. By way of illustration of the tortuous introspection this involved, the following extracts from the diary for 1836 are eloquent:

Just at present the main faults that are plain to me in my behaviour Schoolw<ar>ds are mixing too much with Conybeare – not being sufficiently childish to the little ones (and too much so to the big ones as I have thought long) Being intimate with too many. I do not know anyone whom I ought to be with except Fox – Poole and others for their gentlemanliness. Conybeare for his kind feeling, . . .⁶³

Intimacy not necessarily an accompaniment of Kindness
Silence is much better than talking without thinking beforehand, unless one is with an intimate friend, which is a thing I fear not to be found here.⁶⁴

- A question to be considered
Do I use my authority enough? Do I not seem to sanction what is evil.⁶⁵

May I dare to give up all close intimacies in the School?
Am I able to live alone? And can I physically, if morally?⁶⁶

It is true that this duty did not call upon him to drop his guard completely; Arnold had said that 'Reserve' was only an evil 'beyond a certain point'. However, the necessary amount of exposure was sufficient to ensure that Clough ran into an acute moral dilemma; as Gollin shows, his advances were rejected by the other boys as they sensed the basic insincerity of Clough's gesture, that he was not so much seeking friends as converts. Thus Clough found that practicing exposure left one as much open to charges of hypocrisy, as if he had maintained his reserve. The questions raised by this whole problem were therefore not as simple as Arnold

⁶² R.M. Gollin, *Arthur Hugh Clough's Formative Years: 1819-1841*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota (1959).

⁶³ Journal 1, fol. 44r.

⁶⁴ Journal 1, fol. 44r.

⁶⁵ Journal 1, fol. 46v.

⁶⁶ Journal 1, fol. 47r.

would have had him believe; and this moral ambiguity taken together with the uncongeniality of exposure to Clough, ensured that the subject of reserve came increasingly to dominate his thoughts in many different fields.

An example of this is an article, 'School Society', which Clough published in the *Rugby Magazine* for January 1836.⁶⁷ In this essay, he thoroughly explored the subject of human relationships as it applied in his own situation: 'the history of the development and action of the affections at a public school!':⁶⁸

On a human being going into the society of other human beings, whether he be boy or man, he is expected to make friends . . . such as he may love and be loved by. Now in the search of these, there appear to be two dangers, the first lest a boy should associate with too many, the second lest he should associate with too few. . . . And which of these roads the heart will choose for itself depends mainly on previous education, whether the party be of a trusting and confiding spirit, or shy and reserved: often whether he has had brothers and sisters, or not.⁶⁹

The subject under discussion is thus immediately rephrased in terms of Clough's own preoccupation: the respective merits of reserve and exposure in interpersonal relationships. Clough's own attitude reveals itself right from the start,

The timid one is more likely to make true and abiding friendships, for his reserve may serve him in the stead of judgment.⁷⁰

There seems little doubt that Clough had quite consciously chosen to exercise reserve as the simplest means of coping with a problem for which his upbringing had left him ill-equipped. On a loose sheet of paper, inserted into the diary kept during 1842-43, Clough refers to his past inclination:

⁶⁷ *RM i* (Jan. 1836), 207-15.

⁶⁸ *RM i* (Jan. 1836), 207.

⁶⁹ *RM i* (Jan. 1836), 208-9.

⁷⁰ *RM i* (Jan. 1836), 209.

. . . to look upon care in the fixing one's affections as the rule of life & refusal of sympathy in general as necessary to keep one's choosing faculty right:-⁷¹

This revealing note makes clear, not only that Clough used reserve - the holding back from 'abandonment to feelings of sympathy' - as a means of regulating his friendships, but also, that such a regulation and therefore such a regulating principle, were fundamental to the way one chose to live.

The article goes on to admit that reserve creates as many problems as it solves. The enemies of Tractarianism attacked the principle as hypocritical, and deliberately misleading others; Clough accuses it of the same tendency, but characteristically views the problem from the moral effects on the practitioner;

. . . there is the danger of that most evil habit which concentrates everything on self, so that even those we love most dearly should be but the lesser stars that revolve around that sun.⁷²

And as always in Clough's experience, such vanity is inescapably accompanied by hypocrisy:

. . . a character for good nature, kindness and generosity, is but too little inconsistent with deep and engrossing self-love.⁷³

The dilemma seems inescapable; if he carried out Arnold's instructions and exposed himself to others for the sake of doing them good, he was tempted to the vanity of martyrdom; but if he reserved himself, the result was still vanity. Such moral dilemmas were inherent in the stern Arnoldian morality that Clough adopted

⁷¹ Balliol MSS Clough Diaries. One of four loose sheets which in the early 1970s were tucked into the rear of the journal marked by Clough 'Lent 1842' on the cover (Journal 6). The originals now seem to be missing and were not transcribed by Kenny, although photocopies do still exist in Balliol College Library.

⁷² *RM i* (Jan. 1836), 209.

⁷³ *RM i* (Jan. 1836), 209.

at Rugby; he would only fully escape when he left Arnold's direct influence, and the Tractarian endorsement of reserve was to be a means towards that liberation.

In his article, Clough offers a compromise solution that will regulate the matter of relationships, while at the same time dealing with the attendant problems of 'pride' and 'excitement':

. . . will not a boy, who lives at home in part, and in part at school, at the same time make friends, and yet not be left too much to chance in his selection of them . . . will he not be saved from self-love by continual intercourse with those whom he loves and has always loved? Is not this the balm to soften down the pride of commanding and over-active intellect, the pride of knowledge, and of its attendant success? Is not this too the cure of the excitement of society, as well as of intellectual pleasure?⁷⁴

But the kind of life described here was precisely that denied to Clough by the absence of his family. The long list of sins in this passage summarise the moral decline that Clough felt at Rugby. He is claiming that the experience of isolation is the root of all his problems; given the continuation of that experience, his only recourse was to the exercise of reserve. In the same letter to Simpkinson in which he mentions Arnold's sermons on 'intercourse with other men for the purpose of doing them good', Clough explained carefully how he had been too 'indiscriminate' in his friendliness, with the result that he saw 'all those half-kind of friendships which I had most foolishly made . . . end in disappointment'.⁷⁵ The lesson which Clough learnt from all this, is stated at the very beginning of the letter:

. . . till people are convinced of the reality of their own affections and the affections of the other party to them, why it is only an <image> of friendship, and not good true substantial flesh and blood . . .⁷⁶

⁷⁴ *RM i* (Jan. 1836), 212.

⁷⁵ Letter to J.N. Simpkinson, 5 May 1836, *Correspondence i*, pp. 45-8.

⁷⁶ *Correspondence i*, pp. 45-8. (The word in <> brackets was originally in Greek).

Until such a conviction can be built up, one needs to maintain a habitual reserve, as Clough explained in another letter to Simpkinson:

I do not think that Burbidge is quite right in saying that it was a fear of ridicule in me that made our conversation together so unconfidential and unpleasant . . . It was rather a general habit, caused by my never being accustomed to be among those who I was sure love me, which of course makes one much more fearful of doing or saying anything that might check or prevent altogether the beginnings of it. I don't know which to think the greatest, the blessing of being under Arnold, or the curse of being without a home.⁷⁷

The linking of 'exposure' and 'ridicule' is a key point in the Tractarian theory of reserve. Clough's self-confessed 'general habit' is directly opposed to Arnold's viewpoint; even with those of his peers who did become his intimates, Clough maintained a habitual reserve. It seems that the only person to whom Clough was prepared to expose himself fully was Arnold himself; we saw earlier Clough's celebration of:

. . . the deep and pure happiness of throwing one's whole being unreservedly into the friendship . . . of a superior being.⁷⁸

This happiness was undoubtedly to be gained from his relationships with the older boys at Rugby also; but as we have seen, such total exposure, no matter how desirable in its effects, was something that Clough found supremely difficult.

* * *

Clough's removal to Balliol brought him directly under Tractarian influence. How far that influence affected his attitudes to reserve is bound up with his relationship to the Oxford Movement as a whole, which we must now address. I must acknowledge Gollin's prior claim to have studied the latter problem, and in

⁷⁷ *Correspondence* i, p. 24.

⁷⁸ 'October', *RM* i (Oct. 1835), 203.

general terms, I am in agreement with his interpretation. Almost entirely basing his argument on the letter evidence, Gollin's main conclusion is that the traditional view of Clough, broken for life by Ward and Tractarianism, is hopelessly wrong; Clough was attracted by certain aspects of the Oxford Movement, but was never seriously tempted to join the party. In his more recent biography, written with the benefit of Clough's diaries, Kenny has endorsed Gollin's view. I will now examine the diary that Clough kept during his first year at Balliol, and chart precisely the course of his flirtation with Tractarianism - to provide not only a more detailed chronological account than Gollin's or Kenny's, but more important, to locate the precise nature of Newman's attraction for Clough.

Clough ceased making entries in his Rugby diary during July 1837, just after sitting for the Balliol Exhibition, and he did not take it up again until February 1838. For information about the crucial first term at Oxford, we must rely on letters and memoirs. We know from Anne's unpublished reminiscences that the summer of 1837 was a time of mixed blessings for Clough at Liverpool where he was staying with his family:

. . . there was very little variety for him in the way of society or change and this he much wanted. He had become much quieter and did not so eagerly discuss his peculiar views.⁷⁹

Clearly, the desire to draw a protective cloak of reserve around himself was already growing in Clough; the outpourings of his earlier "enthusiastic period" lessened, as he learned to reserve his opinion. Anne's belief that he needed a good rest and change of environment is one that has been often repeated, probably rightly; but Clough's conscience, fired by the awareness of his past backsliding,

⁷⁹ B.A. Clough, *A Memoir of Anne Jemima Clough* (London, 1897).

urged him along the pathway of Arnoldian moral commitment, and he spent most of the time between the beginning of term at Rugby and at Oxford, watching over the discipline of School House.

The general pattern of Clough's first term at Oxford has been well documented by his biographers; he intended to begin industriously but failed and frittered his time away in relaxation in his new and congenial surroundings. The very fact that there are no diary entries for this whole term, and only one surviving letter, implies a radical change in his habits. Writing to Simpkinson during the Christmas vacation to apologise for not having written since the previous summer, he admits that:

. . . the removal . . . seemed quite to unsettle many old habits . . . but there is so much to do, and so many things new and strange in one's first term, that one feels obliged to put up with missing many things.⁸⁰

And looking back in his diary the following April, he berated himself for his

' . . . *wretched folly & wickedness* . . . chiefly of last <Christ>mas Holydays . . . '⁸¹

The letters he finally got round to writing during that vacation reflect his initial response to the Tractarian challenge to Arnoldian beliefs. This response already contains the seeds of his final, mature attitude to the movement; he speaks to Simpkinson of the 'violence or rather the extreme views' of the Tractarians, but immediately passes on to remark:

Have you ever read Newman's sermons? I hope you will soon if you have not, for they are very good and I should [think] especially useful for us . . .
82

Exactly the same attitude is apparent in a letter to Gell:

. . . they are very savage and determined, and such good and pious men to boot.⁸³

⁸⁰ *Correspondence* i, p. 65.

⁸¹ *Diaries*, p. 36.

⁸² *Correspondence* i, p. 66.

The essence of his reaction seems to have been that questions of doctrinal differences were very much a matter of secondary importance; he seems far more concerned with the way in which the Oxford Movement seemed to encourage greater individual piety in its adherents.

The first entry in the diaries which concerns itself with the doctrinal aspects of the controversy occurs on 8 February 1838:

Dined & tead with Ward, Conversedⁱ about the Strength of 'Tradition' viz the Unity of opinion as expressed at the Nicene Council:⁸⁴

And a few days later, he discussed the same problem with Stanley who was himself strongly attracted to Newmanism:

St<anley> says that he thinks it possible that from the examination of the Fathers, a case may appear not to be explained otherwise than on the Newm<anist> Principle of a Traditional Revelation providentially preserved to us in the Fathers.⁸⁵

Unfortunately, this passage tells us more about Stanley's leanings at the time towards Tractarianism than Clough's; but as Gollin points out, both Arnold and Newman were agreed that one needed to look beyond a fundamentalist belief in scripture for exterior criteria of its truth; Tradition was a possible criterion which needed exploring. On 28 February, Clough recorded another conversation 'de rebus Newmaniticis' and 'de Constantino' in particular; but once again there is no indication of Clough's views.⁸⁶ Indeed, the absence of any original thoughts by Clough on the subject, suggests an intellectual interest in the controversy itself, but with no urgent desire for personal commitment to any particular point of view.

⁸³ *Correspondence* i, p. 67.

⁸⁴ *Diaries*, p. 5.

⁸⁵ *Diaries*, p. 7.

⁸⁶ *Diaries*, p. 15.

One particular event in February 1838 conveniently demonstrates Clough's intellectual open-mindedness after more than a term's exposure to Ward and the Oxford Movement. On Sunday 18 February, Clough went to hear Samuel Wilberforce preach. Wilberforce was the son of the famous evangelical reformer, but unlike his father, or his brother (R.I. Wilberforce who became a Tractarian), he remained uncommitted to any religious party. He was viewed with suspicion therefore by Tractarians and Evangelicals alike. The subject of this particular sermon was one which was very likely to appeal to Clough, for it was not only a contribution to the Tractarian controversy but also dealt with a problem that gave Clough a great deal of anguish.

He noted in his diary:

S. Wilberforce preached. A Protest against the notions of Pusey on Sin after Baptism, founded on the Parable of the Prodigal Son, who is evidently the type of a man fallen from grace. He makes the only barrier against wilful sin, the human misery & the risk. Very beautiful, heartfelt, and eloquent.

Went to Ward - 12 to 2 - Talked about the Sermon,⁸⁷

Pusey had expressed a very rigorous view of sins committed after baptism in a series of Tracts (*Tracts 67 – 69*) published two years previously in 1836; he had emphasised the heinous nature of such sins, and therefore the difficulty of receiving forgiveness for them. Pusey's 'notions' had caused a stir when first published, and they had remained a matter of controversy ever since. One of his chief opponents was in fact Wilberforce, and their disagreement formed one of the more heated sideshows in the whole controversy. In the sermon attended by Clough, Wilberforce argued that the parable of the prodigal son (usually applied,

⁸⁷ *Diaries*, p. 9.

particularly by evangelicals, to forgiveness of sin at conversion) should be applied to the case of the Christian who sins after conversion; thus sin after baptism is freely forgiven by God, and there is no necessity to carry out a system of penances, as Pusey would maintain.

If, instead of 'conversion' we read 'confirmation', we can begin to appreciate the personal significance of all this for Clough. The diaries make clear in a number of places that since Clough's own confirmation in 1833, he felt that he had been on a long downward path into damnation. Wilberforce offered reassurance that even the most heinous sin can be forgiven, and it certainly seems from the above passage that Clough sided with Wilberforce against Pusey. However nothing could be further from the truth, for a little later the same day, Clough added this comment to his diary entry:

I ought to be a good deal moved by Wilberforce's Sermon, but am not, and it should sober me to think of what struck me, when I was with Ward just now, that a sort of penance is a necessary accompaniment to a repentance intended to be the beginning of a lasting change. . . . There is a very striking passage in Pusey's baptism to this point, and I fear, quite applicable to me.⁸⁸

There are two related points to be noticed here. First, the entry demonstrates Clough's total lack of 'party spirit' (see below), in that he is able to admire both Wilberforce and Pusey; this characteristic ability to draw from disparate sources, means that Clough was unlikely to be bowled over by new doctrines, Tractarian or otherwise. Secondly, Clough's eclecticism is motivated, not by theoretical considerations but by moral ones; given the need to generate 'repentance' leading to 'lasting change' in himself, he uses Wilberforce and Pusey as practical aids to

⁸⁸ *Diaries*, p. 9.

achieving this, taking hope of forgiveness from the former and a beneficial course of action from the latter.

Ironically, Clough's independence of party line and concentration on broad and practical moral issues can be traced directly to Arnold's own influence. Although Arnold fiercely opposed the Oxford Movement, his opposition was not based on party lines; in effect, Arnold was a partisan for non-partisan beliefs. His objection to the Tractarians was not so much concerned with the nature of their beliefs; if it had been as simple as this, he would probably have admitted them into his broad conception of the Church. Rather, Arnold objected to the fact that Tractarian theory was militantly counter to a tolerant broad church view, and in practice, as in the case of Hampden, emerged in bitter party politicking of the most vicious and underhand kind. Perhaps more than anything else, it was this dislike of the 'party spirit' that Arnold sought to inculcate in his pupils:

There were few warnings to his pupils on the entrance into life more solemn, than those against party spirit, against giving to any human party, sect, society, or cause, that undivided sympathy and service which he held to be due only to the one party, and cause of all good men under their Divine Head.⁸⁹

It is this 'intense abhorrence of all party ties' which underlies Clough's characterisation of the Newmanists as 'savage and determined' as much as it does Arnold's own attack on the Oxford Malignants. Although Clough's diaries show a clear interest in the doctrinal intricacies of the Tractarian controversy which was raging around him, nevertheless, one can see him habitually urging himself to look beyond theoretical doctrine to more urgent practical guidelines for living.

⁸⁹ Stanley, *Life*, p. 153.

The diary entries of March and April 1838 are almost entirely taken up with a long and detailed series of self-examinations, prompted by the Easter season. We shall return to these crucial entries again, but here we are concerned with the expression of his views on Tractarian theology in the entry for Good Friday (13 April 1838):

I have had a long talk with Waldegrave & Brodie from 9 to near 12 - chiefly about high Matters - Froude – Immediate Conversion - The Apostasy [* * *] & consequent inapplicability of Scripture Promises & Threats to us in their whole sense. I am afraid it was all folly to try and enter into it - a few decided expressions were quite enough for Froude's benefit - and my thoughts about other things are so exceeding crude, that to argue about them with two persons is mere folly.⁹⁰

As we shall see presently, Froude's Remains provides important information about those aspects of Tractarianism to which Clough was attracted. Here we must notice that what did not attract Clough were the intellectual aspects of the Oxford Movement; he has been in Oxford for two terms and his thoughts on these matters are still 'exceedingly crude'.

The next entry concerning itself with theology does not occur until 23 May 1838:

. . . I have been having a long talk with Congreve de rebus Newmaniticis [*on Newmanist matters*] supporting the ground Ward took that the Evidence of the existence of the Church System under Apostolical guidance is the sole ground disputable.

But it seems to me now that the Church System doctrines are irreconcilable with Scripture, the Sacramental View e.g. spoken of very differently from the Doctrine of our Lord's Divinity. Which last is expressly stated in S^t John, in a manner so far as I see not to be explained away on any apparent Mode of Expression or Conveying of Truth, such as does explain the use of the Sacramental Figures; nay further would on the Church System Literal Interpretation Principle make us believe things they did not in old times believe - e.g. Concerning Baptism.

Also I think the types – 'Hebrews' - etc. – etc. are different subjects of rejection quia contra rationem sunt [*because they are against reason*] from

⁹⁰ *Diaries*, pp. 44-5.

the Incarnation, Atonement etc. etc., as these Violate the Principles of Reasoning, which the Atonement, nay even the Trinity, does not.⁹¹

In order to understand the way in which Clough's mind is working here, it is helpful to compare with an opinion he expressed in a letter a couple of weeks previously; on 8 May 1938, he told Gell that the whole Tractarian movement finally rests:

. . . entirely on their belief in the Infallibility of the Church down to a certain period, to which they are led by a strong sense of the necessity of some infallible authority unified with a feeling of the insufficiency of the New Testament. Indeed, I think a good deal of what they say as to this latter point is stronger than anything I ever heard against it.⁹²

Clough has here reached the heart of the matter; he finds Newman's arguments for 'the insufficiency of the New Testament' convincing because this was also Arnold's belief. However, while Arnold sought validation of the New Testament in an appeal to the conscience, Newman looked towards the Church for an 'infallible authority'. Hence, when Clough says that 'the sole ground disputable is whether or not the Church System was instituted in apostolic times and under Apostolic guidance', he is speaking from this distinctive standpoint; and this standpoint was shared by Ward because he too was approaching Tractarianism through his prior conversion to Arnoldism.

Clough's diary passage, having established the grounds for dispute then goes on clearly to reject Newmanism. He does this by taking the Newmanist 'Sacramental View' as a typical example of Tractarian doctrine since this involves not merely the sacraments themselves, and questions of 'Real Presence', but also the accompanying concept of a hierarchical priesthood which alone is entrusted with

⁹¹ *Diaries*, p. 63.

⁹² *Correspondence* i, p. 71.

the administering of the sacraments, and therefore with the power of spiritual life and death. Clough argues that if under the 'Church System Literal Interpretation Principle' we are to believe that the bread and wine literally become body and blood, then we must also accept literally other passages in the New Testament that are clearly figurative. The Tractarian reply to this would be that if one denies the doctrine of 'Real Presence' in the sacrament of the mass, and if one explains away the relevant scripture passages as a metaphorical 'Mode of Expression or Conveying of Truth', then one must say the same of other doctrines, such as the divinity of Christ. Clough escapes this downhill slide to agnosticism by claiming that there is a quite distinct difference between the emphatic language used at the beginning of St. John's gospel to declare Christ's divinity, and the clearly figurative language used by Christ in instituting the Last Supper. Clough's argument is based on 'principles of Reasoning' which he feels are not violated, even by such inexplicable doctrines as that of the Trinity. However, the old Testament 'types' described in the Epistle to the Hebrews do violate reason unless interpreted figuratively; Melchisadek, the high priest of Genesis, and the old testament sacrificial rituals, are not to be taken literally as 'types' of a modern priesthood and modern rituals, but rather figuratively, representing the eternal Priesthood of Christ in offering himself for mankind, and the priesthood of every believer.

Evidence such as the above is inevitably difficult of interpretation, and in any case, Clough's ideas were clearly in a constant state of flux at that time. What is important to emphasise is that Clough was quite able to take up a position which was neither entirely Newmanist nor Arnoldian. As he says on 1 April 1838:

How strange that I should owe so much to Arnold & so much to him
[Newman]! How have I deserved this second enlightenment?⁹³

And of even more importance is the fact that such intellectual enquiries although naturally absorbing to Clough seem nevertheless not to have been considered of paramount importance by him. A couple of months after this clear expression of his opinions, he wrote in his diary:

I incline to think that I ought to give up seeking much about the great
Newm. Question: for I have little or no real earnestness . . .⁹⁴

And he seems actually to have done this, for even the few scanty references to the controversy in his diaries now cease altogether. However, Clough's relations with the Oxford Movement were far more complex than a concentration on doctrinal issues alone can hope to show. There are other aspects of Tractarianism which did attract Clough greatly, and these are closely connected with reserve; it was these aspects and Clough's 'earnestness' about them which prompted him to take up his diary again in February 1838.

* * *

After his long six month break from diary-writing, Clough broke silence⁹⁵ with the following entry:

I find from my exceeding irregularity and inconsistency, and hardness & I much fear profound self-deception, that I must take to this work [i.e. his Diary] once more. All the enjoyment, and attention, & be-praisement of this Place is too much as yet for me.⁹⁶

The tone and language of this entry are a clear indication that Clough's problems at Oxford were essentially of the same kind as those revealed in his Rugby diaries;

⁹³ *Diaries*, pp. 33-4.

⁹⁴ *Diaries*, pp. 73-4.

⁹⁵ Apart from a few insubstantial entries in late January 1838.

⁹⁶ *Diaries*, p. 3.

the sins of 'self-deception' and vanity caused by 'be-praisement'. The diary entries that follow throughout Clough's undergraduate period continually lament this slacking and the beginnings of it in his final years at Rugby. More than ever now, Clough's principle concern seems to be to re-attain a lost spiritual state, rather than to spread the Arnoldian gospel in the Newmanist lair.

We have seen how both Arnold and Newman were intensely concerned with the problem of 'excitement'. The Balliol diaries reveal that the problem remained just as real as at Rugby; there are many passages recording the painful alternation between extreme emotional and spiritual states, accompanied by the corresponding search for a congenial mean. For a period from the 26 March, Clough even adopts a shorthand method of recording this, writing either 'Overwell' or 'Underwell' at the top of each day's entry. These themes constantly appear and reappear from day to day at Balliol; the following short passage written as part of a self-examination for Ash Wednesday, February 28th 1838 demonstrates this well:

I am now in an excitement of vanity after my good 7 hrs [work] & talk with Stanley . . . began to be vain with my Verses & quite upset by the walk . . .

How bad I am, and how good I think myself to say so.⁹⁷

The final note of recognition of hypocritical self-deception is as characteristic of Clough at Oxford as it is of Clough at Rugby.

However, despite the basic similarity between these two periods in Clough's spiritual development there is one fundamental difference. Balliol saw Clough come dangerously near to nervous breakdown. Oxford in some way deepened

⁹⁷ *Diaries*, p. 15.

dramatically the problems with which Clough had been grappling with varying degrees of success for so many years. On 9 February, 1838, a few days after taking up his diary again, Clough sheds further light on his difficulties; having eulogised upon a passage of scripture he has been reading, he adds:

I fear there is great need for me to pray against the infection of worldly & most hateful vanity with my pleasure in reading the Scripture, and writing this.⁹⁸

In an entry of 25 February, Clough despairs:

Shall I never try & go forward? . . . I am marvellously well pleased with my wretched attainments and enjoy above all things playing with God's word to feed my vanity. May he . . . give me the spirit of a true love for Truth & Holiness before him, & not men.⁹⁹

From the very beginning his Oxford diaries are concerned more than anything else with this theme. They are full of solemn resolutions, usually broken the next day, to avoid interpreting Scripture without seeking immediate practical lessons.

One remembers in this context his decision a few months later to give up thinking about Newmanism because he felt himself lacking in 'real earnestness'. The theological controversies in Oxford, far from perplexing Clough, on the contrary, attracted him too much; he enjoyed taking a part in such theological discussions because his intellectual training under Arnold enabled him to shine in debate. The inevitable result was to inflate his vanity, which he knew to be only too easily done: Tractarianism – or rather, the controversy surrounding it - was coming between Clough and God; he no longer read scripture for spiritual support in his Arnoldian moral venture, but merely to provide himself with ammunition in a theological war.

⁹⁸ *Diaries*, p. 6.

⁹⁹ *Diaries*, p. 13.

Clough's reaction to this threat to his already over-inflated ego was to put up the shutters, by erecting protective barriers against intercourse with the outside world.

An example of this is his attitude to his own candidature for the Hertford Scholarship in April 1838. On 6 March, he attacked himself in his diary for his slackness in preparation, but his total attitude is more complex than this:

This will never do for the Hartford: but if it only does for God's service, I have no place for complaining, & much to be thankful for - without looking to gaining money, or credit for myself, or Rugby.¹⁰⁰

He had only allowed himself to enter for the scholarship, (having given up striving for prizes at Rugby) in order to help his parents financially and to gain credit for Arnold and Rugby. Now however he is forced to set his sights much lower; he cannot concern himself with Arnoldian moral imperatives until he has sorted out his inner hypocrisy. The following passage from 1 June 1838 encapsulates his attitude:

I am full this Morning of vain Castle-buildings, - concerning the Union, - for instance, that I sh^{oul}d come forward in it, & be a great personage, & develop my views & be the leader of a great party of disciples; - and concerning such things as writing comments on the Psalms - dividing them so as to be useful in the different stages of <Christ>ian life - rise & progress, - & selecting Scriptures for the same Purpose; - and the like. And all this from pure self-conceit and love of my own exaltation - . . .¹⁰¹

. . . whatever great things I may be able to design, it is quite clear that is simply wrong, and a breach of my duty to God to indulge them so long as they are produced by and themselves increase my vanity and love of my own praise: And I may be quite sure that to depress and eradicate this tendency is more important than anything else.¹⁰²

The radical distrust of motive making any action, whether moral or otherwise, impossible, is of at the heart of Clough's mature poetic vision; and by turning away from the world of action to deal with his spiritual malaise, Clough was

¹⁰⁰ *Diaries*, pp. 20-21.

¹⁰¹ *Diaries*, p. 68.

¹⁰² Journal 2, fol. 63r.

consciously adopting a principle of reserve. The Tractarian controversy had driven him into a dilemma for which the only solution was an essentially Tractarian one, and it is this betrayal of the Arnoldian position which explains the deepening of Clough's crisis in Oxford.

Clough took up his diary again in February 1838 because of the 'attention and be-praisement' which he received at Oxford. At the heart of this flattering attention was the figure of Ward who gravitated towards Clough because of both his personal and Arnoldian qualities. Ward introduced Clough to a world of deeply earnest, intellectual enquiry into the deepest religious issues. This world naturally expected a useful contribution from Arnold's prize scholar, and Clough responded by sacrificing all in order to meet this intellectual demand placed upon him, with the inevitable result of a swollen vanity and a ruined spiritual life. The more his vanity persisted, the more his spirituality suffered; the diaries reflect his constant attempts to extricate himself from this situation and to avoid allowing his devotions to become mere preparations for verbal battles which in themselves could not possibly advance him spiritually. He felt a growing conviction that he had no right taking part in discussions about such important religious topics while his own life seemed to belie his words and even his motives were extremely suspect.

Tractarianism provided Clough with the theoretical and practical means of dealing with this situation; he erected a protective barrier of reserve in order to shelter his damaged spirituality from the rough contact with the world that the Arnoldian moral imperatives would have exposed him to. The practical steps he took to

achieve this were very extreme, but they help to explain the strange impression of aloof coldness that Clough made on so many people at this time. It seems from the diaries that he did not merely content himself with seeking to be alone; when he had to be in company he would deliberately force himself not to shine but rather to appear as rather dull in the hope that the resulting humiliation would cure his vanity:

. . . I should have been more cautious at Waldegrave's to avoid brilliancy etc. in conversation, which as it was I gave way to most foolishly.¹⁰³

As usual this attempt at a cure presented as many problems as it solved; he already knew from his experience at Rugby that this reserved manner was incompatible with the need to mix with others for their own good.

During Easter Week 1838 for example, Clough was staying with his Uncle Alfred and he records on 20 April being pulled in two directions at once:

I have been foolish this Evening at Uncle A's; chiefly from wishing to pull up my spirits for the occasion lest they sh104
I see clearly that it has been from *dipsychia*¹⁰⁵ [double –mindedness] - if I had not cared more than was right about the impression I sh106

Notice how this early example of '*dipsychia*' appears in terms of the conflicting impulses towards both reserve and exposure. This key term first appears in an entry for 10 March 1838:

. . . the Week has been one of relapsing . . . It is quite possible that a man should be punished by continual inadequate and *dipsychos* [double-minded] efforts to be good.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ *Diaries*, p. 44.

¹⁰⁴ *Diaries*, p. 48.

¹⁰⁵ The italics are mine, here and in the quotations that follow – to indicate English transliterations of Clough's Greek.

¹⁰⁶ *Journal* 3, fol. 43r.

¹⁰⁷ *Diaries*, p. 22.

He returned to the theme a month later on 11 April; contemplating Matthew 16, 13-28, and in particular verse 26:

For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?

- he wrote:

This will bear a very close examination. Anything that shews . . . the absolute necessity of giving up the things [in the world]. . . i.e. the utter uselessness & absurdity of *dipsychia* [double-mindedness] is most useful to me: and there is, I am sure, a very great deal. . . . I am not an innocent sufferer, but am rather a sinful & silly *dypsychos* [double-minded person].¹⁰⁸

A few days later, on Easter Monday, he reflected:

I have been careless & I fear hardly even *dipsychos* [double-minded], but wholly given up to [worldly matters], . . .¹⁰⁹

The following day, he referred again to his:

. . . inconsistent course of halting, double-minded conduct.¹¹⁰

and two days later he confessed that the old Rugby certainties were gone:

. . . this work is not so clearly God's work as my old task at Rugby: there is not more opportunity, I think, for *dipsychia* [double-mindedness] insinuating itself – much; . . .¹¹¹

Two days later again, Clough meditated at length on the metaphysical implications of the problem:

I cannot trust myself at all, to there being no mixture of foolish over-desire of leaving a good impression on them: & to indulge such is most hurtful, as I have seen: yet again it is clearly my duty to be cheerful & not spoil their pleasure by more bad spirits than I cannot prevent.

It comes again to the old difficulty of cases where Sanctification & 'Duty - proper' clash. Is it possible that it may be one of the punishments all Sin must involve on even repentant sinners, that the very things they are bound to do will hurt them – that the very things that are best for their spiritual improvement are such as they may not use. . . . How far is a man bound to sacrifice his own highest interests, to those of Society in general? . . . however, all I can do is to pray for the removal of my *dipsychia* [double-

¹⁰⁸ *Diaries*, p. 43-44.

¹⁰⁹ *Diaries*, p. 46.

¹¹⁰ *Diaries*, p. 46.

¹¹¹ *Diaries*, p. 48.

mindedness] and to let myself be stupid wherever my particular duty does not require the reverse. {– wherever it is a matter of mere *areskeia* [complaisance]}

The point to be struggled for is to conquer my great sense of pain & embarrassing distress at not 'showing well'. . .¹¹²

In this long passage we can see emerging from Clough's ever-growing self-awareness, the profound understanding of the moral ambiguities of man's existence in society which was to make his mature poetry so unique. His concerns about *dipsychia* emerge more maturely in *Dipsychus* which he worked on and over for many years.

Here we must also notice his firm decision to suppress his *areskeia*, meaning 'complaisance', and desire for praise, by forcing himself to 'show' badly in society. The reference to 'areskeia/complaisance' is also not uncommon in these diary entries. It is often linked with the Greek word for 'small-mindedness' – which together he calls his 'foolish compound'.¹¹³ Together they signify the twin polarities of his 'double-mindedness', torn between 'complaisance' – the urge to follow his sense of Duty and mingle with others for their good – and 'small-mindedness' – the urge to erect a barrier of reserve and shrink back from public commitment and acclamation. 'Complaisance' resulted in poems like 'Duty' where he analysed the hypocrisy of so much 'Duty – proper'.

'Small-mindedness' goes to the heart of his concern with reserve. There can be little doubt that Clough was encouraged in this by the influence of the Tractarian movement upon him. His desire to avoid 'showing well' was clearly at least partly

¹¹² *Diaries*, pp. 48-9. Phrase in {} from MS. Journal 3, fol.45v.

¹¹³ *Diaries*, pp. 49, 52, 53

derived from their concept of reserve; but also, the element of self-punishment involved seems to derive partly from the Newmanistic emphasis on 'practical Christianity' - to use Ward's phrase,- such as fasting and other similar penances for sin. We have seen that Clough was attracted by Pusey's belief that penance was necessary to remove sins committed after baptism. On 1 April 1838, he wrote:

I think probably the great thing that upset me . . . has been the want of Newman's strong doctrine about Sins after Baptism – or rather I should say of what is the substitute suggested by that doctrine of his, and Froude's noble example.¹¹⁴

The Froude in question here (and noticed earlier in this chapter as a Tractarian influence on Clough) was not James Anthony Froude, the author of *The Nemesis of Faith*, which Clough was later to commend as expressing the doubts of his generation, but Richard Hurrell Froude of Oriel, whose *Remains* were edited by Newman and Keble and published in 1838.¹¹⁵ Froude was a prominent and combative Tractarian, but it was less his views and more his example that made him attractive to Clough. The diaries for February show he was reading Froude from at least 20 February onwards.¹¹⁶ Extracts from Froude's 'Journals' were of particular appeal; as the *British Critic* Reviewer put it:

. . . this book derives its commanding interest from the stern self-chastisement of body and mind, from which both reason and imagination receive their tone and substance. With this the Journal acquaints us; and there is something which really crows an ordinary reader in the unsparing steadiness with which faults are sought for, the bitter self-abasement with which they are felt, and the unrelenting determination with which they are punished'.¹¹⁷

The reviewer could have been speaking of Clough's own diaries. And indeed, it must be strongly suspected that Clough's impulse to take up his diary again in

¹¹⁴ *Diaries*, p. 33.

¹¹⁵ R.H. Froude, *Remains of the Late Reverend Richard Hurrell Froude, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College Oxford* (2 vols., London, 1838).

¹¹⁶ *Diaries*, p. 11.

¹¹⁷ '[Review of] Froude's Remains', *BC* (Jan. 1838), 205.

February 1838 was influenced by his reading Froude, particularly when we read this extract from Froude's own Journal:

I think it will be a better way to keep a journal for a bit, as I find I want keeping in order about more things than reading. I am in a most conceited way . . . ¹¹⁸

Clough's diarised thoughts noted earlier, about possible publication of his own diary, probably stem from conscious emulation of Froude. It is also perhaps worth printing here the first two stanzas of Froude's poem 'Daniel', published in his *Remains*, and quoted by his reviewer:

Son of sorrow, doomed by fate
To lot most desolate;
To a joyless youth and childless age,
Last of thy father's lineage,
Blighted being! Whence hast thou
That lofty mien and cloudless brow?

Ask'st thou whence that cloudless brow?
Bitter is the cup I trow;
A cup of weary well-spent years,
A cup of sorrows, fasts, and tears,
That cup whose virtue can impart
Such calmness to the troubled heart. ¹¹⁹

The echoes here of Clough's own concerns, as well as his characteristic diction and imagery at this time, seem too obvious to stress.

And it was not just Froude's example in these matters that Clough admired. On March 4th 1838, the day on which Newman himself dined with him, Clough recorded:

Newman preached on Fasting. What is to be thought of it? ¹²⁰

By the end of the month he seems to have been converted to the idea, and records a resolution at the end of his diary:

¹¹⁸ Entry for July 1st 1826.

¹¹⁹ '[Review of] Froude's *Remains*', *BC* (Jan. 1838), 315.

¹²⁰ *Diaries*, p. 19.

To think about fixing a Jejunum [fast-day] pro duobus illis Annis, every Friday, at least this Lent.¹²¹

On 8 June 1838, he wrote:

. . . before coming to Oxford I never saw that the right way was to get to hate Evil by a faith in Punishment, & not to try & keep oneself by a love of good.¹²²

The diaries at this time are filled with references to 'self-denials', 'fasting', and even 'confession'; it is difficult to tell how far Clough went in putting these typically Tractarian methods into practice, but it is clear that for a time he fully appreciated their value and admired those in the Oxford Movement who did carry them out:

I must keep in mind . . . That many persons of the most advanced piety and goodness are this week engaged in all sorts of self-denial, & mortification, fasting from food & sleep, amusement & society - Newman for instance, whose errors as we believe them to be must not make me ever forget how far he is above me in goodness and piety, and wisdom too, – tho<ugh> in certain points we with less power may by our advantages be nearer the real truth, and though less wise have more wisdom. Rather for the present should I endeavour to forget all such matters, and to try and look only at my own terrible sins and wickednesses past, & miserable corruption now, and seek not to find out the true sense of disputed Scripture or evolve doubtful doctrines, but to obtain more and more of that Spirit of God . . .¹²³

This passage was written on 9 April 1838 in the midst of Passion Week. Clough still uses the Rugbeian 'we'; he has not come over to the Tractarian camp; the value of Tractarianism lies not in doctrinal controversy, but in the personal examples of practical piety given by its leaders.

However, even this limited flirtation with Tractarian practices was not to outlast the year. There are a number of jotted biblical references in the diaries that, although undated, obviously record the direction that his private devotions had

¹²¹ Not transcribed by Kenny. Journal 2, fol. 76v.

¹²² *Diaries*, p. 73.

¹²³ *Diaries*, pp.40- 41.

taken over the summer of 1838, after his first year at Balliol. They show him working his way past the Tractarian view of these matters. In particular, we find the following, (not transcribed by Kenny):

Colossians I I.	1 - 4
Philippians I I I.	1 - 16 especially 15 – 16 ¹²⁴

Standing together, alone on a page, these two references neatly summarise Clough's feelings about the Tractarian movement. The first sixteen verses of Philippians Chapter Three are a warning from St. Paul about 'evil workers' and 'the concision' - false teachers; the passage concludes with a prayer for Christian unity:

. . . let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing. (v.16)

This attitude is expanded in the first verses of Colossians Chapter Two, where St. Paul prays that the Colossian church might be 'knit together in love' (v.2), 'lest any man should beguile you with enticing words' (v.4). The epistle goes on to warn the Colossian Christians to 'Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit' (v.8), and a little later on, St. Paul seems to warn against the kind of formalism that the Tractarians were attempting to revive:

Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holyday, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days: (v. 16)

On 8 October 1838, Clough refers to this specifically:

. . . the necessity-of-form-&-fast notion was objected to by St Paul in the [*will-worship*] passage of Colossians. [2:23]¹²⁵

and he went on two days later to comment:

. . . forms useful but better without

and quotes from Colossians ii, v. 22.¹²⁶ In all these biblical passages, St. Paul advocates the cultivation of personal holiness as the only antidote to the divisive

¹²⁴ Journal 4, fol. 18v.

¹²⁵ *Diaries*, p. 83.

party spirit in religious matters, and it is this that Clough was attempting to achieve over the summer months. But more specifically, St. Paul rejects the use of 'forms' in religion. Of course, in the biblical context, he is referring to the 'forms' of Judaism; Clough applies them to Tractarian attempts to introduce Roman 'forms'.

The last couple of weeks of the summer vacation were spent at Rugby, where he seems to have spent much time sorting out his ideas in conversations with Arnold and Burbidge, who was teaching at the school. Chevalier Bunsen had recently been on a visit to the school, and the conversations between Arnold and Clough probably continued many of the matters that Bunsen had raised in Arnold's mind. One of these was the correct attitude towards communion; both rejected the high Tractarian view, but Arnold was aware that Bunsen took an indefinably higher view than himself. As Arnold later wrote to Bunsen:

My own objection to laying a stress on the material elements . . . is very strong, because I think that such a notion is at variance with the essential character of Christianity.¹²⁷

On 30 September, Clough records 'a little talk *de re Sacramentaria* [about the Sacraments] almost certainly held with Arnold, and writes:

I spoke of a bodily effect.
Any moral effect of the physical agent *he* says is so wholly denied by the Spirit of <Chris>t<iani>ty.¹²⁸

Once again, we find Clough intelligently picking his way through the controversies.

* * *

¹²⁶ Journal 4, fol. 22r. Entry for Wednesday 10th October 1838.

¹²⁷ Stanley, *Life*, p. 466. Letter to Bunsen, 9 November 1838.

¹²⁸ *Diaries*, p. 81.

A core theme of this study should by now be apparent – the way in which Clough gradually came to adopt ‘reserve’ as a guiding principle of his life. We have seen how it helped him mediate relationships, and that this aspect of reserve was of more appeal to him than the Romeward implications of the doctrine. As he said of religious issues in ‘Easter Day. Naples, 1849’:

Let us go hence, and think upon these things
In silence, which is best.¹²⁹

In the final chapter we will see how the concept of reserve also leads into our examination of Clough’s poetic method and poetics. But before that, in the final section of this chapter, we will examine further how the concept came to readjust his views about historical and religious truth. The poem which illustrates this best is ‘Epi-Strauss-ion’. This is often presented as a prime example of Victorian doubt in the face of textual enquiry. However, its genesis and influences are far more complex than that, and it will be seen that it is in fact as much a crucial document in his relationship with the Oxford Movement as with German critical philosophy.

The core of the poem is an image of the contrast between light shining through coloured glass, and light shining through plain glass. The light stands for religious truth, the coloured glass for the gospel stories through which that truth has traditionally been transmitted, and plain glass for the de-mythologised truth advocated by Strauss. The image is made more complex by two added dimensions: the light itself is the sun on its daily course from east to west, and the coloured glass is in the form of church windows.

¹²⁹ *Poems*, p 203, ll. 152-3.

Broken down in this way, it is not hard to find parallels and precursors – hardly surprising considering its long Platonic and Pauline ancestry. Clough himself was using elements in his Rugby poems. In ‘The Exordium of a Very Long Poem’, the moon as an image of ‘heaven-born poesy’ (conceived as superior even to ‘the lesser lights of Truth and Wisdom’) is too pure for mortal eyes, and is viewed through reflected light on a passing cloud:

On its pale face rich hues and colours fair
‘Gan, rainbow-like, to glow . . .

From these thine own reflected hues, even we
May build a worthy throne, O Poesy, for thee.¹³⁰

Or in ‘An Answer to Memory’, Clough argues for (on balance) the immediacy of present experience to emotion recollected in tranquillity, but admits that:

. . . humbling forms are better meet
For this our frail soon-dazzled eye¹³¹

The Spirit in *Dipsychus* is no fan of Tractarian theories of reserve applied to truth; he urges *Dipsychus* to be ‘explicit’:

You think half-showing, half-concealing,
Is God’s own method of revealing.¹³²

(The ‘half . . . half’ construction here is characteristic and we shall return to it in the next chapter). Earlier in the poem, the Spirit uses the light imagery to make the same point:

Maturer optics don’t delight
In childish dim religious light,
In evanescent vague effects
That shirk, not face, one’s intellects;
They love not fancies fast betrayed,
And artful tricks of light and shade,
But pure form nakedly displayed,
And all things absolutely made.¹³³

¹³⁰ *Poems*, pp. 477-8, ll. 12-48.

¹³¹ *Poems*, p. 486, ll. 62-3.

¹³² *Poems*, p. 262, ll. 27-8.

¹³³ *Poems*, p. 244, ll. 216-23.

says the Spirit, but *Dipsychus* prefers to see historic Venice transmogrified by moonlight. Later, the spirit uses another image – that of the prism:

Devotion, and ideas, and love,
And beauty claim their place above;
But saint and sage and poet's dreams
Divide the light in coloured streams,
Which this alone gives all combined,
The *siccum lumen* of the mind
Called common sense: and no high wit
Gives better counsel than does it.¹³⁴

And again:

Why will you walk about thus with your eyes shut,
Treating for facts the self-made hues that float
On tight-pressed pupils, which you know are not facts?
To use the undistorted light of the sun
Is not a crime;¹³⁵

Eventually *Dipsychus* succumbs to the argument, not because he believes it right, but because it is necessary.

So Clough had an abiding interest in this imagery; and in fact, it seems to have been very common generally at the time. Castan suggests¹³⁶ as Clough's source, Carlyle's image in *Past and Present* of light through coloured glass to denote 'the Conscience of man'; like Clough, Carlyle looks for a 'right glorious consummation' when the glass becomes 'translucent and *uncoloured*'.¹³⁷

Browning later uses imagery of this kind; St. John in 'A Death in the Desert', speaks of old age as 'wear[ing] the thickness thin' until we 'Lie bare to the

¹³⁴ *Poems*, pp.272-3, ll. 164-71.

¹³⁵ *Poems*, p. 283, ll. 124-8.

¹³⁶ C. Castan, 'Clough's "Epi-Strauss-ion" and Carlyle', *Victorian Poetry* iv (1966), 54-6.

¹³⁷ T. Carlyle, *The Works of Thomas Carlyle: Centenary Edition* x (London: Chapman and Hall, 1896), pp. 109-10.

universal prick of light'¹³⁸; and Bishop Blougram argues the opposite doctrine, that to be exposed to the naked light of Truth would be too painful:

Some think, Creation's meant to show Him forth:
 I say, it's meant to hide him all it can,
 And that's what all the blessed Evil's for.¹³⁹
 It's use in time is to environ us,
 Our breath, our drop of dew, with shield enough
 Against that sight till we can bear its stress.
 Under a vertical sun, the exposed brain
 And lidless eye and disemprisoned heart
 Less certainly would wither up at once
 Than mind, confronted with the truth of Him.¹⁴⁰

In a private letter to Elizabeth Barrett, of 13 January 1845, Browning had used the image in a way which clearly parallels Carlyle and Clough:

You speak out, *you*, - I only make men & women speak – give you truth
 broken into prismatic hues, and fear the pure white light, even if it is in me:
 . . .¹⁴¹

This was written only a year or two before 'Epi-Strauss-ion', and prefigures the Spirit's prism imagery by several more. The image handles a nexus of themes – religious truth, church history and theology, the uses of reserve in relation to truth and in relation to poetry. The last will be the subject of chapter 5 – for now, we are concerned with these other themes.

