

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

U·M·I

University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

Order Number 9207086

**Love, marriage, and sexuality in the life and poetry of Arthur
Hugh Clough**

Keller, Janice, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1991

Copyright ©1991 by Keller, Janice. All rights reserved.

U·M·I
300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

A

LOVE, MARRIAGE, AND SEXUALITY
IN THE LIFE AND POETRY OF
ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH

by
JANICE KELLER

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
English in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University
of New York.

1991

© 1991

JANICE KELLER

All Rights Reserved

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in English in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Date *Michael Timko*
Chair of Examining Committee

27 September 1991

Date *Joyl Whitbeck*
Executive Officer

Rachel M Brownstein

Rachel Brownstein

Norman Kelvin

Norman Kelvin

Michael Timko

Michael Timko, Chairman
Supervisory Committee

Abstract

LOVE, MARRIAGE, AND SEXUALITY
IN THE LIFE AND POETRY OF
ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH

by

Janice Keller

Advisor: Professor Michael Timko

The Victorian poet Arthur Hugh Clough is known primarily for his skeptical and satirical poems. However, a large part of his poetry, including all his long poems, are about love, marriage, and sexuality. Clough waged lifelong battles to solve the personal psychic conflicts caused by the inhibiting sexual mores of early nineteenth century England and to forge in his poetry a more liberal, humane sexual ethos than that of his society. This study attempts to show the interrelationships between Clough's life and his poetry on love, marriage, and sexuality.

Chapter 1 sketches Clough's youth as an early Victorian, especially his response to the era's notorious prudishness that stemmed from the Evangelical propriety which swept English society from the late eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century.

Chapter 2 analyzes the development of Clough's early poems on love and sexuality, from his juvenilia, through the

lyrics that show the erotic tensions of his life as an Oxford student and fellow, to the first, and most ebullient, long poem, which concerns love and marriage across class lines of a young Oxonian and a Scots country girl, a theme repeated in many of Clough's poems and one which was probably drawn from his life.

Chapter 3 primarily concerns Clough's two major long poems. In both a young intellectual is faced with the problems of entering the world. Claude, the hero of the first poem, Amours de Voyage, represents the poet in his ambivalence toward love and marriage, while the eponymous hero of Dipsychus, like Clough, is both fascinated and repelled by sex.

Chapter 4 examines Clough's impetuous choice of a fiancée and their courtship correspondence in which his desire for a wife and a home alternated with his fear of irrevocable, mistaken commitment, a fear which he frequently expressed in his poetry.

Chapter 5 interweaves the experiences of the end of Clough's short life, including his eight-year poetic silence, with discussion of his last long poem, in which his liberal approach to love and sexuality far transcends the restrictive mores of his era.

CONTENTS

Guide to Parenthetical Documentation	vii
Chapter 1 Life Through 1848	1
Chapter 2 Poems on Love and Sexuality, 1837-1848	32
Chapter 3 1849-1850	69
Chapter 4 1851-1853	109
Chapter 5 1854-1861	149
Afterword	189
Bibliography	195

Guide to Parenthetical Documentation

Page citations without a source refer to Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough. Ed. F. L. Mulhauser, 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1974.

Abbreviations are used for three works:

Correspondence: The Correspondence of Arthur Hugh Clough.
Ed. Frederick L. Mulhauser. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon,
1957.

Diaries: The Oxford Diaries of Arthur Hugh Clough. Ed.
Anthony Kenny. Oxford: Clarendon, 1990.

PPR: The Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough.
Ed. B. S. Clough. 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1869.

CHAPTER 1 - Life Through 1848

The Victorian poet Arthur Hugh Clough is known primarily for his skeptical and satirical poems which question religious and social verities. But though critics are aware that almost one-third of Clough's poems concern love, sexuality and marriage, they have not been singled out as a group for extensive critical attention. However, they are worth consideration as a group because Clough's love poetry is both paradigmatically "Victorian" and ineluctably individual. The particularly Victorian crucible that refined Clough into the man and the poet he became also, paradoxically, precipitated into his poetry a more modern, liberal approach to love and sexuality far in advance of that of his contemporaries. In its overall development, Clough's poetry on love, marriage, and sexuality can be seen as a generally successful attempt to free himself from his era's prescriptions and proscriptions on literature's handling of these topics.