The images of coloured glass and prisms come together in the following passage from *Alton Locke*, written by Charles Kingsley, but published anonymously in 1850 – a few years after Clough wrote 'Epi-Strauss-ion'. The chartist Crossthwaite is recalling the words of an 'Emersonian' preacher called Windrush, concerning 'Papistry':

¹³⁸ R. Browning, *Dramatis Personae* (London, 1864), p. 99.

¹³⁹ Compare Clough's ' . . . crime/Our truest, best advantage . . . ', *Poems*, p. 26.

¹⁴⁰ 'Bishop Blougram's Apology', *Men and Women* i (London, 1855), pp. 239-40.

¹⁴¹ *The Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett: 1845-1846*, ed. E. Kintner, i (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, Harvard, 1969), p. 7.

“Ay, he did speak of that – what did he call it? Oh! ‘one of the ways in which the Christian idea naturally embodied itself in imaginative minds!’ but the higher intellects, of course, would want fewer helps of that kind. ‘They would see - ’ay, that was it – ‘the pure white light of truth, without requiring those coloured refracting media’”¹⁴²

This is closer to Clough than Carlyle or Browning, since the ‘truth’ here considered is explicitly that of Christianity. Kingsley may have derived this from Carlyle, but since he places it in the mouth of a satirical portrait of a popular species of preacher, it seems more likely that he is employing a current image, known to his readers.

If this is the case, Clough may well have had no specific source for ‘Epi-Strauss-ion’. However, I believe I can show how the poem has its roots in specific events, related not just to Strauss, but to the Tractarian debate about reserve generally, and to Keble in particular. R.A. Forsyth has demonstrated convincingly the position of Clough’s poem in an ‘ancient debate on what constitutes the essence of Christianity’ and especially its relation to Herbert’s ‘The Windows’:

But when thou dost anneal in glass thy storie,
 Making thy life to shine within
 The holy Preachers; then the light and glorie
 More rev’rend grows, and more doth win:
 Which else shows watrish, bleak, and thin.¹⁴³

Both poems use the imagery we have been discussing, but arrive at opposite conclusions: one affirms the ‘continuing tradition that defined man’s religious aspirations and duties as being Christ-like’, while the other advocates Strauss’s destruction of that tradition. In fact, I believe Clough’s poem arose out of a specific, contemporary version of this ‘ancient debate’, in which he was a principle participant. This explains why ‘Epi-Strauss-ion’ is so uncharacteristically

¹⁴² C. Kingsley, *Alton Locke* (London, 1876), ch. xxii, ‘An Emersonian Sermon’, p. 274.

¹⁴³ R.A. Forsythe, ‘Herbert, Clough, and Their Church Windows’, *Victorian Poetry* vii (1969), 17-30.

(for Clough) dogmatic to the extent that as an anthology piece, it has encouraged an oversimplified understanding of Clough's real, complex response to these issues. In *Dipsychus*, the view is put in the mouth of the Spirit, and *Dipsychus* himself provides a balancing commentary. Juxtaposition, as we shall see in the final chapter, is Clough's method – either to balance views within a single poem, or to write more than one poem offering contrasting views, or even to provide prose commentaries – in fact, a variety of methods to reflect his sense of the multiform universe. In the case of 'Epi-Strauss-ion', the balancing context has been lost until now.

That 'Epi-Strauss-ion' is just part of an actual debate is supported by its internal structure; its argumentative tone, together with its questions answering questions, suggests very strongly a concrete origin. This is a favourite device of Clough's to reflect complexity of response and his best work in prose and in verse is often sparked off by the statements of others. In this specific case, the debate is with John Campbell Shairp. The nature of the friendship between these two makes this a distinct possibility; among Clough's circle of friends, Shairp was the most conservative and orthodox in his outlook, and he was continually being mocked, albeit affectionately, for his opinions. However, Clough's friendship with this Scotsman was based on a solid respect for his common sense intellect. In the agonies of Clough's indecision over the Thirty-Nine Articles in 1848, it was to Shairp that Clough turned. Remembering this years later, Shairp spoke of replying to Clough from his 'conservative point of view', for which he received for answer, a copy of 'The Longest Day', - a poem which Clough had written in a similar mood of depression at Rugby many years before. Thus there is a precedent for

supposing a poem to have formed part of a debate with Shairp. Another example would be a poem by Shairp himself, 'Hidden Life':

Ay, true it is, our dearest, best beloved,
Of us unknowing, are by us unknown,
That from our outward survey far removed,
Deep down they dwell, unfathomed and alone.

We gaze on their loved faces, hear their speech,
The heart's most earnest utterance, - yet we feel
Something beyond, nor we nor they can reach,
Something they never can on earth reveal.

Dearly they loved us, we returned our best,
They passed from earth, and we divined them not,
As though the centre of each human breast
Were a sealed chamber of unuttered thought.

Hidden from others do we know ourselves?
Albeit the surface takes the common light;
Who hath not felt that this our being shelves
Down to abysses, dark and infinite?

As to the sunlight some basaltic isle
Upheaves a scanty plain, far out from shore,
But downward plungeth sheer walls many a mile,
'Neath the unsunned ocean floor.

So some small light of consciousness doth play
On the surface of our being, but the broad
And permanent foundations every way
Pass into mystery, are hid in God.

The last outgoings of our wills are ours;
What moulded them, and fashioned down below,
And gave the bias to our nascent powers,
We cannot grasp nor know.

O Thou on whom our blind foundations lean,
In whose hand our wills' primal fountains be,
We cannot – but Thou canst – O make them clean!
We cast ourselves on Thee.

From the foundations of our being breathe
Up all their darkened pores pure light of thine,
Till in that light transfigured from beneath,
We in thy countenance shine.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ J.C. Shairp, 'Hidden Life', *Kilmahoe . . .*, (London, 1864), pp. 210-11.

This was published in 1864. We do not know when it was actually written, or whether Shairp shared it with Clough or Matthew Arnold. ‘Dover Beach’ and ‘The Buried Life’ were both probably composed between 1849 and 1852; the latter was published in 1852 and the former not until 1867. ‘Truth is a golden thread . . .’ was written much earlier in 1838/9, and ‘Epi-Strauss-ion’ in around 1846. It seems most likely therefore that it represents Shairp’s own response to these familiar poems by both Clough and Arnold; but it also demonstrates the way in which Dr. Arnold’s children and ex-pupils communicated their thoughts and ideas with each other by means of poems which echo and reply back and forth.

Above I suggested a date of 1846 for ‘Epi-Strauss-ion’. It is usually dated 1847 from the manuscript version found in a notebook with 1847 on the cover.

However, when Clough dated his poems for Norton in 1853, he dated two of the poems in this notebook, ‘1845?’ and another two ‘1846?’. Another poem in the notebook exists in a very early draft fragment in the ‘1845 Notebook’. In fact, the only poem which can be confidently dated after 1846 is ‘Farewell, my Highland lassie! . . .’ which is dated ‘Sept. 1847’ for Norton. Since order in Clough’s notebooks provides little help in dating, and the dates put on the covers can be misleading, the evidence would seem to be slightly in favour of an 1846 dating.

The relevance of Shairp’s opinions to ‘Epi-Strauss-ion’ is made clear by a letter which the radical Tom Arnold wrote to the conservative Shairp in December 1849:

I do not think, as you seem to fancy, that there is much difference of opinion between you and me. . . . Perhaps the only difference would be, that you would shrink from touching with so bold a hand as I should think necessary, the ancient outworks of the temple of truth; outworks now lying

ruinous; not defending now, me judice, but obstructing the approaches to the temple itself.¹⁴⁵

Tom Arnold's criticism of Shairp is precisely that which lies at the heart of 'Epi-Strauss-ion', only expressed with different imagery. But if Shairp's opinions were thus fairly fixed in 1849, this was far from the case a few years earlier in the autumn of 1846. Due to be ordained that coming Christmas, he was troubled by the destructive effects of German biblical criticism on his faith. In August 1846, he wrote from his home to Clough, who was vacationing in Scotland:

. . . it seemed clear that a man who did not feel tolerably persuaded of the historical truths of the N[ew] T[estament] had better not be ordained.¹⁴⁶

This letter (unpublished, as are the letters that follow) opens the debate to which I have referred and which culminates in Clough's poem. Shairp feels that 'dissevering the facts from the Eternal truths' places one in a 'false position'¹⁴⁷; but it is just such a dissevering that Clough welcomes in his poem. Shairp's arguments seem to reflect a knowledge of Schleiermacher, the evangelical theologian. Ultimately, he recognises that the evangelical approach, from feeling alone, cannot substantiate the dogmas of historical faith – cannot 'bridge over the gulph between the unseen and the seen'.¹⁴⁸ In his next letter (for Clough's side of this debate has not survived), Shairp speaks of the problem as one of 'disadjustment':

. . . somehow or other the facts and the truths behind them have got disadjusted and who will put them right?¹⁴⁹

Like Strauss, Shairp wishes to retain in combination the ideal in Christ with the historical; if as Strauss also argues, Schleiermacher's theology is inadequate

¹⁴⁵ *New Zealand Letters of Thomas Arnold The Younger*, ed. J. Bertram (Wellington, 1966), p 167.

¹⁴⁶ Bodleian MS. Eng. Lett. c.190, fol. 31r. Checklist of All Known Letters No. 227.

¹⁴⁷ Letter 227, fol. 31r-v.

¹⁴⁸ Letter 227, fols. 31v-32r.

¹⁴⁹ Bodleian MS. Eng. Lett. c.190, fol 41v. Checklist of All Known Letters No. 229.

because it simply abandons external facts, who indeed could help? Not surprisingly, Shairp admits he does not know the answer, although he suggests that Neander ‘adjusts things better than most’.¹⁵⁰ This German theologian, who had published his own *Life of Jesus* in answer to that of Strauss, was evidently not unknown to Clough – his seven volume *Church History* was in Clough’s library. Neander, a Jew converted by Schleiermacher, attempted to define a via media between the latter and the rationalists. The attraction for Shairp of such an attempt is obvious.

Thus Shairp’s position in Forsyth’s ‘ancient debate’ is clear. For Herbert there is no doubt about either the desirability or the possibility of ‘adjusting’ ‘Doctrine and life, colours and light . . .’. For Clough, not only the possibility, but even the desirability has gone. Shairp, like Neander, is uncomfortably stuck in the middle; he is sure of the desirability, but is losing the sense of the possibility. To follow all the arguments through Shairp’s four, long letters is unnecessary for our present purposes; finally in September 1846, he falls back on the kind of argument that Clough implicitly rejects in his poem, and in doing so, provides Clough with his image:

That which the moral feelings of all good men land them in must be true – if not in the exact sense they at present regard it in, yet in a sense embracing all this and much more. Adumbrations if not themselves eternal are filled from behind with a light which is of eternal duration. And this light shining through it is this which here feeds men’s souls. We must not try yet to see things bare.¹⁵¹

It was in reply to this that ‘Epi-Strauss-ion’ was probably written, picking up Shairp’s image and turning it against him. To ‘try . . . to see things bare’ is

¹⁵⁰ Letter 229, fol 42r.

¹⁵¹ Bodleian MS. Eng. Lett. c.190, fol 57r-v. Checklist of All Known Letters No. 232.

precisely what Clough (and the Spirit) believed was necessary, and his reaction was anticipated by Shairp:

. . . before this you will have said ‘it helps not – it avails not speak no more.’¹⁵²

We do not need Clough’s side of the correspondence to know the accuracy of Shairp’s prediction: that Clough would have enjoined Shairp to his own brand of reserve should by now be clear. Not dishonest or insincere reserve as practiced by Tractarians, but a pragmatic silence. This reserve was to remain Clough’s position on Truth for the rest of his life. He refused to accept the mantle of Sage – Arnoldian, Emersonian or whatever. Truth – either systematised or fragmented – evolves. What we think we know today will be changed tomorrow. So it is best all round to maintain a modest reserve and get on with life. Shairp’s image however lacks the added dimension of stained glass windows, and it is this extension of the image that demonstrates again the real attraction of the Oxford Movement to Clough – the individual piety of its leaders.

One would like to believe that Clough had Herbert’s poem ‘The Windows’ in mind as he wrote ‘Epi-Strauss-ion’ and that it was this that shaped his response to Shairp’s image. In fact, a chain of events in 1846 may have reminded Clough of Herbert’s poem. From his correspondence, we know that Clough was aware as early as August 1845 of the forthcoming publication in May 1846 of a new volume of poems by John Keble, *Lyra Innocentium*.¹⁵³ Clough’s interest in this was natural, considering his considerable acquaintance with and fondness for *The Christian Year*, which we shall explore more in Chapter 4. On reading it in May

¹⁵² Letter 232, fol 57v.

¹⁵³ J. Keble, *Lyra Innocentium: Thoughts in Verse on Christian Children, their Ways, and their Privileges* (London, 1846).

1846, he must have been reminded of Herbert and ‘The Temple’, since Section IX of Keble’s new volume, entitled ‘Holy Places and Things’, is clearly modelled on the latter. The poems include ‘The Lich-Gate’, ‘Church-Decoration’, ‘Church-Bells’, and most significantly, a poem about ‘Church Windows’, which concludes:

And haply where I kneel, some day,
From yonder gorgeous pane
The glory of some Saint will play:-
But lightly may it pass away,
But in my heart remain.¹⁵⁴

This welcoming of ‘adumbrations’ as aids to faith, expressed in imagery of light passing through them into the heart of the believer, obviously has a relevance to Clough’s poem; but as important, this poem and the volume as a whole may have drawn Clough to their models in Herbert. This likelihood increases when one considers that Keble’s quiet, practical devotion to God in the country parishes to which he devoted his life, caused him to be regarded by contemporaries as a Victorian ‘Herbert’.

The circumstances of the publication of Keble’s book are also relevant I believe. *Lyra Innocentium* was brought out specifically in the hope that it would equal the success of *The Christian Year*, and make for Keble the large sum of money he needed to rebuild his church at Hursley – a project which was in mid-progress by 1846. The new church was to be modelled on Fairford Church where Keble had grown up and where he had been curate under his father for many years. Not far from Oxford, Fairford Church was (and still is) famous for its medieval stained glass windows which were said to have been the inspiration for *The Christian Year*. It was these windows especially that Keble wished to reproduce at Hursley.

¹⁵⁴ J. Keble, *Lyra Innocentium* (London, 1846), p. 265.

All these circumstances were common knowledge in Oxford, and as a member of Oriel Common Room (Keble's own at one time), Clough could scarcely have escaped hearing about them. J.T. Coleridge began a subscription fund to collect money for erecting the windows, and news of the project would have reached Clough through his own Tractarian contacts.

The final element in Clough's image is that of the sun, rising and setting. This is a very common element in Clough's poetic imagery from his earliest juvenilia, so it is unnecessary to search for a specific source. It is probably relevant that the Liberal Anglicans conceived the gradual progress of historical cycles as a western progression. Clough seems to have been experimenting with the image in a poem begun in January 1846:

And grassy space and slender tree
 Admit the level ray
 That through the Western Window once
 Came down in colours gray

She slept and dreamt and when she woke
 Through Eastern mullions came
 Full sunshine on a face that blushed
 In wonderment and shame.¹⁵⁵

The elements of Clough's image seem to be here, although its use seems merely decorative.

Thus to summarise, I would suggest that Clough was experimenting with imagery of this kind at the beginning of 1846, but having drawn it from widespread usage (including his own) he had no specific application in mind. However, in May 1846, his reading of *Lyra Innocentium*, together with other factors related to

¹⁵⁵ 'The stars had faded in the East', *Poems*, p. 444.

Keble, led him back to Herbert, whereupon he began to see the kind of tradition in which the imagery could be used. Finally the debate that autumn with Shairp, and especially Shairp's last letter, sparked off the poem 'Epi-Strauss-ion'. Such a chain of events, including extended argument/debate with friends, and the repeated use of simple images so that over time they gather complexity of meaning, are all typical of Clough's poetic method.

4 The Balliol Poems: A Chronological Account

In Michaelmas Term 1838, Clough began to write poetry again after what seems to have been a year's silence. 'Truth is a golden thread . . .', is written out in his diary for Sunday 14 October 1838. It is constructed of three images: Truth is like a 'golden thread', a 'vein of ore', and 'islands'. The parallels between the last of these and Matthew Arnold's later 'To Marguerite - Continued'¹ are obvious: but Veyriras relates all three images back to Newman, providing testimony to Clough's immersion in Tractarian terminology.² However, it is not a poem about objective truth, Tractarian, or even Arnoldian, but about subjective truth and reserve - the difficulty of sincerely acting out what one feels to be right.

The precise context of the poem in relation to Newman is obscured by Veyriras' inaccuracy in quoting his sources. Veyriras states that the 'vein of ore' image is to be found in a *British Critic* article by Newman, on Thomas Hooker, but there is no such article. There is one on Richard Hooker, published in 1837 but there is no

¹ K. Allott, ed. *The Poems of Matthew Arnold* (London, 1965), pp. 123-5.

² P. Veyriras, *Arthur Hugh Clough, 1819-1861* (Paris, 1964).

trace of the image there. Veyriras quotes as his source for the discovery of Clough's image in Newman, Jean Guittou's *La Philosophie de Newman*, page 9.³ I found the relevant passage on pages xiii to xiv. Here, Guittou has translated a passage from Newman about Richard Hooker which concludes with the image. Clearly Veyriras read this and assumed that it was taken from the article on Richard Hooker. In fact, the image is not applied to Hooker at all. Guittou has run two related, but separate passages from Newman together. The first does indeed refer to Hooker, but the second refers to a tradition in English theology of which Hooker is only a part. All this confusion obscures the real context in which Newman and Clough used the image.

The passage by Newman is found in a review by him in the *British Critic* of W. Palmer's *A Treatise on the Church of Christ*; this review was published in October 1838 and is therefore contemporaneous with Clough's poem.⁴ Newman observes that English theology is lacking in systematic works such as abound on the continent. English theology is 'called forth by the pressure of external and occasional circumstances', and is thus fragmentary and often polemical:

This peculiarity of English divinity has its advantages and its evils. There is in consequence vastly more character and life in it than in the divinity of other schools. Men wrote because they felt, - when their feelings were excited, and their hearts thrown open. About Hooker there is the charm of nature and reality; he discourses, not as a theologian, but as a man; and we see in him what otherwise might have been hidden, poetry and philosophy informing his ecclesiastical matter. In spite of his method and exactness, he preaches as well as proves, and his discussions are almost sermons.⁵

Newman is claiming that English theological writings are characteristically poetic in nature. The theologian 'exposes' the innermost excited feelings of the heart in

³ J. Guittou, *La Philosophie de Newman* (Paris, 1933).

⁴ *BC*, xxiv (October 1838), 347-372.

⁵ *BC*, xxiv, 348.

the manner of the inspired poet. Hooker's writings therefore reveal Hooker the man, and we see 'what otherwise might have been hidden' by a modest reserve.

The passage forms the first part of Guitton's translated quotation, and is the source of the Hooker red herring: Guitton joins to this, without any indication that there is any material omitted, a passage which actually occurs many lines later on and which concerns not Hooker in particular, but the more general question of whether theology is best conveyed by this peculiarly English means, whereby 'ecclesiastical matter' is informed by 'poetry and philosophy', or by systematic theology such as Palmer attempts in his Treatise:

These are certainly advantages and yet the disadvantages are not less . . . it is difficult to find in them [works of English theology] any particular point which we may want to see discussed. We cannot be sure that the subject will be exhausted, or if so, in what order; before we can make them books of reference, we must have mastered them from beginning to end. And then moreover the most important parts often come in by the by where one would least expect it, their treasures lying like those of nature in veins and clefts of the rock, not sorted and set out to advantage as in a market.⁶

For Newman, Reserve did not refer just to the withholding of truth, but to the end for which this was only a means - the orderly setting out of truths, one by one, in the manner best suited to instruct. Such a reserved disclosure of truth is like the scattered deposits of ore in a rock. For Clough, the surface arrangement of the ore is irrelevant in the light of the fact that the vein is 'flowing full beneath'. Clough is neither agreeing with Newman nor disagreeing; it is the practical response by man to whatever fragments of the whole truth that he possesses, which is of paramount importance:

Oh, if it be so, wherefore do we men
Pass by so many marks, so little heeding?⁷

⁶ *BC*, xxiv (October 1838), p. 348.

⁷ *Poems*, p. 137, ll. 11-12.

For Clough, questions of theoretical doctrine take a back seat to the more pressing claims of practical Christianity.

Newman praises Palmer for attempting a theological system and by implication defends the system being reservedly revealed by the Tracts. Four days after he wrote out his poem, Clough wrote a reasoned response to Newman in his diary:

Whether or not we best communicate truth acquired by Poetry or Systematic Philosophy, assuredly we acquire it only by . . . [*proving what is acceptable to the Lord*, Ephesians 5:10] by the teaching of the Spirit. The great danger for me is to get glimpses of the truth, & theorise; and so follow formulas. Hence much of the exceeding unsatisfactory nature of my Dev<otio>ns of Easter Term. I got hold of a theory of forms: & . . . [passivities] & left my own impulses to follow this.⁸

The issue for Clough is not how to communicate Truth but how to act on it.

Tractarian 'formula'-seeking and 'theorising' inflated Clough's pride, destroyed his sense of communion with God and his capacity to carry out the imperatives of practical Christianity.

This reading is confirmed by the only change which Clough made in his diary manuscript. Line 8 originally ran:

To guide the mariner home; . . .⁹

The change to the final version ('We see it on our course . . .') changes the emphasis from the direction of travel ('home') to the fact of travel itself ('course').

The teachings of the Spirit are signposts in the Christian life intended to act as guides for our progress, not as an encouragement to break off our travels to attempt to piece the fragments into a formalistic whole. On 8 October 1838, a few

⁸ *Diaries*, p. 88. Entry for 18 October 1838.

⁹ *Poems*, p. 656.

days before writing his poem, Clough noted in his diaries:

After a miserable period of Questioning, Doubt & c again the feeling has come very strongly on me that we must walk here in a state of unconsciousness to most of the terrible realities existing about us: only trusting in God.⁻¹⁰

A month later in a crucial but unpublished diary entry for 1 December 1838,

Clough summarized his view:

Again I feel convinced that we are in darkness - thro' which we see strange shapes, partial revelations of truth - at one time these, at another those - but the whole at once never. We must not stop to strive & use our eyesight to this darkness, but let it come as we journey on: nor must we deceive ourselves with filling up from the fancy the outlines & the fragments we see around - At least if we do amuse ourselves in this way, we must not act upon the imagined results. -¹¹

(Notice the phantom-like nature of the experience; there is a clear connection between this and the similar Rugby 'fancies'). Clough was to hold to this view consistently from this time forward. At the end of his life for example, in the *Mari Magno* sequence, he extols the concept of 'juxtaposition' in matters of personal relationship, in words which echo both the last prose passage and 'Truth is a golden thread':

Of marriage, as of treason, one may say
We do not seek, we find it on our way.¹²

Truth, whether it be in relationships or in religion, is not to be found by systematic search but by faithful acceptance of what is given.

In the case of 'Truth is a golden thread . . .', it seems likely that the particular truth Clough had in mind at the time of writing was not so very far removed from that in *Mari Magno* as would at first appear. We have already seen how in his

¹⁰ *Diaries*, p. 83.

¹¹ Omitted by Kenny from his edition. Balliol MSS, Clough Diaries, Journal 4, Marked 'March 1838 – June 1840', fols. 43v-44r.

¹² *Poems*, p. 405, ll. 37-8.

relationship with Ward, questions of religious and personal truth were hopelessly intermingled. As one turns over the diary page from the draft of 'Truth is a golden thread . . .' one comes across these striking words written alone and in large letters across the top of the page:

Ward has asked me to make unnatural demonstrations¹³

The exact nature and extent of the 'demonstrations' in question remains as much a mystery as the larger question of the nature and extent of the affection which Ward felt for Clough. But clearly, Clough wrote his poem at the time when his distaste for Ward's advances finally reached its head. The agonised letters which Ward wrote to Clough during their separation over that summer vacation show that Clough was still trying to disentangle himself from Ward's emotional snares and that in proportion as he succeeded, Ward became even more demanding. Clough returned to Oxford on 11 October 1838 and the very same day found himself slipping into insincerity with Ward as the line of least resistance:

I seem to have slipped at once into a sort of Pseudo. Affection requiring vigorous & rigorous Examination. & extirpation, if so be.¹⁴

And the following day, he made the resolution:

Must not indulge W<ard> in re 'dear' etc.¹⁵

and he commented:

Even now I seem to perceive distinctly a difference between my feelings for Ward and real affection. They seem a sort of mixture of pleasure in his conversation, and general kindness which I feel equally to almost any one else.¹⁶

He then records having spoken to Ward 'about a certain peculiarity of manner' to which the latter had replied that Clough's own manner was 'much kinder' than the

¹³ *Diaries*, p. 85.

¹⁴ *Diaries*, p. 83.

¹⁵ *Diaries*, p. 84.

¹⁶ *Diaries*, p. 84.

previous day.¹⁷ This kind of intricate, emotional entanglement continues throughout the diary entries of the next few days. On the evening of Sunday 14 October 1838, Clough expressed in his diary his despair at the impossibility of the situation; he felt repelled by Ward's 'indelicacies' but also felt it his duty to maintain as much friendliness as was necessary for Ward's sake:

I am afraid it is quite clear that I must say a good deal to Ward. At any rate that my words & manner of last term are not to be regarded as the true index of my feelings to him.

In thinking about it before dinner felt great disgust at his indelicacies - but assuredly it is much better now: - When in Magd<alen> Walk seemed to feel not a single beginning of affection. Is there nothing between 0 & what Ward w<oul>d wish?¹⁸

The rest of the page is taken up with the result - 'Truth is a golden thread . . .'. and the following day came Ward's demand for 'unnatural demonstrations' in response to which Clough obviously felt he had no other choice but to tell Ward 'all' concerning his own feelings, or lack of them. This confession was followed by the usual agonised scrutiny of motives but Clough's real feeling he admits to be one of 'relief' rather than of 'misery' and he feels Ward's misery 'scarcely at all'.¹⁹

I have found a likely source for the image of truth as a thread of gold, which Veyriras does not mention.²⁰ In April 1838, six months before the writing of Clough's poem, Burbidge published his *Poems, Longer and Shorter*.²¹ In the course of Clough's discussion on poetics with Gell which this book occasioned, Clough mentioned that 'parts of the "Mnemeion"' (a long poem in praise of

¹⁷ *Diaries*, p. 84.

¹⁸ *Diaries*, p. 84.

¹⁹ *Diaries*, p. 85.

²⁰ Veyriras suggests the image comes from an unspecified article by Newman in the *British Critic* where it is specifically applied to 'la revelation Chretienne'. I have been unable to locate this.

²¹ T. Burbidge, *Poems, Longer and Shorter* (Rugby, 1838).

Memory) which he had read (in July) contained the 'most power'.²² The third stanza from the end of the poem begins:

Thou art a thread within my woof of life,
All golden, running down its storied face;
Now hidden for a scene of shame and strife,
Then freshly glittering in a summer place.²³

There can be little doubt that Burbidge's use of the image here, so closely resembling Clough's own, was in Clough's mind as he wrote the poem.

The stanza continues:

Nor all unblest my life while I can trace
That sheeny line, to trouble lending light,
To pleasure, grandeur, and to calmness, grace.
Oh, be it ever present to my sight
As at my dawn of day, at noon, and eve, and night!²⁴

Burbidge sees the faculty of memory in an essentially optimistic light; the purpose of memory is to place 'trouble' within the 'light' of its historical context. Clough's poem takes up the same image and demonstrates the fallacy in Burbidge's use of it. Burbidge is inconsistent; his image pictures times of 'shame and strife' as being hidden because the thread of memory is on the underside, but then he sees memory as 'lending light' to such troubled periods. Clough's 'reply' to Burbidge is that one cannot have one's cake and eat it. Truth is indeed like a golden thread, forming one united whole; but mankind cannot see the whole and must not even try to see it; fragmentary, individual experiences are all of truth that are vouchsafed to man, and it is his duty to act upon these, in faith that ultimately his actions will be seen to have had a coherent direction. In the final chapter we shall return to the issue of memory, where we shall see Clough engaged in a similar 'debate' with another Rugby schoolfellow – Simpkinson.

²² Burbidge, p. 31. (see *Correspondence* i, p. 73).

²³ Burbidge, p. 64.

²⁴ Burbidge, p. 64.

* * *

‘Salsette and Elephanta’²⁵ is probably contemporaneous with ‘Truth is a golden thread . . .’. Greenberger suggests March or early April 1839, but there is evidence both external and internal, to suggest that the poem was begun months earlier. Externally, the *Oxford University Calendar* for 1839 gives²⁶ the closing date for entries for the Newdigate Prize as 22 March 1839. However the ‘subjects are generally given out by the Vice-Chancellor either at the end of Act, or the beginning of Michaelmas Term’.²⁷ Thus, we have a possible period of composition, from late June/early July 1838 (Act, or Trinity Term ended on 7 July 1838) to 22 March 1839. Similarly, Clough entered a poem, ‘The Judgment of Brutus’ for the 1840 Newdigate Prize, which Greenberger dated as March 1840; but in Clough’s diary for 5 December 1839 (Journal 4), there is a draft version of lines 149-158. Thus, it seems reasonable to suppose that Clough was at work on his 1839 entry as early as October to December 1838; ‘Truth is a golden thread’ was written in October 1838. And indeed, on 2 October 1838 there is the simple diary note, ‘Prize Poem’²⁸

Internal evidence comes from diary jottings at this time which revolve around the problem of the will – a central concern of the poem:

Coleridge’s Notion concerning the Will as the Originating Power- struck me a good deal tonight. Is the (Holy Spirit) (Redemption) Inspired Volition, renewal of the Will. It comes into my Notion of Faith.²⁹

²⁵ *Poems*, p. 139.

²⁶ *Oxford University Calendar*, p. 21

²⁷ *Oxford University Calendar*, p.157

²⁸ *Diaries*, p. 82.

²⁹ *Diaries*, p. 82. Entry for 6 October 1838.

For Coleridge, the Will was more important than mere reason, and Faith meant a confident commitment of the will to the insights of reason. This is the position which Clough was gradually adopting: that absolute truth could not be reached by rational means, but that this need not lead to pessimism because faith depends not on the reason alone, but on confidence in the existence of absolute Truth, and a trusting willingness to act upon that assumption. When Clough tentatively suggests that the action of the Holy Spirit in Redemption is felt as a renewal of the will, he is asserting that there is a way out of the antinomy of confidence and timidity, optimism and pessimism, which makes such dichotomies irrelevant because it transcends them.

Another associated entry is:

Stoics (pride) /Pyrrhonians (lâcheté) = Revelation. Our human weakness & divine strength.
Is renewal by the Holy Ghost the great abiding <Chris>t<ian> truth.³⁰

The significance of this is made clearer now we see that 'renewal' here means 'renewal of the Will' in the Coleridgean sense, and then compare this with Clough's description of Stoic philosophy in an essay written only a month or so later:

Its Principal and Characteristic point would appear to have been the development of the Human Will.³¹

In the diary entry above, Clough seems to be saying that taken together, the Stoic philosophy and the Pyrrhonian sceptical philosophy, amount to a 'Revelation' of truth. Clearly, Stoic and Pyrrhonian seem to be yet another way of expressing his favourite antinomy of confident belief in absolute truth, and timid acceptance that

³⁰ *Diaries*, p. 81. Entry for 29 September 1838. 'Lâcheté' is French for 'Cowardice'.

³¹ 'The History and Influence of the Stoical Philosophy'. Essay No. 12, Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. d. 513, fol.32r.

absolute truth is unknowable. Clough saw the solution to the antinomy in a transcendent view and this seems to be the meaning of his bracketing them together. Hence the reference to 'renewal by the Holy Ghost' which follows; if one takes Pyrrhonian scepticism concerning truth as one's basis, and then one makes a commitment of the Will in the Stoical manner, one can reach a transcendent solution which, while acknowledging the limiting fact of our 'human weakness', makes available to us the 'divine strength' necessary for action.

This interpretation can be substantiated from the undergraduate essay on Stoicism already quoted. Clough takes the common view that Greek philosophy divides into two camps: the Stoic, and 'the two new sceptical sects of the New Academy and the Epicurians'. Roman philosophy similarly divides into 'the two great divisions of the Stoic and the Epicurean'. There is a fundamental divide between the Stoic dualistic belief in a creator and a creation, and the sceptical philosophies which, although disagreeing on the extent to which truth can be known, at least agree that the only field for study is rational enquiry into the material world. In his essay Clough seems to have favoured a 'medium between the two' although he does not make the nature of this explicit there. But he does indicate that while Stoicism alone is incomplete, nevertheless it acknowledged the spiritual side of man: it was in this sense a forerunner of Christianity. Clough thus argues that the two main schools of classical philosophy represented a partial 'Revelation' of God's originally revealed truth – as Schlegel had similarly argued for Eastern philosophies.

The central issue is the Will and its relationship to fatalism – or lâcheté/cowardice. Thomas Arnold's own philosophy of history exhibits a similar need to validate the possibilities of the human will in the face of a fatalistic science of history. And Newman wrestled with the same problem. In this sense, Newman is paradoxically the disciple of Coleridge; - he shares the other's view that it is the Will to believe which transcends the limitations of scientific rationalism. It is of course one of the ironies of the Victorian era that both Arnold and Newman can be seen as the disciples of Coleridge. But more importantly it points to the essential continuity of Clough's early education and experience. Arnold wanted to remove religion from the reach of rational enquiry and Newman provided a way of doing this. Seeking such a ground himself, Clough found much to admire in Newman - not so much in his formalism but far more in his emphasis on personal holiness - the faith of the individual.

The Tractarian influence on the poem can be seen in lines 130 and 255, which are marked as quotations in the manuscript. On both occasions when she published this poem, Greenberger noted her inability to find sources for these quotations. In fact, they are both taken from Keble's *The Christian Year*.³² Keble was Professor of Poetry at Oxford at the time, a judge for the Newdigate Prize, and a leading Tractarian. His volume of poems represented a fundamental aspect of the movement: its emphasis on personal holiness. Published in 1827, *The Christian Year* was too early to have been infected much by any party feeling and its subsequent popularity throughout the nineteenth century testifies to the wideness of its appeal. The poems reflected those non-doctrinal aspects of Tractarianism

³² John Keble, *The Christian Year*, (Oxford, 1827).

that we have seen were shared by Thomas Arnold and which so greatly attracted Clough.

Line 130 comes from the sixth stanza of Keble's poem for the Sixth Sunday after Trinity which, describing the blessed state of the sinner who repents sincerely, speaks of:

. . . that free Spirit blest,
Who to the contrite can dispense
The princely heart of innocence, . . .³³

Line 255, 'Come, Faith and "Self Devotion, high and pure"', derives its quotation from the third stanza of Keble's poem for the Wednesday before Easter.³⁴ Clough copied this last stanza (omitting lines 15-16) into his diary for 1 May 1838 (Journal 4). In addition, he noted short quotations from *The Christian Year* on seven different occasions between April 1838 and February 1840. This is hardly surprising given the strong affinity between Arnold and Keble. They had known each other as fellows at Oriel and despite the growing divergence of their respective theologies had continued to respect one another based on their considerable common ground, - in literature as well as in religion. They were both fervent admirers of Wordsworth. But it is not merely Keble's poetry which influenced Clough at this time, but that produced by others in the Tractarian movement as well. This might seem strange in the light of the letter that Clough wrote to J.P. Gell on this very subject on 18 November 1838 (the period of composition of his prize poem):

Burbidge is very savage about the *Lyra Apostolica*, and is writing a review of it, the *Xn Yr* and the *Cathedral* which he says he will send to every periodical in Europe in search of admission. I do not know what are the

³³ Keble, *CY*, p. 199.

³⁴ Keble, *CY*, p. 113.

grounds of his wrath, but whether it be from their partisan character which superinduces slang and cant in various modifications or from the forced character of the church system generally they cannot produce good poetry. I think the best, as giving you an inlet into their spirit and frame of mind are Newman's . . . in the *Lyra Apost.* . . .³⁵

Clough had no illusions about the quality of the verse produced by Newman and Keble but he valued it on wholly different grounds. In this passage he is making a distinction between, on the one hand, the theology of Tractarian poetry and mode of its expression, and on the other, the 'spirit and frame of mind' of the best of that poetry. It was this latter quality which Clough admired in the poetry of Keble and Newman. His attitude to Tractarian poetry closely mirrors what we have seen to be his attitude to Tractarian belief: admiration of the 'spirit' combined with dislike of the 'form'. The two quotations in 'Salsette and Elephanta' are but localised examples of a more general debt.

Clough's speculations about the Will were grounded in his personal experience, at Rugby and at Oxford. On 27 October, he recorded:

I have, I think, been getting of late into a sort of fatalism.³⁶

and the following jottings made the next day, would seem to have been his remedy for such fatalism:

The Will - Energy
Activity - Benefit of.³⁷

His biblical reading seems to have revolved around the same subject; on 31

October he translated I Thessalonians 1, 3 not as 'your work of faith, and labour of love' as in the Authorised Version, but as:

. . . your faithful, believing energy and activity.³⁸

³⁵ *Correspondence* i, p. 85.

³⁶ *Diaries*, p. 91.

³⁷ *Diaries*, p. 92.

³⁸ *Journal* 4, fol. 36r.

These became key words in the diary entries of the period. It was a time of 'renewal of will'. Looking back a year later, in his diary for 13 October 1839, Clough referred to December 1838 as having been:

A return to repentant feelings.³⁹

The part which Tractarianism played in this revival was twofold. Its emphasis upon personal holiness and practical Christianity reinforced theoretically his new attitudes to religion and truth. But equally important, the literary expression by leading Tractarians of their spiritual experiences while putting their precepts into practice, acted as encouraging spurs to Clough's own efforts. This double influence can be seen in the effect on Clough of one particular poem by Newman. Significantly, the poem titled 'Fastidiousness'⁴⁰ comes from the section of *Lyra Apostolica* called 'Activity' and Clough copied it out in its entirety in his diary for December 1838:

Time was I shrank from what was right
For fear of what was wrong.
I would not brave the sacred fight,
Because the foe was strong.

But now I cast that finer sense
And sorer shame aside
Such dread of sin was indolence
Such aim at Heaven was pride.

So when my savior calls, I rise
And calmly do my best
Leaving to Him, with silent eyes
Of hope and fear, the rest

I step I mount where He has led
Men count my haltings oer
I know them; yet tho' self I dread
I love his precept more.⁴¹

³⁹ *Diaries*, p. 122.

⁴⁰ *Lyra Apostolica*, (Derby, Oxford and London, 1838), pp. 92-3.

⁴¹ Journal 4, fols. 45v-46r.

Clough was to quote the poem again twelve years later in the course of reviewing Frank Newman's *The Soul*.⁴² There he describes the experiences of 'A spiritual friend of some experience' in order to illustrate:

. . . the very obvious contradiction between the evangelical exhortations given him at home, and the common school-boy views of life and conduct, distracted between conscientiousness and sociability . . .⁴³

There can be little doubt who Clough is referring to here. The passage continues:

At college again he states that he found similar spiritual comfort from some verses [by Newman] in the *Lyra Apostolica*.

[A garbled version of lines 1- 8 of 'Fastidiousness' follow.]⁴⁴

One could almost fancy that in the Spiritual as in the Intellectual Region there are *Antinomies*. It is needful to believe that between the doing and not doing of a given act there is a difference simply infinite - it is needful also to believe that it is indifferent.⁴⁵

The last phrase is particularly revealing. Once again Clough argues that the antinomy between reserve and exposure, or any other of the various versions of this we have looked at, need not be rationally resolved but rather transcended by a simple act of the will, - a faithful commitment to action. Newman's poem thus serves the two functions which I mentioned earlier. Its theory is precisely that of the Coleridgean attitude to the will; caught between 'pride' and 'timidity' like Clough, Newman transcends the 'difference simply infinite' by a simple act of faith, 'calmly' doing his 'best' in accordance with God's 'precept'.

But if this was the kind of influence which Keble's poetry exerted over Clough's own poetic efforts, it was not the only reason for the latter's copying him out in his diary so often. The essential 'spirit and frame of mind' of Tractarian poetry in

⁴² *Selected Prose Works of Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. B. Trawick (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1964), pp.277-286.

⁴³ Trawick, pp. 279-280.

⁴⁴ Unidentified by Trawick.

⁴⁵ Trawick, p. 280.

general and Keble's in particular, lay in its devotional rather than its doctrinal character. Newman's 'Fastidiousness' does not deal with the church system but with the practical moral life. Keble's poems even more eschew party spirit for universal Christian experience exemplified in the life of an individual. And such poetry was useful to Clough, not as a model for his own poetry or even as spurs to activity, - far more significantly it could be employed as a kind of antidote to the 'vortex of Philosophism' which constantly threatened to envelop and drown him. Such 'Discussion' only served to destroy Clough's devotional periods and hence his relationship with God. In attempting to escape the temptation to theorise and erect formulas such purely devotional literature could be a great spiritual aid. On 24 March 1838 for example he reached the end of a diary (Journal 2) and resolved:

To say the Lord's Prayer, - or parts of Keble, - or of the Psalms. Sedulous shaking off all regular trains of theoretical thoughts, however apparently good and true or useful.⁴⁶

Keble's poetry played the same kind of role in Clough's devotional life as the Psalms have always done for Christians.

The following two stanzas are from the first poem in *The Christian Year*,

'Morning':

The trivial round, the common task,
Would furnish all we ought to ask;
Room to deny ourselves; a road
To bring us daily nearer God.

Seek we no more; content with these,
Let present Rapture, Comfort, Ease,
As Heaven shall bid them, come and go:-
The secret this of Rest below.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Journal 2, fol. 77r.

⁴⁷ Keble, *CY*, p.4.

The familiar words of the hymn take on a new significance in the light of what we have seen of Newman's attitude to faith and the will. Keble is saying like Newman that the Christian needs nothing more than the 'common task'; he should 'content' himself with the limited but sufficient signposts provided by God and not seek to know more. Clough copied the first three lines of the second stanza into his diary on 30 April 1838.⁴⁸ The 'common task' as we have seen becomes a more and more important concept in his poetry and in his life as time goes by. On 22 January 1839 and 7 February 1840, Clough noted:

In daily tasks who Christ would see
Must mingle all with Charity.⁴⁹

This is a paraphrase, presumably from memory, of the last two lines from Keble's 'Easter Day':

In social hours, who Christ would see,
Must turn all tasks to Charity.⁵⁰

The qualification of 'tasks' with 'daily' in Clough's version is characteristic.

* * *

'Salsette and Elephanta',⁵¹ is a good deal more complex than Greenberger's account would have us believe. She argues that

in the poem, Clough has presented us with an implicit and doubtless unconscious clear analogue of Oxford's contemporary religious turmoil, and his own, highly ambivalent response to it'.⁵²

By this she means that Clough equates the Eastern religions of his poem with

⁴⁸ *Diaries*, p. 55.

⁴⁹ Not transcribed by Kenny. Journal 4, fols. 52r and 82r.

⁵⁰ Keble, *CY*, p. 130.

⁵¹ *Poems*, p. 139.

⁵² E.B. Greenberger, "'Salsette and Elephanta': An Unpublished Poem by Clough", *Review of English Studies* xx (Aug. 1969), 284-305.

Tractarian doctrine, and that his rejection of the former implies rejection of the latter as well. Thus, in line 203:

But India forth the Atheist doctrine flung

she argues that Clough is describing the ultimate fate of Tractarian as well as Hindu doctrines. However, she also locates a 'lack of distance and control of forms' in the poem, which she argues, is the result of Clough's ambivalent feelings towards Tractarianism. In her reading, the poem emerges as overtly Arnoldian, with a subversive Tractarian undercurrent. Nothing could be further, not only from Clough's attitude towards Newmanism, but also, from the essential concerns of the poem. The object of the poem's attack is not Tractarianism, but rather, a fatalistic and pessimistic attitude to history and truth, which the best elements of both Arnoldism and Tractarianism combine to reject; the ambivalence Greenberger identifies certainly exists, but it does not represent a weak wavering between Arnold and Newman, but rather, the knowledge, born of intense personal experience, that the slope of pessimistic fatalism is a slippery one to destruction, and that to climb back again is easier said than accomplished; the golden age of religion, and of Clough's youth may never return, however much he hopes for the contrary. And this 'analogue', 'implicit' in the poem's structure, is nevertheless, not at all 'unconscious', but the result of some very hard and clear thinking about religious and historical truth.

Elephanta is a symbol of reserved truth – 'so plain yet so concealed'.⁵³

Salsette, which clearly contains great mysteries within its 'secret womb',

'whisper[s] Childhood's wisdom to the heart?'⁵⁴ - Wordsworthian memory, but

⁵³ *Poems*, p. 139, l. 14.

also Arnoldian historiography. The temples seem to promise transcendence and restoration - an escape from the flux of history, and man's affairs. However, constantly reiterated question marks suggest this may turn out to be treacherous.

Lines 31 to 71 set up three postulations, each conflicting with the other, and couched in the form of questions. The first suggests that the caves were built by a past philosopher-king, who in the midst of his enjoyment of material pleasure, felt:

Strange hungry cravings haunt his vacant breast⁵⁵

for something that would transcend the flux of time and the 'insatiate grave'; in his description of the philosopher's disillusionment with the 'Vanity' of the material world however, we see Clough's own preoccupations emerging:

Symbol of idle hopes, exhausted powers,
Vain search for truth, and study's useless hours?⁵⁶

This is the language of Clough's diaries; in his description of a sceptical, philosophy, Clough found himself drawing upon personal experience.

The next section of the poem (ll. 72 - 130) turns to the true significance of the temple-caves. Clough deals first with Elephanta, a Hindu temple, dedicated to Seeva, who is 'the power of External Nature'.⁵⁷ Lines 90 - 95 describe Seeva in her awesome destructive power, and conclude:

That fatal Power, in whose dread Arms we lie,
Made at his Will, and at his Will to die.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ *Poems*, p. 139, l. 30.

⁵⁵ *Poems*, p. 140, l. 34.

⁵⁶ *Poems*, p. 140, ll. 45-6.

⁵⁷ E.B. Greenberger, *Arthur Hugh Clough: The Growth of a Poet's Mind* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 203.

⁵⁸ *Poems*, p. 141, ll. 94-5.

Schlegel is Clough's main source for these lines; he held the central idea of Hindu philosophy to be that the visible world emanates from God, and the act of creation, in separating the material world from the spiritual realm, constitutes a fall, initiating a long, slow decline:

All is in a state of mournful degradation, sinking deeper and deeper into the abyss which divides it from the perfect bliss and purity of its divine Creator.⁵⁹

Greenberger suggests the Hindu philosophy here stands as an arbitrary symbol for the false doctrine of Tractarianism. But surely the key to Clough's view of Hinduism is its pessimism and fatalism. Douglas wrote of the 'timidity' under which the Hindu 'hides his deceitful and selfish heart', and 'timidity' was the quality which Clough connected with fatalism. Such a doctrine could only lead to the paralysing of one's own will, making action impossible. Clough makes this explicit in lines 78 to 83; the 'thoughts' evoked by Elephanta:

Work on the mind, and chain the Unconscious Will.

Greenberger further suggests that lines 81 to 83 refer to Clough's ambivalent attraction to Tractarian doctrines. But in fact they derive from his awareness of his own temptation to be fatalistic about his own spiritual degeneration:

Almost we sink, we bow the suppliant knee, . . .⁶⁰

Fatalism makes action impossible, by paralysing the 'Unconscious Will'.

We saw in the first chapter, that at the end of his period at Rugby, a new escapist imagery entered Clough's poetry - that of submersion in water. In 'Rosabel's Dream', the desire to withdraw from Arnoldian moral commitment and activity is imaged in a desire for passive submersion. Here the description of the temple-

⁵⁹ F. von Schlegel, *The Aesthetic and Miscellaneous Works of Frederick Von Schlegel*, trans. E.J. Millington (London, 1849), p. 469.

⁶⁰ *Poems*, p. 141, l.82.

caves, dedicated to the Hindu doctrine of passivity and withdrawal, draws on similar imagery. Clough turns his attention to the 'gazing wall':

Where the thick Columns close us in, and day
In few uncertain glimpses finds its way,⁶¹

He constantly stresses the 'stillness deep as of the grave' in the 'Temple-Tomb', and 'The heavy Air, the thick imprisoning sides'. The oppressive atmosphere is reminiscent of the dream landscape in Rosabel's first dream, where she is tempted to abandon her moral commitment; however, in this poem, the erotic element of the earlier poem is missing, and the desire for passivity is faced squarely, acknowledged, and finally, as we shall see, rejected. It is worth remembering in this context, that a few years later, when Matthew Arnold recommended that Clough learn the lessons of passivity from Hindu writings like the Bhagavad-Gita, Clough's lost reply seems to have been wounding in the fierceness of its rejection.

As Clough now turns to look at Salsette, which is 'dedicated to Buddha' and whose doctrines are 'purely Pantheistic', we will not be surprised to find much the same kind of concerns; the very first description of Salsette in lines 19-20, describe it overtly as a womb:

Thou too, strange Hill, within whose secret womb,
A city lies, a city and a tomb,⁶²

Whereas, according to Schlegel, Hinduism begins with the belief that creation was a degrading fall, Buddhism holds that:

everything is intrinsically good and pure; all originally one with divinity, and that every appearance of wrong or guilt exists but in idea . . . Hence its dangerous influence on the moral life and character . . . the conduct of individuals will be considered as of slight importance, and the eternal

⁶¹ *Poems*, p. 141, ll. 76-7.

⁶² *Poems*, p. 139, ll. 19-20.

distinction between right and wrong, good and evil, set aside, and finally rejected.⁶³

Thus, although there is a great difference between the two religions, which Schlegel is at great pains to emphasise, they have exactly the same result on the moral life: the Hindu disregards moral activity because it is fatalistically doomed to failure, and the Buddhist disregards moral activity, because sin is only an illusion anyway. The two religions represent pessimism and optimism taken to unacceptable extremes. Although Clough is concerned with the precise way in which Hinduism 'chains' the 'Will', because this closely resembles his own situation, his interest in Buddhism is directed not so much towards what Buddhism actually stands for (i.e. the denial of the existence of evil), but rather, towards the effect of this on the moral life. As we have seen, Clough had too strong an evangelical sense of sin to be tempted to disbelieve in it; but the blissful release from moral duty which such a disbelief brings, struck a strong chord, making his description of the Buddhist life very appealing, despite his loud denunciation of such withdrawal from the moral struggle.

Clough pictures the statue of Buddha as 'stretched on massy couch at Ease' and adds a note that 'These are the distinguishing marks of his statues'; but Buddha's physical relaxation is clearly a symbol of his spiritual significance, as is the pattern of life of his devotees:

How peaceful here remote from toil and strife
Flowed the smooth current of the priestly life⁶⁴

- very different from the vexed current of Clough's own life and reminiscent of the same temptation in 'Sa Majesté très Chrétienne'. Buddhist doctrine has taken the

⁶³ F. von Schlegel, *The Aesthetic and Miscellaneous Works of Frederick Von Schlegel*, trans. E.J. Millington (London, 1849), p. 469.

⁶⁴ *Poems*, p. 141, ll. 100-1.

key vocabulary of moral struggle: 'Sin', 'Shame' 'Duty' etc., and denied them any meaning, because 'we are God'. Lines 106-124 represent the 'voices' which 'roam' the temple-cave; but the voices will already be familiar to us from Clough's diaries:

. . . these paralysing fears,
These fluttering hopes, these penitential tears,⁶⁵

are the results of Clough's own sense of sin, and the Buddhist rejection of them must have held a great attraction. When the 'voices' speak of the 'wasted past', they echo Clough's final years at Rugby, and his first year at Oxford, during which he had 'wasted' so many opportunities to do good to his fellows, and himself. Lines 125 to 130 reassert Clough's own voice again, in answer to the pantheistic 'voices' of the caves; but it is not Clough's voice alone, for line 130 contains the first quotation from Keble. The context of Keble's line is important here; as we saw, the quotation comes from a passage concerning repentance, and reassures that the ensuing revival is like a return to pre-lapsarian 'innocence'. The Buddhist voices have been denying the reality of the fall and therefore of sin; Clough's reply only stresses the truth of those doctrines and the impossibility of Man achieving his own return to Eden:

Shall sinful Man to sinful Man restore
The blissful feelings that were his of yore,⁶⁶

But the quotation from Keble is a veiled indication that what man alone cannot achieve, is nevertheless possible to the 'Spirit' of God; and renewal of the will by the Spirit is facilitated by such devotional aids as Keble's poetry. These six lines are steeped in the Tractarian poetic influence. Lines 125 to 126 for example:

Who speaks of rest, - and Peace where Peace is none?

⁶⁵ *Poems*, p. 142, ll. 108-9.

⁶⁶ *Poems*, p. 142, ll. 127-8.

Who dreams of heaven on this bad Earth begun?

are heavily influenced by the following lines from *The Christian Year* which

Clough noted in his diary for December 1838: ⁶⁷

Think not of rest; though dreams be sweet,
Start up, and ply your heaven-ward feet.⁶⁸

On that occasion he wrote out the following six lines from Keble's poem as well;

but the passage was clearly so well known to him that on 2 Feb 1839, it was sufficient for him to write out merely the first line, for the passage to do its job as a spur to greater moral effort.⁶⁹ A similar passage,⁷⁰ which seems even closer to Clough's own lines, can be found in one of the poems contributed to *Lyra*

Apostolica by Froude to the section called 'Ease':

Heaven must be won, not Dreamed; thy task is set,
Peace was not made for earth, nor rest for thee⁷¹

These are not sources, in the sense that Clough had them specifically in mind in his poem; rather, they show the way in which, steeped as he was in Tractarian devotional poetry, and sharing their attitude to moral exertion, he naturally adopted much of their mode of expression.

The next section of the poem (ll. 131 to 156) begins to turn towards Schlegel's theories. Clough had hoped to find 'Dim recollections of a holier day' in the temple-caves, which would 'make repentant tears', by reminding him of the 'childish Years' from which he has declined; he had hoped for encouragement in the search for his golden age, and had found only the Hindu doctrine of 'Sloth' and sins 'unforgiven', and the Buddhist 'superstition' of 'sins forgotten'. He describes

⁶⁷ Journal 4, fol. 49v.

⁶⁸ Keble, *CY*, p. 14. Poem for the Second Sunday in Advent, ll. 49-50.

⁶⁹ Journal 4, fol. 54v.

⁷⁰ Journal 4, fol. 54v. Diary entry for Saturday 2nd February 1839.

⁷¹ *Lyra Apostolica*, p.99.

these travesties of the Truth as 'Wanderings' from 'heaven'. Imagery of aimless wandering occurs throughout Clough's poetry; an extension of the 'Journey of life' image, it represents the moral state of an individual or nation on the downward path in the historical cycle. Here, the image forms the bridge between Clough's decline, as symbolised in the Indian religions, and Schlegel's ideas. Like 'wilful Children' who 'roam', or 'troubled Spirits' who 'rove', the Buddhist and Hindu doctrines mark a decline from some original 'primeval Truth divine', some aspects of which can still be detected in these later corruptions. In this sense, Arnold's philosophy and Schlegel's theory are in agreement; man has fallen, and in doing so, has gradually lost knowledge of the Truth; God's revelation of that Truth in Christianity, and the restoration of that Truth in the world, leading to a regaining of the Adamic golden age, is the most important subject for historical study.

As Clough describes the gradual loss of the primeval truth, in terms borrowed as much from Arnold, as from Schlegel, he is also describing the course of his own degeneration:

Full soon, alas! that holier frame decayed⁷².

Once again, Clough's interest centres more on the Hindu doctrine than the Buddhist; lines 163 to 198 are concerned with the way in which the original revelation degenerated into Hinduism, but then, the change from this to Buddhism is dismissed almost in a single couplet:

Till man cast down the God that man had made
And Buddha taught, and half the East obeyed.⁷³

⁷² *Poems*, p. 143, l. 163.

⁷³ *Poems*, p. 144, ll. 199-200.

Only four more lines describe the resulting fate of Buddhism but Clough devotes 35 lines to Hinduism, because in that religion, he found a symbol for the world view he wished to reject.

Thus, we are told that in the process of degeneration:

Foremost did Sloth enact her double part,⁷⁴

and that this was closely linked with her 'Sister Vice', the 'questioning Mind'.

Here Clough is presenting the two principal causes of his own decline at Balliol: his laziness, and the intellectual prying of Ward. Notice that the 'questioning Mind':

. . . stops to gaze and seek the reason why,⁷⁵

It is the 'questioning Mind' which, instead of seeing truth 'on its course', stops in order to build up a systematic philosophy, and this is its undoing, for its system turns out to be fatalistic:

She told of Fate, whose fierce relentless force
Still hurries all on Evil's downward course,⁷⁶

Relying on the rational Mind alone, as both Arnold and Newman came to realise, was not enough, since this could only arrive at a pessimistic science of history, with no possibility of renewal. Thus when Clough says in line 195:

So spake the Sage: . . .

- Greenberger is wrong to point back to line 169 where Clough called reason a 'Vice', and conclude that this reflects an ambiguity in Clough's attitude to reason.

She argues from this that the ambiguity stems from Clough's attraction towards the rational argument of Ward, and yet, his distrust of ideas so far removed from

⁷⁴ *Poems*, p. 143, l. 165.

⁷⁵ *Poems*, p. 143, l. 170.

⁷⁶ *Poems*, p. 143, ll. 173-4.

Arnold's. In fact, once again, the subject here has little to do with Tractarian doctrine; surely Clough is being ironical in calling 'reason' Sage here. Rational arguments for a fatalistic viewpoint take on the aspect of sagacity, because of their inherent plausibility, reinforced by the fact that they are a comforting excuse for man's natural 'Sloth' and 'timid Weakness' in moral matters. But beneath the sagacious mask, lurks its truly vicious character, because rational, scientific approaches are only half-truths; far more important is the transcending effect of a renewal of the will which both Arnold and Newman sought.

Lines 205-214 once again make clear the relevance of all this, quite explicitly, to Clough's own situation:

We too may feel her sense the Spirit seize,
 Feel the pale cheek, the faint and faltering knees,
 The coward heart which all it dreads fulfils
 The awe that palsies, and 'the fear that kills'.⁷⁷

With these lines, we are again in the world of Tractarian poetry, and in particular, Newman's 'Fastidiousness'. The 'coward heart', borne of pessimism about the possibility of moral action, was to be another key concept in Clough's poetry. The concept of timid, withdrawn reserve is closely linked to imagery of the sea:

Hear, from below the billows of the deep,
 Stern sentinels, around, their watches keep,⁷⁸

It is not clear exactly who the 'Stern sentinels' are, but like the dream forms in Rosabel's dream, they seem to be calling Clough away from moral commitment, to submersion in the womb-like ocean of detachment.

⁷⁷ *Poems*, p. 144, ll. 205-8. The quotation is from Wordsworth's 'Resolution and Independence', Stanza xvii. [*Poetical Works*, ed. E. de Selincourt (Oxford, 1950), p. 156.]

⁷⁸ *Poems*, p. 144, ll. 211-12.

The final section of the poem, offers the possibility of renewal which Hinduism denies; Wordsworthian countryside is evoked for its traditional associations of moral solidity, which contrast strongly with 'this demon-haunted ground':

Hail hopeful thoughts of home - the busy scene,
The Church, the Hall, the Cottage, and the Green.⁷⁹

Because of these associations, hallowed by tradition, England can stand as a symbol of 'the simple rather than the rare facts of existence'- the common, moral duties which enable the individual to transcend debilitating uncertainty by a commitment of the will. Clough explicitly links such 'Thoughts' of 'Hope' to Arnold's philosophy of history, by evoking the seasonal analogy for historical cycles; an optimistic philosophy can transcend any stage of the cycle - Winter, Spring, Summer:

. . . or even when leaves are sere,
And sad decay completes the changeful year.⁸⁰

Clough is careful to stress that he is not denying the validity of much of the Hindu teaching; like the caves, the English countryside reveals man to be naturally 'feeble' and 'impotent of will' - as St. Paul asserted in Romans, nature everywhere speaks of man's fall and degradation. What Clough is arguing, and that is symbolised by English 'glade and wood and stream', is that this scientific rationalism must be accompanied by the realisation that there is a 'loftier strength' which can help man to raise himself above 'human frailty':

Strength that our sorest Stumbles shall repair
And lead us faltering up the heavenly Stair.⁸¹

The final passage of the poem, begins with the quotation from Keble, and expounds in characteristic Tractarian language, Newman's doctrine of the will: the

⁷⁹ *Poems*, p. 145, ll. 221-2.

⁸⁰ *Poems*, p. 145, ll. 225-6.

⁸¹ *Poems*, p. 145, ll. 253-4.

'Strong Elastic Will', linked with 'Faith' and the 'trusting heart', is 'triumphant' in 'grief' and 'secure' in 'joy' - that is, it transcends the rise and fall of human fortune.

Lines 259 to the end of the poem, specifically link this Newmanist concept, to

'Truth is a golden thread . . .':

Though dark the Path and doubtful, – though alone
Must each one strive unknowing and unknown
Yet shall we see as on the way we go,
Some first faint streaks of dawning's distant glow –⁸²

-once again, as in that poem and its attendant diary extracts, Clough expresses his belief that, although 'we are in darkness', nevertheless, we shall be vouchsafed 'partial revelations of truth' as long as we do not halt in our journey, but 'let it come as we journey on'. These partial revelations of truth are expressed in the final image of the poem, as like the light of dawn, faint at first but gradually becoming brighter. The idea, later to be so important and characteristic in poems like 'Say not the struggle . . .' is once again, that of reserved and gradual revelation.

* * *

Having broken his silence in late 1838, he appears to have continued writing poetry. The poems that have survived from this period demonstrate a new acceptance of direct subjectivity – which will be explored further in the final chapter. On 16 May 1839, he sent a poem to Burbidge for 'advice, criticism or the like'; this was 'Thou bidd'st me mark how swells with rage'.⁸³ The poem also exists in a second manuscript version in the *1839-42 Notebook* which Clough kept

⁸² *Poems*, p. 146, ll. 259-62.

⁸³ *Poems*, pp. 137 and 656.

for fair copies of completed poems.⁸⁴ Thus the version sent to Burbidge is probably slightly earlier than that in the notebook; Mulhauser lists in *Poems* most of the variations and prints his text from that in the notebook. But his list of variants is not complete; the following are the variants from the earlier letter version⁸⁵ that Mulhauser omits:

- 8. the childish days } my childish days
- 9. Thou askest, and ask it, if thou wilt
- 13. was spilt } were spilt
- 16. Yet still I love my childhood well
- 32. the childish days } thy childish days
- 48. the childish days } thy childish days

Of particular interest here are the alterations which Clough made in lines 8 and 16 above, and in line 24 which Mulhauser does list:

- 24 the childish days } my childish days

Although the change from 'my' in each case is only very minor, it points to a desire on Clough's part to draw attention away from the personal nature of the poem's statements. Exposure here is still tinged with a modicum of reserve.

'Thou bidd'st me mark . . . ' is the beginning of a more personal and direct exploration of the emerging Cloughian themes. The message of the poem is familiar:

Of more the heart is ware, I wot,
Than philosophic systems know;⁸⁶

and we are enjoined to abandon our attempts to erect consistent philosophies and simply 'Believe'. Clough's new, expressivist poetic is in many ways another facet of this: objective poetry will tend to be systematic and philosophical, while

⁸⁴ Described *Poems*, p. 654.

⁸⁵ Bodleian MS. Eng. Lett. c. 189, fols. 156r-157r.

⁸⁶ *Poems*, p. 138, ll. 45-6.

subjective poetry, though unsystematic, will be capable of revealing those intuitive truths that are to guide us on our path through life. In April 1839, at about the time of writing this poem, he wrote an essay on the 'Poetical Character of Sophocles' in which he remarks that:

Human Systems of human Philosophy shrink for the most part into nothing beside the picture there placed before us [by a poet] of a human mind in all its depth and totality.⁸⁷

The 'human mind' that Clough's new subjective vein now begins to reveal to us is one which has rejected arid intellectualism but which finds itself adrift, too unsure of its intuitions to attach itself to any of them.

'Thou bidd'st me mark . . .' uses the Christian doctrine of the Fall in much the same way as the 1839 prize poem uses Schlegel's theories of religious decline. On looking at his own past, Clough can see all too clearly the universal spiritual truth of the Fall. Nevertheless, he insists on viewing his childhood as a 'Paradise', presumably thinking of the period in Charleston that formed the golden age of his Rugby poems. It is as if this short childhood period is the only solid rock in his entire past history of which he feels sufficiently sure to 'cherish' it as a basis for future regeneration.

Only a few days after writing 'Thou bidd'st me mark', he wrote in his diary the short fragment beginning 'Oh I have done those things that my Soul fears'⁸⁸ which seems an attempt to put into metre some of the stock phrases which occur time and again in the diaries. The recognition of his 'heart' as 'sick' is far truer to his inner experience as revealed in the diaries of the time than the idea that the 'heart' is

⁸⁷ 'The Poetical Character of Sophocles', Essay No. 16, Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. d. 514. fol. 1r.

⁸⁸ *Poems*, p. 138.

aware of more than 'philosophical systems'. It is difficult to see how both can be true. The concern of the fragment with the loss of youth, the waste of God-given talent and opportunity and the need to make some sort of repayment, combined with a sense of spiritual bankruptcy which makes this impossible, are all themes which echo repeatedly throughout the diaries and the poems of the next few years.

The poems of Clough's undergraduate years are the direct result of, and an integral part of, the long process of periodic reflection on his past history. The sense of despair which the above lines record is far more characteristic of these poems than the consolation reached in 'Thou bidd'st me mark . . .'. And indeed, the consolation in the latter poem is only gained in the teeth of a resigned acceptance of the fact that even in his own golden age, could be found the seeds of the decline that followed. The wavering self-divisions which wracked Clough at Balliol were directly related to his ambiguous attitude to his own past. Clough was suffering from a sense of fractured being; which of his past selves was the true one? He had lost any sense of continuity, not just with the world, but within himself. His desire to find a 'feeling based on truth' upon which he could base his life in the future was imaged as a historical search for the 'Paradise' of 'childish days' through the sickness of his recent history. As we shall see in the final chapter, Clough had now gained a poetic that enabled him to expose his private self. But now he found that he did not know which of the many selves he recognised in his past life was the real one. His poetry takes on a detailed sifting and evaluating of past experience in order to uncover a self that will integrate past conflicting selves.

The poems which follow next in the chronology amount to a reassessment of the most important phases in Clough's life following his golden age at Charleston. The first of these, written in August 1839, 'Whence com'st thou, shady lane' we shall reserve comment on until the final chapter. The second poem – 'So I, as boyish years went by, went wrong' – written in September 1839, we shall also examine again in chapter five. It is difficult to pinpoint the particular revival that Clough recalls in the second section of this 'vacation versicule'; it was probably at Rugby since the 'elm-embosomed spire' (line 26) is a familiar feature of the landscape of the Rugby poems. Notice how the revival in moral commitment is accompanied by a revival of poetic inspiration and that both take place:

. . . what time the sun
Was sinking and the solemn eve came down
With its blue vapour upon field and wood.⁸⁹

This revival is both a memory of a specific occurrence and a symbol of all other such moments. The memory acts as a moral spur encouraging Clough to revive again; in this respect it acts in much the same way as the poetry of Keble or Newman.

Returning to Oxford for his third year in October 1839, Clough moved rooms in college and wrote a poem – 'Enough, small Room, -tho' all too true' - addressed to his old attic room in which he reviewed the spiritual see-saw it had witnessed. Once again the particular sins and revivals documented are almost wholly concerned with personal relationships. In a letter of 24 November 1839, he told Burbidge that:

⁸⁹ *Poems*, p. 147, ll. 23-5.

At present I find myself still but little inclined to write at all habitually, partly I believe from seeing so much society, as I do here almost necessarily and which I believe must be a very pernicious thing.⁹⁰

Clough had even more cause now to avoid 'society' as much as possible; added to all its previous distractions it could now seriously interfere with his final degree examinations. In the first week of Michaelmas Term 1839, he made this resolution:

. . . Solitude & exertion & regularity in work.
So only I can work regularly & steadily & hard, and keep to quiet habits, avoiding much society either with Ward, Tylden, Lake, or any one, all will be pretty well.⁹¹

But the subsequent diary entries show that he had very little success in keeping this resolution. He records many 'rows', 'disturbances' and 'follies' with Ward and Tylden, so that he wrote,

. . . My behaviour to others is certainly quite on a wrong footing - I see too much society. It is pure vanity of one kind or another . . . I must be more alone . . .⁹²

This intensifying of his social difficulties is probably behind the description of 'Life's social atmosphere' and his own 'social levities' in 'Enough, small Room . . .'.

However, the poem does not deal exclusively with past sins. In the same way as 'So I, as boyish years . . .' turns from guilt to revival, so this poem explicitly mingles memories of the good and the bad. And the revivals, which have occurred 'ever and anon', are composed of a similar mixture of 'penitential thoughts' and 'homeward thoughts'. This combination of the positive with the negative is characteristic of his attitude to moments of revival. In 'So I, as boyish years . . .', it

⁹⁰ Bodleian MS. Eng. Lett. c. 189, fol. 187v. Checklist No.96.

⁹¹ *Diaries*, p. 123.

⁹² *Diaries*, p. 123.

was 'neglect / In those half friendships' that brought revival; in this poem, more positively, Clough thinks of his family and the very few real friendships that he formed at Rugby - friendships which had been 'Sincerely' sought and won. Such moments of true revival are described in characteristic cyclical imagery: they are like 'An April shower of genuine love'. Here the Arnoldian concept of spring as a symbol for moral growth and revival mingles with the traditional Christian associations between spring, rebirth, the resurrection and baptism. Such moments of revival, created when Clough has felt true, sincere sympathy with another human being, bring hope that the cyclical analogy may not be as fatalistic as he had feared:

And hopes that ere life's day decline
Such lot may yet once more be mine,⁹³

- hope that such moments are not mere 'fragments' but lasting reversals of his downward slide.

Lines 10-14 characterise the individual features of his increasing degeneration. Almost every word has a special significance when read in the context of the diaries. They all describe his insincerity in personal relations and his desire to flatter his own vanity whatever the cost to his true 'best self'. For example, the word 'coward' has connotations of 'fastidiousness', 'withdrawal', 'repose', 'caution', 'timidity' and many other such terms. Indeed, this is the central critical failure of these undergraduate poems; for Clough they had a meaning far more rich than they appear to the reader. His habit was to use the same words over and over again, in his diaries, letters, essays, and poems, so that they gained for him a wealth of connotation and suggestivity: a word like 'coward' for Clough contained

⁹³ *Poems*, p. 148, ll. 27-8.

a complex of moral ideas that in the end have very little to do with the simple dictionary meaning. The final poem of 1839 - 'Come back again, my olden heart!' ⁹⁴- provides another example of this kind of writing. Clough attempts unsuccessfully in this poem to deal with the kind of complexity that needed the ironic, multi-layered effects of *Amours de Voyage* and *Dipsychus* for success. The poem is full of abstractions such as Pride and Courage, easily recognisable from many other poems; these abstractions attempt once again to explore the conflicting urges to confident commitment and cautious withdrawal.

But the poem was not written in a single sitting; it was worked on for six years or more. Clough conjectured '1839?' as the date in *Poems* (Norton), ⁹⁵and it almost certainly dates from around the time when the question of pride and courage opposed to 'coward fears' and the 'doubting soul' came to crisis point. However in 1846, Clough wrote out the second stanza for Burbidge and commented:

A very ancient fragment, the lilt whereof cometh back at whiles into my gullet, but never so as to evoke any very successful continuation. But you must content yourself at present with broken victuals - . . . Here is a somewhat crusty morsel for you to gnaw at:

"It is because it is", the reason ladies use
Is better than the man's "It is because I choose". ⁹⁶

This 'crusty morsel' is evidently related in some way to ll. 39-40 of the finished poem:

The plea of all men understood,
Because I willed it, it is good.

⁹⁴ *Poems*, p. 10.

⁹⁵ A copy of Clough's *Ambarvalia* poems, corrected by Clough, and presented to Norton in Nov. 1852; see *Poems*, p. 564. It was dated '1840' in Mrs. Clough's edition of 1862; see *Poems*, pp. 563 and 573.

⁹⁶ *Poems*, p. 573. Letter there dated 19 January 1846.

Thus it would seem likely that Clough wrote the first two stanzas around 1839, and did not complete the poem until around 1846; the 'incrustations of the years' mentioned at the beginning of the third stanza would support this conclusion.

In this particular poem the continuation is not an *'alteram partem'* since the two sides of the argument were already present in the first two stanzas, but rather an expansion of the ideas already expressed, in the confirmatory light of experience. What is of real interest is the way in which Clough has stored up and pondered on his fragment over the years. He had managed to capture in it something of the mood which had impelled him, with the encouragement of Newman's 'Fastidiousness' to abandon his 'coward heart' and by a commitment of the will 'make myself my rule of right' and act in the faith that this will be 'good'. The distrust of such wilful commitment contained in this poem is not Clough's final word on the subject in 1846, any more than it was in 1839. It is merely that this poem became for him a symbol in its own right of his recurrent feelings of regret – a symbol with which he continually grappled over the years in a therapeutic attempt to come to terms with that regret and give it cathartic release.

That 'Come back again, my olden heart' reflects no more than a recurring periodic distrust of Clough's commitment of the will, is borne out by 'The Judgement of Brutus'.⁹⁷ This 1840 Newdigate prize-poem entry, like 'Salsette and Elephanta', was begun at the end of the preceding year, and thus was being composed throughout the period in 1839 when Clough began working on 'Come back again,

⁹⁷ *Poems*, p. 148.

my olden heart'. As Greenberger shows in her extended discussion,⁹⁸ Brutus' emergence into a firm exercise of the 'energetic will', is a manifesto for Clough's future heroes. He begins by rejecting a certain kind of muse:

. . . thou whose fleeting changeful smile
Doth the light heart with fancy fond beguile.⁹⁹

and this recalls his description of himself in 'Here have I been . . .':

- by empty fears
And emptier hopes, light mirth, and fleeting tears
Tacking and tossed forever yet in vain¹⁰⁰

The verbal echoes here indicate that the rejected muse represents one of Clough's own selves - the self that helplessly fluctuates in the contradictions of existence.

The poem then goes on to reject another kind of muse, who also represents one of Clough's past selves - the self that seeks the principle of contemplative withdrawal from activity:-

With thee in converse to forget the strife,
The fearings, hopings, plans and plots of life, . . .¹⁰¹

Once again, it is significant that this muse-self is pictured sitting 'in the depth of some untrodden dell ... where infant waters well', surrounded by 'heavy woods' and 'mighty moveless hills'. The landscape is recognisably that of 'Rosabel's Dream', where womb-like surroundings merge with childhood memories ('infant waters') in order to tempt away from moral activity. In contrast, the muse that Clough does invoke, is that of 'Salsette and Elephanta', and is directly opposed to 'Come back again, my olden heart'; this muse is that which inspires Tractarian poetry, for when it is at work,

. . . Will, long-dead, doth hear the peal above

⁹⁸ E.B. Greenberger, 'Clough's "The Judgment of Brutus": A Newly Found Poem', *Victorian Poetry* viii, (Summer 1970).

⁹⁹ *Poems*, p. 148, ll. 9-10.

¹⁰⁰ *Poems*, p. 156, ll. 4-6.

¹⁰¹ *Poems*, p. 149, ll. 22-3.

Deep in his tomb, and in his cerements move.¹⁰²

This 'heavenly Muse' is thus the muse of revival and renewal of the Will, and it is for this that Brutus is a supreme symbol.

The parallels between this prize-poem, in which Clough's characteristic themes all appear, and 'Rosabel's Dream', are far reaching and a striking testimony to the continuity of Clough's poetry. In particular, the two poems share the characteristically Cloughian dreamlike atmosphere. Brutus moves around in:

. . . that half-death, that tranced unearthly life,-¹⁰³

As Greenberger points out, the only part of the poem which he did not derive from his sources in Livy and Plutarch, is the detailed account which Clough gives of a troubled night that Brutus spends before passing judgement. It is this night that so closely compares with Rosabel's night of temptation, and we must wonder how much of Clough's own experience is to be found in these descriptions of a dream-like state. We shall return to this in the final chapter.

'Rosabel's Dream' is most remarkable for the way in which Clough emphasises both the temptation possible in dreams, and the moral accountability of people undergoing such temptation. Brutus' dream is characterised in a similar way, and ends like Rosabel's in a firm decision to take the path of morality. Brutus is tempted while his guard is down:

. . . - in hours of sleep alone
 Could Resolution tremble on her throne;
 Nor blinding love nor subtle doubt else find
 One passage open to the stablished mind.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² *Poems*, p. 149, ll. 36-7.

¹⁰³ *Poems*, p. 149, l. 41.

¹⁰⁴ *Poems*, p. 151, ll. 121-4.

Both Rosabel and Brutus awake from their dreams to find themselves in a curious 'dream-like state'; Rosabel is

... half in doubt and half in fear
Were she there, or were she here¹⁰⁵

and Brutus similarly experiences this 'Strange time' in which waking reality mingles with 'Echo and image' of 'things of immaterial kind'. His eyes, on awakening, are described as 'wandering'. In this half dream state, he is aware of his dreamed temptation, and conceives of it, as Rosabel had done, in terms of some demon,

Of some strange guest that must not enter in,
Some foe with whom to parley is to sin; -¹⁰⁶

But co-existent with this is Brutus' 'stern Uncompromising Will':

Which, be it Earth whose Powers are thronging round
Or some enchanted, superhuman ground,
Still must, as anchored barks the billows ride,
Amid the flux of circumstance abide.¹⁰⁷

We saw that in 'Enough small room . . .', Clough imaged revival in terms of a baptismal image of rain; here Brutus experiences much the same, as his Will is strengthened by power descending from heaven like a 'small and silent shower'. The poem ends with an invocation very similar to that at the end of 'Salsette and Elephanta'. The 'Spirit of Brutus' is requested to strengthen 'these coward hearts' which are 'frail and weak' of, presumably, modern man, and more especially, to banish Clough's own 'idle doubts' and 'double heart'.

Contemporaneous with 'The Judgement of Brutus' is 'Here have I been these one and twenty years', which Clough wrote on 28 January 1840.¹⁰⁸ The topic of the

¹⁰⁵ *Poems*, p. 497, ll. 208-9.

¹⁰⁶ *Poems*, p. 152, ll. 141-2.

¹⁰⁷ *Poems*, p. 152, ll. 144-8.

poem is his twenty first birthday on 1 January 1840, of which he made a prominent note in his diary. There is perhaps a hint of a borrowing from Burbidge in the opening lines:

And so I wandered for six feverish years:
And boldly spread my boyhood's careless sail
Along the coasts of Smiles and Sighs and Tears.¹⁰⁹

but the poem is really little more than a material expression of ideas and diction found in abundance in the diaries: the theme of being 'tacked and tossed' between 'fears and hopes', 'light mirth' and 'fleeting tears', and the commitment/withdrawal and optimism/pessimism antinomies. Also, note how his sense of guilt, as always, centres not around a betrayal of an abstract morality, but specifically around his failure in regulating his relationships with other people:

Now timidly retiring, now again
Carelessly, idly mingling with my Peers.¹¹⁰

The result of his social vacillations has been disastrous in his own moral life, and in the lives of those to whom he should be an example; now he is 'friendless', 'brotherless', and with a 'Heart' which is 'emptied'. This last term relates back to his reference to 'misused strength'; he has squandered his moral force until he has none left.

In the following month, Clough wrote 'Away haunt not thou me',¹¹¹ The poem reflects Clough's desire to seek guidance from 'the secret treasure-depths below' instead of the 'broken cisterns' of 'vain Philosophy'; the exact nature of these 'treasure-depths' is not specified, but it is clear that they are the 'plain and simple truths' which the inspired conscience reveals to the best self. The poem is an

¹⁰⁸ *Diaries*, p. 131.

¹⁰⁹ T. Burbidge, 'Prefatory Stanzas', *Poems, Longer and Shorter* (Rugby, 1838), p. 3.

¹¹⁰ *Poems*, p. 156, ll. 7-8.

¹¹¹ *Poems*, p. 24.

optimistic summing-up of the position Clough has reached, and is followed by a surprising silence of seven months, until September 1840. This silence was not restricted to the poetry alone. From April to June there are no diary entries, and when he did begin again in June, they were only jottings of the amount of work done each day; real entries do not begin again until September. Similarly with his correspondence; no letters have survived from March to August, because he seems to have written hardly any. In letters to Burbidge and Gell, he placed the turning point at Easter 1840, since when, he confessed, he had got into 'loose and foolish ways' (or at least, even more foolish than previously) and had been 'a good deal out of health and perhaps more out of spirits'. On returning from the Easter Vacation in 1840, one of the final entries in his diary confesses:

Have been exceedingly foolish during the Vacation. - a continual letting of myself down. I have lost probably an immense deal.¹¹²

The period that followed was the most crucial in Clough's life; not however, because of his relations with Ward and the Tractarians, as we have seen, but because his approaching finals, and the imminent collapse of his father's business, combined to force Clough to acknowledge once and for all, that all his revivals and efforts could never enable him to reverse his degeneration. The eventual result of this crisis was for Clough to realise that the Arnoldian moral imperative which he had betrayed, had no absolute claim upon him - that the voice of his buried, best self did not naturally coincide with that of Arnold. This was a long process of discovery which we have seen began in his last years at Rugby and continued throughout his period as an undergraduate. This crisis of 1840 was his final, last ditch effort to reverse the slide, - an effort doomed to failure.

¹¹² *Diaries*, p. 138. Entry for 4 May 1840.

A poem that he wrote at the end of his summer vacation of 1840, 'When soft September brings again'¹¹³ demonstrates in a characteristic fashion, Clough's sense of a crisis in his life. Superficially, the poem seems to be a simple Wordsworthian response to nature. However, even if we did not know that the poem was written in the crisis of early September 1840, its imagery should warn us that there are hidden meanings here; Clough is responding to a scene which is poised between summer and autumn. Although there is still the 'summer livery of green', the gorse is out, there is 'autumn rain' and 'the cooler breeze'; the countryside can show both 'unchanged' alder, and yet also, scarlet berries 'glistening' with rain. Like 'Whence com'st thou, shady lane . . .' it not only captures a specific moment in Clough's life history, but through its imagery, it invites comparison with many other such moments.

Another poem written in September 1840 reflects Clough's sense of crisis at this time: 'Sweet streamlet basin . . .'¹¹⁴ written slightly before the preceding poem, it was in fact the first poem he produced after the crisis began at Easter. It is significant therefore, that the poem, as printed in *Ambarvalia* and afterwards, should be directly concerned with submersion in water, as an image of repose and withdrawal; it reflects a very strong desire in Clough to abandon completely his attempt to live up to his Arnoldian ideal. Chorley uses this poem as key evidence in her thesis about Clough's pathetic tendency to contract out of life, and in so far as I have indicated, she is right to draw attention to Clough's womb-like imagery. But as in 'Rosabel's Dream', where Rosabel has a desire for a similar submersion,

¹¹³ *Poems*, p. 12. Dated '1839' in *Poems* (Norton), but Sep. 1840 seems certainly correct – see *Poems*, p. 573.

¹¹⁴ *Poems*, p. 24. Assigned to 'Sep^r 1840' in *1839-42 Notebook*, and copied in a letter to Burbidge dated 6 Sep. 1840, where Clough asserts it is "the first since Easter" – so, presumably written before 'When soft September brings again' (see *Poems*, p. 580.)

this escapist desire is recognised as an impossible fantasy, and rejected quite rationally, never for a moment denying the strength of the desire. In this respect, the last line of the printed version of this poem is important:

That home, of peace, if not of love.

The word 'love' here seems strange, since it is a theme which has not even been hinted at in the poem; but with our knowledge of the way in which personal relationships stand immediately behind all these poems, we can see that 'love' is indeed the implicit theme of this poem as well. It is not Clough, an integrated individual, who expresses the desire for submersion, but his 'longing heart', which is characteristically 'Weary and faint'. Clough's heart indeed longed for 'love' in relationships, but his complete failure to achieve this, combined with the caricature of love in his relations with Ward and Tylden made him desire to rest from relationships altogether. The last line expresses in a nutshell, his ambiguous attitude towards the reserve which he adopted as a principle of life; it provided the 'peace' he needed to re-examine his soul, but it was entirely negative and self-centred, offering no opportunity to find sympathetic concourse with others. The poem expresses this in womb imagery that also partakes of the 'dream-like' atmosphere so prevalent in these poems; this atmosphere turns the 'bubbles' and 'ripples' of modern life into merely a 'dreamy sound'.

If these clues are not sufficient to convince that the poem is not an unconscious expression of Jungian archetypes, further evidence is provided by the sixteen extra lines which exist in both manuscript versions and which Clough only excised eight years later for publication. The first eight lines of these, printed in the Notes to

Poems,¹¹⁵ expand on the reasons for the heart's longing to retire from society; Clough has undergone 'some deep fall', and his heart is now 'sick' and in need of 'healing'. Once again the idea of betrayal is conveyed by the idea of 'lying':

To a strange lingering memory¹¹⁶

of Clough's moral peak, before entry on his downward cycle. The second eight lines offer 'healing' in:

Some poor mechanic task, nor grudge
Some short sad while to play the drudge.¹¹⁷

Of course, this can be interpreted as another expression of Clough's faith in dutiful activity as a plain, moral imperative. But there are also parallels here with Clough's attitude to poetry as a therapeutic activity; we have seen that Clough's poetry is often concerned with the 'strange lingering memory' of past selves, and that it is a therapeutic attempt to regain 'The bliss . . . Like to a little child's again', which he had known in Charleston, and which the 'mechanic task' is also to revive.

Clough seems next to have composed the 'Three Religious Quatrains'.¹¹⁸ The last of these illustrates well his habitual method of composition. It is a single image expressed in rhythmic prose; Clough has divided it into verse lines, but he evidently never returned to tidy it up:

The hand is unsteady, the step uneven; the
Liquor is spilled on playthings and the floor.¹¹⁹

'Duty – that's to say complying',¹²⁰ which was also written some time in 1840, provides a similar example. It reads precisely like Clough's 'nature ridding itself of

¹¹⁵ *Poems*, p. 580.

¹¹⁶ *Poems*, p. 580, l. 6.

¹¹⁷ *Poems*, p. 580, ll. 11-12.

¹¹⁸ *Poems*, p. 156.

¹¹⁹ *Poems*, p. 157. See also p. 116 above.

¹²⁰ *Poems*, p. 27.

long-gathered bile' as was said of *Amours De Voyage* a decade later. The bitterness of the attack on conventional morality is paralleled by the colloquial diction, and the way in which syntax seems progressively to break down towards the end. And if we examine the surviving rough draft, there seems little doubt that the poem is primarily an exercise in therapeutic catharsis; it is hastily scribbled in faint pencil with sections of the final poem missing, as if Clough was writing out his own fit of bitter anger.

'Duty – that's to say complying' is a poem about the betrayal of the 'best self' in social action:

Sacrificing aye the essence
Of all that's truest, noblest, best;¹²¹

on the altar of social respectability; the 'soul' has another 'soul within' whose 'questing and guessing' concerning the ambiguities of existence, are suppressed by a purely social sense of good and evil. Another poem, written during 1839-40 deals with the same theme: 'Light words they were, and lightly, falsely said'.¹²² In this poem, like Brutus, the heroine of the poem asserts what she feels to be the truth, against the 'Light words' of society around her; also like Brutus, the truth is revealed to her by 'God in her', and she gains the strength to act by a commitment of the will (1.21). Yet another similar poem, written in 1840 is 'Look you, my simple friend, 'tis one of those',¹²³ in which he satirises 'a common Weed' whose failings are clearly those of Clough, as revealed in the diaries; he is guilty of the conformity castigated in 'Duty'. However, it is also a poem about the writing of poetry, and his own motives for doing so.

¹²¹ *Poems*, p. 28, ll. 34-5.

¹²² *Poems*, p. 13.

¹²³ *Poems*, p. 25.

We have seen (in 'I said so, but it is not true') that Clough's aim was to write poetry that would be true to the promptings of his best self, without becoming contaminated by 'shifty understanding'. In this poem, the 'common weed' is himself a poet of sorts - but one who does precisely what Clough was attempting to avoid. The 'weed' is characterised by his constant carrying about of 'the looking - glass/Of vain philosophy'. Thus, if such people do have a fresh perception ('natural gesture'), they immediately write it down, not as Clough did, that they might sincerely express the essence of what they have felt, but rather:

Part in conceit of their superior science,
Part in forevision of the attractive look
And laughing glance that may one time reward them,¹²⁴

(notice the 'Part . . . Part' construction – of which, more later). For such people, the writing of poetry becomes merely an extension of philosophising in society – a means of soliciting flattery rather than true sympathy from one's friends. For this reason, such poets are not content merely to capture the feeling of a moment, but must make it fit into their 'vain philosophy'; the 'ore' of truth they have discovered will be 'thrice refined and purified' until the original freshness is lost, and it emerges as:

. . . satirical or pointed sentence,
Impromptu, epigram, or it may be sonnet,¹²⁵

Note the allusion to the familiar 'vein of ore' image; in this and the earlier poem, what is criticised is the tendency to extract the gold of truth rather than to be content with its fragmentary revelation in the surrounding ore. Note also Clough's

¹²⁴ *Poems*, p. 25, ll. 10-12.

¹²⁵ *Poems*, p. 25, ll. 17-18.

instinctive distrust of literary forms that seem to preclude sincerity because of their removal from the original feeling.

The final section of the poem, we have had cause to glance at in an earlier chapter; we saw there that the poem's rather startling conclusion was typical of the kind of mental contortions which the diaries reveal plagued Clough during these years. Lines 21 - 26 reveal once again his great sense of betrayal of the Arnoldian ethic, and the hold which it still has over him; the 'longing heart' of 'Sweet streamlet basin' here becomes 'Longings unspeakable'. Clough can still have 'lingering echoes' of his once strong conscience, but the latter has degenerated so that it is now 'disregarded', and all the innate advantages he had had in his education under Arnold are totally misused:

And half-employ all those for such an aim
As the light sympathy of successful wit,
Vain titillation of a moment's praise.¹²⁶

These three lines are typical of the poem as a whole in their use of diction (like 'half', 'light', 'sympathy', 'vain', 'praise',) carrying moral connotations not apparent from their immediate context. The 'common weed' of the poem is Clough's own degenerate self. In his poetry and his human relationships, Clough aimed always at 'sincerity' and 'sympathy'; but this poem demonstrates how distrustful of his motives he was in both cases. Far too often, his behaviour in society and his literary composition (in diaries and essays and letters, as well as poems) were aimed more at 'light sympathy' in which true sincerity is sacrificed to his desire for 'praise'.

¹²⁶ *Poems*, p. 26, ll. 27-9.

Clough returned to Oxford, after the 1840 summer vacation, at the beginning of October, but for two weeks he remained indecisive about taking his degree, until finally, on 20 October, he wrote in his diary 'Have put off'¹²⁷. The poem, 'O kind, protecting Darkness! as a child',¹²⁸ written a month later (and only three pages later in the diary), between 17 and 22 November, very probably has its genesis in this important decision; it was written as the finals examinations were coming to an end, and Clough watched many of his contemporaries concluding their studies. On 16 November, Clough wrote to Anne with news of the examination, and of his own hopes and plans. He tells her that

. . . I seem to have now left the nest for good¹²⁹

and perhaps this feeling of irrevocable and far-reaching changes in his life, together with his conviction of betrayal, intensified by the sight of his more successful peers, produced the poem, in which, as we have seen already, the theme of unpaid debt appears, and in which, his characteristic womb-imagery becomes explicitly maternal.

On 1 December 1840, Clough wrote in his diary:

Wasted fr<om> 12 to 2 at least in writing some foolish verses.¹³⁰

Possibly these verses may have been 'Here am I yet, another twelvemonth spent'.¹³¹ At the beginning of the year, (28 January), he had written a poem to mark his spiritual position on attaining his twenty-first birthday; now perhaps, after 'another twelvemonth', he wrote another poem reassessing the situation. Both poems use the characteristic Cloughian imagery of man as a boat on the sea of life;

¹²⁷ *Diaries*, p. 144.

¹²⁸ *Poems*, p. 31.

¹²⁹ *Correspondence* i, p. 103.

¹³⁰ *Diaries*, p. 149.

¹³¹ *Poems*, p. 28. Printed in *Ambarvalia* as *Blank Misgivings* i.

however, the poem in question specifically introduces the idea of 'rudder broken' as an image of loss of moral direction and this is paralleled by a passage in his essay for 4 December 1840:

. . . the Course of our Vessel is guided no longer alone or even mainly by the helm, but rather by the chance winds of the heaven, the varying currents of the deep . . . ¹³²

- which probably confirms the dating. The last part of the poem - the sestet of the sonnet - was used by Chorley as a keystone in her analysis of Clough's womb-imagery and mother-fixation; in the notebook version, Clough originally wrote:

Yea, the first kiss that by these lips was set
On my mother's was methinks a sin - ¹³³

and in the published version, he changed 'Upon my Mother's' to 'On any human lips'. Surely Clough was not trying to express here some deep traumatic sense of guilt about his unnaturally close relationship with his mother; rather, he was merely trying to express his feeling that his human relationships had never been successful. In this respect, it is worth noting that on the day preceding that on which I have argued that Clough wrote this poem, Clough was preparing to have a wine party, which he held a few days later on 7 December; perhaps these preparations provoked these verses about his social failings.

Over the period 2 to 7 February, Clough wrote another poem: 'Once more the wonted road I tread', ¹³⁴ of which five manuscripts have survived, thus making possible a detailed reconstruction of the poem's genesis. The poem began on 2 February while Clough was 'out walking'; he composed a passage beginning:

A wide and yet a cheerless scene

¹³² 'Rhetoric Has a Just Claim to the Dignity of a Science', Essay No. 32, Bodleian MS. Eng misc. d. 515. fol. 8v.

¹³³ *Poems*, p. 582.

¹³⁴ *Poems*, pp. 31 and 584-5. Printed in *Ambarvalia* as *Blank Misgivings* ix.

Most true and yet, like these strange smiles . . .

and followed by lines 23-30 substantially as they appear in the published version. Thus, the poem originally began as a short self-contained 'versicule', built around a central image. There are two points to be noticed here. First, the way in which this reveals Clough's characteristic method of composition, whereby a particular insight of an individual moment, is captured in verse; the whole poem is made up of several such 'versicules' tagged together. And second, the nature of the central image itself is of particular interest:

. . . like those strange smiles
 By fervent hope or tender thought
 From distant happy regions brought,
 Which upon some sick-bed are seen
 To glorify a pale, worn face
 With sudden beauty, - . . .¹³⁵

Here once again, we have Clough's characteristic sick-bed image, symbolising his moral and spiritual degeneration. In this case, the sick-bed does not become a death-bed but rather, the point of the image is that 'hope' can bring about a recovery, albeit a temporary one. In the section of the poem which follows, the point of all this is made clear: that Clough must learn a lesson from what he has seen, and wait for a similar recovery in his spiritual life, a similar brightening of:

That region desolate and bare,
 Those sad and sinful thoughts of thine!¹³⁶

However, in the genesis of the poem, the original 'versicule', (like for example, 'When Soft September . . .' or 'Whence com'st thou . . .') had no explicit comment; the meaning of the 'cheerless scene' in terms of Clough's spiritual condition is only hinted at through the sick-bed image. Clough's later additions of extra sections to his original versicule are designed to point the moral.