Clough critics generally consider that it was religion, the nineteenth century's prime area of intellectual concern, that engaged Clough and his poetry throughout his life. But this was not the case. He had solved his religious conflicts long before his death. It was the arena of love, sexuality, and marriage, arguably the second major venue of Victorian inner conflict, in which Clough waged a lifelong battle, finally achieving a celebration of natural love and

sexuality.

With little or no attempt at screening reality, Clough wrote directly of his problems concerning love, sexuality, and marriage. His settings were contemporary; his heroes thinly-veiled versions of himself. It was only in his poetry that Clough was completely candid. Except for his courtship correspondence with his fiancée, and even there he sometimes was elliptical, Clough was not confessional either in his conversation or his prose or even in his notebooks, diaries, and letters. His letters even to his best friends are marked by reserve broken by self-reflexive irony.¹ His poetry served as a safety valve since he was seemingly unable to confide in others directly.

Clough's problems stemmed from an interrelated group of pressures deriving from his family, education, religion, and Victorian social mores. Clough's character was a ferment of contradictory impulses. He was moral and truth-seeking, but convinced as a child and youth of his sinfulness; naturally ebullient and loquacious, but fear of bumptiousness made him shy and silent; delighting in natural sexuality, but prudish

¹ In a May 1852 letter his friend James A. Froude, Carlyle's biographer, asked Clough to send him some of his recent poetry because "it will serve for a more complete transcript of what is passing inside you than any number of letters" (Correspondence 1: 312). His best friend, Matthew Arnold, in refusing after Clough's death a request for a memoir from his widow, referred her to Clough's poetry. His friend, wrote Arnold, "expressed himself in his poems with more ease and unreserve than in his conversation" (Lowry, The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough 161).

and proper²; devoted to work and duty, but continually flagellating himself as slothful; desirous as a young man of falling in love and marrying, but exposing every approach to women to a pitiless introspection. It may seem incongruous that someone as racked by internal conflicts as Clough may be regarded as probably the most witty Victorian poet. But probably the humor was subconsciously called into play to relieve the pressures that afflicted him.

In his attitudes toward love and sexuality Arthur Hugh Clough was both typical and atypical. In his personal life, as recorded in his letters and diaries, he was a typical sexual prude of his time. However, Clough realistically examined love and sexuality in his poetry with a frankness rare in Victorian literature. Writing when society barred virtually any literary discussion of sex (it was thought that mentioning anything sexual would give license to sensuality), Clough was an insurgent and an innovator, although when he revised his work he almost invariably retreated from his avant-garde views, probably in recognition of the prevailing mores. Eager to gain approval from the important people in his life, Clough circulated his poetry among his friends and was reluctant to publish what they criticized. As a result only a collection of lyrics of which he was co-author and two long poems were published during his lifetime.

The extreme high-mindedness and propriety that Victorians

² In 1854, writing to his friend Francis Child about the modernized edition of Chaucer the American was preparing, Clough expressed distaste for the Miller's and the Reeve's tales and suggested keeping their language archaic (PPR 1: 220).

demanded of themselves in public of course bred an irresistible fascination with their opposites in private. Some public icons of rectitude relaxed their personae in private.³ But Clough sublimated into his poetry his struggles between his inhumanly demanding code of ethics and his need for love, self-expression, and sexual fulfillment.

The contrast between Clough's view of himself as sinful and selfish and the ways others saw him could hardly be greater. As far as can be ascertained, Clough's behavior, from childhood to his early death, was irreproachable. Those who knew him almost universally commented on the purity of his life. Matthew Arnold, told Clough: "[Y]ou are the most conscientious man I ever knew. . ." (Lowry, The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough 130). When Clough was elected a fellow of Oxford's Oriel College in 1842 his uncle, a former fellow of Jesus College, told Oriel's provost that he had "never known him guilty even of a boyish fault" (Correspondence 1: 116). A week later Clough wrote in his diary: "I seem to know nothing except that I am wholly wrong within" (Diaries 201). Thomas Arnold the younger, who, like his older brother, Matthew, was also a close friend of Clough, wrote of him to his sister Frances in 1895, "His pure soul was without stain; he seemed incapable of being inflamed by wrath, or tempted to vice, or enslaved by any unworthy passion of any sort" (Bertram 236).