¹³⁵ *Poems*, p. 32, ll. 22- 7.

¹³⁶ *Poems*, p. 32, ll. 41-2.

On arriving home from his walk, Clough probably wrote the opening lines up to line 13, in order to recreate the desolation of the scene for the reader; then he deleted 'A wide and yet a cheerless scene' from his first draft since lines 1-13 now no longer made this necessary, and added lines 20-21, so that at the end of this first stage of composition, he had lines 1-13 and 20-30, with lines 14-19 still uncomposed. Thus the poem remained for three days; a description of a desolate scene whose significance was only suggested by a sick-bed image. However, on 5 February, he took the poem up again, because he went out walking once again; in accordance with his usual practice, he changed nothing, but merely added another 'patch' - lines 31-42. This passage was an explicit statement of the personal significance of the two images that had gone before, and at this point, Clough seems to have felt the poem to be complete. Thus, at the end of the second stage of composition, we have a poem composed of two related images, and ending in a carefully explained 'moral':

The lesson which the sight has brought;
 In thine own dull and dreary state
 To work and patiently to wait.¹³⁷

The third and final stage of composition was to add a further section to the poem - lines 43-77 in the final version. This exists in a single manuscript in more or less the final version, but Clough clearly had trouble with this continuation, as there exist some scattered alternative lines that Mulhauser prints in his notes. Also, in Appendix 2, Item No. 2, I have suggested that the unpublished fragment, 'My heart is sick and faint within' is another early attempt at this continuation. At some

¹³⁷ *Poems*, p. 32, ll. 34-6.

stage during this final revision, Clough added ll.15-18 (ll.14 and 19 were already included as a single couplet) and copied the whole poem out in his notebook, using this as his text when he copied out the poem in letters to Burbidge and Gell.

Clough's comments in his letter to Burbidge:

I had about a week ago a visit from the Muse which lasted with intervals for 3 days and produced 70!! verses - To secure you a sheet I shall transcribe the Earlier Part of them - the others I do not think I shall send you at present: besides it would take too long [Lines 1-42 follow] I did not mean to have given you any moral at all: but fortune has favoured you with it. I must tell you too that there are above 30 more lines of it, (all moral) which for the present I suppress.¹³⁸

- bear out what I have already concluded from my examination of the poem's genesis: that Clough conceived of the poem as really composed of three 'versicules', which can be detached from one another with little or no harm - 'the Earlier Part' (the capitals emphasise the separate nature of ll.1-30), a 'moral' (ll. 31-42) and a 'further moral' (ll. 43-77). The 'further moral' begins by denying the previous moral; Clough says that 'the coward's heart' may argue that if we wait for positive guidance before acting, it may come too late and find us spiritually dead. However, the poem then goes on to demolish this argument, and to end on a positive note.

Clough had meant to send Burbidge lines 1-30 only, - lines 31-42 were sent by mistake; he saw the Earlier Part as a viable poem on its own. He did not wish Burbidge to see the 'morals' because, as he explained to Gell, 'there may be something of affectation in them';¹³⁹ thus the two morals trod too close to the line which separates 'sincere exposure' from 'vain exhibition'. In his letter to Burbidge, Clough apologised for his 'short and meagre letters':

¹³⁸ *Poems*, p. 584.

¹³⁹ *Poems*, p. 584.

The truth is that I have got a good deal into loose and foolish ways and have been continually afraid of allowing myself in anything like that in writing to you. I fear however to a great extent I must have done so. I have at any rate done wrong in going on writing to you while concealing this. I began so to do as early I think as the first letter I wrote after Easter Vacation [1840]. Before that though I believe in other ways foolish enough, I at any rate did not do or say things which I doubted at the time whether I should really go on with and fulfil[l].¹⁴⁰

Thus, ever since his real crisis had begun in Easter 1840, Clough had been afraid to mention it to Burbidge because he feared that his inability to 'fulfil' his debts and obligations would appear to be hypocrisy. His suppression of his poem's morals was made on the same ground that Burbidge would interpret them as the arguments of a 'coward heart' rather than see that 'Defeat itself is victory'.

Clough spent the Easter vacation in London, where he wrote four poems: 'To the Great Metropolis' and the three sonnets that became sections ii, iii and iv of *Blank Misgivings*. Womb, lie, and debt vocabulary are all very prevalent in them, and they are all concerned with personal relationships - with Clough's tendency to indulge basically uncongenial friendships for the 'poor ease' of a 'moments sympathy', and his inability to form something 'better' than these. In 'Though to the vilest things beneath the moon' (*Blank Misgivings* iii), he speaks of parting from friends, clearly referring to his coming finals and his conviction that this would mark the end of his Oxford career. Another poem which Clough almost certainly wrote at this time, and which reflects his uncertainty about the future, is 'Like a child / In some strange garden'.¹⁴¹ Clough later dated this '1841?', but the reason why I have assigned it thus more precisely, is the evidence provided by another manuscript which Mulhauser missed from his edition. I have given full

¹⁴⁰ Bodleian MS. Eng. Lett. d.175. fol. 5r-v. Checklist No. 113.

¹⁴¹ *Poems*, p. 30. Printed in *Ambarvalia* as *Blank Misgivings* vi.

details of this manuscript in Appendix 1. Including the poem in a letter, probably to Burbidge, Clough commented:

I feel just at present as if I should go into the world in a light and foolish way, with very little gratitude or anything else . . .¹⁴²

The poem reflects the same distrust of his own ability to cope with the outside world; he is like a child 'pacing about the pathways of the world', lacking serious commitment and direction.

Finals began on Saturday 8 May and continued until Thursday 13 May; in his diary, Clough noted the exams for each day, and at the end, wrote:

Like one that in a dream would fain arise,
 Toiling & striving, vainly striving still,
 A strange & baffling torpor still replies,
 To every restless movement of the will.¹⁴³

So think I, so I write - And so alas¹⁴⁴

This short fragment, more than any other piece of evidence, helps us to understand the reasons for Clough's relative degree failure. He told his sister, afterwards:

I did my papers not a quarter as well as my reading would naturally have enabled me to do . . .¹⁴⁵

and this is borne out by his poem; the failure was not one of knowledge, but of the 'will'. Notice particularly the way in which Clough describes this experience; the 'striving' of the 'Will' takes place 'in a dream', and the sapping of his will is described as 'A strange and baffling torpor'. Compare this with a poem like 'He sate, no stiller stands a rock', in which a very similar experience is described, and in terms of the same 'dream-like' imagery which provides in all Clough's poetry, the characteristic atmosphere in which moral choice between action and repose,

¹⁴² Appendix 1, p. 346.

¹⁴³ *Poems*, p. 157.

¹⁴⁴ *Diaries*, p. 164. Entry for 13 May 1841.

¹⁴⁵ *Correspondence*, i, p. 109.

must be taken. Clough's examination experience, like that of the 'wretch' who 'longed to rise and yet did not' in the earlier poem, was that of a strange paralysis of the will; Clough knew that, in its grip, he had little hope of achieving anything, and that he must simply await its passing. It is this last realisation that underlines Clough's amazing lack of concern about the result of his finals.

* * *

Clough spent most of that summer in Westmoreland, tutoring the young Theodore Walrond for the Balliol Scholarship. In later years, when 'Todo' Walrond was an undergraduate at Balliol and Clough was a young fellow at Oriel, together with J.C. Shairp and Matthew Arnold, these two were very close friends; that friendship was begun and cemented during these two months in the Lake District. However, Clough's diaries for the time reveal that this friendship, almost from the start, became something very special for Clough. This attraction became so intense that Clough feared that it would prevent him from fulfilling his moral and intellectual duties as a tutor; on 14 July he wrote:

I do not doubt but that I am resting idly on Walrond; so as to be unable to do him any moral assistance; I fear so as to be doing him harm. It has been getting worse & worse: . . .¹⁴⁶

As he noted at one point, he felt 'possessed wholly by Walrond.'¹⁴⁷ As in all his other relationships, Clough felt that he was leaning too hard on Walrond for sympathetic, emotional support - hardly surprising considering the crisis he had so recently passed through at Oxford. At one point, he even considered abandoning the tutorial vacation for both their sakes:

¹⁴⁶ *Diaries*, p. 170.

¹⁴⁷ *Journal* 5, fol. 54v.

Thought of writing to Burbidge to offer to go away if he found on asking that Walrond was suffering from my levity: but there seems no need.

[Had been much put out with thoughts of committal (I suppose) with Walrond; & was much relieved to find him quite unconscious]¹⁴⁸

He was afraid for Walrond's sake, that his own affection might not be fully committed, but merely arising out of his light tendency to 'lean on every chance neighbour'.

On 27 July, he wrote in his diary:

Verses at 4 & Easedale Tarn at 5 a.m; . . . in good health apparently, but passion for passion's sake: . . .¹⁴⁹

and on the opposite page is the first draft of 'If, when in cheerless wanderings, dull and cold'. Two days later, Clough sent the poem to Burbidge, with the following description (not printed by Mulhauser) of how he had composed it on an overnight walk:

I wrote my own verses at 3 A.M. after my return from Keswick, almost in a morning dream if not quite, - except the last stanza, which was born just before I reached Easedale - tarn, about 4 A.M. same morning, whither I undertook that early expedition through inability to sleep.¹⁵⁰

The fact that Clough could not sleep and that he wrote the poem in 'a morning dream', except for the last stanza, is of importance in understanding the genesis of the poem. In the original, diary version, written during the 'expedition', there are some slight variations:

If when mid cheerless walkings dull & cold
A scent of human kindness hath found us¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ *Diaries*, p. 171. Entry for 23 July.

¹⁴⁹ *Diaries*, p. 171.

¹⁵⁰ Bodleian MS. Eng. Lett. d. 175. fol. 31v. Catalogue of All Known Letters, No. 123.

¹⁵¹ *Poems*, p. 592 and *Diaries*, p. 172.

It is perhaps not too great a conjecture to suggest that Clough's insomnia and the poem he wrote as a consequence have their roots in his disquiet about his relationship with Walrond.

In 'If, when in cheerless wanderings, dull and cold'¹⁵² Clough indulged the luxury of allowing one of his 'fancies' to overcome him, in which he vividly imagined the bond of love between himself and his friend, just as he had once indulged 'fancies' of his family while at Rugby, and of his spiritual revival while at Balliol. We shall see that these imaginative moments were closely associated by Clough with the dream-state and the composition of poetry: hence Clough's 'morning dream' and the poem which resulted. The variants on 'kindliness' that Clough at first toyed with - 'love' and 'sympathy' - demonstrate the centrality of the Walrond experience to Clough's imaginative concerns. Thus, on his 'cheerless walkings', Clough had vainly 'revelled' in the idea of Walrond's 'love' for himself, and the comforting feeling of 'dependence' which this gave him, and it is this 'fancy' which informs the first three stanzas of the poem. However, Clough is careful to make clear to Burbidge that the final stanza was added an hour later, when Clough had emerged from his 'morning dream'; and indeed, this fact is made explicit in the stanza itself:

The fruit of dreamy hoping
Is, waking, blank despair.¹⁵³

- as soon as his fancy passes away, he is left in the 'dull and cold' landscape once again. Thus, when Clough says:

Heaven guide the cup be not, as chance may be,
To some vain mate given up as soon as tasted!¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² *Poems*, p. 42.

¹⁵³ *Poems*, p. 42, ll. 15-16.

¹⁵⁴ *Poems*, p. 42, ll. 9-10.

he is referring not to the friendship itself, but his indulged 'fancy' or 'sense of human kindness'; the poem as a whole does not really concern the relationship with Walrond directly, but Clough's fantasising about the relationship to which he is so prone. He abjures himself not to waste such moments of imaginative 'richness' by allowing them simply to come and go without any effect on his life; neither must he simply content himself with capturing such moments in his poetry:

No, nor on thee be wasted,
Thou trifler, Poesy!¹⁵⁵

- 'Dreamy hoping' alone, and the poetic expression of it, cannot ward off the eventual loss of their therapeutic effect, but one must sometime awake from the 'morning dream' to a bleak world of 'blank despair'. The final stanza, added to the poem later, albeit only an hour later, is in the way of a 'moral', pointing out the positive use to be made of such moments:

Heaven grant the manlier heart, that timely, ere
Youth fly, with life's real tempest would be coping; . . .¹⁵⁶

Moments of imaginative inspiration, and their poetic expression, are of immense importance to Clough for their therapeutic and cathartic value - they impart a 'halo rich of shine' to the bleakness of existence; but such moments must be made to serve as a stabilising base for 'manlier' action and commitment to the business of the world.

The very next day, - 28 July 1841 - Clough composed some verse, in the form of a letter to Burbidge,¹⁵⁷ but its facetious tone and subject places it outside the bounds of our interest, except in so far as it serves to show that Clough's real period of crisis is now over, and although future poems can be very serious and self-critical,

¹⁵⁵ *Poems*, p. 42, ll. 11-12.

¹⁵⁶ *Poems*, p. 42, ll. 13-14.

¹⁵⁷ 'About what sort of thing', *Poems*, p. 158.

there is no longer the semi-hysterical despair over the whole course of his past life. And this is further illustrated by the next poem (a 'wishing-gate conceit') that Clough wrote (on 3 August 1841), 'Would that I were, - O hear thy suppliant, thou,'¹⁵⁸.

Clough's confusion in that poem about the 'wishes' that he has, and the 'wishes' that he feels he ought to have, arises out of his confusion over Walrond. Clough now feels that his relationship with Walrond has been of exactly the same variety as that with Ward and Tylden - they were merely 'the chaff of easy sympathies': people whom he leans on for emotional support. He 'wishes' that Walrond will respond, and provide him with that support, but at the same time, he realises that such 'easy sympathies' are not in his best interests, and that he should really wish for the strength to stand alone, without dependence on others at all; or even better, he needs a true 'friend, or more than friend' who will
' . . . make me know myself, and make me fear' .

One of the *Mari Magno* tales - 'The Clergyman's First Tale' – sheds further light on this. In this poem, Emma is initially 18 and Edmund is nearly 21 and both feel a mutual attraction. Two years later, Edmund, a formerly 'o'ertasked' schoolboy, has emerged into manhood and discovered in the peaks and the glens a 'sort of after-boyhood'.¹⁵⁹ However, he remains introspective and with an ascetic bent 'That from the obvious good still led astray/ And set him travelling on the longest way'.¹⁶⁰ To demonstrate the point, the tale then quotes from 'scattered notes their

¹⁵⁸ *Poems*, p. 159.

¹⁵⁹ *Poems*, p.397, ll. 28-9.

¹⁶⁰ *Poems*, p.397, ll. 43-4.

date that claim/ When first that feeling conscious sought a name'.¹⁶¹ The lines that follow (ll.50-51) are in fact based on lines 7-8 of 'Would that I were,-O hear thy suppliant, thou.' These, and subsequent lines, lament Edmund's inability to act on his feelings for Emma:

This hesitance, that lets me not fulfil
My own desires.-divine? or is it still
A flux of thinking and a waste of will?¹⁶²

Then, over a period of five years: Edmund goes on his European travels to help decide; returns to find he must work to keep his father who is now ruined; but falls ill through overwork, and on a recuperative trip to Europe again, meets Emma, and this time they embrace and marry.

Edmund is in some sense Clough – the overworked schoolboy, the indecisive lover, the European traveller, and the expatriot invalid are all Cloughian themes with reference points in his own life. Edmund seems to have been the same age as Clough – about 22 - when the 'wishing-gate' lines were composed. When the poem opens, Edmund is twenty one, and we see the first flowing of love in his heart for Emma; but two years pass, and we are told that he now began to enjoy 'A sort of after-boyhood':

To him 'twas pleasure now to ride, to swim;
The peaks, the glens, the torrents tempted him.
Restless, it seemed, - long distances would walk,
And lively was, and vehement in talk.¹⁶³

This describes well, the Clough that we know at Oriel, during his period of great force; but more specifically, because Edmund is twenty three, this is also Clough at that age, in the summer of 1841 with Walrond. In his later poem, Clough's

¹⁶¹ *Poems*, p.397, ll. 45-6.

¹⁶² *Poems*, p. 398, ll. 88-90.

¹⁶³ *Poems*, p. 397, ll. 33-6.

search for love, as opposed to mere friendship is simplified to Edmund's love for Emma; but its genesis is to be found in his desire to win the love of Walrond, and his indecision about the rightness of such a desire. That summer was a period of 'over-health', when Clough reacted violently against the 'over-straining' of Rugby and Balliol, and regressed back to his carefree childhood; the company of the boyish Walrond encouraged this 'after-boyhood' and was the source of his attraction for the sixth former. This explains both the joie de vivre so evident in a poem like 'About what sort of thing'¹⁶⁴, and the guilt which Clough felt about the ill-effects on Walrond of his 'levities'.

We have seen that Clough rejects his 'wish' for 'easy sympathies', and wishes to replace it with a better 'wish'; this is the wish to be 'of myself aware'. In other words, he rejects the emotional support of light friendships, in favour of the kind of self-knowledge which is only possible to the independent man. But such self-knowledge is not possible to achieve alone; one needs the aid of a 'more than friend', who through the exchange of true sympathy and love, will 'make me know myself'. Clough's manuscript draft of the *Mari Magno* passage is more detailed on this point:

When to the lake-land Wishing Gate I went
 A year ago and leant where Wordsworth leant,
 Then ran my thoughts, my vow, I thus expressed
 Would I could wish my wishes all to rest,
 And know to wish the wish that were the best!
 O could I midst the myriad flights of youth
 Detect the unchanging feeling based on truth . . .
 O for some friend, or more than friend, austere,
 Whose perfect purpose and whose insight clear
 My shifting fancies should regard and fear;
 O for some touch, too generous to be kind,
 To awake to life the mind within the mind,

¹⁶⁴ *Poems*, p. 158.

The spirit summon from the spirit's grave
And from a conscious dissolution save!¹⁶⁵

The idea expressed here is of course very close to Matthew Arnold's 'The Buried Life':

Only - but this is rare -
When a beloved hand is laid in ours,
When, jaded with the rush and glare
Of the interminable hours,
Our eyes can in another's eyes read clear, . . .
The eye sinks inward, and the heart lies plain,
And what we mean, we say, and what we would, we know.¹⁶⁶

- the experience of love promotes total sincerity, both to oneself, and to the person loved. Clough's *Mari Magno* draft passage not only draws upon, 'Would that I were, - O hear thy suppliant, thou', but also from 'How often sit I, poring o'er' (*Blank Misgivings* v), which is dated 'July 1842' in the *1839-42 Notebook*. The poem begins:

How often sit I, poring o'er
My strange distorted youth,
Seeking in vain, in all my store,
One feeling based on truth;¹⁶⁷

and these lines are deliberately borrowed by Clough in the above extract from the *Mari Magno* draft passage. And the parallel with Matthew Arnold is just as strong here also, because the poem ends:

Nor they, nor aught beside, can reach
The buried world below.¹⁶⁸

That a great deal of Arnold's most characteristic ideas, and the imagery in which they are expressed in his poems, are derived from his association with the older Clough, is a fact which still does not receive the attention or prominence that it deserves. The *Mari Magno* extract makes it clear that 'How often sit I, poring o'er'

¹⁶⁵ *Poems*, p. 785.

¹⁶⁶ K. Allott, *The Poems of Matthew Arnold* (London, 1965), p. 275.

¹⁶⁷ *Poems*, p.30.

¹⁶⁸ *Poems*, p. 30, ll. 15-16.

is not primarily concerned with abstract, philosophical 'truth', or even with self-knowledge in the way that Arnold is; Matthew Arnold uses the concept of love, as a tool rather than an end in itself, but for Clough, in these early poems at least, love is in itself a desirable end, and he mourns his lack of internal unity because it makes love impossible, rather than vice versa. In the early draft of 'How often sit I, poring o'er', the final line of the poem was:

The buried heart below¹⁶⁹

and this indicates the true concerns of the poem; as the rest of the poem makes clear, he needs to discover his true self, not for its own sake, but in order 'To dare to rest and love'.

A couple of days after writing 'Would that I were . . .' Clough wrote in his diary:

I am now all along resting on the fancy of affection in Walrond; whereas I have no reason to believe he cares for me, nor yet could be justified in expressing to him that I care for him.¹⁷⁰

However, a week later, Clough's dilemma was solved for him; he received a letter from home on 14 August informing him that the long-expected collapse of his father's business had finally occurred, and on 20 August he returned home to Liverpool. There, he was lucky to get some tutoring of Rugby boys because of an epidemic at the school, and sometime during this period, on an afternoon walk 'post pupillania', he wrote 'Thought may well be ever ranging',¹⁷¹ in which he further turned over the problems of love and the difficulty of knowing whether to commit oneself. Clough had experimented with this theme earlier in the year; three days before his finals began, he wrote:

¹⁶⁹ *Poems*, p. 583.

¹⁷⁰ *Diaries*, p. 173. Entry for 6 August 1841.

¹⁷¹ *Poems*, p. 26.

Do duty feeling nought and truth believe;
Love without feeling give not nor receive.¹⁷²

A rough paraphrase of this compressed thought would perhaps be that one must do one's duty and believe the truth, with no reference to one's feelings; but one must never give or accept love on any basis other than that of the feelings. 'Thought may well be ever ranging' is a lengthened poetic expression of this idea. He argues that although it is impossible to escape intellectual uncertainty and ambiguity, 'duty' is an absolute moral imperative and must be carried out. However, in affairs of the heart, different criteria must be applied; if one makes mistakes in doing one's duty in other spheres because one has drawn conclusions hastily, the mistakes can be rectified by 'experience'; but if one commits one's heart to another, it cannot be taken back again. Thus, 'duty' can never be a criterion in matters of 'love'; in this single sphere lays the exception to the rule of 'duty' which urges us to action and commitment in all other spheres; in love, one must still practice careful reserve.

In *Poems (A)*, Clough titled the poem 'Duty-Love'.¹⁷³ 'Duty-Love' is love which is not based on the 'feelings', but on a sense of one's obligations to the other person. Clearly, although the poem addresses 'Man and Maidens', Clough has in mind here, his recent experience with Walrond. On the day he wrote 'If, when in cheerless wanderings', we saw that Clough wrote in his diary the phrase 'passion for passion's sake'. The phrase occurs quite often in the diaries. Line 15 of 'Thought may well be ever ranging' originally, in manuscript, read, 'To the passion

¹⁷² *Poems*, p. 157.

¹⁷³ *Poems (A)* is a copy of Clough's *Ambarvalia* poems with corrections in his hand; see *Poems*, pp. 564 and 581.

of a day'.¹⁷⁴ The idea of 'passion for passion's sake' would seem to be closely connected with his relationship with Walrond, and with the idea of 'Duty-Love'. Light is thrown on the subject by a very revealing diary entry, made over a year later, on 1st October 1842; it begins with the following extract from the *British Critic* of April 1842:

'It is the trial and mystery of our position in this age and country, that a religious mind is continually set at variance with itself, that its defence to what is without contradicts suggestions from within, & that it cannot obey what is over it, without rebelling against what was before it'.¹⁷⁵

The passage is the concluding sentence from Newman's article on John Davison.¹⁷⁶ Newman's attitude to Davison was largely favourable; but at the end of the article, Newman points out a few cases where Davison 'was unconsciously swayed by deference to the opinions among which he lived' (i.e. those of the generation preceding Newman's). In the above passage, Newman is contrasting the 'unconscious' conformity that was the blessing of Davison's age, with his and Clough's age, in which such innocence was no longer possible. In this description of the ambiguous situation facing a modern 'religious mind', Newman was of course expressing the ambiguity of his own situation in Oxford and the Anglican church; but Clough saw in this passage about 'a religious mind set at variance with itself' a description of his own position with regard to 'deference' and 'rebellion'; he added the following commentary of his own:

In this state of non adjustment, Obedience becomes conformity, conventionality . . . and sham [Kenny gives 'shame' – incorrectly], while Non-conformity leads us into Passion for Passion's sake, fancy for fancy's sake, that perpetual semi-consciousness of rebellion which leads into rebellion.

¹⁷⁴ *Poems*, p. 581.

¹⁷⁵ *Diaries*, p. 215. *BC*, lxii (April 1842), 401. ['defence' should read 'deference'.]

¹⁷⁶ '[Review of] 'Remains and Occasional Publications of the Late Rev. John Davison.', *BC*, xxxi (April, 1842), Article IV, p. 401.

We are tempted at one time to give our faith in semblance, where we do not feel it reality, - to . . . at another to fasten upon that which we know to be an object of faith only by a proud assumption of our own. Seeing nowhere extant the truly adequate object, we attach ourselves to that which so far as we know is inadequate, by an arbitrary assumption in the one case of pride, in the other of cowardice.¹⁷⁷

The general relevance of this passage to the themes I have been discussing will be self-evident. However, although the passage is a discussion of truth in the religious sense, the mention of 'Passion for Passion's sake' reminds us that 'Duty-Love' is the result of 'Duty-fancies' (1.20) and that 'If when in cheerless wanderings', like most of Clough's poems, was the result of an indulged 'fancy'.

In his commentary, Clough is distinguishing two basic choices which confront man, neither of which is satisfactory. The first of these is the path of 'cowardice' - a synonym in Clough's writings for 'Conformity, conventionality and sham'; the coward does not seek absolute truth, but acquiesces in what is generally accepted to be truth. The second path is that of 'pride'; - a man arbitrarily erects truths which he believes by a commitment of 'faith'. This latter path is that which leads to the doctrine of 'duty' and 'Task work'; it is the path that Clough chose to follow, and it is the path recommended in the first stanza of 'Thought may well be ever ranging'. However, that poem goes on to insist that 'Hearts, 'tis quite another thing', and in this diary passage, Clough also recognises that the path of 'pride' or 'Non-conformity' to the generally accepted (and hypocritical) social sense of duty, leads to 'Passion for Passion's sake, fancy for fancy's sake'; that is, it leads to the formation of friendships, and the declaration of love and commitment, where in fact, there is no real love at all, but only the desire to erect an object for love and faith; thus, Clough's 'love' for Walrond was not based upon reciprocated

¹⁷⁷ *Diaries*, p. 215. Entry for 1 October 1842.

sympathy, but upon Clough's desire that Walrond should love him. It was this 'wish' that Clough rejected, and in its place 'the wishes that I ought' were the desire for a love based, not upon arbitrary 'passion' and 'fancy', but upon genuine 'feelings' of mutual sympathy.

At this time, on 1 October 1841, Clough wrote the fragment, 'From palsyng self-mistrust, from fear'.¹⁷⁸ This is a description of one of Clough's typical revivals, collapsing after a time back into 'convictionless' inactivity. However, it is probably more specifically, an account of his spiritual proceedings since taking his finals; with the uncertainty of his exams behind him, Clough's hope and resolve had stiffened, but 'hopes' of Walrond's love, 'on vagrant fancies fed' (note the repeated use of 'vagrant' in this context)¹⁷⁹ had reduced him to a state of wavering dependence once again, expressed in this poem by the characteristic 'flitting' imagery. The indictment of 'fancies' here is echoed again in an obscure passage in the diary for 15 October 1841- the day Clough returned to Oxford:

Where the whole heart willeth a way will soon be found the insincere to begin with end in nothing, unpainstaking among the Mass the search for the truth still was, is yea & will be for ever while the race of man choose rather the harlot Fancy's charm than toil hope fear, the result of sober minded assurance.¹⁸⁰

There are some marginal alterations that might suggest that this was a prose draft for an intended poem; certainly, this would fit in with what we have seen of his method of composition. The passage is difficult, although the general meaning seems clear; the search for truth can only be successful if the whole will is engaged; the majority of people, while paying lip-service to the ideal of the search, are nevertheless 'unpainstaking' and therefore, 'insincere', and this will always be

¹⁷⁸ *Poems*, p. 159.

¹⁷⁹ See also 'If when in cheerless wanderings', *Poems*, p. 592, l.10 variant.

¹⁸⁰ *Diaries*, p. 180.

the case while men choose to indulge 'the harlot Fancy' (i.e. 'Passion for passion's sake' and 'fancy for fancy's sake') rather than honest and sober 'toil' and faith.

Clough passed the time at Oxford that Autumn, reading a wide variety of material, including Shelley, Carlyle (whose stylistic influence can be felt in the above prose draft), Butler's *Analogy*, Emerson, McCulloch, Mill, 'a good deal of Kant'¹⁸¹, and some children's books recommended by the *British Critic*. Clearly his period of great force, and intellectual broadening was well-under way; the diaries show the occasional twinge of conscience about his 'loose' behaviour:

Utterly careless in society & ready to do anything there just as this time
four years 1837 when I first came up. - to be by myself.¹⁸²

Clough's reaction on completing his Balliol studies was precisely the same as that on leaving Rugby, as he recognised; his 'after-boyhood' was a period of hope which could not be destroyed by his conscience, no matter how hard it pricked. This is illustrated by the poem, 'I have seen higher, holier things than these'.¹⁸³ The first three stanzas of this poem were written 3 days after his finals ended, on 16 May; but the last two stanzas were not written until 13 November, and therefore, the poem provides another good example of Clough's typical methods of composition.

The argument of the first half of the poem is that Clough, longing 'for a little ease' after the strain of his exams, wishes to relax the reins and content himself with a lower moral standard; however, he cannot allow himself this luxury, having once known what it was to live under a 'higher, holier' scheme of things. Clough feels

¹⁸¹ Diaries, p. 188. See also Appendix 1, p. 341.

¹⁸² *Diaries*, p. 181. Entry for 31 October 1841.

¹⁸³ *Poems*, p. 33. Printed in *Ambarvalia* as *Blank Misgivings* x.

tempted to abandon Arnoldism, but cannot because he has 'high and cherished visions'¹⁸⁴ of his previous commitment, and feels morally obliged to withstand his 'falling away' from the high point of his moral cycle. This section of the poem ends on characteristic 'debt' imagery. Clough seems to have been tempted to end, or continue, however, by arguing the case for the 'lower line' a little longer; in the draft version, 1.9. originally read;

Yet must I work - my daily duties do¹⁸⁵

That he rejected this temptation is further evidence of his propensity to make each poem capture a single, unambiguous point of view. We shall see that he expressed his vision of ambiguity by means of other poems, or other sections added on to the original poem; stanzas 4 and 5 are of this latter variety. Written months later, they express a new and different view of the same problem that arises out of Clough's new situation. He now argues that even Arnoldian morality falls short of the ultimate truth:

The Summum Pulchrum rests in heaven above;

therefore, since all human morality is only a matter of degree, he must merely seek to do his 'duty' to the best of his ability, and to seek that duty 'Amid the things allowed thee'. Neither of these viewpoints is new to Clough's thought or his poetry, and both viewpoints will appear individually in later poems; Clough is not here, or elsewhere, concerned with absolute truth - that we shall 'view' 'some day' in the future - but with his own particular response to reality at any particular time. In this connection it should be noticed that the inspiration for the second part of the poem, is far more specifically grounded in Clough's concern with 'love' than

¹⁸⁴ *Poems*, p. 586: MS¹ has 'Memories' instead of 'visions'.

¹⁸⁵ *Poems*, p. 586.

the earlier section; the original version of l.19 is even more indicative of this interest:

What God allows thee be content to love;¹⁸⁶

- if this conclusion contradicts that of Duty-Love, this is merely the result of Clough's method of sincerity.

Another poem written in November 1841 demonstrates well Clough's attitude towards his poems: 'Roused by importunate knocks'.¹⁸⁷ The poem's central image, drawn from one of Christ's parables much used by Arnold, was often used by Clough in his diary:

And yet I have let my house remain empty by my carelessness in dev[otio]n; and in consequence have often felt that the seven evil spirits were seeking to settle therein anew.¹⁸⁸

Thus, this image, like many of Clough's other images, is used time and again, until it acquires symbolic significance for Clough far beyond its original parabolic meaning. And having encapsulated the image in a poem in November 1841, he returned to the poem in future times of similar spiritual despair; thus, there exists a loose sheet, obviously written by Clough sometime in 1842, on which he has printed the poem with the comment:

Some old verses (Nov^r. last) but not untrue now.¹⁸⁹

The attraction for Clough of this image and poem was twofold. At one level, the poem reflects Clough's difficulties with 'society', and the way in which the 'levities' into which Oxford society tempted him, and destroyed his devotional life.

¹⁸⁶ *Poems*, p. 589.

¹⁸⁷ *Poems*, p. 30. Printed in *Ambarvalia* as *Blank Misgivings* vii.

¹⁸⁸ Journal 3, fol. 4r. Entry for 29th March 1838.

¹⁸⁹ *Poems*, p. 584.

Clough's attraction to the 'practical' aspects of Tractarianism emerges in the last line of the poem, which reads in draft:

For fasting and for prayer bestowed is gone.¹⁹⁰

However, at a much deeper level, the poem reveals Clough's more profound concern; the description of the carousing in Clough's 'heart's holy place' has a great deal in common with the night-time experiences of Gell's schoolboy, and indeed, the whole atmosphere of the poem is that of the 'dream-like' imagery. In addition, when we remember its origin in a parable about seven evil spirits, the position of the poem in Clough's tradition of ghostly poems becomes self-evident. The revellers are described as 'vain hopes, /Wild fancies, fitful joys'; Clough is describing the experience of 'excitement' in which he indulged 'fancies', and yet also, created his poetry. His ambiguous feelings about this experience were to last him to the end of his life.

The final poem of 1841, written on 10 December, was 'If help there is not but the Muse'.¹⁹¹ With this poem, we come to the end of the Balliol period and also, to the effective end of the diaries. Entries continue until June 1843, but they become more and more sketchy and incoherent. In this slight, light-hearted piece of verse, Clough states his preference for:

The somewhat slovenly undress
Of slippered slip-slop sentimentals
To Philosophic regimentals.

This represents his poetic preferences, both in subject and form; he prefers the subjective outpouring of passing sentiment, even if by definition this involves a certain formal 'slip-slop' quality, rather than intellectual, formally arranged

¹⁹⁰ *Poems*, p. 584.

¹⁹¹ *Poems*, p. 159.

philosophic arguments. The divisions are artificial as Clough recognised in his first line - he does not really wish to have to choose. In the final chapter, we turn now to look further at Clough's poetics and the way he wrote.

5 POETICS AND PRACTICE

In the last item in the last edition of the *Rugby Magazine*, 'Address of Leavetaking', Clough commented that:

. . . all effect produced upon any reader is produced by his sympathy with what is felt and expressed by the writer.¹

Arnold also spoke of exposure as 'an abandonment to feelings of sympathy', so it is clear that Clough is drawing a parallel here, between literary and verbal communication; we saw the same parallel in Arnold's letter to his 'Old Pupil'.²

The relationship between a writer and his reader, like that between two friends, depends on an essential 'sympathy'; therefore, the writer must treat his readers with the same considerations that an individual must consider in a potential friend - the problem of exposure and reserve is as important in poetry as it is in human relationships. Later in the same article, Clough praises the poetry of John Moultrie, the Rector of Rugby, for its 'sincerity of feeling', which is more important than its 'wealth of language' and 'felicity of wording seldom equalled'.³

The question that arises is whether such 'sincerity', in poetry as in life, is best conveyed by reserve or exposure. As in social intercourse, the ideal was to obtain

¹ *The Rugby Magazine* ii, 399.

² Stanley, p. 313.

³ *The Rugby Magazine* ii, 400, footnote.

a balance between the two; in July 1844, Clough praised Stanley's *Life of Arnold* for being 'very judicious in keeping the right mean between reserve and exposure'.⁴

The use of 'sympathy' as a poetic criterion is almost universal in Victorian literary theory; as Isobel Armstrong has said;

The morality of Victorian criticism depended almost exclusively on the way in which the notion of sympathy could be interpreted and it is through subtly changing, diverse and conflicting interpretations of the word that the moral demands made on poetry can be examined.⁵

Thomas Arnold's own moral approach to poetry was characteristically formulated by him, in terms of 'sympathy'. In his only extended venture into poetics in 1832,⁶ he defined poetry as essentially poetic feelings expressed in poetic language:

poetic feelings are:

. . . all the highest and purest feelings of our nature,⁷

and poetic language is produced when the mind

. . . catches with great quickness every impression given by surrounding objects; it seizes rapidly every point in which they may seem to express sympathy with its own feelings.⁸

Thus the poet works through sympathy with nature; and similarly, the poet passes on his sympathetic insight only if there is sympathy between himself and his reader:

The more extensive our knowledge of men and things, and the greater the activity of our minds and the liveliness of our feelings, so much the more universal will be our pleasure in poetry; inasmuch as we shall be able to enter into the notions, and to sympathise with a greater number of poets of different descriptions, ages, and countries.⁹

⁴ *Correspondence* i, p. 129.

⁵ I. Armstrong, *Victorian Scrutinies: Reviews of Poetry 1830-1870* (Athlone Press, 1972), p. 11.

⁶ 'Preface' to *Poetry of Common Life: A Collection of Poems for the Poorer Classes* (London, 1832) – edited by Platt, Arnold's friend and editor of the *Sheffield Courant*.

⁷ T. Arnold, *The Miscellaneous Works of T. Arnold, D.D.* (London, 1845), p. 252.

⁸ Arnold, *Misc. Works*, p. 253.

⁹ Arnold, *Misc. Works*, p. 255.

This is the poet as exemplary hero; operating through sympathy, the poet encourages the reader to elevate himself to his own exalted moral position.

Writing poetry and befriending people for their moral good are two sides of the same sympathetic coin.

Arnold's attitude to 'sympathy' in poetry seems to contradict his attitude towards reserve. In social intercourse, he believed that sympathy was to be gained by practising exposure; it was the sincerity of the individual, expressed in this act of faith that mattered, rather than the nature of the views expressed. However, in poetic communication, he clearly believed in a variety of reserve. He severely restricted the subject-matter of poetry, not even allowing the comic spirit to be poetic. But it is not that Arnold believed that 'low' matters should be reserved from poetry but rather that, by his definition of poetry, 'low' matters however expressed, were not able to produce real poetry:

. . . the very essence of poetry is, that it exalts and ennobles us, and puts us into a higher state of mind than that which we are commonly living in.¹⁰

Arnold believed in 'exposure' as the principle of life; when a man of exalted morality exposes his 'higher state of mind', then we call it poetry; when he expresses a more common state of mind we call it prose. In either case, to practise reserve would be to destroy the sympathy borne of sincerity, which is necessary if the moral purpose of human communication is to be achieved.

This attitude filtered down to Arnold's pupils, so that we find them equally concerned with the necessity for sincerity. Gell accused Clough of 'affectation' in

¹⁰ Arnold, *Misc. Works*, p. 253.

his 'The Ark on the Mountains of Ararat'.¹¹ Burbidge, in his first volume of poetry, confesses a wish 'to keep my verses as free as possible from the suspicion of "shams"'.¹² And Clough himself, in his 'Introductory' article in the first issue of the *Rugby Magazine*,² is concerned to defend the project against 'the charge of affectation' by claiming that the contents of the magazine will not stray beyond the bounds of schoolboy experience; such a charge would destroy the appearance of sincerity, and with it, the sympathy needed if the magazine is to fulfil its moral purpose.¹³ What is at stake here is the authenticity of the high feelings which are to be expressed; all three pupils clearly feel that it is not sufficient purely to expose one's feelings, since they all feel it necessary to question or defend the sincerity of the feelings in question. Arnold's answer to these doubts would have been very simple; to obtain sympathy with one's audience, one must make sure that one's feelings are of the highest moral order; if this is not the case, then one has no business exposing oneself at all, and one deserves all the ridicule that results from such hypocrisy. But for Clough this was no solution at all; he was constantly aware of the hypocritical disparity between the appearance he presented to Arnold, and the fact that in reality, his own feelings were anything but of the highest moral order. Exposure for Clough would only compound his sin of hypocrisy.

The literary form, in which this problem arises quintessentially, is that of the personal letter, in which it is necessary to achieve sympathy with friend and reader at the same time. Clough's schoolboy letters have been accused of priggishness and with some degree of truth; but the most persistent quality of these letters is

¹¹ Bodleian MS. Eng. Lett. d.175. fol. 27v. Checklist of all Known Letters: Number 122.

¹² T. Burbidge, *Poems, Longer and Shorter* (Rugby, 1838), Note to 'Sonnets, ix', p. 354.

¹³ *The Rugby Magazine* i, 12.

that Clough seems constantly to be apologising for his priggishness. He seems determined to confront his own insincerity and hypocrisy. After a piece of confession to Gell in 1835 for example, he writes:

I hardly know what I said in the first page and I am afraid to read it again, and I hope you will excuse it if there is anything foolish, which I am always afraid there is, however much truth may go along with it, when I speak anything about myself . . .¹⁴

The realisation here that exposure and hypocrisy are not mutually exclusive emerges in another letter to Simpkinson of about the same time:

. . . I am conscious that even one's truest feelings if very frequently put out in the light do make a bad and disagreeable appearance . . .¹⁵

In literature as in life, the problem of the correct mean between reserve and exposure did not admit of as simple an answer as Arnold would have his pupils believe.

The problem is one of form as well as of content. Arnold's Wordsworthian description of the creative process views true poetic language as the spontaneous and natural result of poetic feeling. He claims that everyone at some time or other has spoken in poetic language, because this is the natural medium for the lofty feelings that constitute poetry:

When we are feeling any strong passion it instantly alters our manner of speaking from that which we practise on common occasions . . . Poetical language is, in truth, the language of excited feeling; and this is what is meant by saying that as every man has been in a poetical state of mind at some time or other of his life, so almost every man must, in some degree, however imperfect, have expressed himself on such occasions in poetical language.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Correspondence* i, p. 25.

¹⁵ *Correspondence* i, p. 35.

¹⁶ Arnold, *Misc. Works*, p. 253.

He concedes that there is slightly more to it than this; spontaneous poetic language will be 'imperfect' and a certain amount of touching up will be necessary. The use of verse is strictly:

. . . in imitation of that flowing and harmonious language which is natural to us when speaking under the influence of strong feeling,¹⁷

and is only an 'artificial' reproduction of the original feeling. The 'emotion recollected in tranquillity' for Arnold, is essentially the same as the original emotion; there is no question at all of the emotion being modified through the medium of the memory. Sincerity consists of the individual, specific insight of a single moment, exposed to view honestly and without reservation.

In terms of poetic form, this expressivist point of view would clearly be appealing to Clough. His impulse to write poetry was anything but from a mere sense of Arnoldian duty. This was one form of 'excitement' of which Arnold approved:

. . . the pleasure of excitement is notorious to everyone; and poetry, in the common sense of the word, is an artificial means of producing this pleasure . . .¹⁸

but as we have seen on many occasions in previous chapters, excitement like much else in life was two-edged for Clough. A theory of poetry that would give free rein to excitement, and provide cathartic release, would be ideal; poetry would become the one means of self expression open to an individual as essentially shy and reserved as Clough. But Arnold's definition of poetry left no room for the expression of anything but the most elevated of feelings. By restricting poetry to the production of lofty feelings, Arnold was restricting poets to lofty men; in this way, an essentially expressivist theory of art could be made to

¹⁷ Arnold, *Misc. Works*, p. 254.

¹⁸ Arnold, *Misc. Works*, p. 254.

serve an essentially didactic purpose. The feelings that Clough wished to express were pessimistic, escapist and tortured by a sense of pervading sinfulness. Thus subjectivism was a possibility not open to Clough, and hence his elevation of the function of objective art.

It is here that I think Biswas (and the critical consensus preceding him) crucially misunderstands what is going on:

Clearly 'objective' poetry, since it most completely served the poetic cause of the good Rugbeian, demanded Clough's preference.¹⁹

Arnold's poetic preference was emphatically subjective, not objective. So objective poetry for Clough could be nothing more than a second best; it could not have the same ennobling effect on the reader, as the exposure of an elevated poetic character, but in his own situation, it was the nearest he could come to a moral poetry that avoided affectation. Clough's poetic did indeed evolve between Rugby and Oxford. But the evolution was not from objective to subjective; he was always attracted, like Arnold, to subjective poetry, but he needed to evolve a poetic that sanctioned subjective expression of pessimism, doubt and despair – feelings Arnold would never have accepted as appropriate for poetic utterance.

Clough discusses the whole problem in his *Rugby Magazine* article, 'Macaulay's "Battle of Ivry"'. Clough begins by distinguishing the 'class' of poetry 'called by Coleridge, subjective, equivalent, I believe, to egotistical', from the 'modern-objective class of poems':

. . . that is, poetry in which we see nothing of the writer's self, and he is but the medium through which we view an object; . . .²⁰

¹⁹ Biswas, p. 52.

²⁰ *RM i* (Oct. 1835), p. 126.

The objective class of poetry is specifically linked to a 'fearful . . . pitch of excitement';²¹ the excitement of such poetry is not necessarily reprehensible, - as Arnold made clear, it is only in excess that such excitement becomes dangerous and exhausting. But, it is clear from the tone of the article, that the objective mode, although 'lively' and 'striking' and hence valuable for those reasons, is nevertheless an inferior form of poetry to the 'subjective'.²²

Clough argues that the effects of subjective poetry on the reader are more subtle and profound than the 'striking' ones of objective poetry; the effect is like that of 'a Madonna of the old Masters':

. . . the impression is too deep to be brought out again at a moment's notice.²³

The argument that follows is confused, but the meaning is clear enough; Homer's poetry was objective poetry, and was appreciated as such by the Greeks, but its effect on modern readers is different because our own age produces subjective poetry like Wordsworth's, and we therefore tend to view all poetry in this light:

Even this poem of the Battle of Ivry is deeply tinged with the individuality, which so strongly marks the character of civilised and Christian Europe, . . . All the social and domestic ties, so peculiarly the offspring of Christianity, tend to this point, though doubtless evil and bitter fruit has been gathered from the same quality. Hence, the great egotism, or subjectivity of our poetical literature of the present day; . . .²⁴

Christianity, through its emphasis on individual morality, has produced an introspective literature of egotism, or subjectivity. There are two possible results of this. First there is poetry like Wordsworth's which, while being egotistical,

²¹ *RM* i (Oct. 1835), p. 125.

²² *RM* i (Oct. 1835), p. 125.

²³ *RM* i (Oct. 1835), p. 125.

²⁴ *RM*, i (Oct. 1835), p. 126.

nevertheless reinforces 'the social and domestic ties', and is thus a potent agent of the highest moral good. Or second, there is subjective poetry of the kind that Clough could write, in which 'evil and bitter fruit' are the only things which introspection can offer to the reader. In such a situation, objective poetry was clearly the only alternative; such poetry could not have the therapeutic effect of expressivist poetry, nor could it make a deep moral impression on the reader; but it would avoid the appearance of affectation which subjective poetry would entail.

We saw in Chapter 2 that the majority of the poems Clough wrote at Rugby were subjective; and they demonstrate only too clearly the 'evil and bitter fruit' which he feared. They expose to view a state of feeling which strives to be elevating, but succeeds only in appearing absurdly affected and insincere. And when Clough tried to avoid this by adopting an objective mode, this increasingly became a transparent metaphor for his unheroic introspection; like the 'Battle of Ivry', they became 'deeply tinged with . . . individuality'. Objectifying his subjective feelings brought its own attendant problems of insincerity.

This last point is highlighted by a poetic exchange in the *Rugby Magazine* about memory, and its role in the creative process. In December 1836, his friend Simpkinson published a poem called 'Memory', in which, contrary to his headmaster's view, he argued that 'the poet's high endeavour' does not occur ideally in the midst of experience, but rather:

'Tis Memory's breath that wakes the mind,
Like the harp that thrills in the evening wind,
Recalling scenes it left behind,
And feelings fading never, . . .²⁵

²⁵ *RM* ii (Dec. 1836), p. 131.

The function of memory here is not purely to recreate past feelings in more perfect artistic form, as Arnold believed; Simpkinson sees the function of memory as being to achieve objectivity in content as well as in form:

Joy is not all of present things,
 As the passing hour pourtrays them
 We see not half that fortune brings,
 Till Memory's glass displays them.²⁶

The feelings of any single experience are not fit for poetry until they have been placed in the context of other, later experiences, through the modifying influence of memory. Simpkinson is making a point about reserve and sincerity; unless an individual feeling is reserved until it can be seen within the context of the poet's overall experience, he leaves himself open to the charge of inconsistency, and hence, insincerity.

Clough's poetic reply, 'An Answer to Memory' was published immediately after Simpkinson's poem in the same magazine, and seems to defend the Arnoldian position. Simpkinson has urged the practice of reserve to prevent affectation in self-exposure. Clough counters this. His words in praise of a spontaneous overflow of excited feelings echo Arnold's own in his essay on poetry; he invites Simpkinson to abandon his reflected art, and accompany him to the world of real experience:

Yea, come thou too - and thou shalt know
 By thy bosom's strong and eager glow,
 And the yearning heart within thee,
 And thy tardy tongue unlocked and free,
 And thy words that flow spontaneously,
 That the Present too can win thee;
 That there is a strain as vivid and true,

²⁶ *RM* ii (Dec. 1836), p. 131.

And a melody purer and sweeter,
 Than the artful rhymes of after times,
 And Memory's polished metre.²⁷

Reflection does not ensure sincerity but suppresses it; it seeks to negate the romantic, individual intuition, by seeking to place it in an artificial, and therefore insincere, formal framework. The argument is not an original one, and nor are the individual evidences that both poets use to argue their points of view.

But Clough's refutation of Simpkinson is a divided one. The Arnoldian line is undercut by pessimistic self-awareness. The most important part of Simpkinson's poem, is his final stanza, which I shall quote in full,

There is an equalising sway
 In happiness and sorrow,
 That cheers the griefs of the darkest day
 With hopes of the brighter morrow:
 And who with heart so dead and vile
 As would barter Memory's golden smile,
 That Fortune's form for a passing while
 A fairer hue might borrow:
 And false to Nature, from him cast
 The comforts of the peopled past?²⁸

It is significant that it is this stanza which Clough specifically alludes to in the opening lines of his reply (i.e. 'low and vile'/ 'dead and vile'; 'Memory's smile'/ 'Memory's golden smile'), because it is the arguments of this stanza in particular that he seeks to answer. The first four lines especially must have drawn Clough's interest, because they imply not only a theory of memory, but of history as well. Simpkinson argues for reserve and historical optimism. Reflected poetry will be morally ennobling because a pessimistic, despairing outlook can be placed

²⁷ *Poems*, pp. 485-6, ll. 33-42.

²⁸ *R M*, p. 132.

in the context of the long term outworking of Providence.

Hence, when Clough begins his reply by rejecting memory, the implications are wider than poetic form. From the very beginning, his rejection of memory is ambiguous;

And much do I prize sweet Memory's smile
And oft do I look behind me!²⁹

This ambiguity of attitude emerges fully in the fourth stanza:

I half repent me of the lay
That seemed blest Memory's power to slight.³⁰

and as he lists his principle memories, the source of his ambiguity begins to become clear:

And high desires, and aims awoken,
And high resolves still made, still broken,
And hopes, and loves, and loving faces,
And kindly looks, and kindest deeds
And tears that with these memories blend, . . .³¹

These are the memories which indeed haunt his poetry, but they do not either here or there, correspond to Simpkinson's description; Clough's experience of history is a pessimistic one not an optimistic one, in which 'high resolves' are not only broken but remain 'still broken', and memories of happy, loving relationships give way to the experience of the 'tears'³² of solitude and loneliness.

²⁹ *Poems*, p. 485, ll. 3-4.

³⁰ *Poems*, p. 486, ll. 45-6.

³¹ *Poems*, p. 486, ll. 50-4.

³² Clough's propensity or otherwise to tears has not served his reputation well. Biswas in his final chapter makes – in my view – far too much of Clough's tears over *Mari Magno*. And Keller's belief (J.E. Keller, 'New Light on Arthur Hugh Clough's Eight-Year poetic Silence', *Victorian Newsletter*, lxxxix (Spring 1992), 59-61.) that he resorted to prostitutes after falling out with Blanche during their long and contorted courtship is a gross misunderstanding – the reference in an 1851 letter to 'doing what I have hardly done since the year 1837' while walking in St James's Park is surely a reference to tears rather than fornication.

The final stanza of Clough's poem not only sums up this ambiguous attitude, but through its imagery, points to the future development of these themes in Clough's thought and poetry. Memory is imaged in terms of a rainbow, the essence of which being that its light is 'mild' and 'soft'; he argues that perhaps after all, Simpkinson is right, and that:

. . . meek Memory's sweet,
 But humbling forms are better meet
 For this our frail soon-dazzled eye;
 We may not trust us all to joy,
 We still must dread this world's alloy,
 Nor yield the reign to fancies high.³³

There are two points to notice here, and they are related to two different sets of vocabulary. To begin with, memory is 'meek' and 'humbling'; this contrasts with the description of spontaneous poetry as 'proud and high and glorious'. Thus, by analogy, reserve is seen as a 'humbling' principle, while exposure is 'proud'; and this is reminiscent of Clough's characterisation in 'School Society', of reserve as the principle of timidity, and exposure as that of confidence. In that article he chose reserve on the purely pragmatic ground that it was the only way to avoid hypocrisy; here, the choice is made on precisely the same grounds, - that 'humbling forms are better meet' for someone whose propensity to vanity would only be increased by the 'fancies high' of the 'Most proud . . . Now'.

The second set of vocabulary is more revealing however; if the principle of reserve is imaged as the soft, mild light of the rainbow, then exposure, fittingly, is seen as a light too strong 'For this our frail soon-dazzled eye'. Clough is here replying to an image used by Simpkinson; the latter speaks of the objectifying influence of memory through the passing of history, as a comforting influence:

³³ *Poems*, p. 486, ll. 61-6.

Oh no - to comfort life's dull night,
 More broadly shine those visions bright, -
 Like the still diverging rays of light,
 The further space conveys them -
 Though o'er them time and distance cast
 The dream-like faintness of the past.³⁴

Simpkinson is trying to have his cake and eat it; the 'visions' cannot be 'bright' and 'faint' at the same time. Memory acts as an objectifying medium, but in doing so, loses the immediacy of the individual experience. Clough's imagery insists that, although objective reserve may be a mild, rainbow-light which is better adapted to human eyes, nevertheless, true 'joy' lies with the strong light of exposure.

In 'Epi-Strauss-ion' – a full 10 years later – he still felt the same; in that poem, the problem of reserve, as understood by Tractarian and Arnoldian alike, is confronted head-on, in terms of a re-evaluation of precisely the light imagery we have been discussing. At Rugby Clough was forced to accept reserved forms of art, because the moral implications of his Arnoldian poetic made exposure out of the question. As we now turn to Clough's development at Balliol, and especially the influence on him of the Tractarian application of reserve to life and art, we shall see how Clough was able to evolve a poetic which allowed exposure, without contradicting a reserved life-style.

* * *

Between 'An Answer to Memory' and 'Epi-Strauss-ion' lay the Oxford years and the intellectual, social and moral influences we examined in previous chapters.

³⁴ *RM* ii (Dec. 1836), p. 131-2.

How was Clough's poetics affected by those experiences? As at Rugby, it is out of his relationships that his poetics develops. The single subject that dominated his diary during his Balliol years was the crisis in his relationship with Ward.

Although Clough felt it his 'duty' to continue in this uncongenial relationship, he was aware that the feeling of duty was only skin-deep and his real attitude towards Ward partook of the same general character as his attitude to moral activity in general: backsliding combined with a strange, moral torpor. As Clough analysed his friend's character to locate the cause of his own revulsion, he repeatedly concluded that Ward was 'deficient in perceptions and delicacies'; and these fundamental differences destroyed the 'sympathy' necessary between people in true friendship:

. . . that his ways do not well suit me, that I am often worried, often disgusted is quite true, & that his lack of Poetical Perception & of quietness destroy much of the sympathies of daily intercourse.³⁵

. . . what possible daily intercourse could I have with Ward: his want of perceptions leaving no chance of pleasant small talk: & any talk about high matters leading at once to formulism.³⁶

Clough's criterion for 'love' between friends is still the same as at Rugby - 'sympathy'. Ward is ultimately rejected on the same grounds laid down in the Rugby essay on 'School Society'.

But 'sympathy' was a heavily loaded term and applied as much to the relation between writer and reader as between two friends. In both literature and life, if sympathetic channels are blocked then psychic tensions will find no release and breakdown will result. Something like this occurred to Clough during his undergraduate years. At Rugby, although he had practised a reserved poetic, he

³⁵ *Diaries*, p. 85. Entry for 16 Oct. 1838.

³⁶ *Diaries*, p. 88. Entry for 19 Oct. 1838.

had a circle of intimate friends with whom, despite his habitual reserve, he was able to speak frankly about his problems. The loss of these friends had caused him a temporary setback but the return of his family had compensated for this. But during his first year at Balliol he was gradually forced to erect barriers of reserve in his relationships with other people. Once again, Ward encapsulates the more general experience; he presented Clough with problems that could find no release because the necessary sympathy was missing. And if release was not possible through friendship it would have to find, as so often in the past, literary expression.

As at Rugby, the diaries were one means towards the release. After his first term at Balliol, Clough found it necessary to take up his diary writing again. But a diary was not enough. He could only justify his diary outpourings by resolving never to let anyone see what he had written. His diary was merely an extension to his inner turmoil rather than a release from it. Another literary avenue open to him was his college essays. Greenberger has shown how these essays become almost hysterical as Clough reached his Balliol crisis.³⁷ But the opportunity for self-expression offered by this medium was too limited, infrequent and oblique. The constraints of the set subject needed to be stretched to the limit for them to be of any use in this way. And poetry provided the same problem; Arnold's poetic, although essentially an expressivist, 'exposed' poetic, nevertheless provided no encouragement for subjective outpourings. In Arnold's theory, the 'sympathy' necessary between an author and his audience would be wholly alienated by exposure of a mind so little elevated as Clough felt his own to be. In consequence, Clough could only feel

³⁷ E. B. Greenberger, *Arthur Hugh Clough: The Growth of a Poet's Mind* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970).

poetry to be a pastime - irrelevant to the serious concerns with which his soul grappled during 1838. His poetic output seems to have been virtually non-existent for almost a year and then only broken to write two heavily philosophical poems ('Truth is a golden thread . . .' and 'Salsette and Elephanta') in which his own personal concerns are only discernible when read in conjunction with the diaries. Clough needed to open up new, sympathetic channels, either with new friends or a new poetic. In the closed environment of college life, the former was hardly possible but the latter alternative proved remarkably simple.

The change in Clough's poetic during his Balliol years is evidenced by the 1838 correspondence between Clough and his old Rugby friend Gell concerning their mutual friend Burbidge's publication of his *Poems, Longer and Shorter* during that year. Superficially, it looks like (and has traditionally been interpreted as) a 'debate' on the choice between objectivity and egotistical subjectivity. In fact, on closer examination, the 'debate' is not really such at all since Gell tells Clough nothing he does not already know and Clough begins and ends with an essentially Arnoldian poetic although he airs some very significant doubts about the logicity of that poetic.

Clough begins by stating the subjectivist credo:

All poetry must be the language of Feeling of some kind, I suppose, and the imaginative expression of affection must be poetry: . . .³⁸

This directly recalls Arnold's statement noted earlier that 'Poetical language is, in truth, the language of excited feeling' - but it is curiously undercut by the clear

³⁸ *Correspondence* i, p. 73.

note of uncertainty. Clough confirms this impression by going on to outline his fundamental misgivings about Arnold's poetic:

. . . it seems to me that it is both critically best and morally safest to dramaticise your feelings where they are of a private personal character.³⁹

Objective poetry was 'morally safest' because he could not be sure about the exemplary qualities of his own psyche. But to claim it is also 'critically best' is a departure for Clough – from the Arnoldian line, and his own instincts.

Of Macaulay's 'Battle of Ivry' Clough had commented:

We think no more of the individual feelings of Henry [of Navarre], than we think of the author of the poem; . . .⁴⁰

but he made it clear that such objective poetry for all its peculiar virtues is inferior to the modern exploration of subjectivity in poets like Wordsworth. He enforced his point by a 'comparison of ancient and modern poetry to statues and paintings'; although objective poetry is 'lively' and 'striking' its impression on the reader lacks the profound depth of subjective poems like *The Excursion* which he likens to 'a Madonna of the old masters'.⁴¹ In this 1838 letter to Gell, he compares objective poetry to 'ideal paintings' and subjective poetry to 'portraits'.⁴² His points are tentatively introduced by 'I should think' and 'it seems to me'. His real objection to subjective poetry is still on moral, not critical, grounds. What is really troubling him is that subjective 'exposure' - except in exalted poets 'less fearful of or prone to affectations' than himself - destroys the necessary sympathy with the reader because it opens the writer up to ridicule and criticism. It is this rather than critical

³⁹ *Correspondence* i, p. 73.

⁴⁰ *RM*, i, (Oct. 1835), 127.

⁴¹ *RM*, i, (Oct. 1835), 125.

⁴² *Correspondence* i, p. 74.

considerations, aggravated by the concrete example on hand of Burbidge's own indiscretions that makes Clough ' . . . incline to be rather positive about it'.⁴³

Gell's reply to Clough's letter could hardly have been of any great help to Clough in this dilemma, since it merely presents the classic Arnoldian position.⁴⁴ Gell addresses himself from the start entirely to the moral considerations raised by Clough; there is no indication that he has even noticed the distinction Clough makes between moral and critical values. For Arnold and Gell the distinction is non-existent. The two criteria are one and the same. A poet is primarily judged by the loftiness of his morality; technique is a mere secondary adjunct. Poetry for Arnold is simply a refinement of the rhythmic speech that all men use in moments of exalted emotion. And indeed although Clough raises the distinction, he does not develop it; it is of less importance to him than the moral considerations which Gell discusses. Gell acknowledges all the difficulties that Clough already knew to be inherent in 'exposure':

It implies a certain degree of sophistication and casehardening to get over that backwardness there is to make an intellectual shew (not of one's skill, but) of one's self.⁴⁵

- but he defends the practice of poetic exposure on precisely the same grounds as

Arnold:

Yet it is very certain that the private feelings of a superior mind are well worth knowing, and do a great deal of good to many others . . . the poet can only presume to offer an account of his private feelings, as being more acute, comprehensive and cultivated than those of ordinary mortals.⁴⁶

Compare this with Arnold's own description of the moral effect of subjective poetry. Gell follows Arnold's belief that poetry works upon the morals of the

⁴³ *Correspondence* i, pp. 73-4.

⁴⁴ *Correspondence* i, p. 76.

⁴⁵ *Correspondence* i, p. 77.

⁴⁶ *Correspondence* i, p. 77.

reader by sympathetically exposing him to the naked psyche of a morally superior being - the poet.

All of this however was very familiar to Clough – he did not need Gell to paraphrase their old headmaster’s views. His problem was to find a poetic form appropriate to the psyche of an inferior being - himself. Gell of course, not realising that Clough saw himself in this light, offered no real help at all. He acknowledges that there are:

. . . a class with diseased feelings and hydrocephalic imaginations, who have a sort of pride in their morbid anatomies, and (like infirmity patients) will uncover for anybody . . .⁴⁷

but he contents himself with assuring Clough that there is nevertheless a degree of interest in any mind revealing itself and anyway, Burbidge is definitely 'worth listening to'. Gell could not have known that his description of a 'diseased' mind exposing itself, exactly mirrors the image which Clough's diaries reveal that he had of himself. Gell's ridicule of this class of persons must have been warning to Clough of the reception his own subjective feelings would receive should he give way to the impulse to write or publish them.

In the light of this, it becomes understandable why after Gell's long and detailed letter, Clough could only briefly reply:

Thank you for the discussions of Burbidge's privacies concerning which I am inclined to come over to your side, though still rather doubtful.⁴⁸

There was no point continuing a discussion in which Gell had nothing new to offer over and above Arnold's theory. Also perhaps, for Clough to have revealed his true

⁴⁷ *Correspondence* i, p. 77.

⁴⁸ *Correspondence*, i, p. 83.

problems with that theory would have been to allow Gell to glimpse his own low estimation of himself. As usual Clough withdrew into himself to search for a solution alone. To the outside world he maintained a barrier of orthodox Arnoldism. In November 1838, he spoke in an essay of a 'new development of poetry':

. . . whose object now becomes to lend sympathy and encouragement to our better impulses and desires, and to lead us on by glimpses of the higher and healthier frame of mind and the more exalted views and feelings enjoyed by the Poet himself.⁴⁹

This statement of the orthodox Wordsworthian and Arnoldian poetic hides the fact that beneath the surface he was searching for a poetic which, while not denying the essence of this view of poetry and the poet, would expand it to make room for the subjective expression of feelings rather 'diseased' than 'exalted'. Even as he wrote his essay he was beginning to find such a poetic in the views of several leading Tractarians.

The clue to this influence on Clough's poetic lies in a remark he made to Gell a couple of months after their exchange already discussed:

There is a very good article on them [Milnes' *Poems*] involving a theory of Poetry, in the last no. of the British Critic, which is now become the great organ of the Newman-People by a man whom as far as I have seen I like the best of any of them, called Rogers.⁵⁰

Clough wrote to Gell on 18 November, but the article⁵¹ appeared in October. It was almost certainly the reading of Rogers' article which brought Clough round to an acceptance of exposure in poetry, rather than Gell's comments, even though both are really in the end arguing for the same thing. The reason why Clough

⁴⁹ 'The Influence of the Progress of Luxury and Refinement on Literature', Essay No. 11, Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. d. 513. fol. 30r.

⁵⁰ *Correspondence* i, p. 85.

⁵¹ '[Review of] Poems by Trench and Milnes', *BC*, xxiv (Oct. 1838), pp. 271-301.

found Rogers convincing is that the Tractarian begins by addressing the problem of sympathy in human relationships:

The constraint and distance which we are apt to be conscious of in the company of those whom we highly respect, but whose peculiar tone of feeling we cannot appreciate . . . though fraught with pleasant excitement, and probably with intellectual improvement and kind feeling, we feel [them] to be but of momentary interest; . . .⁵²

Here in a nutshell Clough found an exact description of his wearying problematical relationship with Ward. Rogers continues by contrasting such a friendship with one in which true 'sympathy' is present:

The sympathy which is really to be coveted is deep as well as delicate; being based on that which is the only real foundation for friendship between earnest men, similar moral tendencies, ripening as life goes on, if they do not grow rank and sickly, into similar or analogous objects and pursuits.⁵³

Such sympathetic union had been Clough's goal ever since his 'School Society' article in the *Rugby Magazine*. The close interconnection between sympathy in life and art lies behind Rogers' argument here. His central point is that:

. . . to the regulation of these sympathies, poetry addresses itself in a way which nothing else does or can.⁵⁴

Poetry's chief value is found in its capacity in:

. . . enabling mankind at large to sympathise with each other . . . through all the minuter shades of thought and feeling.⁵⁵

The theory is of course very close to Arnold's own, the only difference being that for Arnold the poet is an exalted being that helps others to raise themselves to his own pinnacle by exposing his superior psyche, but for Rogers the sympathetic process in art is much more of a two-way experience. He conceives of the

⁵² *BC Review*, p. 272.

⁵³ *BC Review*, p. 272.

⁵⁴ *BC Review*, p. 273.

⁵⁵ *BC Review*, p. 271.

sympathetic effect of a poet's revelations on the reader, very much in terms of the eighteenth century's predominant poetic:

. . . it only elicits and gives shape to feeling; does not destroy, or create, or infuse it; it does not convert . . .⁵⁶

But his theory is firmly in the romantic, expressivist tradition: it is not abstract truth which is the substance of poetry but:

'a most true reflection of the author's mind.'

However this theory was not enough for Clough any more than Arnold's (or Gell's) had been. What should happen if exposure results not in sympathy but in ridicule? Rogers recognised this problem and confronts it directly in his article:

How are those who feel they have something within them to do justice to that something, to give it form and shape, and to plant it in the hearts of others, without setting themselves up as butts for cold ridicule or foolish sentimental interest?⁵⁷

Significantly, Rogers toys with a solution to this problem which was to be of great value to Clough in his mature poetry:

Some men struggle against the difficulty by throwing deep truths abroad on the world wrapped in jest, irony or paradox . . .⁵⁸

These techniques of 'reserve' were part of the propagandist armoury of Newman himself. Though attacked by Arnold and Kingsley as deceitful, Newman regarded his 'economical half-speakings' as derived from Christ's own method of discourse. Irony was a device whereby Newman could practice exposure and reserve at one and the same time. But Newman was never altogether happy about using such techniques. The necessity arose out of his increasingly ambiguous position in the Anglican Church and when he was converted to Rome he abandoned such

⁵⁶ *BCReview*, p. 274.

⁵⁷ *BC Review*, p. 277.

⁵⁸ *BC Review*, p. 277.

rhetorical ploys. Rogers shows a similar distrust of reserved rhetorical techniques and, although allowing their usefulness, rejects them in poetry as:

. . . inadequate media to convey that which should be above all things winning and elevating. Vigorous, indeed, penetrating and earnest, if earnestly used, they are, but of a forbidden and suspicious aspect . . .⁵⁹

This taboo, common to both Newman (in the end) and Arnold is one expression of what is a stock judgment of orthodox literary criticism in the Victorian era. It is found at the heart of the dislike which many of Clough's friends and admirers felt for *Amours de Voyage*, and *Dipsychus*. Clough himself seems never to have been quite sure of the validity of his satiric ventures. But the seeds of his interest in, and experiments with irony and satire were sown during his brush with the Tractarian concept of reserve.

Rogers' final answer to the problem turns out to have been very simple. He builds up his argument on the analogy between sympathy in poetry and sympathetic human intercourse, but he is careful to draw a distinction between the two – and it is this which is an advance on Arnold's views, and key for Clough. Starting from the Tractarian premise that deep feelings cannot be exposed in ordinary intercourse without destroying the reserve that good taste requires -

. . . what lies deep does not, and cannot . . . form the ordinary subject of communication⁶⁰

- he characterises poetry as a specialised form of communication specifically designed in order to facilitate the expression of feelings which natural reserve would ordinarily block. Arnold had emphasised the congruity between poetry and speech - that poetry is spoken at times by ordinary men. Rogers emphasised the

⁵⁹ *BC Review*, p. 277.

⁶⁰ *BC Review*, p. 274.

difference. Newman spoke of the need to communicate his beliefs to 'matter-of-fact men', and was forced for a time to employ irony. Rogers maintains that:

A poetical way of viewing things is that which is opposed to a matter-of-fact one; it is poetical so far as it does not rest in the mere phenomena which it handles, but aims at informing them with something spiritual, ideal, unearthly . . .⁶¹

He is not at all clear as to the exact nature of this 'poetical way'. In reality, it is hard to see how a 'reserved poetic' can be anything other than an ironic one:

throwing deep truths abroad on the world wrapped in jest, irony or paradox⁶²

But his central point is plain enough. Exposure in relationships will alienate sympathy but in poetry the opposite is the case:

. . . the expectation of this sympathy, whether from a large or from a small circle, from one friend or the whole world, is the poet's legitimate inspiration . . .⁶³

Thus Rogers is offering the possibility of a reserved way of life combined with an exposed poetic - precisely what Clough needed.

In Chapter 3 we saw the centrality of the concept of 'reserve' to Tractarian thinking, both about life and truth. And we saw that this – rather than doctrinal matters – lay at the heart of Clough's interest in Tractarianism - and Tractarians. Reserve became a guiding principle in the way he led his life (and he remained reserved about his ultimate religious beliefs to the end). But crucially, Rogers' poetic theory freed him in principle from the need to exercise reserve in his poetry. Poetry was not like other forms of human communication: it uniquely allowed subjective expression of the deepest feelings – even 'diseased' feelings such as Clough's. Increasingly at Oxford, as the *Blank Misgivings* series for example

⁶¹ *BC Review*, p. 277.

⁶² *BC Review*, p. 277.

⁶³ *BC Review*, p. 281.

shows clearly, Clough felt able to express his sense of failure, loss and isolation, not through historical metaphor, but in direct, subjective poetry. But as an integral part of his reserved lifestyle, he chose not to publish any of this until 1849 when, encouraged by Burbidge's own 'indiscretions' and his own greater self-confidence, he allowed them to see the light of day in *Ambarvalia*. As his horizons broadened still further in the Oriel years, and he was able to get distance from, and perspective on, his oversensitised conscience, he was finally able to see that irony, wit and satire could be more appropriate vehicles for his creativity.

Rogers' theory derives from the more famous poetic theories of Keble. These had been enunciated in the course of Keble's termly lectures (in Latin) on poetry during 1832 - 1841.⁶⁴ In Lecture One, he defined poetry as Wordsworth, Arnold, and Rogers had done - as the language of feeling:

. . . we are all so framed by nature that we experience great relief, when carried away by any strong current of thought or feeling, if we are at last able, whether by speech or gesture or in any other way, to find an expression for it.⁶⁵

Like Rogers, he locates the problem in such expression as being one of embarrassment and the fear of ridicule, forcing one into protective reserve:

. . . those to whom, most of all, utterance would be the relief from a burden are altogether restrained by a sort of shame, far from discreditable, nay rather, noble and natural, from any such relief. What must they do?⁶⁶

Keble's answer, like Rogers', is that poetry exists to fulfil this function; God:

. . . has furnished amplest comfort for sufferers . . . in the gift of Poetry.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ J. Keble, *Praelectiones Academicæ* (Oxford, 1844).

⁶⁵ J. Keble, *Lectures on Poetry*, trans. E.K. Francis (2 vols., Oxford, 1912), p. 19. All subsequent quotations are from this translation.

⁶⁶ Keble, *Lectures* I, p. 20.

⁶⁷ Keble, *Lectures* i, p. 21.

What is only implicit in Rogers' article, Keble makes explicit and the keystone of his theory:

Poetry [is] a kind of medicine divinely bestowed upon man: which gives healing relief to secret mental emotion, yet without detriment to modest reserve: . . .⁶⁸

This concept of poetry as combining a moral effect on the audience with a therapeutic effect on the poet himself would have been highly congenial to Clough. As A.H Warren has put it:

Aristotle's *catharsis*, romantic expressionism, and the Christian virtue of modesty come together here.⁶⁹

Poetry as Keble understood it provided a safety valve in the solid wall of reserve erected of necessity by the Christian. Its function is not merely to ennoble the reader, but also to heal the poet. If the latter occurs, then so will the former and the poet will have earned Keble's accolade as a Primary Poet. Such poetry will be distinguishable by three traits: 'consistency, no straining after novelty, and the reserved expression of what lies near the poet's heart'.

This seems at first a contradiction. If poetry is an antidote to the ill-effects of reserve on the psyche, how can it also be reserved itself? It is really a matter of degree. Gell had made the same distinction between the true poet and the 'class with diseased feelings . . . who . . . will uncover for anybody'. Keble argues that all poets are in a sense diseased, but if they are Christians they do not take their medicine to extremes. The 'law of modest reticence' which Keble advocates often reveals itself in:

⁶⁸ Keble, Lectures i, p. 22.

⁶⁹ A.H. Warren, *English Poetic Theory: 1825-65* (Princeton, 1950), p. 48.

the frequent and innocent use of what has been called Irony . . . [Poets] use these hints as suggestions that they may neither conceal their secrets from worthy readers nor cast their pearls before the unworthy.⁷⁰

Once again irony is put forward as a possible compromise in the conflict between reserve and exposure - a compromise which Clough found it increasingly desirable to avail himself of. But the question of whether this was 'innocent use' as Keble put it was one which was to cast its shadow on his poetry throughout the nineteenth century.

Of course, Clough would have caught only the last three years of this long series of lectures, and they were not published in their entirety until 1844. But specific sources are probably not necessary to explain the influence although they may help our understanding of it. Clough would undoubtedly have become well acquainted with Tractarian theories of poetry simply by being at Oxford. If a specific source is needed however, Keble set forth his theories in a short, comprehensive form in a review of a 'Life of Scott', published in the same edition of the *British Critic* as Rogers' article.⁷¹ Here he gives one of his most succinct definitions of poetry:

. . . the indirect expression in words, most appropriately in metrical words, of some overpowering emotion, or ruling taste, or feeling, the direct indulgence whereof is somehow repressed.⁷²

This repression he attributes partly to 'their very strength and intensesness', and partly to natural reserve due to a fear that the exposed feelings will not arouse the necessary sympathy on the part of the reader:

⁷⁰ Keble, Lectures i, pp. 82 and 84-5.

⁷¹ Had Clough not read the Keble article when he commended Rogers to Gell? Or is this further evidence that it was Rogers' particular slant, emphasising the parallel with friendships, which primarily attracted Clough?

⁷² '[Review of] The Life of Scott', *BC*, xxiv (Oct. 1838), 426-7.

. . . an instinctive delicacy which recoils from exposing them openly, as feeling that they never can meet with full sympathy.⁷³

Keble then goes on to examine that which Rogers is only vague about - the reason why poetry can express feeling without alienating sympathy:

The very circumstances of their being expressed in verse draws off attention from the violence of the feelings themselves, and enables people to say things which they could not venture on in prose, much in the same way as the musical accompaniment gives meaning to the gestures of the dance, and hinders them from appearing to the bystanders merely fantastic. . . . Emotions which in their unrestrained expression would appear too keen and outrageous to kindle fellow feeling in anyone, are mitigated, and become comparatively tolerable, not to say interesting to us, where we find them so far under controul . . .⁷⁴

For Keble then, the act of composition is far from that conceived by Arnold. The latter saw composition as merely the tidying up and embellishing of natural, excited utterance; but for Keble the acceptance by the poet of the formal discipline is both a therapeutic channel for self expression and at the same time a means of maintaining the reserve necessary to ensure the sympathy of the reader. In this way Keble makes the question of subjective and objective form irrelevant: any poetic form will suffice to achieve this dual purpose.

* * *

A poem that demonstrates just how therapeutic poetry was becoming to Clough is 'Foliage, and grass, and western glow,'. Here the sin of lassitude - Clough's own besetting sin at this time, - is seen in terms of a queer feeling of being divorced from reality:

⁷³ '[Review of] The Life of Scott', *BC*, xxiv (Oct. 1838), 431.

⁷⁴ '[Review of] The Life of Scott', *BC*, xxiv (Oct. 1838), 435. Note also here another 'deaf dancing' parallel in a *British Critic* article four years earlier than the 1842 article discussed above. The metaphor was clearly a favourite in Tractarian circles.

I hear, - as phantoms in a dream
 Its moments reach and fly me, . . .⁷⁵

There is an eerie, almost sinister, feeling attached to this moral and volitional paralysis. The poem next turns to an image which Clough has not used before, but which was to appear increasingly in his mature poetry:

Why art thou heavy, oh, my soul?
 Though trial press thee sore,
 Though dark affliction's Waters roll
 In whelming torrents o'er,

It cannot, and it shall not be,
 That thou shalt sink for ever,
 For he hath promised, and He
 Is mighty to deliver.⁷⁶

In a letter to Simpkinson of two years earlier - March 1836 - we see a prose version of the same image, in a description which Clough gives, of his past and present sinful state:

. . . all the while I have been writing this I have been in a constant struggle against evil thoughts, which are like the waves of the tide running in; as soon as one retires another rolls over and is almost beyond the other's original mark.⁷⁷

In both these examples, the image is used in an unambiguously moral way; the water image represents a temptation to sin, which Clough/the poet is vigorously attempting to repulse. The sin in the poem is clearly the moral lassitude that he describes earlier in the poem as an eerie, almost sinister feeling of ghost-like dissociation from reality. This conjunction appears too often for it to be mere coincidence; the Poacher's sin in 'The Poacher of Dead Man's Corner' is revealed to him in a ghostly vision, and in both 'April Thoughts (No. 2)' and 'Stanzas', the decline in the moral life is associated with ghostly imagery. In all these poems, Clough is using 'ghostly imagery' to express an indefinable sense of dissociation

⁷⁵ *Poems*, p. 509, ll. 17-18.

⁷⁶ *Poems*, p. 509, ll. 25-32.

⁷⁷ *Correspondence* i, p. 40.

from the real world around him; in 'Stanzas' in particular, he takes this imagery one step further by describing a morning mist as an image of 'unreality'. All these aspects of the same imagery are to be found in the letter to Simpkinson quoted above; the water imagery is immediately preceded by this passage:

. . . there seems to be an atmosphere of conceit around me enveloping my whole frame like the body does the soul, . . . Do you remember . . . the time when we had the measles together? Ever since . . . a kind of sound or tone which haunted me at that time, and gave a kind of colour to everything I heard, has occasionally in times of excitement come over me, shrouding me as it were in a mist, nay, sometimes coming even within me and giving its ghostly, spectre-like tone to thoughts even before they had acquired the definite sound of words.⁷⁸

Once again, sin is seen as a 'ghostly' mist which 'shrouds' and 'envelopes' Clough, isolating and estranging him from external reality.

Clough says that he is not sure whether his description of this sensation has 'more of reality or of metaphor' in it, but there is little doubt that some concrete feelings of the sort described, lie behind his insistent concern in these early poems with the theme of estrangement. Clough's poacher is a good example of this; his loss of 'sympathy' is brought about by a ghostly vision that makes him doubt if 'his was still a human lot'.⁷⁹ However, the implications of this theme are more radical than this. In the quotation from the letter above, it is especially significant that Clough says he experiences this feeling of ghostly estrangement, at 'times of excitement'. We saw earlier that 'excitement' presented Clough with a paradox; that Arnold had located this as the prime symptom of the degeneracy of the age, and yet, at the same time, it was inextricably linked with Clough's experience of literary composition. Now we have seen that the ghost imagery encapsulates this paradox;

⁷⁸ *Correspondence* i, pp. 39-40.

⁷⁹ *Poems*, p. 466, l. 159.

it is a symbol of Clough's own degeneracy and yet at the same time, occurs so often in his poetry that like excitement, it seems linked to Clough's inspiration. This connection between ghost imagery, excitement and literature, is made explicit in his description of his first reading of Macaulay's 'Battle of Ivry':

. . .the memory of it is like the memory of those few seasons in our life, which we can hardly recall without fear and trembling; those seasons in which we were wrought up to so fearful a pitch of excitement, that the more unyielding parts of our nature seemed to be melted, as hard metals are, till they will receive any shape and any impression; and we could have fancied we were in the state of Arvalan's disembodied spirit,⁸⁰ with all his quickness of sensibility to outward touch and outward workings.⁸¹

Notice here also, the echo of the melting imagery that we find in 'He sate, no stiller stands a rock'.

In the same issue of the magazine, Clough published another article, 'October', in which he can be seen attempting to escape from this paradox, by the postulation of two distinct varieties of poetic excitement:

There is something in the faded hues and deeper shades of autumn that suits more fully that tempered and equable state of feeling - so tempered indeed and equable that I hardly dare to call it excitement, - it is something more pure and more holy. It produces at once the deepest pleasure, and leaves no exhaustion, - nay rather, increased power. "Something of the same kind may," as I remarked to Berkeley, "be observed in the different kinds of poetical excitement produced by the writings of Lord Byron and Wordsworth."⁸²

Arnold and Newman distinguished between worldly and religious excitement.

Clough here seems to be trying to extend the distinction to embrace literary excitement. The advantage to Clough of making this distinction was that he could accept Arnold's indictment of excitement and still continue to write poetry, because in true inspiration, the accompanying excitement was of a different order

⁸⁰ From Southey's *The Curse of Kehama* (1810): Arvalan appears at his own funeral as a 'thin ethereal spirit'.

⁸¹ *RM i* (Oct. 1835), 125.

⁸² *RM i* (Oct. 1835), 204.

to that which Arnold condemned. Byron's writings are truly a product of a declining era; - they produce an excitement which only 'exhausts'. The excitement involved in the writing and appreciation of true literature is not of this kind; rather than being a symptom of decay, it actually bestows 'increased power'.

Thus, Clough came to regard the 'exhausting' variety of excitement as the mark of an immature poet, in the springtime of his career. In 'Sonnets in the Abstract', published almost two years after the two articles above, Clough argues (in terms that recall 'Tintern Abbey') that the sonnet is a poetic form which does not attract the young poet, because it is the product of the 'tempered' form of excitement:

. . . it is likely to be adopted, when the throng of forms, and visions, and fancies, has gradually grown less and less dense, while the individual images have become more perfect, if perhaps less palpable, - more beautiful, though perhaps less exciting.⁸³

He goes on to give Byron as an example of this immature kind of poet, as he does in 'October'. Clough himself clearly aspires to produce this more mature kind of poetry, and describes the kind of conditions he feels to be conducive to it:

It is a story related of Doddridge that one night he dreamed he was in heaven: and when he awoke, the impression remained so strong on his mind that he was at times almost affected to tears: . . . It is precisely after a dream such as this, - a dream, which may be compared to one of those long misty mornings which last, we had almost said, even one or two hours after noon, while the whole face of the country is as quiet and still, and the sun itself as much veiled with haze as at its first appearance in the east, - that the thoughts fall naturally into a Sonnet.⁸⁴

It is clear here that just as Clough defined two types of excitement, so he attempted to define two types of misty, dream-like experiences: one which resulted in the wrong kind of excitement, and one which accompanied the highest kind of poetry. The former of these states can be instanced by the effect which

⁸³ *RM* ii (Jul. 1837), 271.

⁸⁴ *RM* ii (Jul. 1837), 272.

'The Battle of Ivry' had on him and the latter by the above description. This kind of hair-splitting was only necessary at Rugby, in order to defend his impulse to write, against the attacks on this made by the Arnoldian ethic; as soon as that ethic was relaxed, as began to happen in Clough's final year at Rugby, Clough was able to accept the ambiguities inherent in estrangement, and explore them in his poetry. In this exploration, the linked imagery of water and the ghost-like state were to play a key role.

The central importance of the ghost imagery can be seen especially in the article contributed to the magazine by Gell, called 'A School-Boy's Story'.⁸⁵ Despite Clough's own denial that the boy described is himself, it is very clear that so much of the experience described in the article closely parallels Clough's own, Gell must have drawn on his friend for material. The article describes a boy who gives himself up completely to indulgence in 'habits of solitary and ruinous study'; this indulgence is explicitly compared to sensual indulgence in the kind of terms we now associate with Victorian descriptions of the effects of masturbation:

Yet the same ruinous principle seems to lurk in both; the pleasure, namely, of living fast, of drawing forth the vital energies to the utmost, until they are utterly wasted.⁸⁶

The similarity of this description to that of the 'exhausting' effect of the bad kind of excitement is immediately apparent. The conflation here of sensual and intellectual indulgence, is a characteristic feature of Clough's diaries. It seems likely that masturbation caused him much soul-searching, but it is often unclear in the diaries, exactly which indulgence is being berated at any one time. The reason given in the article for intellectual indulgence is also characteristic of Clough:

⁸⁵ *RM i* (Jul. 1835), 23.

⁸⁶ *RM i* (Jul. 1835), 26.

. . . that pleasure which is felt in enduring much, and in exertion that is hopeless and beyond the strength; that feeling which has before now borne up men . . . under the pains of martyrdom . . .⁸⁷

Here, as in other areas of activity, the ethic of heroic martyrdom led Clough into moral contradictions for which there was no solution.

Gell quotes the schoolboy as describing the indulgence as 'most rich and intoxicating';⁸⁸ we are reminded of Clough's own description of his similar indulgence in prize writing, as a 'right intoxicating draught'. The 'intoxicating' nature of the indulgence is then illustrated by concrete examples of 'delightful and astonishing imaginings' that result from it. He revels in the 'visionary unreality' with which such imaginings invest everything:

One of my chief delights was, in the middle of the night, to give myself up in darkness to my own thoughts and fancies, as a sort of respite from hard and continual reading.⁸⁹

The word 'fancies' is of special significance, as Clough's diaries are full of references to various 'fancies' in which he has indulged, and which he condemns variously as 'foolish', or 'vain'. Such fancies were clearly times when Clough encouraged a state of excitement in himself and often produced the ghostly sense of estrangement that accompanied this. In the sequel to the schoolboy's story,⁹⁰ the unknown indulger characterises the life resulting from his habit as:

“Nights of labour and sometimes of excitement, succeeded by dreamy uncomfortable days, . . .⁹¹

But surely such a life is that which Clough recommends in his story about Doddridge quoted above, as being most conducive to the production of poetry.

⁸⁷ *RM i* (Jul. 1835), 25.

⁸⁸ *RM i* (Jul. 1835), 26.

⁸⁹ *RM i* (Jul. 1835), 27.

⁹⁰ *RM i* (Oct. 1835), 109.

⁹¹ *RM i* (Oct. 1835), 109.

The circle is squared in that article by the peculiar nature of the Sonnet form itself, which is 'surely rather fitted to be the after-record of impression for reflective and for meditative poetry'.

The issue is about the role of memory in the creation of poetry. In the poetic dispute with Simpkinson, Clough was in two minds on the subject, but ultimately, at the end of 'An Answer to Memory', immediate experience, immediately recorded, and born out of the excitement of fresh poetic vision:

. . . songs that start from the teeming heart,-
Most proud and high and glorious Now.⁹²

are what attract Clough most deeply. That is where Truth lies – in poetry, in history, in religion – not seen through the modifying filters of memory, myth and tradition, but in the clear light of today. The problem was that such poetry runs the risk of over-excitement, exhaustion, and moral turpitude.

The sonnet, 'Whence com'st thou, shady lane'⁹³ was written in the Autumn of 1839 and records a specific memory; one that Clough has had one 'hot, still noon of August' of a time exactly ten years previously (l.2) when he had walked down a shady lane viewing the summer scenery. It seems at first glance to be no more than this - an excuse for a pretty exercise in Wordsworthian recollection. But ten years previously, August 1829, was the summer when the Clough family paid its brief visit to England. The Cloughs crossed to England in June and returned to Charleston in November, leaving young Arthur at school in Chester. The poem recalls Clough's first year in England that he had found so traumatic. But the

⁹² *Poems*, p. 486, ll. 69-70.

⁹³ *Poems*, p. 146.

recollection is more precise than this. It was on 22 August 1829 that Clough was first taken to Rugby; the date was so indelibly printed on his memory that he included it in a brief chronology of his life that he drew up in 1839. The connection may appear tenuous but corroboration of a kind peculiar to Clough is provided by the sestet of the sonnet.

The memory of the shady lane clearly has some significance for Clough that the poem does not articulate. The significance relates, not to the shady lane itself, but to the 'hot still noon of August' which is responsible for reviving the long forgotten incident:

This quelling silence as of eve or night,
Wherein Earth (feeling as a mother will
After her travail's latest bitterest throes)
Looks up, so seemeth it, one half repose,
One half in effort, straining, suffering still.⁹⁴

The clue is provided not so much by the image itself as the characteristic construction which encapsulates the image: 'one half repose, /One half in effort'. In 'Rosabel's Dream', the same construction is closely connected with Rosabel's strange, dream-like state in which:

. . . conscious half, half slumbers still
Our god-like sense of good and ill?⁹⁵

At first glance there would seem little similarity between its use in 'Rosabel's Dream' and in the present sonnet; but as I will now show, this construction in all its manifestations lies at the heart of Clough's creative impulse. In its implications it embraces both Clough's habitual concerns and the means by which they find their therapeutic expression in his poetry.

⁹⁴ *Poems*, p. 146, ll. 10-14.

⁹⁵ *Poems*, p. 498, ll. 241-2.

In the case of 'Whence com'st thou, shady lane' the significance of the construction and hence of the whole poem is best elucidated by comparison with the fourth line of a poem written only five months later, in January 1840:

Here have I been these one and twenty years
 Since first to Being's breeze my Soul unfurled
 A voyager upon the wavy world
 Half idling, half at work . . . ⁹⁶

In both poems, the opposition contained in the 'half . . . half' construction is between the characteristic Cloughian themes of activity and idleness, energetic commitment and timid caution. In the slightly later poem Clough's rapidly approaching mental crisis provokes complete disillusionment with his past; he views himself as a failure from the moment of birth. Even as a child in Charleston, he believes himself to have been guilty of a lack of moral earnestness; his life has always been an endless, degrading downward spiral. In 'Whence com'st thou, shady lane' we are provided with a symbolic moment symptomatic of his characteristic situation: wavering between a full commitment of the 'energetic will' and cautious withdrawal. The image of the mid-summer Earth, like a woman in labour, attempts to suggest a point where 'effort' and 'repose' meet; the 'half . . . half' construction is used to this end. Clough's characteristic use of seasonal imagery, deriving from Arnold's historical ideas is also at work here; the remembered moment is poised at a turning point between the 'effort' of spring and summer growth, and the long 'repose' of autumn descending into winter.

The imagery and the construction thus join to express what the slightly later poem declares to have been Clough's constant state since birth. But more than this it

⁹⁶ *Poems*, p. 156, ll. 1-4.

expresses the particular concrete situation of August 1829. It was the turning point of his life, poised between the happy years of his childhood and the approaching years of intense moral commitment at Rugby. It is hardly surprising that the first day Clough visited Rugby should be remembered by him as one of 'half repose' and 'half effort'. Ever since that time, his life had been a wavering succession of 'idling' and 'work'. Now Clough had reached the point where this wavering past appeared as two separate and distinct selves and poems like this constitute a therapeutic attempt to regain his wholeness of being. The relevance of the imagery in the sonnet sestet is emphasised by the vocabulary used to describe the young pre-Rugby Clough. The concepts of an 'idle heart' and 'wandering' with 'paces slow' are frequently used in these poems to evoke the moral aimlessness and vacillation of Clough's past life.

But how does the use of the construction in these two poems relate to the two examples in 'Rosabel's Dream'? The answer lies in the dream-like state analysed above, and the centrality of its attendant imagery to Clough's poetry. It will be remembered that, while we found the dream-like state to be closely allied to a sense of ambiguity, moral or otherwise, this ambivalent feeling is strongly repressed in 'Rosabel's Dream' by the overt Arnoldian moral. The 'demon' who 'whispers' from his 'prison within' of 'longings unaccountable' has none of the ambiguity which is his essence in *Dipsychus*. But it is clear that throughout the Rugby poems Clough is fascinated by the dreamlike state in which the ghosts, spirits and demons of that poetry have their ambiguous existence. His fascination probably derives from the kind of 'excited' and feverish visions which Clough, like Gell's schoolboy, experienced as a result of his moral overstraining. This

fascination continues throughout his adult life and poetry, as demons and dreamlike states become increasingly connected with the development of his ambiguous attitude towards experience. The 'half . . . half' construction is a minor linguistic means of conveying the same.

A poem which illustrates all this is the fragment which Clough wrote in America and which Chorley has been able by various means to link with *Dipsychus*. The 'Phantom' described in 'The Angel' has all the ambiguity which we associate with the Spirit in *Dipsychus*; although an 'angel', brought into existence by God to be his 'delegate', he is nevertheless like 'some ill-omened bird of night':

Half-bird, half-beast, with foul and dismal way
 Hover and flit about this human soul
 Flapping thy black temptation in his face . . .⁹⁷

Note here how the ambiguous tempter is characterised once again by means of the 'half . . . half' construction. The antithesis contained in the construction - 'bird' and 'beast' - relates to one of Clough's central ambiguities: the relation of the spiritual and the material, the ethereal and the earthly. The phantom's qualities are also described by its movements; it 'flits' and 'flaps' around its victim and this physical movement mirrors the mental wavering which it produces in the double-minded man. Such vocabulary is used by Clough a great deal in his later poetry; take for example the first stanza of a poem written in 1850:

Go, foolish thoughts, and join the throng
 Of myriads gone before;
 To flutter and flap and flit along
 The airy limbo shore.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ *Poems*, p. 351, ll. 7-9.

⁹⁸ *Poems*, p. 307, ll. 1-4.

Once again, Clough conjures up a dream-like ghostly scene in which his thoughts, 'foolish' because indecisive and wavering, become phantoms which in their physical movements act out their fluttering existence. In another poem ('Hast thou not made great'), Clough likens himself to a:

Pale, ineffectual, flitting, mephitical Jack o' Lantern,
'wandering' over 'pestiferous swamps of Contemplation'.⁹⁹

I am suggesting that there is a direct link between 'The Poacher of Dead Man's Corner' where we first found Clough using such imagery and *Dipsychus* where the imagery is faced directly and analysed at length. I have suggested that the imagery stems directly from Clough's personal experience at times of 'excitement'; light is shed on this subject by a long, and inexplicably (because crucial) unpublished letter sent by Clough to Blanche Smith in the early days of their courtship:

I do talk too pretty when I am sitting by you - I had quite forgotten that I was given to that vice - but so it used to be once, as I remember; and then I took to holding my tongue; and yet after all I am not cured - you must let me say bad things when with you, to make sure of my not saying them when I leave you - for I have a most terrible reluctance to give pain, (!!)(that stands for your exclamation) which makes me desperately deceitful - After I had crossed the ladder stile the Devil met me and put a word in my mouth - which I really think I cannot tell you. But I got rid him [sic] before I reached Kneller Hall and have seen nothing of him this morning yet!

You will insist on knowing - shall you not. Well, I will tell you - think what you will. The devil met me and said 'Oh ho! a pretty way you've been blarneying that simple girl all this evening - as if after all you cared a fig about it - as if you couldn't go off at any moment, saying to yourself, how amusing it was. And I hung down my head and had nothing to say; and the devil went off laughing and chuckling inside me all the way till near the Ham gate, and then I found a little courage and admitting that it might be the case, muttered nevertheless 'that she was good I was quite sure she was good' - but I was ready all the same to go forth into the wilderness like Cain for the thought of what was in me - . . . When the devil will come

⁹⁹ *Poems*, p. 447.

back next, I can't be certain - but shall I ask him to meet us in the Arbour on Saturday? and which style of conversation would you recommend him to adopt? that which he used by the ladder stile, or the sycophantic, wheedling, caressing, self-be-praising tone more familiar to you?-It is because you will hate all this that I write it.¹⁰⁰

The first thing to be noted from this extraordinary extract is Clough's reference to his ability to 'talk pretty'; he recalls that he had been guilty of this 'vice' at a previous period in his life and had attempted to cure himself of it by 'holding his tongue'. He is referring here quite clearly to the period at Balliol when as we have seen he deliberately exercised reserve in such a way as to make himself disagreeable in company. At Balliol he 'held his tongue' because his behaviour in society served only to swell his pride and lacked sincerity towards man and God. In the same way in the letter, Clough is afraid that fear of upsetting Blanche will result in a similar insincerity in his relations with her: instead of exposing to her the depths of his feelings and emotions, he will be deceitful and merely engage in 'pretty talk'.

Clough goes on in the letter to demonstrate the kind of feelings that he wants to expose to Blanche but has reserved. However he does this in a way which attempts a compromise between reserve and exposure. He describes himself as carrying out a dialogue with a devil inside him, which has startling resemblances to *Dipsychus*. In that poem the dialogue is not simply a matter of two selves inhabiting one breast but rather of a double-minded individual confronted by a Spirit who will adopt any posture without regard to consistency. Similarly, the devil of the letter can speak straight from the shoulder, making Clough aware of the ambiguities in his feelings for Blanche, or he can adopt a 'sycophantic, wheedling, caressing, self-

¹⁰⁰ Bodleian MS. Eng. Lett. e. 77. fols. 2v-8v. Checklist of All Known Letters No. 434. Unpublished letter from Clough to Blanche Smith, 30 December 1851.

be-praising tone' - a mockery of Clough's desires to adopt the 'pretty' talk of social convention. The parallels are too obvious to need stressing. What is worth noting here is that Clough should both think of his feelings and express them in terms of devilish haunting. One is reminded of the dream demon in 'Rosabel's Dream':

. . . this in very truth I know,
That they who with it once have met
Have not forgotten, nor will forget; . . .¹⁰¹

It is hard not to conclude that Clough himself had met and grappled with this demon many times. It is almost certainly related to his repressed sexuality, considering the contexts in which it appears; and that Clough has sublimated it into art is only to stress once again the therapeutic nature of poetic creativity for Clough. His entire poetic output is in one sense an attempt to define and come to terms with his many fragmented selves through the ambiguous demon figure and the dreamlike atmosphere of unreality which he inhabits and in which moral imperatives become uncertain and one is reduced to 'flitting' and 'flapping' from one feeling, thought or belief to another.

Given that this dreamlike state is closely associated with the excitement that for Clough accompanied poetic creativity, it is hardly surprising that there is very often a dreamlike quality that intrudes into Clough's poetry even when that poetry is at its most down to earth. It is surely one of the factors contributing to the uniqueness of *Dipsychus* that it so brilliantly manages to hold the nightmarish world of the Spirit and the matter-of-fact material life of Venice combined together. Poems like 'The Questioning Spirit', 'Easter Day. Naples, 1849', 'The Shadow', are all clearly derived out of the creative dreamlike state, as are the

¹⁰¹ *Poems*, pp. 499-500, ll. 285-7.

dream sequences in 'Adam and Eve'. But I would also suggest that a poem like 'Why should I say I see the things I see not' with its nightmarish dance imagery in the first section also gains its peculiar atmosphere from the feverish excitement of Clough's own creative process.

Of the three major poems, *Dipsychus* is obviously most clearly a reflection of this and *The Bothie* the least influenced, although it is noticeable even in the latter poem that Clough's poetry moves from the matter-of-fact to the symbolic - the characteristic movement of Clough's poetry. *Amours de Voyage* is Clough's best and most complex poem. As such its symbolic content is far more rich, varied and suggestive than either the less ambiguous *The Bothie* or more ambiguous *Dipsychus*. It follows however the characteristic pattern of movement away from the matter-of-fact treatment of modern and historical Rome to a symbolic expression of Clough's attitude to historical and social truth. It is not surprising therefore that as it does so, almost as if it were moving towards the heart of his creative urge, the poem touches upon the ghost and dream symbolism of *Dipsychus*.

One of the subjects of *Amours de Voyage* - if not its principal concern - is the nature of reality and our perception and experience of it. The poem unites the twin themes of history and social relationships that we have followed in this study as the two aspects of reality with which the poem deals. Claude's hard-won attitude to reality reflects Clough's own and for our purposes is best expressed in the following passage deleted from the final version; historical truth is:

. . . more transient far, more flitting, ephemeral, trivial
 Than the commonest line in the roof of the Sistine Chapel.¹⁰²

The vocabulary here is that of ghostlike 'flitting' and is echoed in the more famous declaration by Claude at the end of the poem of his determination to accept the ambiguity of reality:

Fact shall be fact for me; and the Truth the Truth as ever,
 Flexible, changeable, vague, and multiform, and doubtful. -
 Off, and depart to the void, thou subtle, fanatical tempter!¹⁰³

The tempter of this final line, like the Spirit of *Dipsychus* in at least one of his guises, would seek to seduce Claude into a 'factitious' acceptance of social and religious conformity. The next segment of the poem has Claude envisage his own death-bed, haunted by the 'tempter'. He realises that in the weakness of approaching death he may give in to the 'ill-genius' but until then he will resist the temptation.¹⁰⁴ In this passage, the death-bed imagery of Clough's Rugby period is joined to his characteristic phantom imagery to produce a complex image of the courageous struggle to maintain the ambiguous vision.

The prevalence of the word 'half', either on its own or in the 'Half . . . half' construction, in Clough's poetry is valuable evidence of this struggle. Often the individual use of the word cannot be interpreted in any particular way but his general liking for the word is in itself significant. And very often Clough does use it to express his sense of the ambiguity of life, of experience, and of truth. Thus in 'The Judgment of Brutus',¹⁰⁵ he uses 'half' twice in order to describe his central character. After the death of his sons, Brutus' state is described (l. 41) as one of 'half-death'; the Roman people, unaware of the turmoil of indecision that Brutus

¹⁰² *Poems*, p. 630.

¹⁰³ *Poems*, p. 129, ll. 101-3.

¹⁰⁴ *Poems*, pp. 129-30, ll. 104-12.

¹⁰⁵ *Poems*, p. 148.

conceals by his exterior self-assurance, believe that 'no half-thought' can shift his original purpose (l. 191). In *Mari Magno*, the speaker of 'The Lawyer's First Tale'¹⁰⁶ is 'half glad, half wretched' (l. 202) on leaving female company; Edmond of 'The Clergyman's First Tale'¹⁰⁷ finds travelling 'pleasure half, half pain' (l. 224.) and the Clergyman himself is described as having had large experience:

Of human acts, good, half and half, and bad.¹⁰⁸

Or again, Donkin the astronomer is reported to have been in a mood 'pensive half, half banter'.¹⁰⁹ In his favourable review of Alexander Smith's *Life Drama*, Clough wrote:

. . . we seem to see the young combatant, half combatant, half martyr,
resolute to fight it out . . . – one way or other to make something of it.¹¹⁰

And in his Balliol essay dated February 1840, he refers to 'pregnant words' used by Pericles, as 'half concealed, half triumphant'¹¹¹. In all these examples we find encapsulated in the construction the themes of commitment and withdrawal, optimism and pessimism, excitement and depression, and the wavering alternation between them that are the subjects of his poetry.

* * *

On 16 October 1839, Clough wrote to Burbidge:

I have written a few Versiculi this Vacation. I send you a bit of the longest piece of two [ll. 15-35 of 'So I, as boyish years went by, went wrong' follow]. . . There are about 20 more of them; which I spare you. . . .¹¹²

¹⁰⁶ *Poems*, p. 377.

¹⁰⁷ *Poems*, p. 396.

¹⁰⁸ *Poems*, p. 375, l. 47.

¹⁰⁹ *Poems*, p. 161, l. 2.

¹¹⁰ *Selected Prose Works of Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. B. Trawick (University of Alabama, 1964), pp. 146-7.

¹¹¹ Bodleian MS. Eng Misc. d.514. fol.32v.

¹¹² *Poems*, p. 657.

On 24 November, he wrote again:

I send you the rest of my blank verses [ll. 1-15 follow] . . . which are meant to end precisely where the others begin; . . .¹¹³

Of the 'few Versiculi', only 'So I, as boyish years went by, went wrong'¹¹⁴ and 'Whence com'st thou, shady lane, . . .'¹¹⁵ have survived. But I do not think we have lost any poems. Although the former was written out in Clough's notebook as one poem (with a break at 1.15) and he connects the two parts when he sends them to Burbidge, nevertheless, Clough clearly conceived of them as in some sense two separate poems. None of the 'vacation versiculi' were published by Clough and it seems possible that he withheld them because of their intimate connection with personal events in his past. The poems of this period that *were* eventually published in *Ambarvalia* were less specific in their personal reference.

'So I, as boyish years went by, went wrong', more than any other poem we have examined so far is a direct precipitation into verse of the concerns found in the Balliol diaries - or at least, this is true of the first 15 lines; the second part of the poem is very different. 'Fond conceit' was held by Clough to be his besetting sin, and that above all else, he felt that his vanity must be brought under control. He argues in the first nine lines of the poem that he had been deterred from moral activity by the inability to find moral imperatives strong enough, and intimidated from following what imperatives he could find through fear ('dared not duly follow') – borne of experience - that the chosen action would turn out to be 'the

¹¹³ *Poems*, p. 657.

¹¹⁴ *Poems*, p. 146.

¹¹⁵ *Poems*, p. 146.

worst and meanest'. Thus he is recognisably describing the situation of his first Balliol year.

On 1 February 1840, only a few months after this poem was written, Clough wrote an essay¹¹⁶ in which he explored yet again the ambiguities of his situation:

It is, according to the Poet:

. . . A thing impossible, to frame
Conceptions equal to the Soul's desires;
And the most difficult of tasks to keep
Heights which the Soul is competent to gain.

. . . difficult beyond measure in the fluctuations of life and practice to which most are exposed; in the rough, unyielding material of action duly to set forth the expression of the lofty ideal within, itself so easily forgotten.¹¹⁷

Clough's words here are a prose statement of the argument in lines 2-7 of 'So I, as boyish years went by, went wrong', and many other of his poems. Notice how the ambiguities of life are described as 'fluctuating' - another version of his characteristic 'flitting' imagery. The 'Poet' whom he quotes so approvingly is of course Wordsworth; the lines are from Book iv (ll.136-9) of *The Excursion*, which is titled, (appropriately enough in Clough's context), 'Despondency Corrected'. In his essay for 29 February 1840,¹¹⁸ Clough quotes again from *The Excursion*, this time from Book iii, 'Despondency' in which Wordsworth describes the disillusion and depression that haunt the Solitary. Asked to discuss the Athenian educational system, Clough, as he often did, twisted the question around so that he could discuss issues of more immediate personal concern. He declares 'expansion and discipline' to be 'the two inseparable objects of all education', and it swiftly

¹¹⁶ Greek Title which translates as 'What is beyond their own capacity men at once envy and disbelieve', Essay No. 24, Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. d. 514. fols. 27-29.

¹¹⁷ As above: Fols. 28v-29r.

¹¹⁸ 'On the System of Education Pursued at Athens under Pericles', Essay No. 26, Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. d. 514. fols. 32-34.

becomes evident that this is merely another guise for his preoccupation with the principles of commitment and withdrawal, energetic activity and timid caution.¹¹⁹

He declares that expansion or activity is not sufficient to stand alone as a principle because precipitate action can bring forth the bitterest harvest:

Most needful therefore is it that we add to Expansion Discipline: and
restrain by strict rules the forward impetuosity of Youth eager (in the
Words of the Poet)

“to demand from real life
“The test of Act and Suffering - to provoke
“Hostility, - how dreadful when it comes,
“Whether affliction be the foe, or guilt.”¹²⁰

These are the words of the Solitary whose name alone is sufficient to explain his distrust of impetuous action. In his essay Clough is clearly seeking to find 'the balance' between the two ambiguous extremes, and he found it in a solution which the Wanderer offers as a correction to the Solitary's despondency in Book iv of *The Excursion*. On 10 June 1839, Clough copied out in his diary¹²¹ Book iv, ll. 222-7 of *The Excursion* in which to the question 'What then remains?' the Wanderer replies:

But, above all, the victory is most sure
For him, who, seeking faith by virtue, strives
To yield entire submission to the law
Of conscience - conscience revered and obeyed,
As God's most intimate presence in the soul,
And his most perfect image in the world.

Of course, Clough's interest in this passage could be interpreted as purely Arnoldian; but this would not be the whole truth as is made clear by Clough's essay of 20 November 1840¹²² in which he quotes this same passage.

¹¹⁹ Fol. 33r.

¹²⁰ Fols. 33v-34r. Quotation from Wordsworth, *The Excursion* iii, ll. 417-20.

¹²¹ Balliol MSS, Clough Diaries, Journal Marked 'March 1838 to June 1840', fols. 66v-67r.

¹²² 'Vox Populi Vox Dei', Essay No. 31, Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. d.515. fols. 4-7.

The title of the essay is 'Vox Populi, Vox Dei'. Clough begins with an argument that prefigures Matthew Arnold's mature deliberations on the subject. He maintains that individual men 'revolt from the particular Voice of God which speaks in the conscience of each'; he expresses his conviction in familiar terms:

. . . the lives of the great Majority express individually desertion of that which is the true and only best and acquiescence more or less reluctant in some one out of the many mere second-bests . . .¹²³

The relevance of this to Clough's own search for his real self – the thread of truth - should be apparent; he locates in such individuals precisely the wavering, ambiguous, moral response that he criticises himself for:

Again if in the case of individuals we know that it is but slothfully, and unsteadily, with much looking back and much deviation and seldom except with a double mind that any object whatever once chosen is pursued, surely we may look for the same disease . . . in . . . the Community.¹²⁴

In *Culture and Anarchy*, Matthew Arnold found his 'Vox Dei' in the State which he conceived to be the sum total of each individual's 'best self'. Here Clough arrives at a similar conclusion - that:

If there be indeed all this flux and fickleness, then may we not deem that an object which with any degree of steadiness combines in its pursuit any number of men, is indeed an object . . . in some degree to be called Vox Dei?¹²⁵

He defends this by suggesting that men 'combine' in such 'pursuits' because each is prompted by his conscience. He concludes the essay by quoting from *The Excursion* passage just discussed. Thus Clough's attraction to Wordsworth's 'conscience' has wider implications than the Arnoldian; it is a statement of faith in what he called in his 1853 Preface:

A few strong instincts, and a few plain rules

¹²³ 'Vox Populi Vox Dei', Essay No. 31, Fol. 4r.

¹²⁴ 'Vox Populi Vox Dei', Essay No. 31, Fol. 5r.

¹²⁵ 'Vox Populi Vox Dei', Essay No. 31, Fol. 6r-v.

to which one commits oneself by a dedication of the will.

The next section of 'So I, as boyish years went by' (11.9-15) expands and amplifies on the consequences of a lack of commitment of the will. In these lines he likens 'faith' to the act of reaching out for and accepting 'the outstretched arm of heavenly guidance' which is always present but which is difficult to see. The metaphor is a common evangelical one. Because Clough has ignored the prompting of conscience, he argues that:

. . . she in the end
Out of sheer weakness was full fain to lean
On every common passer.¹²⁶

The specific 'common passer' that Clough had in mind here was almost certainly William Tylden.

The specific source of lines 14 -15 of 'So I, as boyish years . . .' quoted above is to be found in a postscript which Clough added to the letter (already quoted) which he wrote to Tylden at this time. He explains that his recent loneliness, not having seen his family or his Rugby friends for some while, and his weakness due to recent illness means that he will probably lead Tylden to think that Clough felt for him more than was in fact the case. Clough warns him that 'after seeing my friends at home and elsewhere [this] would probably be withdrawn':

. . . weaker than usual . . . I feel myself apt to lean on every chance
neighbour.¹²⁷

This verbal parallel with the poem has implications that make it necessary to look

¹²⁶ *Poems*, p. 147, ll. 13-15.

¹²⁷ *Diaries*, p. xxxix.

again at the first fifteen lines of the poem. Clough's argument has been that his inability to find 'A passage worthy' of his soul 'In the wild wood of daily deeds' has led him to lean 'On every common passer'. Within the context of the poem, this has an unspecific reference; Clough is referring to a general inability to act out his best self in all his transactions with external reality. But this letter to Tylden shows that, as it did in the three 'Blank Misgivings' poems, Clough's poetic expression of a general guilt has its primary inspiration in his guilt over personal relationships which forms so large a part of his diary entries.

This is borne out by ll. 15-35 of 'So I as boyish years . . . ' in which he describes a specific revival in his moral life which he has experienced in the past. One of the principal causes of this revival is ' . . . some neglect/ In those half friendships half-resolves had made'. Once again we find Clough's chief preoccupations encapsulated in this construction; he probably had in mind here the friendships he made during his last years at Rugby in his loneliness resulting from the loss of his older friends to the universities. But clearly his friendships with Tylden and Ward are also relevant here. They were 'half friendships' because the necessary sympathy was missing and Clough had only indulged in them through 'half-resolves' which would waver and be withdrawn in time. This wavering in personal relationships continued to be a central theme throughout Clough's poetry. Philip, Claude and *Dipsychus* all waver over a variety of issues but always at the centre are their personal relationships with women. At Rugby and Balliol, relationships with women were (we think) largely beyond Clough's experience; but we have seen during the Oriel period how Clough's preoccupations in his relations with

Tylden and Ward reappear in those with women. Clough's letter to Tylden is like nothing else so much as his letters to Blanche Smith over a decade later.

* * *

The use of the 'half . . . half' construction points to a more general aspect of Clough's approach to poetry. Clough's diction – and his characteristic imagery - share two very important qualities - they are both simple and repetitive. By simple I mean that his images are not contrived; he uses traditional imagery involving water, seasons, light and dark etc. which gain their force from their universality. His words tend towards generalised abstractions, such as Truth, Caution, Pride, Courage etc. Such words and images are of course capable of resonance within the right context, but the problem is that in Clough's case, the context is only provided by his work as a whole, not by the individual poems. By using the same words and images in different contexts created by different poems they begin to take on the conflicting meanings provided by those contexts. Clough's fondness for familiar proverbs and sayings, often incorporated into some poetic refrain, is another facet of this same technique. Like individual words and images, these sayings can be made to stand for complex ideas and attitudes.

Thus Clough achieves symbolic significance in his poetry as a whole rather than through individual poems. The results of this have been far reaching. Criticism has tended to agree that his long poems are his best because in those poems only was he able to create a self-sufficient context from which his symbolic meanings might emerge. Obversely, critics have been discouraged from seeking complexity in

Clough's shorter poems individually and have adopted more often than not a biographical approach, instinctively feeling that only in this way can justice be done to the complexity of Clough's poetic response to reality. I wish in no way to criticise these twin approaches since they are based on the facts of the case; but an understanding of why critics approach Clough in the way they do will be of value. It is not enough to praise the long poems and treat the lyrics as adjuncts to biography - to speak of *The Bothie* as marking the beginning of some strange flowering of genius. Rather, it is necessary to read the work of Clough as in many senses a single whole; biography then provides a convenient way into this coherent world. Clough's corpus of poetry is a unitary whole like life itself; just as an individual needs memory to unite his many different past selves, so Clough's poetry is connected together by the key words, phrases, images and themes which appear and reappear countless times in different contexts.

It is these different contexts which lie at the heart of the matter. As we have seen, Clough's poetic favoured the subjective expression of the 'Now' in lyric poetry without regard to any objectifying context. Thus his lyric poems set out to capture the individual, fleeting moment; in the constant flux of reality, Clough can only hope to capture a particular insight in a particular poem. Such an enshrining of flitting reality was in a real sense the 'Truth' as Clough comprehended it - but not the whole truth, which he knew to be far more complex and contradictory. Thus each individual poem represents a single aspect of truth; but taken together the whole corpus of Clough's poetry represents something of the real complexity. However, matters are not always as simple as this, since Clough did not always allow his poems to stand alone but would later attempt to alter the poem to reflect

a later view of reality. Sometimes the result is that the poem tries to incorporate two views at once and fails by trying to achieve too much; but sometimes Clough succeeds because he does not attempt to synthesise the two views but leaves them standing side by side.

The Oxford edition of Clough's poems proves beyond doubt that Clough was a constant reviser of his old poems. But those revisions are of a peculiar kind. Of course, much of the revision has to do with individual felicities in word or line, which have to do with the presentation of the poem but do not touch its essence. But of the more substantial revisions, his predominant practice was not so much to recast old poems but merely to add to them. In this respect we might remember Clough's very early propensity already noted of 'adding on a patch'. This method of retouching old poems was a more obvious example of the tendency already noted of enshrining individual insights into individual poems. In Clough's poetry as a whole he relied on his repetitions to suggest the connections between poems but in many cases he tried to make it more explicit. Often these added-on sections would follow very quickly as in the 'alteram partem' of 'Peschiera' or 'In controversial foul impureness' after 'De Profundis'. In many cases such as these, it is difficult to decide whether Clough viewed them as one or two poems. We saw the same problem in relation to his 'vacation versiculi'. But in the end it does not really matter since at another level, all his poems have this kind of relationship with each other. Each poem represents a milestone, a signpost in Clough's dealings with reality. Each poem becomes a symbol of a particular outlook or feeling, to be utilised and compared with present outlooks and feelings. Each version of himself

is to be compared with previous versions of himself. And in this way of course, each poem marks a stage in his journey in search of his true, best self.

In February 1842, Clough wrote these words:

How often sit I, poring o'er
My strange distorted youth,
Seeking in vain, in all my store,
One feeling based on truth;¹²⁸

Clough began thinking of himself as a historical sequence of different selves at the end of the Rugby period. He began writing a diary because he wanted to record his daily struggle with sin. But after a while, it began to perform a second function – as a means of reviewing his past selves. So, when he took up diary writing for the second time in 1838, he began with:

What has past since July 1836?¹²⁹

We saw earlier in ‘Whence com’st thou, shady lane’ how the summer of 1829, when he was brought to England, became a key moment in his life looking back ten years later. Now July 1836 becomes another: it was the point at which his all-consuming passion for doing good at Rugby curiously slackened off, leading into his period of backsliding that went on well into his first year at Balliol.

Another such turning point became October 1835 - the high point in his commitment to doing good at Rugby: he felt that any revivals since then have been merely fragmentary efforts to hold back a degradation which was as fated to occur as the tide itself. He wrote in his diary on 26 February 1838:

Is it true that my true time of ripening was October –35, & that all I can now do is sort of late gathering up the fragments?¹³⁰

¹²⁸ *Poems*, p. 30.

¹²⁹ *Journal* 1, fol. 48v.

¹³⁰ *Diaries*, p. 13.

This sense of himself as fragmented grows steadily from this point.

On 3 March, he referred again to 'Oct. 35';¹³¹ and over the coming months he looks back constantly over his life, at first focusing on the previous two years of backsliding, but by May, he was even more radically concluding that he had 'gone wrong from my very childhood'.¹³²

Then on 8 June he reflects:

The thought of my exceeding wickedness that I fell into during the <Christ>mas Holidays five years ago Jan<uary> 1833 has come upon me this morning: but I can hardly for a moment realise in the very least degree that I really am the same person, that my identical self did these things.¹³³

And on 12 June he writes:

After scant d<evotion>s wrote out heads of my last 10y<ea>rs. I suppose this is not unadvisable for I am sure I want very much a feeling of identification with my conduct in them . . .¹³⁴

This sense of dissociation of past and present selves continues and grows over the next year or two, as he constantly looks back. Another facet of the same phenomenon was Clough's habit of compiling chronologies of his life. He began to compile one in May 1838, but did not get very far; on 8 June he wrote,

I have been . . . thinking up the events of my time in England 1828 – 1838 and at the back of his 1838-40 diary there is precisely such a chronology. It is written up to the end of 1837 in ink, with 1838 and 1839 added on in pencil, probably on completing the Diary.

By 1842, his diaries show that he is now very aware of this tendency. On 29 May

¹³¹ *Diaries*, p. 18.

¹³² *Diaries*, p. 56.

¹³³ *Diaries*, p. 73.

¹³⁴ *Diaries*, pp. 75-6.

he writes:

I have already set up a new heart founded on all sort of false proceedings –
if I was wrong in trusting my old heart . . .¹³⁵

And on 6 June:

My evident tendency just now is to set up some protection to build up
hurriedly a new self upon hypotheses.¹³⁶

This growing sense of the fragmentation of self appears with increasing frequency in Clough's poetry as the Balliol years pass. 'So I, as boyish years went by, went wrong' was written in late 1839 and directly reflects the sort of diary entries we have been looking at. A year later and Clough was back to the same theme – 'Here am I yet, another twelvemonth spent', and 'Here have I been these one and twenty years' were the result. And then, probably in 1840, he wrote 'Come back again, my olden heart', where the use of 'olden heart' to refer to a previous self, reflects the penultimate diary entry quoted above. Increasingly, poetry began to take over from diary writing as a way for Clough to explore his sense of dissociation, and give therapeutic vent to his moral anguish.

* * *

As we have seen, Keble's poetic theory, following Wordsworth, did not sanction formless subjectivism, but rather placed a great stress on poetic form, which he felt played an important role in the overall therapeutic effect of writing poetry. Thus, for Keble, there is distinct therapeutic value in the exercise of the poetic skills, in addition to that provided by emotional exposure. There is ample evidence

¹³⁵ *Diaries*, p. 206.

¹³⁶ *Diaries*, p. 207.

that Clough also regarded poetry as therapeutic in both these ways. In *Amours de Voyage* for example, Claude in a deleted passage, after an impassioned outburst at the fall of Rome, confesses:

Foolish nonsense all this - I wrote it to rid myself of it.¹³⁷

and J. C. Shairp, who shared Keble's poetics, wrote to Clough:

On the whole I regard 'The Amours' as your nature ridding itself of long-gathered bile . . .¹³⁸

and urged him not to publish for that reason. However, when Clough wrote a poem about the pain and toil of being a poet, it was the actual creation of poetic metre that he specified as bringing healing:

If nevertheless no other peace of mind,
No inward unity ever to find,
No calm, well-being, sureness or rest
Save when by that strange temper possest,
Out of whose kind sources in pure rhythm-flow
The easy melodious verse-currents go; . . .
. . . If it be these things make one a poet,
I am [one] - Come [and] all the world [may] know [it].¹³⁹

Notice here how poetry helps create Clough's lost 'inward unity', and that it does this when he is 'by that strange temper possest'; once again, there is a 'nightmarish' quality about this phrase. And on the ship to America in 1853 he made an elaborate joke, comparing the therapeutic effect of rhythmic composition, to that of medical homeopathy:

Composition, under these circumstances is, I assure you, my dear Sir, a very soothing exercise – Versification, I mean. The *balancer* of rhythm is a sort of homeopathic antidote to the more than balancer of the wave-tost ocean-steamer. The vital powers are just competent to controul [sic] and reduce to order the irregular vibrations of the jarring vocables: and the power, the momentum thus acquired gradually augmenting and extending, will in the end perhaps reduce this wild, stormy[,] chaotic[,] tossing Ocean

¹³⁷ *Poems*, p. 649.

¹³⁸ *Correspondence* i, p. 275.

¹³⁹ *Poems*, p. 320.

itself to a rhythmical subjection. . . . I composed a great deal (and) . . . in the end composed myself.¹⁴⁰

By analogy, the 'vital powers' called forth in order to cope with the 'jarring vocables', would also cope with the soul of a man, 'tacking and tossed' on the sea of life.

Notice in the above quotation that Clough first attributes 'soothing' qualities to 'Composition', but then qualifies this by adding 'Versification I mean'. This distinction, reflecting Keble's own distinction between composition itself, and the process of versification, reflect Clough's typical manner of writing. The first phase is the need to give therapeutic 'vent' to an overpowering feeling. This phase will be dominated by the need to catch the essence of that feeling before it disappears; that is, to rough out very quickly the essential idea of the poem, without too much regard for the niceties of expression. This will be followed by a period of 'touching up' – the 'mechanical' drudgery of finding the most felicitous expression for the original idea. Both activities give therapeutic relief of their kind, and each has far-reaching consequences in the final product of Clough's labours. Also, these two stages in composition would seem to parallel the two separate revision processes which we have already noted; thus, Clough's habit of adding on a 'patch' in order to catch a new and later insight, corresponds with the original act of 'composition', while the process of touching up, extends indefinitely into the future.

A poem which illustrates the difficulties of the first phase- 'composition' -, is 'I said so, but it is not true', in which Clough describes the extreme difficulty of

¹⁴⁰ Trawick, pp. 317-8, "Letters of Parepidemus. On Board the 'Canada' from America".

expressing:

With nothing more, and little less
The mere simplicity of what
We saw; - and looked on, and forgot.¹⁴¹

This poem makes it clear that the poet's task is to express with total sincerity and truth, the poet's perception of reality; however, in a world of contradiction and change, the 'volatile, pure essence' of a perception, disappears almost as soon as it has appeared. Unfortunately, the poet is rarely satisfied merely to record an perception or feeling in all its uniqueness; rather, he feels he has to make that feeling somehow fit into his past course of feeling, he has to place the 'high and holy Now' into an objective pattern provided by Memory, as Simpkinson advocated. Thus 'shifty understanding' contaminates the perception and the poem is reduced to 'Mechanic substitutes and dead'.

Clough thus illustrates this with an image of composition as the birth of a child, 'shifty understanding' becomes the 'demons who wait/ To seize, distort and mutilate', until instead of one's child, one beholds 'a puny changeling'. Once again, the act of composition and coming to terms with the multiplicity of life is associated with 'ghost-like' imagery. The final section of the poem describes how the poet can overcome these dangers:

Some fervid purpose, some great pain
Alone can nerve us to sustain
Free from admixture false, and (stain?)
The unbodied forces of the brain
Till the decisive act be o'er
And inerasable no more -
What the soul spoke, the hand hath writ.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ *Poems*, p. 324.

¹⁴² *Poems*, p. 325.

The key-phrase here is the 'decisive act'; this occurs elsewhere in Clough's poetry to describe the creative act, as for example, in Michelangelo's creation of the Sistine Chapel ceiling:

From far and near
He drew the scattered ciphers,
Struck the decisive line, and with one look
Sum totalled the experience of the World
In that Augustest Dome.¹⁴³

In both cases, the creative act is 'decisive', but there is a fundamental difference; Michelangelo's creation comprehends the whole of life's ambiguity at once – he has drawn on all experience and welded it into one whole. Clough's desire is more modest, not daring to aspire to such a comprehensive, transcendent vision which might turn out only to be factitious, he wishes merely to record sincerely, a single, unique perception, with no regard to any more objective pattern supplied by 'understanding'. Such a 'decisive' act therefore was necessary, both on therapeutic, and purely artistic grounds; and the implication of this for Clough's method of composition is significant.

The prime consideration for Clough in the first phase of composition must have been speed; time could be taken later to evolve a felicitous form for the poem, but the prime objective must be to get the central theme recorded as quickly as possible. And in doing so, Clough's habitual attitude towards diction and imagery becomes of prime importance; because these basic poetic tools were kept very simple by Clough, they not only acquired a great weight of ambivalent connotation but also, they could be utilised easily for the task of expressing the feeling of the moment. Because Clough's poetry did not rely upon elaborate

¹⁴³ *Poems*, p. 194.

conceits, or intricate word-music, but upon a stock of words, phrases, and images which gradually have acquired for him a symbolic value, he can embody his central idea for a poem swiftly. The resulting first draft may be little more than prose, but it could contain within it, the seeds of Clough's vision. It is to this process of composition that we can trace that peculiar quality of Clough's poetry, in which the conversational and prosaic mixes freely with the exalted and symbolic; in the 'decisive' act, everyday speech rhythms and 'symbolic' words, phrases, and images, come together to create a distinctive quality which later 'touching-up' sometimes obscures, but never destroys.

A particularly good example of this process can be found later in the same 'Letter of Parepidemus' that we noticed earlier for its discussion of the therapeutic, homeopathic effect of verse. Contemplating the immense power of the 'wild chaotic Ocean', Clough was moved to write:

But how in heaven[']s name did they ever manage in those old times -
 What pure madness and folly as it seems to me, it was then to try to go
 across. No sensible man, I am sure, would ever have persisted on day
 after day expecting to see land, - where day after day he found water. - A
 divine folly alone was equal to it.¹⁴⁴

This passage quite clearly contains the seeds for 'How in all wonder Columbus got over', which he seems to have worked on during his stay in America. And in fact, the prose element in the poem is still evident in the first poetic draft to have survived:

Bad enough all the same, for
 them that after came
 But in great heaven's name
 How he should ever think that
 on the other brink . . .¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ Trawick, p. 319.

¹⁴⁵ Bodleian MS. Eng. Lett. d. 177.fol. 123v. Catalogue of all known letters Number 612.

It seems that Clough began with a prose statement of his idea, which he then began to versify, out of which the final stanzaic structure arose organically. The suggestion for the form probably was suggested by the implicit metrical run of:

What pure madness and folly as it seems to me

- this becomes the refrain line in each stanza. Thus, a prose formulation of an idea becomes associated with a key-phrase, and in this case, a singular rhythm attached to that phrase, and this forms the nucleus for a poem. This seems to have occurred a number of times in Clough's poetry; well known examples are the 'devil-take-the-hindmost-o' refrain of 'In the Great Metropolis' and 'Matthew, Mark, and Luke, and holy John' in 'Epi-Strauss-ion'. The former dates back to the early 17th Century (according to the OED) and was probably current at the time - Carlyle uses it in *Past and Present*. When Clough came to write a poem which encapsulated his feelings about the inhumanity of laissez-faire, the phrase became the refrain around which the whole poem becomes centred. In the latter case, Clough used the phrase in a letter to his sister Ann in May 1847.¹⁴⁶

P.G. Scott has referred to the critical consensus that has arisen about the centrality of 'Juxtaposition' in Clough's life and art.¹⁴⁷ The 'half . . . half' construction; the revisiting of old poems; the quotation of old poems in new ones; poems like 'Thesis and Antithesis', 'Alteram Partem', 'Easter Day I' and 'Easter Day II', *Dipsychus* and 'Dipsychus Continued'; the repeated use of proverbs and catchphrases; the debates with friends through series of poems; indeed, all the characteristics of Clough's poetry we have been considering, are examples of

¹⁴⁶ *Correspondence* i, p. 182.

¹⁴⁷ P.G. Scott, 'Arthur Hugh Clough: 1983-92', *Victorian Poetry* xxxi (1993), 293-303.

Juxtaposition at work. The capacity to suspend judgment, and to reflect opposites and antinomies, is the central feature of his poetry. Unlike Matthew Arnold, for whom the buried life was something transcendent to be discovered within, Clough saw truth as multiform and the task of the poet to strive to hold multiple options and viewpoints and outcomes in balance.

The willingness to resist ‘positiveness’; not to push for resolution of conflict; not to insist upon a false sense of closure as better than none – this is the meaning of Juxtaposition. Clearly, the concept goes to the very heart of *Amours de Voyage*, the poem in which Clough coined the term.¹⁴⁸ The letters and cantos of that poem are juxtaposed against each other deliberately to present complexity without striving for resolution. In my view, even at the end of his life, Clough was seeking to do the same in *Mari Magno*. Much of this poem is a revisiting of events in Clough’s life. This was not an exercise in maudlin nostalgia, nor an attempt to revise history in the light of experience, but a characteristic exploration of alternate endings, outcomes and meanings. E.R. August has suggested intriguingly that ‘The Lawyers First Tale’ explores an alternative ending to *Amours de Voyage*, which itself he argues, is a poetic exploration of Matthew Arnold’s botched love affair with the mysterious Marguerite (who herself is referred to in the third stanza of ‘The *conducteur*’s song’ in ‘My Tale’).¹⁴⁹ Whether or not August is right, here I agree with Jeske who has suggested that the concrete, naturalistic, *Mari Magno* tales are deliberately juxtaposed with idealistic narrators, to express

¹⁴⁸ R. Micklus, ‘A Voyage of Juxtapositions: The Dynamic World of *Amours de Voyage*’, *Victorian Poetry* xviii, 407-14.

¹⁴⁹ E.R. August, ‘*Amours de Voyage* and Matthew Arnold in Love: An Inquiry’, *The Victorian Newsletter* lx (Fall 1981).

his fundamental vision of life as a ‘riddle’, governed by the tensions of inner conflicts which are incapable of resolution.¹⁵⁰

Clough was engaged in a constant, iterative dialectic with reality, without striving for synthesis. As he wrote on the inside back cover of his 1852-3(A) Notebook:

The whole of the [sic] Modern Critical History appears to me to rest upon the very doubtful postulate that if one contemporary says there were 150 ships e.g., and another of apparently equal authority gives them as 100; then there were 125.¹⁵¹

The point of course had much greater applicability than historical truth; the antinomies were various but related – withdrawal and commitment, intellect and instinct, fatalism and free will, pessimism and optimism, decline and growth, solitude and love, inaction and action, reserve and exposure. He never lost faith that synthesis was possible – but not here, not now, and not to be striven for at the expense of life itself. And to assume, as many critics do, that a later poem reflects a more mature view than an earlier one is to miss the point. Like Emerson, Clough was content with inconsistency. In less than confident moods, Emerson called it ‘whim’ while still hoping it amounted to more than that at the end of the day. Similarly, Clough called it ‘flitting’ and ‘ephemeral’, but was nevertheless committed to the principle of Juxtaposition. ‘Dipsychus Continued’ does not reflect Clough’s final, or even later, view, any more than we are to take the singular viewpoint of Claude, Eustace or Mary as Clough’s final word on what was really happening in Rome. It just reflects a different view, and to erect theories about Clough’s capitulation to bourgeois values on the basis of it is to do Clough a major injustice – as a man, as a thinker, and as a poet.

¹⁵⁰ J.M. Jeske, ‘Clough’s *Mari Magno*: A Reassessment’, *Victorian Poetry* xx, 21-32.

¹⁵¹ Bodleian MS. Eng. Poet. d. 140. fol. 23r.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to search for the roots of Clough's major work in the juvenilia. Certainly, there is little of real, critical merit in these early poems to repay careful study. But they are not merely school or academic exercises. They are products of a real poetic sensibility; their concerns in many ways prefigure the later work; and examination of their contexts provides insight into Clough's intellectual and poetic development.

The historical and biographical ideas of Clough's mother, amplified and systematized by Arnold, can be seen to provide, both an agenda for Clough's later explorations of truth, historical and religious; and in my view, an insight also into Clough's highly subjective concerns, coded (consciously or unconsciously) into ostensibly objective poems published in the *Rugby Magazine*.

The central concept of reserve, as understood by Arnold, and as practised and promulgated by the Tractarians, provides an important perspective for understanding Clough's intellectual, poetic, and personal development at Balliol.

His adoption of a reserved lifestyle explains a good deal about the mask Clough adopted from this period and for the rest of his life, and his unwillingness to expose himself by publishing much of his poetry. His attitude to the idea of reserve in relation to historical and religious truth prefigures his more mature reflections on these subjects. And the Tractarian concept of poetry as the form of communication uniquely exempt from the need for reserve helped free him from the shackles of Arnoldian poetics – to see that not just the heroic, but the non-heroic and even the anti-heroic can be acceptable subjects for poetry. Finally, we have seen in the final chapter the way in which the seeds of Clough's more mature concept of 'Juxtaposition' as a way of approaching truth in poetry are apparent from the way he wrote the juvenilia.

Beyond these more general conclusions, the thesis has produced some worthwhile scholarly findings regarding the genesis of Clough's poetry. In particular, I believe my identification of sources, contexts and meanings are important additions to our knowledge about Clough's poetry, as well as in some cases, corrections to previous critical assertions and interpretations. In the same vein, the additional poems and manuscripts recorded in the Appendices provide a supplementary resource to the standard edition of Clough's poems for any future editor. In the course of my research, I painstakingly went through all the Clough papers in the Bodleian and Balliol libraries; carefully avoiding the temptation to *hubris*, I would not claim they provide a definitive supplement, but I would be surprised if future scholars were to find any further discoveries of this kind in those archives.

APPENDIX 1

Unpublished Poetic Fragments and Manuscripts

In his 'Preface' to the second edition of *The Poems*, Mulhauser indicates that although he has published all Clough's juvenilia and over thirty new poems, 'a very few texts . . . have not been included, where the manuscript is so vexed as to be indecipherable or so unfinished as not really to make a poem'.¹⁵²

It is my intention to bring together here as many of these pieces as I am aware. In some cases, notably items 3, 8, and 9, the finished state of the manuscripts would suggest that their exclusion from Mulhauser's text was a matter of oversight rather than of editorial policy. The texts follow below in roughly chronological order, together with such brief notes as seem necessary.

¹⁵² *Poems*, p. vi.

1. **Bod. MS. Eng. Lett. e. 76, fol. 160v. C.1278.**¹⁵³

This short fragment is scribbled in faint pencil on an undated letter from Clough to his sister Anne. In the letter he scolds her ‘for talking as if I did not care about or love you at all’ and mentions that he should, at the moment of writing, be with ‘the Rev^d Dr Jenkyns, Master of Balliol College’ and fears that he will get ‘a severe reprimand for my negligence’. Clough’s self-consciousness about Jenkyns’ name and title and about his own position in the college makes it likely that the letter dates from his first few weeks at Balliol (he arrived in October 1837). The brother referred to is Clough’s elder brother Charles who in 1825 was taken from the family in Charleston to be educated in England; Clough was six years old.

It was my first, my earliest sorrow
 When they told me I must on the morrow
 Part from my own dear darling brother

¹⁵³ Bod. = Bodleian Library, Oxford. I have given the library call number at the head of each item.
 C = Checklist of all known Clough letters, Appendix iii, *The Correspondence of Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed., F.L. Mulhauser (Oxford, 1957).

2. **Bod. MS. Eng. Lett. d. 175. C.108**

This item is also written in pencil on a letter to Anne Clough; the postmark is 21 January 1841. The fragment is scribbled through the address, and must therefore have been written sometime after the letter. The subject of the fragment clearly indicates composition during the Balliol period, and links it especially with a poem written between 2 and 7 February 1841, only a couple of weeks after the letter was posted: ‘Once more the wonted road I tread’.¹⁵⁴ The final section of this poem (ll. 63-77) speaks of Clough’s struggles to maintain an awareness of the spiritual dimension to life, in the midst of ‘daily tasks’ and his own predisposition to sin; to avoid casting his ‘heavenly pearls to earthly swine’. The fragment printed below is concerned with the same theme and employs very similar diction (e.g. ‘heavenly prize’, ‘heavenly road’, and ‘earthy pleasures’). In fact, since both passages employ octosyllabic couplets and, allowing for the incomplete state of the fragment, have the same number of lines, it seems likely that the fragment is connected in some way with the genesis of the poem.

My heart is sick and faint within
 Alas this comes from many a sin
 For though I strive to do what’s right
 Yet the evil spirits still delight
~~To turn me from my heavenward course~~
 To make my wicked passions rise
 That I may lose my heavenly prize
 Yes they would make me turn aside
 With earthy pleasures to abide
~~And lull me now to that repose~~
~~Which here the Christian never knows~~
 And lure me here to see[k] repose
 Which the true Christian never knows

Cheer me from thy bright abode
 And lead me in thy heavenly road
 And guide through this weary life
 With all pains and toils and strife

¹⁵⁴ *Poems*, pp. 31-3.

3. Bod. MS. Eng. Poet. D. 143. Fols. 10-11.

On 19 October 1844, Clough's father died and Clough wrote some memorial lines which Mulhauser prints on page 162 of his edition. His manuscript source for these lines is a letter fragment in the Bodleian Library, probably sent to Clough's sister, in which Clough includes the lines for possible use as an inscription. However, a poetic fragment also in the Bodleian but not recorded by Mulhauser shows that the four lines sent in the letter were only the last lines of a ten line poem. I print below the whole poem as it appears in the longer manuscript in Clough's hand.

Amid thine active duties heavenly love
 With cords of grief had drawn thee so above
 So calm thou wert, so little earthly minded
 In those last months, that, had not sorrow blinded
 They that most loved had least desired thy stay
 Mid ~~toils~~-work from which thy heart ~~had~~ was turned away.
 Thy busy toil thy being ne'er engrossed,
 And when thy griefs had purified thee most,
 Its chain/those bands, that kept thee painfully below,
 With a most gentle hand God loosed and let thee go.

4. **Balliol College MS. 441. 1849 (Roma) Notebook, fol. 16^v.**

This short piece is written on the bottom of the verso of a notebook page, most of which has been cut out. On the facing page is 'Hast thou not made great – the sun, the Moon and the Planets'.¹⁵⁵

-----Around we find a blank
Spy not before, the past forget: So sit
And on the back of something that we see not
Ride on we see not whither.

¹⁵⁵ *Poems*, p. 447.

5. **Bod. MS. Eng. Poet. D. 129. Fol. 36.**

The thought behind this poem seems similar to 'How often sit I, poring o'er'.¹⁵⁶

This fragment was described in A.H. Clough: A Descriptive Catalogue¹⁵⁷ as being on 'the problem of reaching certainty when the cosmos is in continual motion'.

The manuscript itself certainly demonstrates such a problem, as each line has innumerable revisions, many of which are wholly or in part illegible. I give below a version that tries to combine the essence of Clough's argument with a certain degree of metre and rhyme and record the legible variants as notes:

1 On which this wild revolving soul
 Impelled by some unknown and mightier controul
 Because it cannot break, describes perforce
 Is there no point whereat, spite of force and cause
 5 It feels itself to rest though not to pause
 Is there no point whereat, in freedom blest
 We feel ourselves, though moving still, at rest
 Borne on the mighty cycle year by year
 Of still abandoned still recurrent change
 10 And thoughts and theories still felt still strange
 Theory, thought, appearance, wish and fear
 Is there no point where, for one glimpse we see
 Our perfect condition, own ourselves to be
 While still the same old creeds that still appear
 15 Though cast-by thoughts while still, still here
 No point at which though for one instant's space
 Another orb views ours as we view it
 And parted still by fate for that <lacuna> race
 And [illegible] compelled to quit
 20 We know each one still to meet again
 Content for that to keep the wonted bound
 And <lacuna>

¹⁵⁶ *Poems*, p. 30.

¹⁵⁷ RM Gollin, W.E. Houghton, and M. Timko, *A.H. Clough: A Descriptive Catalogue* (New York, 1967), p. 20.

Variants

- L1. 1-2 On which this rolling headlong wheeling course
 Which still impelled by some controlling force
- L. 9 Of still abandoned still repeated change
- L.10 The long line of alien hope and fear
- or The long line of feelings old yet strange
- L.12 Is there no point where, without doubt we see
- L.13 Our true condition, feel ourselves to be
- L.15 While old cast off thoughts we see re-appear
- L.20 Still know each one we lose apace

6. Bod. MS. Eng. Poet. D. 123. Fol. 8.

The following two lines are found at the top of a blank page in the 1851 (C)

Notebook:

Was darf ich hoffen! Yet alas
To <hope for?> what cannot come to pass

Clough obviously intended to write a poem beginning thus, but never returned to it. The German is from Kant, which Clough was reading ‘a great deal of’ in the Autumn of 1840. In his *Critique of Pure Reason*, Kant expressed the three guiding principles of Enlightenment philosophy as:

Was kann ich wissen? (What *can* I know?)

Was soll ich tun? (What *should* I do?)

Was darf ich hoffen? (What *may* I hope for?)¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ I. Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. N. Kemp Smith, rev. ed., (London, 2007).

7. Bod. MS. Eng. Poet. D. 121. Fol. 17.

Mulhauser prints the poem 'Within the Frankish ship he came' on page 449 of his edition. He takes the text from fol. 16 of the 1851 (A) Notebook; however, on fol. 17 are the following lines which seem to conclude the poem by making clear the significance of the anecdote to Clough.

O fellow traveller,
In busy England, and France
My lips shall always say the same.

8. Bod. MS. Eng Lett. e. 80. Fol. 10v. C. 591.

This short item is not a fragment at all, but a fair copy of a complete poem, written out for Clough's fiancée as a postscript to a letter that he sent her on 11 November 1852, at the end of his voyage to America. Its themes are those of the other poems written on the voyage, and especially 'Lie here, my darling, on my breast' which he wrote out in his letter of the previous day.¹⁵⁹

For weary days one two and three
 I loathed the ship, I watched the sea
 And ~~longed~~-wished the dismal voyage o'er –
 Tis done, and lo, I dread the shore
 For dismal voyage, ship and sea
 That little cell makes dear to me
 My darling, where I dreamt of thee.

¹⁵⁹ *Poems*, pp. 334-5.

9. Bod. MS. Eng. Lett. e. 81. Fol. 18r. C. 638.

This item is also a fair copy of a short but complete poem sent back to Clough's fiancée from America; it is found in a letter of 8 February 1853. Clough adds this comment:

There, that composed express. Very good advice to myself, I'm sure.

The poem reflects Clough's reaction to the pressure upon him, from his fiancée, her family, and his own friends, to settle down to a period of hard and lonely work in America in order to arrive at a marriageable income.

Drive deep the furrow in the sluggish soil
~~Down~~-E'en to the rock force in the lab'ring share
Earth that with starveling ears mocks niggard toil
To pain and strife will golden harvests bear.

10. Bod. MS. Eng. Lett. e. 81. Fols. 278v-279r. C. 726.

On page 351 of his edition Mulhauser prints a poem, 'O ship, ship, ship', which Clough wrote in America on 8 May 1853. Clough sent a jocular version of this to his fiancée, and this is printed in the Notes on page 756. Some weeks later, on 25 June 1853, in the midst of the confusion that preceded his return home, he sent the following stanza to his fiancée. It reflects the contribution made to this confusion by the long delays in transatlantic correspondence.

O letter, letter, letter
Come quickly over the sea
O letter, long-looked-for letter
Bringing news of my love to me.

11. 'Like a child'.¹⁶⁰

Bod. MS. Eng. Lett. e. 76. Fol. 167.

This is a single sheet letter fragment, probably written to Clough's friend and fellow poet, Thomas Burbidge, around 1841, the date which Clough gives the poem in the 1839-42 Notebook. I reproduce the complete text of the letter:

some degree, as it was denying my obligations in general to my neighbours,- I feel just at present as if I should go into the world in a light and foolish way, with very little gratitude, or anything else. What should be done? I take advantage of a lucid interval to write this, though rather in a silly way. Here are two or three verses:

[Poem Follows]

May my silliness produce the fruit of good advice. I have got a vast quantity of folly and worse to get rid of if I could.

The reference to 'going into the world' probably refers to the approach of Clough's final examinations and the subsequent need to earn a living; the letter in that case would belong to the period preceding May 1841. The poem itself, therefore, almost certainly belongs to that time, and we can speculate that the 'payment' that 'at the last will be required' and which he 'cannot make', refers to the examinations looming up, and the 'shame' that has to be 'endured' refers to his foreboding that he will fail to gain a First.

Variants for the version of the poem printed by Mulhauser are:

- 1. 4 stem] bough
- 1. 5 misgiving] misgivings
- 1.6 at the last] in the end

¹⁶⁰ *Poems*, p. 30.

12, 'Would that I were, - O hear thy suppliant, thou'.¹⁶¹

Bod. MS. Eng. Lett. d. 175. Fol. 32. C. 123.

This is a letter to Burbidge of August 1841, and contains a fair copy of the poem, preceded (fol.32r) by the following:

I will send you to fill up, a Wishing gate conceit; though I think it is hardly worth while.

(The meaning of this is made clear by lines 47-51 of 'The Clergyman's First Tale' In *Mari Magno*).¹⁶² The letter version (fol. 32v) varies in two respects from the printed poem:

Poor

l. 5 What wouldst thou? ~~Vain~~-suggestions of today

learn to

l. 8 And only / wish the wishes that I ought!

The letter also contains some comments (fols. 31v-32r.) about 'If, when in cheerless wanderings, dull and cold'¹⁶³ which Clough had sent to Burbidge in his previous letter:

I wrote my own verses at 3 A.M. after my return from Keswick, almost in a morning dream if not quite, - except the last Stanza, which was born just before I reached Easedale - tarn, about 4 A.M. same morning, whither I undertook that early expedition through inability to sleep. 'Not such' if such was the beginning of the last stanza ought not to have been such or 'not such' but 'Heaven grant'. Was the second line? 'Youth part, with life's real tempest will be coping'. I dare say it was. - Do you know where I could have got the form of the Stanza?

¹⁶¹ *Poems*, p. 159.

¹⁶² *Poems*, p. 397.

¹⁶³ *Poems*, p. 42.

13. ‘Where lies the land to which the ship would go?’¹⁶⁴

Bod. MS. Eng. Misc. d. 512. Fol. 57v

This extra manuscript contains only the first stanza of the poem, but I list it here because it enables us to date the poem more accurately. The stanza is contained in the manuscript ‘Letter of Parepidemus on Board the Canada’, which was almost certainly written by Clough during the voyage to America and it seems likely therefore that the poem was at least begun at the same time. However, the other manuscripts cited by Mulhauser seem to show Clough working on the poem sporadically and in sections throughout his stay in America. Perhaps this long gestation period and the fact that this is the best poem written during the America trip are not unrelated.

Variants from the printed text are as follows:

- | | Before |
|------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1. 2 | far hence behind is all her seamen go |
| 1. 3 | travels] cometh |
| 1.4 | Far hence behind . . . |

¹⁶⁴ *Poems*, p. 342.

APPENDIX 2

Correspondence with William Tylden

Anthony Kenny first drew attention to Tylden in his edition of the *Oxford Diaries*, and in particular, he published in his introduction a letter from Clough to Tylden which survives because Clough kept the draft in his 1838-40 Notebook.¹ The draft is dated 25 January 1841. Clough also kept in the same place, four original letters from Tylden, which are now kept with the Clough Diaries at Balliol College Library.

¹ A. Kenny, ed., *The Oxford Diaries of Arthur Hugh Clough* (Oxford, 1990), p.xxxviii-ix. (The penultimate word should read 'consistent' rather than 'conscious'.)

1 Balliol MSS, Clough Diaries, Tylden Correspondence, fol. 67.

The first, although undated, from its reference to ‘exclusiveness’, (Clough had written ‘there is no one here for whom I feel more kindly . . . [but] this is nothing very exclusive’) seems to be Tylden’s response:

My dear Clough,

Once more to trouble you with a line and I have done – I feel very grateful for your kind expressions and am really sensible of the [necessity?] of taking your advice about exclusiveness. I was aware long enough ago, though I have often acted as though I was not, - yet think a moment Clough: - Before I came up here I never had the advantage of forming friendships as you had. I had not many companions and those I could not feel any [very great?] attachment for – therefore it was somewhat natural that I sh[oul]d love you after a little while and though I must have seen that there was little chance of winning your friendship, yet I liked better to see what I could of you than run to all kinds of people to find something to fill up the gap. Indeed I could not have done this, and I am glad that I could not, though I have had and may have much trouble to come: but you have been very good and open with me, and so I cannot help telling you all this, hoping it will not disgust you: we shall I trust go on understanding each other better and I will tease you to be with me as little as I can possibly help.

once before I got much better; and am now you see relapsing again, but before things get worse I will try if the help given me then may not set me right again now – God bless you dear Clough forgive this you will not hear it again and believe me ever attached to you, W.T.

2 Balliol MSS, Clough Diaries, Tylden Correspondence, fol. 65.

Tylden's reference above to a previous occasion from which the 1841 exchange is a relapse, is borne out by another surviving letter which is dated 'Sunday April 4th 1840' – the previous year:

My dear Clough,

I almost fear that my writing must annoy you, but I cannot let you go without thanking you for your kindness and consideration during the past Lent – I feel very grateful for it – you once said that you had very kind feelings towards me, as much so as to any one in Oxford – Perhaps you did not mean to express yourself so strongly, but sh[ou]ld any regard of this kind remain, I hope and trust you will not lose it, unless with good reason. But if you do, you must give me some intimation of it or I shall be deceived. I never look for more, but this I still hope to keep, as it is of more consequence to me than I can say: so that bye and bye the least troublesome part of your recollection of me may be, that owing much to your own kindness, the friendship I was once so thoughtless as to offer, was something better worth your acceptance, when we parted altogether.

Do not think me very selfish and exacting – y[ou]rs ever,

W.T.

The other two surviving letters from Tylden are undated, but pursue a similar vein:

3 Balliol MSS, Clough Diaries, Tylden Correspondence, fol. 63.

My dear Clough,

If possible let us breakfast together alone on Sunday unless you really think it would be better otherwise – and if you could resume a little kind manner without belying your own feelings, I should feel very thankful: as this week has been almost as much as I could bear: I shall not have spoken to you scarcely since Monday remember as I shall keep away from you till the day after tomorrow. W.T.

4 Balliol MSS, Clough Diaries, Tylden Correspondence, fol. 64.

My dear Clough,

I have nothing to forgive, for all this has happened more by my own fault than yours I fear; yours is a stronger mind than mine, and therefore you shall say whither we can go as usual, as breakfast on Sunday mornings &c. If you decline, I shall I trust bear it patiently if I can do no more. I did not intend to say more on the subject, but your not coming this morning led me to think you would wish an answer before we meet again. I have met with little else but kindness from you, when I had no right to look for it, and if I have presumed to[o] much upon this, I believe it is for you to forgive and not for me: since you say you do not mind coming pray do: as if not very disagreeable to yourself I feel it will be better for me. Y[ou]rs W.T.

Bibliography

Clough Bibliographies

Printed

Ehrsam, T.G., and Deily, R.H., *Bibliographies of Twelve Victorian Authors* (New York, 1936). [Supplement by M.P. Fucilla, 1939.]

Gollin, R.M., Houghton, W.E., and Timko, M., *Arthur Hugh Clough: A Descriptive Catalogue* (New York, 1967).

Greenberger, E.B., *Arthur Hugh Clough: The Growth of a Poet's Mind*, Cambridge, Ma. (Harvard University Press, 1970), Appendix A.

Scott, P.G., 'Some Uncollected Authors XLVII: Arthur Hugh Clough', *The Book Collector* (Winter 1974), 518-36.

Terhune, A.M., 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *The Victorian Poets: A Guide to Research* ed. F.E. Faverty (Cambridge Ma., 1956).

Timko, M., *Innocent Victorian* (Ohio University Press, 1963), pp. 177-92.

Digital

Phelan, Joseph, 'Browning and Clough', *Annotated Bibliography for English Studies*, ch. 30 (www.swets.nl/sps/journals/abes).

Primary Sources

Manuscripts

Clough MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Clough MSS. in Balliol College Library, Oxford.

Clough MSS. in Oriel College Library, Oxford.

Clough MSS. in the Houghton Library, Harvard.

Clough Collection in the Temple Reading Room, Rugby School

Correspondence and Minutes of Meetings, Dr. Williams Library, London.

Henry Crabb Robinson MS Letters and Journals, Dr. Williams Library, London.

Lockhart Collection in the Scottish National Library, Edinburgh.

Balliol College Examination Register.

Balliol Fellowship 1838 Examination Papers.

Printed Material (in chronological order of printing).

1. Printed/Published in Clough's Lifetime

The Rugby Magazine, (2 vols., London: William Pickering, 1835-7).

The Close of the Eighteenth Century. A Prize Poem, Recited in Rugby School, Wednesday, April 22, 1835 (Rugby: Rowell and Son, 1835).

The Longest Day. A Poem, Written at Rugby School, Fourth Lesson, Wednesday, June – 1836 (No Imprint. Unique copy is in the British Library: c.57.d.10.4).

'A Stray Valentine' and 'Verses Written in a Diary', *Youth's Literary Messenger* ii (June 1838), 52, 65-6.

[77 biographies], *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Myth*, ed. W. Smith (3 vols., London: Taylor and Walton & John Murray, 1844).

'Letter to the Editor', *The Balance* (23 Jan. 1846), 26

'Political Economy', *The Balance* (30 Jan. 1846), 34.

'I Give thee Joy!', *The Balance* (30 Jan. 1846), 36

'The Militia', *The Balance* (6 Feb. 1846), 42.

'Expensive Living', *The Balance* (13 Feb. 1846), 50.

'Differ to Agree', *The Balance* (13 Feb. 1846), 55.

'A Few Practical Hints', *The Balance* (6 Mar. 1846), 77.

'The Spirit of Trade', *The Balance* (20 Mar. 1846), 93-4.

The Spectator (6 Nov. 1847), 1066. [Letter re. F.W. Newman].

The Spectator (20 Nov. 1847), 1118. [Letter re. F.W. Newman].

‘Illustrations of Latin Lyrical Metres’ *Classical Museum* iv (1847), 347-63.

A Consideration of Objections Against the Retrenchment Association (Oxford: Francis MacPherson, 1847).

The Bothie of Toper-na-Fuosich. A Long-Vacation Pastoral (Oxford: Francis MacPherson; and London: Chapman and Hall, 1848).

Ambarvalia. Poems by Thomas Burbidge and Arthur H. Clough (London: Chapman and Hall; and Oxford: Francis MacPherson, 1849).

Oxford University Commission. Report of Her Majesty’s Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the State, Discipline, Studies, and Revenues of the University and Colleges of Oxford. Appendix and Evidence (London, 1852), 211-16.

[Letter], *Testimonials in Favour of Mr Francis R. Sandford* (Edinburgh, 1852).

[Letter], *Testimonials in Favour of Mr Bonamy Price* (Edinburgh, 1852).

‘Last Words: Napoleon and Wellington’, *Fraser’s Magazine* (Feb. 1853).

‘Oxford University Commission’, *The North American Review* lxxvi (Apr. 1853), 369-96.

‘Recent English Poetry’, *North American Review* lxxvii (Jul. 1853), 1-30.

‘Recent Social Theories’, *North American Review* lxxvii (Jul. 1853), 106-17.

‘Letters of Parepidemus’, *Putnam’s Monthly* ii (Jul. 1853), 72-4.

‘Letters of Parepidemus’, *Putnam’s Monthly* ii (Aug. 1853), 138-40.

‘As Ships Becalmed’, *Thalatta: A Book for the Sea-Side*, ed. S. Longfellow and T.W. Higginson (Boston Ma.: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1853), 205-6.

‘Contemporary Literature of America’, *Westminster Review* lx (Oct. 1853), 604-5.

‘Peschiera’, *Putnam’s Magazine* iii (May 1854), 522.

‘Say not the struggle nought availeth’, *The Crayon* 2, v (Aug. 1855), 71.

Amours de Voyage, *Atlantic Monthly* i (Feb. to May 1858).

‘The Poems and Ballads of Goethe’, *Fraser’s Magazine* lix (Jun. 1859), 710-17.

Plutarch's Lives. The Translation Called Dryden's, Corrected from the Greek and Revised by A.H. Clough (5 vols., Boston: Little, Brown, 1857; and London: Sampson Low, 1859).

Greek History from Themistocles to Alexander, in a Series of Lives from Plutarch, Revised and Arranged by A.H. Clough (London: Longman, 1860).

2. Published Posthumously by Mrs. Clough

Poems by Arthur Hugh Clough, Sometime Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, with a Memoir [by F.T. Palgrave] (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1862).

The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough. With a Memoir, By Charles Eliot Norton, (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1862).

Poems by Arthur Hugh Clough Sometime Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, with a Memoir [by F.T. Palgrave] *Second Edition* (London: Macmillan, 1863).

Letters and Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough, Sometime Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, For Private Circulation Only (London: Printed by Spottiswoode and Co., 1865).

Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough With a Selection from his Letters and a Memoir, Edited by his Wife in Two Volumes (London: Macmillan, 1869).

Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough, With a Selection From His Letters and a Memoir, Edited by his Wife (London: Macmillan, 1888).

3. Later Editions

Poems of Clough, ed. H.S. Milford (London: Henry Frowde, 1910).

Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough, ed. C. Whibley (London: Macmillan, 1913).

The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough, ed. H.F. Lowry (Oxford, 1932).

Emerson-Clough Letters, ed. H.F. Lowry and R.L. Rusk (Cleveland: The Rowfant Club, 1934). [Repeated in Slater, Joseph, ed., *The Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964).]

The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough, ed. H.F. Lowry, F.L. Mulhauser, and A.L.P. Norrington (Oxford, 1951).

The Correspondence of Arthur Hugh Clough, ed. F.L. Mulhauser (2 vols, Oxford, 1957).

- Selected Prose Works of Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. B. Trawick (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1964).
- New Zealand Letters of Thomas Arnold The Younger*, ed. J. Bertram (Wellington: Auckland University Press, 1966).
- The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. A.L.P. Norrington, (Oxford, 1967).
- A Selection from Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. J. Purkis (London: Longman's English Series, 1967).
- A Choice of Clough's Verse*, ed. M. Thorpe (London: Faber, 1969).
- The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough, Second Edition*, ed. F.L. Mulhauser (Oxford, 1974).
- The Bothie: The Text of 1848*, ed. P. Scott (University of Queensland Press, 1976).
- Amours de Voyage*, ed. P. Scott (University of Queensland Press, 1974).
- Arthur Hugh Clough: Selected Poems*, ed. S. Chew (Manchester: Carcanet/Fyfield, 1987).
- The Oxford Diaries of Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. A. Kenny (Oxford, 1990).
- Arthur Hugh Clough: Selected Poems*, ed. J. McCue (London: Penguin, 1991).
- Selected Poems*, ed. J.P. Phelan (London: Longman, Pearson Education, 1995).
- Letters of Matthew Arnold*, vol.1, 1829-1859, ed., by C. Lang (University Press of Virginia, 1996).
- Arthur Hugh Clough*, [selected and] ed. John Beer (London: Dent, Everyman, 1998).

Secondary Sources

- Anon., *A Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland, and the Alps of Savoy and Piedmont* (London: John Murray, 1847).
- Anon., *An Appeal to Members of the University Whether Graduates or Undergraduates* (Oxford, 1847).
- Anon., 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *Church and State Review* i (1 Oct. 1862), 240-1.
- Anon., 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *Contemporary Review* cv (Feb. 1914), 285-8.

- Anon., 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *Saturday Review* (18 Sep. 1869), 383-5.
- Anon., *Athenaeum* (10 Feb. 1849), 135-6. [Unsigned review of *Ambarvalia*].
- Anon., 'Balliol Scholars, 1840-43', *MacMillan's Magazine* (Mar. 1873).
- Anon., 'Christian Fellowship', *Prospective Review* iii (1845), 392-415.
- Anon., 'Clough and his Defender', *Academy* (2 Oct. 1897).
- Anon., 'Clough's Poems', *Rambler* iv (Jul. 1849), 201-5.
- Anon., 'Clough's Poems', *Saturday Review* (30 Nov. 1861), 564-5.
- Anon., 'Clough's Poems', *Saturday Review* (26 Jul. 1862), 109-10.
- Anon., 'English Hexameters', *Literary Gazette* lxvi (18 Aug. 1849), 606-7. [Unsigned review of *The Bothie*].
- Anon., *Handbook for Travellers in Central Ital, including the Papal States, Rome, and the Cities of Etruria* (London: John Murray, 1843).
- Anon., *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (London: John Murray, 1847).
- Anon., 'Matthew Arnold's Poems', *Nation* (31 Oct. 1878).
- Anon., 'Memories of Arnold and Rugby Sixty Years Ago, by a Member of the School', [Rugby School] *Parent's Review* (1896).
- Anon., 'Philosophy of History', *The British Critic* xxi (Jan. 1837).
- Anon., 'Poems by Trench and Milnes', *The British Critic* xxiv (1838).
- Anon., 'Publications Received', *Spectator* xxi (2 Dec. 1848), 1166. [Unsigned notice of *The Bothie*].
- Anon., 'Recent French Social Philosophy', *North American Review* ix (1848), 115-35.
- Anon., 'Recent Poetry', *Prospective Review* vi (1850), 134-6.
- Anon., [Review of *Ambarvalia* and Arnold's *The Strayed Reveller and Other Poems*], *Guardian* iv (28 Mar. 1849), 208-9.
- Anon., [Review of *Ambarvalia*], *Literary Gazette* lxv (21 Apr. 1849), 292-3.
- Anon., [Review of *Ambarvalia*], *Spectator* (20 Jan. 1849), 65.
- Anon., [Review of Boston edition of *Poems* (1862)], 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *Boston Review* iii (Mar. 1863), 132-8.

Anon., [Review of *Poems and Prose Remains* (1869)], *Putnam's Magazine* iv (Dec. 1869), 752-4.

Anon., '[Review of] Remains and Occasional Publications of the Late Rev. John Davison', *The British Critic* xxxi (Apr. 1842).

Anon., '[Review of] Remains of the Late Reverend Richard Hurrell Froude . . .', *The British Critic* xxiii (Jan. 1838).

Anon., [Review of the 1888 edition of *Poems and Prose Remains*], *Saturday Review* (7 Jul. 1888), 25-6.

Anon., '[Review of] The Life of Scott', *The British Critic* xxiv (Oct. 1838).

Anon., '[Review of] Tract for the Times 80 . . .', *The British Critic* xxv (Apr. 1839).

Anon., '[Review of] Tract for the Times 87 . . .', *The British Critic* xxxi (Jan. 1842).

Anon., 'Review of W. Palmer, A Treatise on the Church of Christ', *The British Critic* xxiv (Oct. 1838).

Anon., 'Sacred Poetry', *The British Critic* xxi (Jan. 1837).

Anon., 'St. Athanasius Against the Arians . . .', *The British Critic* xxxii (Oct. 1842).

Anon., 'The Poetry of Clough', *Times Literary Supplement* (23 Nov. 1951), 748.

Anon., *The Student's Guide to a Course of Reading Necessary for Obtaining University Honours* (Oxford: Henry Slatter, 1837).

Abel, Darrel, 'Strangers in Nature – Arnold and Emerson', *University of Kansas City Review* xv (1948), 205-13.

Abbott, E., and Cambell, L., *The Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett* (2 vols., London: John Murray, 1897).

Adams, J.E., 'Recent Studies in the Nineteenth Century', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* xli (2001).

Allingham, William, 'Arthur Hugh Clough, 1819-1861', *Fraser's Magazine* lxxiv (October 1866), 525-35.

Allott, K., 'An Arnold-Clough Letter: References to Carlyle and Tennyson', *Notes and Queries* iii (1956), 267b.

Allott, K., 'Clough's Letters', *Essays in Criticism* viii (1958), 438-46.

Allott, K., 'Matthew Arnold's Reading List in Three Early Diaries', *Victorian Studies* ii (Mar. 1959), 254-66.

Allot, K., 'Matthew Arnold and Mary Claude', *Notes and Queries* xvi (1969), 209b-11.

Allott, K., 'Rescue Operation', *Essays in Criticism* xiv (October 1964), 409-16.

Allott, K., [Review of Trawick's *Selected Prose Works*], *Notes and Queries* n.s. xii (Aug. 1965), 316-7.

Allott, K., 'The Image of the Rising Tide in Clough's "Say not the struggle nought availeth"', *Notes and Queries* xvii (1970), 23a.

Armstrong, I., *Arthur Hugh Clough* (London: Longman, Writers and Their Work, 1962).

Armstrong, I., *Clough* (British Council Pamphlet, 1962).

Armstrong, I., *Poetry, Poetics, and Politics*, (London: Routledge, 1993).

Armstrong, I., *Victorian Poetry, Poetics and Politics* (London: Routledge, 1993).

Armstrong, I., *Victorian Scrutinies: Reviews of Poetry 1830-1870* (London: Athlone Press, 1972).

Arnold, Matthew, *On Translating Homer: Last words* (London: Longman, 1861). [Reprinted in *The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold*, ed. R.H. Super, vol. 1, iii, 156.]

Arnold, Matthew, *On Translating Homer: Three Lectures* (London: Longman, 1861). [Reprinted in *The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold*, ed. R.H. Super, vol. 1, iii, 150-1.]

Arnold, Matthew, *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, ed. K. Allott (London: Longman, 1965).

Arnold, Matthew, *The Poetical Works of Matthew Arnold*, ed. C.B. Tinker and H.F. Lowry (Oxford, 1950).

Arnold, Matthew, *Matthew Arnold* ed. Nicholas Shrimpton (London: Dent, 1998).

Arnold, Thomas, *History of Rome* (London: Fellowes, 1838).

Arnold, Thomas, *Introductory Lectures on Modern History* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1842).

Arnold, Thomas, ed., *Poetry of Common Life* (Sheffield: Platt, 1832).

- Arnold, Thomas, *Principles of Church Reform* (London: Fellowes, 1833).
- Arnold, Thomas, 'Review of Niebuhr's *History of Rome*', *Quarterly Review* xxxii (Jun. 1825), 73-6. [Reprinted as 'Early Roman History', *The Miscellaneous Works of T. Arnold, D.D.* (London: Fellowes, 1845), 384-7.
- Arnold, Thomas, *Sermons*, New Edition (London, 1878).
- Arnold, Thomas, *Sermons: Christian Life, its Course, its Hindrances, and its Helps* [with a Preface on the Oxford School of Theology and Notes on Tradition, Rationalism, and Inspiration], (London: Fellowes, 1844).
- Arnold, Thomas, *Sermons: Christian Life, its Hopes, its Fears and its Close* (London: Fellowes, 1842).
- Arnold, Thomas, *Sermons Preached in Rugby Chapel* (London: Fellowes, 1832). [A smaller edition of the following item but containing two additional sermons.]
- Arnold, Thomas, *Sermons Preached in the Chapel of Rugby School* (London: Fellowes, 1832).
- Arnold, Thomas, *The Christian Duty of Granting the Claims of the Roman Catholics* (Rugby, 1828).
- Arnold, Thomas, *The Interpretation of Scripture* (London: Fellowes, 1845).
- Arnold, Thomas, *The Miscellaneous Works of T. Arnold, D.D.* (London: Fellowes, 1845).
- Arnold, Thomas, 'The Oxford Malignants and Dr Hampden', *Edinburgh Review* lxxiii (Apr. 1836).
- Arnold, Thomas, trans., *Thucydides: The History of the Peloponnesian War* (Oxford: Parker, 1830).
- Arnold, Thomas Jnr., 'Arthur Hugh Clough: A Sketch', *Nineteenth Century* xliii (Jan. 1898), 105-16.
- Arnold, Thomas Jnr., *Passages in a Wandering Life* (London, 1900).
- August, E.R., 'Amours de Voyage and Matthew Arnold in Love: An Inquiry', *The Victorian Newsletter* lx (Fall 1981).
- Badger, K., 'Arthur Hugh Clough as *Dipsychus*', *Modern Language Quarterly* xii, (1951), 39-56.
- Bagehot, Walter, *Literary Studies* ed. R.H. Hutton (3 vols., London: Longman, 1879)

Bagehot, Walter, 'Mr. Clough's Poems', *National Review* xiii (Oct. 1862), 310-26. [Reprinted in his *Literary Studies* ii, 257-81.]

Bailey, S., "'A Garland of Fragments': Modes of Reflexivity in Clough's *Amours de Voyage*", *Victorian Poetry* xxxi (Summer 1993), 157-70.

Baker, S., 'Wordsworth, Arnold, and the Maritime Matrix of Culture', *Wordsworth Circle* xxxiv (2003).

Baldwin, R.C., and McPeck, J.A.S., *An Introduction to Philosophy through Literature* (Ronald Press, 1950).

Ball, P., *The Heart's Events: The Victorian Poetry of Relationships* (Athlone Press, 1986).

Barish, E., 'A New Clough Manuscript', *Review of English Studies* xv (May 1964), 168-74.

Barish, E., 'The Year's Work in Victorian Poetry: 1982: Arthur Hugh Clough', *Victorian Poetry* xxi 3 (October 1983), 282-85.

Barrie, M.A.F., 'Three Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough', *British Museum Quarterly* xxvii (1963), 9-11.

Battiscombe, Georgina, *John Keble: A Study in Laminations* (Knopf, 1964).

Baum, P.F., 'Clough and Arnold', *Modern Language Notes* lxxvii (Dec. 1952), 546-7.

Beach, J.W., *The Concept of Nature in Nineteenth Century English Poetry* (New York, 1936).

Beatty, J.M., 'Arthur Hugh Clough as Revealed in his Prose', *South Atlantic Quarterly* xxv (1926), 168-80.

Bellaigue, C. De, 'Notions of Duty', *Cambridge Quarterly* xxxvi (2007), 83-9.

Benham, W., and Davidson, R.T., *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury* (2 vols., London: Macmillan, 1891).

Benn, A.W., *The History of English Rationalism in the Nineteenth Century* (2 vols., London: Longman, 1906).

Berger, H.L., 'Emerson and Carlyle: The Dissenting Believers', *Emerson Society Quarterly* xxxviii (1965), 87-90.

Berlind, B., 'A Curious Accomplishment', *Poetry* lxxxii (1953).

Bertram, J., 'An Unpublished Poem by Clough', *Notes and Queries* xvi (1969), 212a.

- Bertram, J., 'Arnold and Clough', *Matthew Arnold*, ed. K. Allott (London: Bell, Writers and Their Background, 1975).
- Bertram, J., 'Clough and his Poetry', *Landfall* xvii (June 1963), 141-55.
- Bertram, J., 'The Ending of Clough's *Dipsychus*', *Review of English Studies* vii (1956), 59-60.
- Billson, C.J., 'Thomas Burbidge and Other Poets', *Notes and Queries* s11, viii (1913), 471a.
- Bishop, M., "'Thyrsis"; or the Importance of Not Being Earnest: A Study of Arthur Hugh Clough', *The Pleasure Ground: A Miscellany of English Writing* (London: Macdonald, 1947).
- Biswas, R.K., *Arthur Hugh Clough: Towards a Reconsideration*, (Oxford, 1972).
- Black, I., 'Was it Arnold's Doing? A Psychological Study of A.H.Clough', *Psychoanalysis and the Psychoanalytic Review* xxxviii (Spring 1961), 104-10.
- Booth, H. J., 'Male Sexuality, Religion and the Problem of Action: John Addington Symonds on Arthur Hugh Clough', *Masculinity and Spirituality in Victorian Culture*, ed. A. Bradstock, S. Gill, A. Hogan, S. Morgan (New York: Macmillan, 2000).
- Booth, H.J., 'Same-Sex Desire, Ethics and Double-Mindedness: The Correspondence of Henry Graham Dakyns, Henry Sidgwick and John Addington Symonds', *Journal of European Studies* (2002).
- Borrie, M.A.F., 'Three Poems of Clough', *British Museum Quarterly* xxvii (1963).
- Bostridge, M., *Florence Nightingale: The Woman and her Legend* (London: Viking, 2008).
- Bowers, F., 'Arthur Hugh Clough: Recent Revaluations', *Humanities Association Review* xvi 2 (1965), 17-26.
- Bowers, F., 'Arthur Hugh Clough: The Modern Mind', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* vi 4 (Oct. 1966), 709-16.
- Bright, M., 'English Literary Romanticism and the Oxford Movement', *Journal of the History of Ideas* xl (1979), 385-404.
- Brilioth, Y., *The Anglican Revival: Studies in the Oxford Movement* (London: Longman, 1925).
- Bristow, J., "'Love, Let Us be True to One Another": Matthew Arnold, Arthur Hugh Clough, and "Our Aqueous Ages"', *Literature and History*, iv 1 (Apr. 1995), 27-49.

- Bristow, J., 'Whether "Victorian" Poetry: A Genre and Its Period', *Victorian Poetry* xlii (2004).
- Brock, M.G., and Curthoys, M.C., *Nineteenth Century Oxford* (Oxford, 1997)
- Brooke, Stopford A., *Four Poets: A Study of Clough, Arnold, Rossetti and Morris* (London: Duckworth, 1908).
- Brookfield, C. and F., *Mrs Brookfield and Her Circle* (2 vols., London: Pitman, 1905).
- Brooks, R.L., 'Matthew Arnold's Revision of Tristram and Iseult: Some Instances of Clough's Influence', *Victorian Poetry* ii (Winter 1964), 57-63.
- Brooks, R.L., 'The Genesis of Matthew Arnold's "Thyrsis"', *Review of English Studies* xiv (1963), 172-4.
- Brooks, V.W., *The Malady of the Ideal: Obermann, Maurice de Guerin and Amiel* (Philadelphia, 1947).
- Brown, E.G.K., *History of the Tractarian Movement* (Dublin, 1856).
- Brown, E.K., *Matthew Arnold: A Study in Conflict* (University of Chicago, 1948).
- Browning, Elizabeth Barrett, *Letters* vol i (London, 1897), 429. (Letter to Miss Mitford discussing *Ambarvalia* and *The Bothie*).
- Browning, R. and E.B., *The Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett: 1845-1846*, ed. E. Kintner (Cambridge Mass.: Belknap Press, Harvard, 1969).
- Browning, Robert, *Dramatis Personae* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1864).
- Browning, Robert, *Men and Women* (2 vols., London: Chapman and Hall, 1855).
- Buckley, J.H., *The Triumph of Time* (Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 1966).
- Burbidge, T., *English Essay, Read at the Rugby Meeting, on Wednesday in Easter Week, 1834*, (Leicester, 1834).
- Burbidge, T., [Poems in] *Ambarvalia* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1849).
- Burbidge, T., *Poems, Longer and Shorter* (Rugby, 1838).
- Burke, J., *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland* vol.iii (London: Henry Colburn, 1836).
- Burnett, A., 'A Clough Poem – By Macaulay', *Notes and Queries* xxxvii (1990), 32b-33.

- Burrow, J.W., *A Liberal Descent* (Cambridge, 1981).
- Burrows, L.R., 'A mid-Victorian Faust', *Westerly* i (1962).
- Bury, J.B., *The Idea of Progress* (London: Macmillan, 1924)
- Butler, A.G., *The Three Friends: a Story of Rugby in the Forties* (Oxford, 1900).
- Cadava, E., *Emerson and the Climates of History* (New York: Stanford University Press, 1997).
- Cadman, S.P., *The Three Religious Leaders of Oxford and their Movements: John Wycliffe, John Wesley, John Henry Newman* (London: Macmillan, 1916).
- Campbell, M., *Rhythm and Will in Victorian Poetry* (Cambridge, 1999).
- Campbell, R.J., *Thomas Arnold* (London: Macmillan, 1927).
- Campe, J.H., *Columbus; or the Discovery of America* (London: Sampson and Low, 1800); rev. and trans. by E. Helme, (London: Cradock and Joy, 1811).
- Campe, J.H., *Cortez, or the Conquest of Mexico* (London: Sampson and Low, 1799); rev. and trans. by E. Helme, (London: Cradock and Joy, 1811).
- Campe, J.H., *Pizarro, or the Conquest of Peru* (London: Sampson and Low, 1800); rev. and trans. by E. Helme, (London: Cradock and Joy, 1811).
- Cannon, W., 'The Problem of Miracles in the 1830s', *Victorian Studies* iv (Sep. 1960), 5-32.
- Carlyle, Thomas, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* (Boston: James Munroe, 1838).
- Carlyle, Thomas, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History* (London: James Fraser, 1841).
- Carlyle, Thomas, *Past and Present* (London: Chapman, 1843). [Reprinted in *The Works of Thomas Carlyle in Thirty Volumes: Centenary Edition* x (London: Chapman and Hall, 1896).]
- Carlyle, Thomas, 'Preface', *Essays By R.W. Emerson* (London: James Fraser, 1841).
- Carlyle, Thomas, *Sartor Resartus* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1838).
- Carpenter, Frederic I., *Emerson Handbook* (Hendricks House, 1953).
- Castan, C., 'Clough's Epi-Strauss-ion and Carlyle', *Victorian Poetry* iv (1966).

- Chadwick, O., ed., *The Mind of the Oxford Movement* (London: Black, 1960).
- Chadwick, O., *From Bossuet to Newman: The Idea of Doctrinal Development* (Cambridge, 1957).
- Chapman, R., *Faith and Revolt: Studies in the Literary Influence of the Oxford Movement* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1970).
- Chorley, Henry F., *Athenaeum* (26 Jul. 1862), 107-9. [Review of *Poems* (1862)]
- Chorley, K., *Arthur Hugh Clough, The Uncommitted Mind: A Study of his Life and Poetry* (Oxford, 1962).
- Christiansen, R., *The Voice of Victorian Sex: Arthur H Clough 1819-1861* (London: Short Books, 2001).
- Church, R.W., 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *The Christian Remembrancer* xlv (Jan. 1863), 61-89.
- Church, R.W., *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, ed., M.C. Church (London: Macmillan, 1894).
- Church, R.W., *The Oxford Movement, Twelve Years, 1833-45* (London: Macmillan, 1891).
- Clarke, J.J., *Oriental Enlightenment: The Encounter between Asian and western Thought* (London: Routledge, 1997).
- Clegg, J., *Ruskin and Venice* (Junction Books, 1981).
- Clough, B., 'Memoir', *The Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough* (London: Macmillan, 1869).
- Clough, B.A., *A Memoir of Anne Jemima Clough* (London: Edward Arnold, 1897).
- Cockshut, A.O.J., *The Unbelievers: English Agnostic Thought 1840-1890* (London: Collins, 1964).
- Coleridge, S.T., *Philosophical Lectures* ed. K. Coburn (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949).
- Coleridge, S.T., *Table Talk* (2 vols., London: John Murray, 1835).
- Conington, J., 'Recent Poetry, and Recent Verse', *Fraser's Magazine* xxxix (May 1849), 580-5. [Unsigned review of *Ambarvalia*, ascribed to Conington in *Descriptive Catalogue*, 66].
- Conington, J., *Miscellaneous Writings* (2 vols., London: Longman, 1872).

- Cook, E., *The Life of Florence Nightingale* (2 vols., London: Macmillan, 1913).
- Cooper, B., 'An Ur-Faustus?', *Notes and Queries* cciv (1959), 66-8.
- Coulling, S., 'Matthew Arnold's 1853 Preface: Its Origin and Aftermath', *Victorian Studies* vii (Mar. 1964), 233-63.
- Cowper, William, and John Newton, *Olney Hymns in Three Books* (London: T. Wilkins et al., 1781).
- Culler, A. Dwight., 'Recent Studies in the Nineteenth Century', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* xi 4 (Oct. 1971), 763-82,
- Culler, A. Dwight, *The Victorian Mirror of History* (Yale, 1985).
- Cunliffe, J.W., *Leaders of the Victorian Revolution* (New York: D. Appleton, Century, 1934).
- Curgenven, J.P., 'Theodore Walrond: Friend of Arnold and Clough', *Durham University Journal* xlv (Mar. 1952), 56-61.
- Dalglish, D.N., 'Arthur Hugh Clough: The Shorter Poems', *Essays in Criticism* ii (Jan. 1952), 38-53.
- Davis, H.W.C., *A History of Balliol College*, rev. ed. by Davis, Hunt et al. (Oxford, 1963).
- Davis, W.V., "'The Tide's Pendulum Truth': A Reading of the Poetry of Theological Crisis from Matthew Arnold to R.S. Thomas", *Christianity and Literature* iv (2006).
- Dawson, C., *Spirit of the Oxford Movement* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1933).
- Day, P.W., 'Matthew Arnold and the Philosophy of Vico', *University of Auckland Bulletin* vxx (1964).
- Dean, P., 'Of Two Minds', *New Criterion* xxiv (June 2006).
- Dean, P., and Johnson, J., "'Paradise Come Back": Clough in Search of Eden', *Durham University Journal* n.s. xxxviii (1977), 249-53.
- Dean, P., and Moore, J., "'To own the positive and present": Clough's Historical Dilemma', *Durham University Journal* n.s. xlv (1983), 59-62.
- Deering, D., 'The Antithetical Poetics of Arnold and Clough', *Victorian Poetry* xvi (1978), 16-31.
- DeLaura, D., 'Arnold and Carlyle', *Publications of the Modern Language Association* lxxix (Mar. 1964), 104-29.

DeLaura, D., *Hebrew and Hellene in Victorian England: Newman, Arnold, and Pater* (University of Texas, 1969).

Douglas, J., *The Truths of Religion* (Edinburgh: Adam Black, 1830).

Douglas, J., *Errors Regarding Religion* (Edinburgh: Adam Black, 1830).

Dowden, Edward, 'The Transcendental Movement and Literature', *Contemporary Review* xxx (Jul. 1877). [Reprinted in E. Dowden, *Studies in Literature, 1789-1877* (London: Kegan Paul, 1892)].

Dowden, John, 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *Contemporary Review* xii (Dec. 1869), 513-24.

Dowling, L., 'Recent Studies in the Nineteenth Century', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* xxxix (1999).

Duffy, C., 'A Correction: "Peschiera"', *American Literature* xxiii (1951), 363.

Dunn, W.H., *James Anthony Froude: A Biography, 1818-1894* vol. 1 (Oxford, 1961), 224-5. [Letter from Froude to Clough, dated 21 January 1849].

Eagleton, T., *TLS* (1 Jul. 1988), 725.

Eells, J.S., *The Touchstones of Matthew Arnold* (Bookman, 1955).

Emerson, R.W., *Emerson-Clough Letters*, ed. H.F. Lowry and R.L. Rusk (Cleveland, 1934).

Emerson, R.W., *Essays* (London: James Fraser, 1841).

Emerson, R.W., *Indian Superstition*, [edited with a dissertation on 'Emerson's Orientalism at Harvard' by K.W. Cameron], (Hanover, New Hampshire: Friends of the Dartmouth Library, 1954).

Emerson, R.W., *Massachusetts Quarterly Review* ii (Mar. 1849), 249-52. [Review of *The Bothie*, reprinted in *Uncollected Writings*, ed. C.C. Bigelow (New York, 1912)].

Emerson, R.W., *The Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle*, ed. J. Slater (New York: 1964).

Enright, D.J., *'A Kidnapped Child of Heaven' – The Poetry of Arthur Hugh Clough* (University of Nottingham: Hawthornes, 1972).

Faber, G., *Jowett* (London: Faber, 1957).

Faber, G., *Oxford Apostles: A Character Study of the Oxford Movement* (London: Faber, 1933).

- Fairchild, H.N., *Religious Trends in English Poetry, Volume IV: 1830-1880: Christianity and Romanticism in the Victorian Era* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957).
- Farrell, J.P., ‘“The Scholar-Gipsy” and the Continuous Life of Victorian Poetry’, *Victorian Poetry* xliii (2005).
- Felluga, D.F., ‘Novel Poetry: Transgressing the Law of Genre’, *Victorian Poetry* xli (2003).
- Findlay, J., *Arnold of Rugby* (Cambridge, 1897).
- Flint, K., ‘Recent Studies in the Nineteenth Century’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* xliv (2004).
- Forbes, D., *The Liberal Anglican Idea of History* (Cambridge, 1952).
- Forster, E., *Academy*, (20 Oct. 1897), 331. [Letter replying to unsigned article, ‘Clough and his Defender’ – see Anon. above].
- Forsythe, R.A., ‘Clough’s “Adam and Eve” – a Debating Tract for the Times’, *Durham University Journal* n.s. liii (January 1992), 59-78.
- Forsythe, R.A., ‘Herbert, Clough, and Their Church Windows’, *Victorian Poetry* vii (Spring 1969), 17-30.
- Forsythe, R.A., ‘Service on “The Troublous Tossing Sea” – Arthur Hugh Clough and the Journey-of-Life Topos’, *Durham University Journal* n.s. lxxxvii (Jan. 1995), 43-56.
- Forsythe, R.A., ‘“The Buried Life” – The Contrasting Views of Arnold and Clough in the Context of Dr. Arnold’s Historiography’, *The Lost Pattern: Essays on the Emergent City Sensibility in Victorian England* (Claremont: University of Western Australia Press, 1976).
- Forsythe, R.A., ‘The “Inmost I” – Clough’s Response to Culture and “Mental Anarchy”’, *Durham University Journal* n.s. lii (Jul. 1991).
- Forsythe, R.A., ‘Trudging Service – Secularization and the “Devotional Pseudo-Religion” of Arthur Hugh Clough’, *Durham University Journal* n.s. lii (Jan. 1991).
- Frei, H.W., *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974).
- Froude, J.A., *Short studies on Great Subjects*, (4 vols., London: Longman, 1899).
- Froude, J.A., *The Nemesis of Faith* (London: John Chapman, 1849).
- Froude, R.H., *Remains of the Late Reverend Richard Hurrell Froude, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College Oxford* (2 vols., London: F. & J. Rivington, 1838).

Fulweiler, H.W., "'Tractarians and Philistines": The *Tracts for the Times* Versus Victorian Middle-Class Values', *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* xxxi (Mar. 1962), 36-53.

Garrod, H.W., 'Matthew Arnold's 1853 Preface', *Review of English Studies* o.s. xviii (1941), 310-21.

Garrod, H.W., *Poetry and the Criticism of Life* (Oxford, 1931).

Gatrell, Simon, 'Histoires de Voyage: The Italian Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough', *Creditable Warriors: 1830-1876*, ed. M. Cotsell (London: Ashfield), 159-172.

Gill, S., 'England's Samuel: Wordsworth in the "Hungry-Forties"', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* xxxiii (1993).

Gilmour, Robin, *The Victorian Period: The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature, 1830-1890* (London: Longman, Literature in English Series, 1993).

Gohdes, C., *American Literature in Nineteenth Century England* (Columbia, 1944).

Gollin, R.M., Houghton, W.E., and Timko, M., *Arthur Hugh Clough: A Descriptive Catalogue* (New York, 1967).

Gollin, R.M., *Arthur Hugh Clough's Formative Years: 1819-1841* (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1959).

Gollin, R.M., 'Clough Despite Himself', *Essays in Criticism* xii (Oct. 1962), 426-35.

Gollin, R.M., 'Sandford's Bid for the Edinburgh Professorship and Arthur Hugh Clough's Expectations', *Notes and Queries* cciii (1958), 470-2.

Gollin, R.M., 'The 1951 Edition of Clough's *Poems*: A Critical Re-Examination', *Modern Philology* lx (Nov. 1962), 120-27.

Goode, J., 'Amours de Voyage: the Aqueous Poem', *The Major Victorian Poets: Reconsiderations*, ed. I. Armstrong (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968).

Goode, J., '1848 and the Strange Disease of Modern Love', *Literature and Politics in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. J. Lucas (London: Methuen, 1971).

Gosse, E., *Books on the Table* (London: Heinemann, 1921).

Goulburn, E.M., *The Book of Rugby School: Its History and its Daily Life* (Rugby, 1856).

- Gray, E., 'Clough and his Discontents: *Amours de Voyage* and the English Hexameter', *Literary Imagination* vi (2004), 195-210.
- Green, D. B., 'Arthur Hugh Clough and Francis H. Underwood', *Victorian Newsletter* xix (1961), 15-17.
- Green, D. B., 'Arthur Hugh Clough and the Parkers', *Notes and Queries*, x (1963), 24-6.
- Greenberger, E.B., *Arthur Hugh Clough: The Growth of a Poet's Mind*, Cambridge, Ma. (Harvard University Press, 1970).
- Greenberger, E.B., 'Clough's "The Judgment of Brutus": A Newly Found Poem', *Victorian Poetry* viii (Summer 1970).
- Greenberger, E.B., "'Salsette and Elephanta": An Unpublished Poem by Clough', *Review of English Studies* n.s. xx (Aug. 1969), 284-305.
- Greenleaf, M.G., *Pushkin and Romantic Fashion: Fragment, elegy, Orient, Irony* (New York: Stanford University Press, 1994).
- Griffin, M.J., 'Affiliated to the Future? Culture, the Celt, and Matthew Arnold's Utopianism', *Utopian Studies* xviii (2007).
- Guitton, J., *La Philosophie de Newman* (Paris: Boivin, 1933).
- Guyot, Edouard, *Essai sur la formation philosophique du poète Arthur Hugh Clough : Pragmatisme et intellectualisme* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1913).
- Hammers, Colleen R., 'Victorian Wanderers: Redefining the Poet's Place: The Poetry of Matthew Arnold, Arthur Hugh Clough and James Thomson' (Unpublished Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1995).
- Hardy, B., 'Clough's Self-Consciousness', in *The Major Victorian Poets: Reconsiderations* ed. I. Armstrong (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968).
- Hardy, B., *The Advantage of Lyric: Essays on Feeling in Poetry*, (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1977).
- Hare, J.C. and Hare, A.W., *Guesses at Truth (By Two Brothers)* (London: John Taylor, 1827).
- Harris, W.V., *Arthur Hugh Clough* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1970).
- Harris, W.V., 'The Curious Provenance of Clough's "The Longest Day"', *Notes and Queries* xiv (1967), 379-80.
- Harrison, Antony H., 'Victorian Culture Wars: Alexander Smith, Arthur Hugh Clough, and Matthew Arnold in 1853', *Victorian Poetry* xlii (Jan. 2004), 509-20.

- Harvey, A.D., 'School Magazines', *Contemporary Review* cclxxiii (Jul. 1998).
- Heath-Stubbs, J., *The Darkling Plain* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1950).
- Heeren, A.H.L., *A Manual of the History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies* . . . (2 vols., Oxford, 1834).
- Helsing, E., 'Recent Studies in the Nineteenth Century', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* xlv (2006).
- Herrick, J., *Against the Faith: Essays on Deists, Skeptics, and Atheists* (Prometheus, 1985).
- Hertz, R.N., 'Victory and the Consciousness of Battle: Emerson and Carlyle', *The Personalist* xlv, 60-71.
- Hewlett, M.H., 'Teufelsdröckh in Hexameters', *Extemporary Essays* (Oxford, 1922).
- Hill, C.M., *The World's Great Religious Poetry* (London: Macmillan, 1923).
- Hinchliff, P.B., *Benjamin Jowett and the Christian Religion*, (Oxford, 1987).
- Holloway, J., *The Victorian Sage* (Norton, 1965).
- Honey, J.R. de S., *Tom Brown's Universe: The Development of the Public School in the 19th Century* (London: Millington, 1977).
- Horn, V.E., 'Matthew Arnold: A Letter Re-Dated', *Notes and Queries* xviii (1971), 248-9.
- Houghton, W.E., 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *Victorian Poetry and Poetics* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959).
- Houghton, W.E., 'Arthur Hugh Clough: A Hundred Years of Disparagement', *Studies in English Literature* 1 (Autumn 1961).
- Houghton, W.E., [Review of] *Arthur Hugh Clough: The Uncommitted Mind*, *Victorian Studies* vi (Sep. 1962), 91-2.
- Houghton, W.E., *The Poetry of Clough: An Essay in Revaluation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963).
- Houghton, W.E., 'The Prose Works of Arthur Hugh Clough: A Checklist and Calendar, with Some Unpublished Passages', *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* lxiv (1960), 377-94.
- Houghton, W.E., *The Victorian Frame of Mind: 1830-1870* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1957).

- Houston, N.M., 'Affecting Authenticity: "Sonnets from the Portuguese" and Modern Love', *Studies in the Literary Imagination* xxxv (2002).
- Howarth, J., 'Faith, Duty and the Power of Mind: The Clough's and their Circle, 1820-1860', *English Historical Review* cxxiii (2008), 779-81.
- Hudson, W.H., *Studies in Interpretation* (New York, 1896).
- Hughes, L.K., 'Alexander Smith and the Bisexual Poetics of *A Life-Drama*', *Victorian Poetry* xlii (2004).
- Hughes, T., *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1857).
- Hughes, T., *Tom Brown at Oxford* (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1861).
- Hughes, T.C., 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *Notes and Queries* s6, xi (1885), 367e.
- Huth, A.O., *Über A.H. Clough's The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich. Ein Beitrag zur englischen Literaturgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Emil Glausch, 1911).
- Hutton, R.H., 'Amiel and Clough', *Spectator* lix (9 Jan. 1886), 42-3. [Reprinted in *Brief Literary Criticisms*, ed. E.M. Roscoe (London, 1906).]
- Hutton, R.H., 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *Spectator* xlii (11 Sep. 1869), 1073-5. [Reprinted with changes in his *Essays Theological and Literary* ii (London: Macmillan, 1871).
- Hutton, R.H., and Hughes, T? 'Arthur Hugh Clough - In Memoriam', *Spectator* xxxiv (23 Nov. 1861), 1285-6. [Published anonymously, but much of it reprinted in Hutton's review of *Poems and Prose Remains* (1869); and attributed to Hughes by C.E. Norton in his 'Memoir' prefixed to *Poems* (Boston, 1862)].
- Hutton, R.H., 'Mr Clough's Long-Vacation Pastoral', *Spectator* xxxv (25 Jan. 1862), 104-5. [Much of this is reprinted in Hutton's review of *Poems and Prose Remains* (1869)].
- Hutton, R.H., 'Mr. Clough's Poems', *Spectator* xxxv (12 Jul. 1862), 775-6.
- Hutton, R.H., 'Mr. Clough's Poems, New Edition', *Spectator* xxxvi (10 Oct. 1863), 2604-6. [Much of this is reprinted in Hutton's review of *Poems and Prose Remains* (1869)].
- Hutton, R.H., [Review of *The Bothie*], *Spectator* xxxv (25 Jan. 1862), 104-5. [Reprinted as 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *Essays Theological and Literary* vol 2 (London: Macmillan, 1871), 368-91.]
- Hutton, R.H., 'The Modern Poetry of Doubt', *Spectator* xliii (5 Feb. 1870), 166-7. [Reprinted in E.M. Roscoe, ed., *Aspects of Religious and Scientific Thought* (London 1891), 380-1.]

- Hutton, R.H., 'The Poetry of Arthur Hugh Clough', *Fortnightly Review* xxxix (Jun. 1883), 790-807.
- Hutton, R.H., 'The Unpopularity of Clough', *Spectator* lv (25 Nov. 1882), 1507-09. [Reprinted in *Brief Literary Criticisms*, ed. E.M. Roscoe (London, 1906), 304-15.
- Irving, W., *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (London: John Murray, 1828).
- Jacobson, Howard, 'Some Quotations in Arthur Hugh Clough's Verse', *A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes, and Reviews* xvi (Jul. 2003), 41-2.
- James, D.J., *Matthew Arnold and the Decline of English Romanticism* (Oxford, 1961).
- Jay, E., 'Charlotte Mary Yonge and Tractarian Aesthetics', *Victorian Poetry* xliv (2006).
- Jeske, J.M., 'Clough's *Mari Magno*: A Reassessment', *Victorian Poetry* xx, 21-32.
- Johari, G.P., 'Arthur Hugh Clough at Oriel and at University Hall', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, lxvi (Jun. 1951), 405-25.
- Johari, G.P., *The Intellectual Life of A.H. Clough with Particular Reference to his Poetry* (Unpublished Oxford B. Litt thesis. MS. B. Litt. d. 348).
- Johnson, E.D.H., *The Alien Vision of Victorian Poetry* (Princeton, 1952).
- Johnson, Lionel, *Academy* xxxix (10 Jan. 1891), 31-2. [Unsigned review of Arnold's *Poetical Works* (1890). Reprinted in L. Johnson, *Post Liminium: Essays and Critical Papers*, ed. T. Whittemore (London: Elkin Matthews, 1911), 296].
- Johnson, R., 'Waiting for Thou: Resurrecting Clough's "Seven Sonnets"', *Victorian Newsletter* lxxxix (Spring 1992), 59-61.
- Johnson, W.S., 'Arnold's Lonely Islands', *Notes and Queries* cix (1954), 312-14.
- Johnson, W.S., 'Parallel Imagery in Arnold and Clough', *English Studies* xxxvii (Feb. 1956), 1-11.
- Jump, J.D., 'Clough's *Amours de Voyage*', *English* ix (Summer 1953), 176-8.
- Jump, J.D., *Matthew Arnold* (London: Longman, 1955).
- Kant, Immanuel, *Critique of Pure Reason*, rev. 2nd ed., trans. Norman Kemp Smith (London: Palgrave, Macmillan, 2007).

Keats, John, *The Poetical Works of John Keats*, ed. H.W. Garrod (2nd. ed., Oxford, 1958).

Keble, J., *The Christian Year: Thoughts in Verse for the Sundays and Holydays Throughout the Year* (Oxford, 1827).

Keble, J., *Lyra Innocentium: Thoughts in Verse on Christian Children, their Ways, and their Privileges* (Oxford: John Henry Parker; and London: F. & J. Rivington, 1846).

Keble, J., *Lectures on Poetry*, trans. by E.K. Francis (2 vols., Oxford, 1912).

Keller, J.E., 'New Light on Arthur Hugh Clough's Eight Year Poetic Silence', *The Victorian Newsletter* lxxxix (Spring 1992), 59-61.

Kenny, A., *Arthur Hugh Clough: A Poet's Life* (London and New York: Continuum, 2005).

Kenny, A., *God and Two Poets* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1988).

Kenny, A., *The Rise of Modern Philosophy* (Oxford, 2006).

Kenny, A., *The Self* (Marquette University, 1988).

Kenyon, G.T., 'Clough', *Notes and Queries* s9, I (1898), 132i.

Kierstead, C.M., 'Where "Byron Used to Ride": Locating the Victorian Travel Poet in Clough's *Amours De Voyage* and *Dipsychus*', *Philological Quarterly* lxxvii (1998).

Kimball, R., 'Plutarch & the Issue of Character', *New Criterion* xix (Dec. 2000).

Kimball, R., 'The Greatest Victorian', *New Criterion* xvii (Oct. 1998).

Kingsley, Charles, *Alton Locke, Tailor and Poet: An Autobiography* (London, Macmillan, 1876).

Kingsley, Charles, 'The Bothie of Toper-na-Fuosich', *Fraser's Magazine*, xxxix (January 1849), 103-10.

Kline, D., 'Educated Speech: Victorian Philology and Literary Languages of Matthew Arnold and Arthur Hugh Clough' (Unpublished Dissertation, Ohio State University, 2007).

Kline, D., "'Unhackneyed Thoughts and Winged Words": Arnold, Locke, and the Similes of "Sohrab and Rostum"', *Victorian Poetry* xli (2003).

Knickerbocker, W.S., 'Semaphore: Arnold and Clough', *Sewanee Review* xvi (1933), 152-74.

- Knight, W.A., *Principal Shairp and his Friends* (London: John Murray, 1888).
- Kokernot, W.H., "'Where Ignorant Armies Clash by Night" and the Sikh Rebellion: A Contemporary Source for Matthew Arnold's Night-Battle Imagery', *Victorian Poetry* xliii (2005).
- Kuduk, S., 'Victorian Poetry as Victorian Studies', *Victorian Poetry* xli (2003).
- Lake, K, ed., *Memorials of William Charles Lake, Dean of Durham 1869-1894* (London, 1901).
- Lang, A., *The Life and Letters of J.G. Lockhart* (London: John C. Nimmo, 1897).
- Langbaum, R., 'Victorians Reconsidered', *Essays in Criticism* xx (1970), 451-65.
- Laporte, C., 'Post-Romantic Ideologies and Victorian Poetic Practice, or, the Future of Criticism at the Present Time', *Victorian Poetry* xli (2003).
- Laporte, C., 'Spasmodic Poetics and Clough's Apostasies', *Victorian Poetry* xlii (2004).
- Laporte, C., and Rudy, J.R., 'Spasmodic Poetry and Poetics', *Victorian Poetry* xlii (2004).
- Leach, Stephen J., 'Two New Letters from Arthur Hugh Clough', *Notes and Queries* xxiii (1976), 57-9.
- Leedham-Green, E.S., 'Four Unpublished Translations by Arthur Hugh Clough', *Review of English Studies*, xxiii:xc (May 1972), 179-87.
- Levy, G., *Arthur Hugh Clough, 1819-1861* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1938).
- Lewes, G.H., 'Clough's Poems', *Cornhill Magazine* vi (Sep. 1862), 398-400.
- Lockhead, M., *John Gibson Lockhart* (London: John Murray, 1954).
- Loesberg, J., 'Recent Studies in the Nineteenth Century', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* xxxiv (1994).
- Louis, M.K., 'Swinburne, Clough and the Speechless Christ: "Before a Crucifix" and "Easter Day"', *Victorian Newsletter* lxxii (Fall 1987), 1-5.
- Lowell, J.R., 'Swinburne's Tragedies', *North American Review* (April 1866). [Reprinted in his *My Study Windows* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Low and Searle, 1871).
- Lucas, F.L., *Ten Victorian Poets* (Cambridge, 1940).

- Lucas, J., ed., *Literature and Politics in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1971).
- Lutonsky, P., 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *Wiener Beitrage zur Englischen Philologie* xxxix (Vienna: W. Braumuller, 1912).
- Lyttelton, Bishop Arthur T., "'The Poetry of Doubt"- Arnold and Clough', *Church Quarterly Review* vi (April 1878), 117-39. [Reprinted in A.T. Lyttelton, *Modern Poets of Faith, Doubt and Paganism* (London: John Murray, 1904), 91-104].
- MacCarthy, D., 'Clough', *Portraits* (London: Putnam, 1931), 63-7.
- MacCarthy, D., 'The Modern Poet', *The Sunday Times* (25 Dec. 1938), 6.
- Machann, C., 'Matthew Arnold', *Victorian Poetry* xliii (2005).
- Machann, C., 'Matthew Arnold', *Victorian Poetry* xliv (2006).
- Macmaster, N., and Lewis, T., 'Orientalism: From Unveiling to Hyperveiling', *Journal of European Studies*, xxviii (1998).
- Maccoby, S., *English Radicalism: 1832-1852* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1935).
- Mallet, Sir C.E., *A History of the University of Oxford* (3 vols., London: Methuen, 1924).
- Markovits, B., 'Accidental Tourist', *New Statesman* cxxxiii (29 Nov. 2004).
- Markovits, S., *The Crisis of Action in Nineteenth Century English Literature* (Columbus: Ohio State University, 2006).
- Markovits, S., 'The Crisis of Action in Nineteenth-Century English Literature', *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920* li (2008).
- Markovits, S., *Year's Work in English Studies* lxxxvii (1 Jan. 2008), 761-862.
- Martin, B.W., *John Keble: Priest, Professor and Poet* (London: Croom Helm, 1977).
- Martyn, H., *Journals and Letters of The Reverend Henry Martyn* (2 vols., London, 1837).
- Mason, Michael, *The Making of Victorian Sexuality* (Oxford, 1995).
- Masson, David., *Memories of London in the 'Forties* (Edinburgh, 1908).
- Masson, David, 'The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough', *Macmillan's Magazine* vi (Aug. 1862), 318-31.

- Maxwell, J.C., 'Arnold's Letters to Clough: A Correction', *Notes and Queries* cxcviii (1953), 440b.
- Maynard, J., *Victorian Discourses on Religion and Sexuality* (Cambridge, 1993).
- McDonald, Lynn, *Florence Nightingale: An Introduction to her Life and Family* (Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2001).
- McDowall, A.S., *The Times Literary Supplement* (4 Mar. 1920), 153. [Review of Osborne's 1920 'Arthur Hugh Clough' - see below].
- McFarland, T., *Paradoxes of Freedom: The Romantic Mystique of a Transcendence* (Oxford, 1996).
- McGhee, R.D., 'Blank Misgivings: Arthur Hugh Clough's Search for Poetic Form', *Victorian Poetry* vii (Summer 1969), 105-115.
- McGrail, John P., 'Three Image Motifs in Arthur Hugh Clough's *The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich*', *Victorian Poetry* xiii (1975), 75-8.
- McGrane, P.S., 'Clough's "Salsette and Elephanta" and *The Christian Year*', *Review of English Studies* xxv (Nov. 1974), 445-9.
- McGrane, P.S., 'Dancing as a Metaphor in Clough and Newman', *Notes and Queries* xxii (Oct. 1975), 451.
- McGrane, P.S., 'Unpublished Poetic Fragments and Manuscripts of Arthur Hugh Clough', *Victorian Poetry* xiv (Winter 1976), 359-64.
- McLeod, Hugh, *European Religion in the Age of the Great Cities, 1830-1930* (London: Routledge, 1995).
- Mermin, D., *The Audience in the Poem* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1983).
- Micklus, R., 'A Voyage of Juxtapositions: The Dynamic World of *Amours de Voyage*', *Victorian Poetry* xviii (1980), 407-14.
- Miles, J., *Renaissance, Eighteenth-Century, and Modern Language in English Poetry: A Tabular View* (University of California, 1960).
- Milford, H., *Victorian Critics of Democracy* (Oxford, 1938).
- Mill, J.S., *Autobiography* (London: Longman, 1873).
- Milman, A., *Henry Hart Milman: A Biographical Sketch* (London: John Murray, 1900).
- Milman, H.H., *The History of Christianity* (London: John Murray, 1840).

- Milman, H.H., *The History of the Jews* (London: John Murray, 1829).
- Minnick, W.C., 'Matthew Arnold on Emerson', *Quarterly Journal of Speech* xxxvii (Oct. 1951), 332-6.
- Miyoshi, M., 'Clough's Poems of Self-Irony', *Studies in English Literature* v (Autumn 1965), 691-704.
- Moore, Richard, 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *Notes and Queries*, xlvi (March 1999), 53-55.
- Mozley, T., *Reminiscences of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement* (2 vols., London: Longman, 1882).
- Mulhauser, F.L., 'Clough's "Love and Reason"', *Modern Philology* xlii (Nov. 1945), 174-86.
- Mulhauser, F.L., 'The Manuscript of "Dipsychus Continued"', *Notes and Queries* xix (1972), 253b.
- Murray, Christopher, 'Names in A.H. Clough's *The Bothie*', *Notes and Queries* ccxxii (1977), 361.
- Murray, Nicholas, 'A New Matthew Arnold Letter', *Notes and Queries* xlvi (1999), 55-7.
- Murray, Paul, 'The Unidentified Ghost: Arthur Hugh Clough and T.S. Eliot's Four Quartets', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* lxx (April 1981), 35-54.
- Netland, John, 'The Problem of Metaphor in Arthur Hugh Clough's 'Epi-Straussion'', *Victorians Institute Journal* xxiii (1995), 151-69.
- Newman, F.W., *The Soul* (London, 1849).
- Newman, J.H., *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* (London: James Toovey, 1845).
- Newman, J.H., *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* (Oxford, 1913). [With Introduction by Wilfred Ward.]
- Newman, J.H., *Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman*, ed. A. Mozley (London: Longman, 1891).
- Newman, J.H., *Loss and Gain, The Story of a Convert* (London: James Burns, 1848).
- Newman, J.H., and Others, *Lyra Apostolica* (Derby: Henry Mozley, 1838).
- Newman, J.H., 'Milman's View of Christianity', *British Critic* xxix (1841), 71-114. [Reprinted in *Essays, Critical and Historical* ii (London, 1890), 186-248.

Newman, J.H., *Parochial Sermons* ed. W.J. Copeland (8 vols., London: Rivingtons, 1868). [Includes Plain sermons by contributors to the *Tracts for the Times*, volume 5, titled *Parochial and Plain Sermons*.]

Nicoloff, Philip L., *Emerson on Race and History: An Examination of English Traits* (Columbia University, 1961).

Niebuhr, B.G., *The History of Rome*, trans. J.C. Hare and C. Thirlwall (Cambridge, 1828-32).

Norrington, A.L.P., 'Clough and *In Memoriam*'. *Review of English Studies* iv (1953), 364.

Norrington, A.L.P., 'Say not the struggle nought availeth', *Essays Presented to Sir Humphrey Milford* (Oxford, 1948).

Norton, Charles Eliot, 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *Atlantic Monthly* ix (April 1862), 462-9. [Recast as 'Memoir' in *Poems* (Boston, 1862).]

Norton, Charles Eliot, 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *North American Review* cv (Oct. 1867), 434-77.

Nowell-Smith, S., 'An Unascribed Clough Poem', *The Times Literary Supplement* (8 March 1974).

O'Gorman, F., 'An Unnoticed Version of A.H. Clough's 'A Golden Key on the Tongue'', *Notes and Queries* xlix (2002), 68-9.

Omond, T.S., *English Metrists* (Oxford, 1921).

Ornsby, R., *Memoirs of J.R. Hope-Scott* (London: John Murray, 1884).

Osborne, J.I., *Arthur Hugh Clough* (London: Constable, 1919).

Palgrave, Francis Turner, 'Memoir', *Poems by Arthur Hugh Clough* (London and Cambridge: Macmillan, 1862). [Revised version of an article first printed in *Fraser's Magazine* lxxv (April 1862), 527-36.]

Palmer, F.W., 'The Bearing of Science on the Thought of Clough', *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* lix (Mar. 1944), 212-25.

Palmer, F.W., 'The Relation of Arthur Hugh Clough to the Intellectual Movements of his Time', *University of Iowa Studies* cclxxviii (1939).

Palmer, F.W., 'Was Clough a Failure?', *Philological Quarterly* xxii (Jan. 1943), 58-68.

Paterson, Gary H., 'Lionel Johnson and Arthur Hugh Clough: An Ironic Debt?', *Victorian Poetry* xl (Oct. 2002), 255-60.

Patmore, Coventry, 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *St. James's Gazette* (10 Aug. 1888), 7. [Reprinted in C. Patmore, *Principle in Art, Religio Poetae, and Other Essays* (London: G. Bell, 1889), 106-12.]

Pattison, M., *Memoirs* (London: Macmillan, 1885).

Peake, L.S., 'Clough as Religious Teacher' *Modern Churchman* xxii (1932).

Peattie, R.W., 'William Michael Rossetti', *Times Literary Supplement* (30 Jul. 1964).

Peattie, R.W., 'A Clough Letter Further Annotated', *Notes and Queries* xxvii (1980), 209a.

Perkins, D., *Wordsworth and the Poetry of Sincerity* (Cambridge, Ma: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964).

Phelan, Joseph, 'A "Meeting" between Clough and the Brownings', *Review of English Studies* n.s. xliii, 535-41.

Phelan, Joseph, and J. Wyatt, "'An Organisation for Culture": Arthur Hugh Clough and the Failure of University Hall London', *Higher Education Review* xxxvii, 44-59.

Phelan, Joseph, 'Clough, Arnold, Béranger, and the Legacy of 1848', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* xlvi (October 2006), 833-48.

Phelan, Joseph, 'Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Casa Guidi Windows*, Arthur Hugh Clough's *Amours de Voyage*, and the Italian National Uprisings of 1847-9', *Journal of Anglo-Italian Studies* iii, 137-52.

Phelan, Joseph, 'Radical Metre: The English Hexameter in Clough's *Bothie of Topper-na-Fuosich*', *Review of English Studies* n.s. 1, 166-87.

Phelan, Joseph, 'The British Reception of Pierre-Jean de Béranger', *Revue de Littérature Comparée* lxxix, 5-20.

Phelan, Joseph, 'The Textual Evolution of Clough's *Dipsychus* and the Spirit', *Review of English Studies* n.s. xlvi, 230-39.

Phelan, Joseph, "'Twisted Thinkings": Poetry as Therapy in the work of A.H. Clough', in *Auto-Poetica; Representations of the Creative Process in Nineteenth-Century British and American Fiction.*, ed. D. Lewes (Lexington Books, 2006).

Pinto, V de S., 'The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough', *English* ix (1952), 105-6.

Polhemus, G.W., 'A Clough Epitaph', *Notes and Queries* cciv (1959), 65-6.

Powell, T., 'Burbidge and Clough', *Pictures of the Living Authors of England* (New York 1949).

- Prescott, W.H., *The Conquest of Peru* (London, 1847).
- Price, F., 'Clough and Patmore', *Notes and Queries* clxxxiii (1942), 376b.
- Prickett, S., *Romanticism and Religion* (Cambridge, 1976).
- Prins, Y., 'Voice Inverse', *Victorian Poetry* xlii (2004).
- Pritchett, V.S., 'The Poet of Tourism', *Books in General* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1953).
- Prothero, R.E., *Life and Correspondence of A.P. Stanley, D.D.* (2 vols., London: John Murray, 1893).
- Prothero, R.E., *Letters and Verses of A.P. Stanley, D.D.* (London: John Murray, 1895).
- Reynolds, M., *The Realms of Verse: English Poetry in a Time of Nation Building* (Oxford, 2001).
- Richards, G.C. and Shadwell, C.L., *The Provosts and Fellows of Oriel College Oxford*, (Oxford, 1922).
- Riede, D.G., 'Guide to the Year's Work: General Materials', *Victorian Poetry* xl (2002).
- Riede, D.G., 'Tennyson's Poetics of Melancholy and the Imperial Imagination', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* xl (2000).
- Roach, J.P.C., 'Victorian Universities and the National Intelligentsia', *Victorian Studies* iii (Dec. 1959), 131-58.
- Roberts, M., ed., *The Faber Book of Modern Verse* (London: Faber, 1936).
- Robertson, D. A., 'Clough's "Say Not" in MS', *Notes and Queries* cxcvi (1951), 499-500.
- Robertson, D. A., "'Dover Beach" and "Say Not the Struggle Nought Availeth"', *Publications of the Modern Language Association* lxvi (Dec. 1951), 919-26.
- Robertson, J.M., 'Clough', *New Essays Towards a Critical Method* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1897).
- Robinson, Henry Crabb, *Diary, Reminiscences, & Correspondence*, ed. T. Sadler, vol., 2 (London: Macmillan, 1869), 303. [Letter from Edward Quillinan to Robinson, dated 12 January 1849].
- Roblins, W.P., *The Ethical Idealism of Matthew Arnold* (University of Toronto Press, 1959).

Rollin, C., *The Ancient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians, Macedonians, and Grecians, Translated from the French* (London: John and Paul Knapton, 1738-40).

Ross, Michael L., *Storied Cities: Literary Imaginings of Florence, Venice, and Rome* (Greenwood Press, 1994).

Rossetti, W.M., 'The Bothie of Toper-na-Fuosich', *Germ* i (Jan. 1850), 36-48.

Routh, H.V., *Towards the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: 1937).

Rudman, H.W., 'Clough and Graham Greene's *The Quiet American*', *Victorian Newsletter* xix (Spring 1961), 14.

Rudman, H.W., *Italian Nationalism and English Letters: Figures of the Risorgimento and Victorian Men of Letters* (Columbia University Press, 1940)

Rudman, H.W., 'Clough: "Say Not the Struggle"', *Notes and Queries*, cxcviii, 261-3.

Rudy, J.R., 'Rhythmic Intimacy, Spasmodic Epistemology', *Victorian Poetry* xlii (2004).

Russett, M., 'Recent Studies in the Nineteenth Century', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* xlvii (2007).

Ryals, C. De L., 'An Interpretation of Clough's *Dipsychus*', *Victorian Poetry* i (1963), 182-8.

Ryals, C. De L., 'Recent Studies in the Nineteenth Century', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* xxxvi (1996).

Ryan, V., 'Why Clough? Why Now?', *Victorian Poetry* xli (2003).

Sailer, S.S., 'Selected Poems of James Clarence Mangan', *Victorian Poetry* xlii (2004).

Saintsbury, George, *A History of Nineteenth Century Literature* (London: Macmillan, 1896).

Sanders, C.R., *Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement* (Duke University Press, 1942).

Santilli, N., *Such Rare Citings: The Prose Poem in English Literature* (Fairleigh Dickinson University, 2002).

Schad, John, *Arthur Hugh Clough* (London: Northcote House, 2006).

Schlegel, F. von, *Essai sur la langue et la philosophie des Indiens*, trans. by M.A. Mazure (Paris, 1837).

- Schlegel, F. von, 'On the Language and Philosophy of the Indians', *The Aesthetic and Miscellaneous Works of F. von Schlegel*, trans. E.J. Millington (London: Bohn, 1849).
- Schlegel, F. von, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J.B. Robertson (2 vols., London: Saunders and Otley, 1835).
- Scott, P.G., 'A.H. Clough: A Case Study in Victorian Doubt', *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest* ed. D. Baker (Cambridge, 1972).
- Scott, P.G., 'An Early Use of "Aesthetic"', *Notes and Queries* xiv (1967), 380a.
- Scott, P.G., 'An Unlisted Clough Poem', *Notes and Queries* xviii (1971), 415-6.
- Scott, P.G., 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *Dictionary of Literary Biography: Victorian Poets before 1850*, ed., by W.E. Freedman and I.B. Nadel, (Detroit Mi: Thomson Gale, 1984), 91-107.
- Scott, P.G., 'Arthur Hugh Clough: 1983-92', *Victorian Poetry* xxxi (Oct.1993), 293-303.
- Scott, P.G., 'Bibliographical Notes: The Title Page of Clough's "The Longest Day"', *Library* s5, xxvi (1971), 342-50.
- Scott, P.G., Clough, 'Bankruptcy, and Disbelief: The Economic background to "Blank Misgivings"', *Victorian Poetry* xlv (Summer 2006), 123-134.
- Scott, P.G., 'Dancing as a Metaphor in Clough and Newman', *Notes and Queries* (Nov. 1968), 417-8.
- Scott, P.G., "'Solvitur Ambulando'", *Notes and Queries* xxii (1975), 439a.
- Scott, P.G., *The Early Editions of Arthur Hugh Clough* (New York and London: Garland, 1977).
- Scott, P.G., 'The Editorial Problem in Clough's "Adam and Eve"', *Browning Institute Studies* ix (1981), 79-103.
- Scott, P.G., 'The Image of the Rising Tide in Clough's "Say not the struggle"', *Notes and Queries* cxcviii (1953), 440b.
- Scott, P.G., 'The Text and Structure of Clough's "The Latest Decalogue"', *Notes and Queries* xiv (1967), 378-9.
- Scott, P.G., 'The Victorianism of Clough', *Victorian Poetry* xvi (1978), 32-42.
- Scott, P.G., "Three Literary Sources for Clough's 'Farewell, My Highland Lassie'", *English Language Notes* xvii (March 1980).

- Scott, Walter, *The Lady of the Lake. A Poem in Six Cantos* (London: Longman, 1810).
- Scudder, T., 'A Chronological List of Emerson's Lectures on His British Tour of 1847-1848', *Publications of the Modern Language Association* li (Mar. 1936), 243-8.
- Scudder, T., 'Emerson in London and the London Lectures', *American Literature* viii (Mar. 1936), 22-36.
- Scudder, T., 'Emerson's British Lecture Tour, 1847-1848' Part 1, *American Literature* vii (Mar. 1935), 15-36; Part 2, *American Literature* vii (May. 1935), 166-80.
- Scudder, T., 'Incredible Recoil: A Study in Aspiration', *American Scholar* v (Winter 1936), 33-48. [Reprinted with variations his *The Lonely Wayfaring Man: Emerson and Some Englishmen* (Oxford, 1936).]
- Sedgwick, Ellery, *The Atlantic Monthly, 1857-1909: Yankee Humanism at High Tide and Ebb* (University of Massachusetts, 1994)
- Selby, R.C., *The Principle of Reserve in the Writings of J.H. Cardinal Newman* (Unpublished Oxford B.Litt. Dissertation, 1972).
- Selfe, S.G.F., *Notes on the Characters and Incidents Depicted by the Master Hand of Tom Hughes in "Tom Brown's Schooldays" Together with Some Supplementary Information as to Rugby School in the Days of Thomas Arnold D.D. 1828-1842* (Rugby, 1909).
- Sellar, W.Y., 'Clough's Poems', *North British Review* xxxvii (Nov. 1862), 323-43.
- Shackford, Martha Hale, 'The Clough Centenary: His *Dipsychus*', *Sewanee Review* xxvii (Oct. 1919), 401-10. [Reprinted in her *Studies of Certain Nineteenth Century Poets* (Natick, Ma., 1946).]
- Shadwell, C.L., *Registrum Oriense, An Account of the Members of Oriel College Oxford* vol 3 (Oxford, 1902).
- Shairp, J.C., *Aspects of Poetry* (Oxford, 1881).
- Shairp, J.C., 'Balliol Scholars, 1840-43', *Macmillan's Magazine* (Mar. 1873).
- Shairp, J.C., *Kilmahoe, A Highland Pastoral with Other Poems* (London and Cambridge: Macmillan, 1864).
- Shairp, J.C., *Portraits of Friends* (Houghton Mifflin, 1889).
- Shaw, W.D., 'The Burden of Role-Playing', *Victorians and Mystery* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990).

Shaw, W.D., *The Lucid Veil: Poetic Truth in the Victorian Age* (Athlone Press, 1987).

Sidgwick, Henry, 'The Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough', *Westminster Review* xcii (Oct. 1869), 363-87. [Reprinted in H. Sidgwick, *Miscellaneous Essays and Addresses* (London: Macmillan, 1904), 59-90].

Slinn, E.W., 'Fact and the Factitious in *Amours de Voyage*', *The Discourse of Self in Victorian Poetry* (London: Macmillan, 1991).

Smith, W.H., 'Dipsychus and the Letters of A.H. Clough', *Macmillan's Magazine* xv (Dec. 1866), 89-102.

Spender, S., 'The Voice of Honest Doubt', *Sunday Times* (3 Nov. 1957), 10.

Stanley, A.P., *A Prize Essay, Read in the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford; July 1, 1840* (Oxford, 1840).

Stanley, A.P., 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *London Daily News* (8 Jan. 1862), 2.
Stanley, A.P., *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D.D.* (London: Fellowes, Sixth Edition, 1846).

Starzyk, L.J., *The Dialogue of the Mind with Itself: Early Victorian Poetry and Poetics* (University of Calgary Press, 1992).

Starzyk, L.J., *The Imprisoned Splendour: A Study of Victorian Critical Theory* (Port Washington, New York: National University Publications, 1977).

Starzyk, L.J., 'The Non-Poetic Foundations of Victorian Aesthetics', *British Journal of Aesthetics* xxvi (1986), 218-27.

Statham, R., 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *National Review* (Apr. 1897), 200-12.

Stone, M., 'Elizabeth Barrett Browning', *Victorian Poetry* xli (2003).

Strachey, L., *Eminent Victorians* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1918).

Strauss, Dr. D.F., *The Life of Jesus: Critically Examined, Translated from the Fourth German Edition*, trans. by George Eliot (3 vols., London: Chapman, 1846).

Stubbs, J.K., 'An Unpublished Letter of A. H. Clough', *Notes and Queries* xiv (1967), 377-8.

Super, R.H., 'Emerson and Arnold's Poetry', *Philological Quarterly* xxxiii (Oct. 1954), 396-403.

Swinburne, A.C., 'Social Verse', *Forum* 12 (Oct. 1891), 169-85. [Reprinted in A.C Swinburne, *Complete Works*, ed. E. Gosse and T.J. Wise xv (London: Heinemann, 1926), 264-88].

- Sykes, W., 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *Notes and Queries* s6, xi (1885), 454f.
- Symonds, J., *Thomas Carlyle: The Life and Ideas of a Prophet* (Oxford, 1952).
- Symonds, John Addington, 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *Fortnightly Review* (Dec. 1868), 589-617.
- Symonds, John Addington, 'Clough's Life and Poems', *Cornhill Magazine* xiv (Oct. 1866), 410-21. [Reprinted in his *Last and First* (New York, 1919).]
- Tasker, M., 'Francis Adams and Songs of the Army of the Night: Negotiating Difference, Maintaining Commitment', *Victorian Poetry* xl (2002).
- Temple, Ruth Z., *The Critic's Alchemy: A Study of the Introduction of French Symbolism into England* (Twayne, 1953).
- Tener, R.H., 'Clough, Hutton and University Hall', *Notes and Queries* vii (1960), 456b -57.
- Tener, R.H., 'Clough to Bagehot: A New Letter', *Notes and Queries* ccxxii (1977), 14-15.
- Tennyson, Alfred, *The Poems of Tennyson*, ed. C. Ricks (London: Longman, 1969).
- Tennyson, G.B., *Victorian Devotional Poetry: The Tractarian Mode* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1981).
- Tennyson, Hallam, *Alfred, Lord Tennyson; A Memoir by his Son* (2.vols., London: Macmillan, 1897).
- Thesing, W.B., 'Harvesting the Past: Arthur Hugh Clough's Estimates of His Romantic Predecessors', *Victorians Institute Journal* xvi (1988).
- Thirlwall, C., *A History of Greece* (8 vols., London: Longman, 1835).
- Thirlwall, C., *Remains: Literary and Theological of Connop Thirlwall*, ed. Stewart Perowne, (London: Daldy, Isbister, 1877).
- Thirlwall, J.C., *Connop Thirlwall: Historian and Theologian* (London: SPCK, 1936).
- Thistlethwaite, F., *The Anglo-American Connection in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1959).
- Thompson, E.N.S., 'The Octosyllabic Couplet', *Philological Quarterly* xviii (Jul. 1939), 257-68.
- Thorpe, Michael, ed., *Clough: The Critical Heritage* (New York and London: Barnes and Noble, 1972).

Tillotson, G., 'A Searcher for the Truth', *Times Literary Supplement* (6 Dec. 1957), 738.

Tillotson, G., 'Clough's *Bothie*', and 'Clough: Thought and Action', in G. And K. Tillotson, *Mid-Victorian Studies* (London: Athlone, 1965).

Tillotson, G., *Criticism and the Nineteenth Century* (Athlone, 1951).

Tillotson, K., 'Rugby 1850: Arnold, Clough, Walrond and In Memoriam', *Review of English Studies* n.s. iv (1953), 122-40. [Reprinted in G. And K. Tillotson, *Mid-Victorian Studies* (London: Athlone, 1965).]

Tillotson, K., 'Yes: In the Sea of Life', *Review of English Studies* iii (1952), 346-64.

Timko, M., 'Amours de Voyage : Substance or Smoke ?', *English* xiii (1960), 95-98.

Timko, M., 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *Victorian Poetry* xii (1974), 255-6.

Timko, M., 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *Victorian Poetry* xiv (1976), 220.

Timko, M., 'Arthur Hugh Clough: A Portrait Retouched', *Victorian Newsletter* xv (1959), 24-8.

Timko, M., 'Arthur Hugh Clough: Palpable Things and Celestial Fact', *The Victorian Experience: The Poets*, ed., by R.A. Levine (Ohio University Press, 1982), 47-66.

Timko, M., 'Corydon had a Rival', *Victorian Newsletter* xix (Spring 1961), 5-11.

Timko, M., 'Florence Nightingale – Fantasy and Fact', *World and I* xviii (July 2003).

Timko, M., *Innocent Victorian: The Satiric Poetry of Arthur Hugh Clough* (Columbus: Ohio University Press, 1966).

Timko, M., *The Lyrics of A.H. Clough: Their Background and Form* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1956).

Timko, M., 'The Poetic Theory of Arthur Hugh Clough', *English Studies* xliii (1962), 240-47.

Timko, M., 'The Satiric Poetry of Arthur Hugh Clough', *Victorian Poetry* i (1963), 104-14.

Timko, M., 'The "True Creed" of Arthur Hugh Clough', *Modern Language Quarterly* xxi (1960), 208-22.

Tinker, C.B., and Lowry, H.F., *The Poetry of Matthew Arnold: A Commentary* (Oxford, 1940).

Tompkins, J.M.S., [Review of *Poems*, (1951)], *Modern Language Review* xlviii (1953).

Townsend, F.G., 'Clough's "The Struggle": The Text, Title and Date of Publication', *Publications of the Modern Language Association* lxvii (1952).

Trawick, B.B., 'The Sea of Faith and the Battle by Night in "Dover Beach"', *Publications of the Modern Language Association* lxv (1950).

Trench, R.C., *The Story of Justin Martyr and Other Poems* (Rugby, 1835).

Trevelyan, G.M., *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic* (London: Longman, 1919).

Trevor, M., *The Arnolds: Thomas Arnold and His Family* (London: Bodley Head, 1973).

Trevor-Roper, H.R., *The Romantic Movement and the Study of History* (London: Athlone Press, 1969).

Trilling, L., *Matthew Arnold* (revised ed., New York, Columbia University Press, 1949).

Trilling, L., *Sincerity and Authenticity* (Oxford, 1972).

Tuckwell, W., *Pre-Tractarian Oxford: A Reminiscence of the Oriel "Noetics"* (London: Smith Elder, 1885).

Tuckwell, W., *Reminiscences of Oxford* (London: Smith, Elder, 1900).

Tuckwell, W., 'Reminiscences of Oxford: *Addendula Quaedam*' *The Oxford Magazine* (24 May and 7 Jun. 1905), 339.

Turner, A.M., 'A Study of Clough's *Mari Magno*', *Publications of the Modern Language Association* xlv (Jun. 1929), 569-89.

Turner, P., '"Dover Beach" and *The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich*', *English Studies* xxviii (1947), 173-8.

Tyrer, C.E., 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *Notes and Queries* s6, xi (1885), 454d.

Ulin, D., 'Tourism and the Contest for Cultural Authority in Clough's *Bothie of Toper-na-Fuosich*', *Victorian Poetry* xxxvii (1997), 71-97.

Varriano, J., *Rome: A Literary Companion* (London: John Murray, 1991).

Vaughan, C.J., *An English Essay, Recited in Rugby School, On the Wednesday in Easter Week, 1834* (Leicester, 1834).

- Vaughan, H.H., *Two General Lectures on Modern History* (Oxford, 1849).
- Veyriras, P., 'Un Regain d'Intérêt pour Clough' *Etudes Anglaises* xi (1958).
- Veyriras, P., *Arthur Hugh Clough, 1819-1861* (Paris: Didier, 1964).
- Vico, Giambattista, *The Autobiography of Giambattista Vico*, ed. M.H. Fisch and T.G. Bergin (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1961).
- Waddington, S., *Arthur Hugh Clough: A Monograph* (London: Bell, 1883).
- Wallace, J., 'Translation in Arnold's "Empedocles"', *Essays in Criticism* xlv (1995), 301-23.
- Ward, David, 'The Heart's Events: The Victorian Poetry of Relationships', *English* xxvi (1977), 72-6.
- Ward, Humphrey, *A Writer's Recollections* vol. 1 (Harper, 1918).
- Ward, Wilfred, *William George Ward and the Oxford Movement* (London: Macmillan, 1889).
- Ward, William George, 'Arnold's "Sermons"', *The British Critic* xxx (Oct. 1841), 298-364.
- Ward, William George, *A Few Words in Support of No. 90 of the Tracts for the Times . . .* (Oxford: Parker, 1841).
- Ward, William George, 'Church Authority', *The British Critic* xxxiii (Jan. 1843), 202-233.
- Ward, William George, *The Ideal of a Christian Church Considered in Comparison with Existing Practice* (London: James Toovey, 1844).
- Ward, William Reginald, *Victorian Oxford* (London: Cass, 1965).
- Watson, J.G., 'Arnold and Oxford', *The Quarterly Review* ccxciv (Jan. 1956), 44-54.
- Watson, J.R., *The English Hymn* (Oxford, 1999).
- Watson, R., *The History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain*, (2 vols., London: for W. Strahan, and T. Cadell, 1777).
- Warren, A.H., *English Poetic Theory: 1825-65* (Princeton, 1950).
- Wellek, R., *Confrontations: Studies in the Intellectual and Literary Relations Between Germany, England, and the United States During the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 1965).

- Wellek, R., 'The Supposed Influence of Vico on England and Scotland in the Eighteenth Century', *Giambattista Vico: An International Symposium*, ed. G. Tagliacozzo and H.V. White (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969), 215-24.
- Weiner, S.K., *Republican Politics and English Poetry, 1789-1874* (London: Macmillan, Palgrave Studies, 2005).
- Weinstein, M.A., *W.E. Aytoun and the Spasmodic Controversy* (Yale, 1968).
- Whalley, G., 'Coleridge and Vico', *Giambattista Vico: An International Symposium*, ed. G. Tagliacozzo and H.V. White (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969), 225-44.
- Whately, Richard, *The Use and Abuse of Party Feeling in Matters of Religion: Bampton Lectures, 1822* (Oxford, 1822).
- Wheeler, E.T., 'A Victorian for Grownups', *Commonweal* cxxxiv (1 Jun. 2007).
- Whewell, William., 'Dialogues on English Hexameters', *Fraser's Magazine* xxxix (Mar. 1849), 342-7.
- Whewell, William, 'English Hexameters', *North British Review* xix (May 1853), 129-50.
- White, J.B., *The Life of the Rev. Joseph Blanco White*, ed. J.H. Thom (London: John Chapman, 1845).
- Willey, B., *Nineteenth Century Studies* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1948).
- Willey, B., *More Nineteenth Century Studies: A Group of Honest Doubters* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1956).
- Williams, D., *Too Quick Despairer: A Life of Arthur Hugh Clough* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1969).
- Williams, Isaac, *Tracts for the Times No. 80: On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge* (1838).
- Williams, Isaac, *Tracts for the Times No. 87: On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge: Conclusion* (1840).
- Williams, S.T., 'Clough's Prose', *Studies in Victorian Literature* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1924).
- Williams, T.L., 'Matthew Arnold and "The Times"', *Notes and Queries* xvi (1969), 211-12.

Williamson, E.L., *The Liberalism of Thomas Arnold: A Study of his Religious and Political Writings* (University of Alabama, 1964).

Wilson, A.N., *The Victorians* (London: Hutchinson, 2002).

Winnifrith, T.J., 'Matthew Arnold and Clough', *Notes and Queries* xviii (1971), 249-50.

Wolfe, H., 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *The Eighteen-Sixties*, ed. J. Drinkwater (Cambridge, 1932).

Woodham-Smith, Cecil, *Florence Nightingale: 1820-1910* (London: Constable, 1950).

Woodward, F.J., *The Doctor's Disciples: A Study of Four pupils of Dr. Arnold of Rugby* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954).

Wordsworth, W., *Poetical Works*, rev. and ed. E. De Selincourt (Oxford, 1950).

Zastoupil, L., *John Stuart Mill and India* (Stanford University Press, 1994).