³ Tennyson told bawdy jokes and Coventry Patmore kept erotica hidden on his library shelves to relax from the pressures of their public personae (Trudgill (134).

Clough also was noted for his extreme reticence about his personal life. While his friends speculated after his death that he might have had a love affair in 1846 or 1847, and there are tantalizing hints of possible hidden relationships in his diaries and correspondence, nothing can be actually be determined.

In appearance, as far as can be judged from his death mask, Clough was handsome with regular features. Although he was generally considered overweight--he was variously described as massive, burly, and fat--neither the death mask nor portraits bear this out. Julia Ward Howe, who met Clough in America, described him as: "tall, tending a little to stoutness, with a beautifully ruddy complexion and dark eyes which twinkled with suppressed humor" (qtd. in Levy 147).

Clough was a typical Victorian, in Michel Foucault's sense of the term, in that he was highly conscious of sexuality.⁴ The era's refusal to countenance public discussion of sex paradoxically heightened its importance. The sexual repressiveness of the Victorians stemmed primarily from the era's being pervaded by Evangelical values. The Evangelicals, both those inside the Church of England and the Dissenters, were theological descendants of the seventeenth-century Puritans. Like the Puritans, they sought a personal,

⁴ While Foucault correctly ascribes to Victorians heightened awareness of sexuality, there is no basis for his denial of the existence of Victorian sexual repression. As Peter Gay notes on p. 468 of the first volume of The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud, Foucault's theory that Victorian sexual repression was non-existent is "anecdotal and almost wholly unencumbered by facts. . . ."

immediate experience of God and a Christ-like life. Salvation was to be achieved through a conversion experience, submission to the doctrine of man's total depravity, and impeccable behavior. The asceticism of the Victorians was derived from the Evangelicals' belief that man is corrupt from birth. It was necessary to root out all signs of sin as little sins led to big ones. To extirpate such sins Evangelicals stressed frequent, searching examination of one's motives and behavior. Especially to be feared was any hint of sexual innuendo or impropriety.

The genesis of the Evangelical loathing of sensuality can be traced to the Puritans' proscription of sexual sin for fear of damnation. To reinforce their sexual taboos, draconian laws were passed against adultery and fornication. Peter Gay traces Victorian conflict over sexuality even farther back than the Puritans: to St. Jerome's insistence that married passion was adulterous and St. Augustine's view that concupiscence resulted from Eve's fall (1: 48). Although by the nineteenth century the threat of eternal punishment had faded, the taint Evangelicals attached to sexuality had taken on a life of its own. Every Victorian knew, writes Peter Gay, that sexual proprieties required: "[V]irginity before marriage, unbroken monogamy, sexual intercourse moderate in quantity, and procreative in intent, total abstention from masturbation, and the most scrupulous adherence to taboos against incest and other sexual abominations" (2: 201). By the nineteenth century the middle class generally considered sexual desire as legitimate only in procreation (Gay 2: 50).

The Evangelical anathematizing of sex was at its height in the 1830s and 1840s, the years when Clough, born in the same year as Victoria, was a boy and young man. While the Evangelicals' emotional, born-again message of personal salvation originally was directed at the lower classes, several developments in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries led by the 1830s and 1840s to middle- and upper-class acceptance of the Evangelicals' sexual prudery and propriety. First was a linking of liberal political theories with advanced sexual views, especially those espoused by libertarians such as Godwin, Wollstonecraft, and Shelley. Fear of liberalism was given especial urgency by the red specter of revolution emanating from France.

Also contributing to the espousal of prudery early in the nineteenth century were the libertine excesses of the Regency period, especially those of Lord Byron. Even the aristocracy, shaken by Queen Caroline's adultery trial, began retreating from its profligate ways. In 1825 the Evangelical writer Hannah More was gratified that among the aristocracy there was "such an increase in genuine religion" (qtd. in Weeks 28). By the 1830s Evangelicalism had set the pattern for moral behavior in all of England's social classes (Young 4). To the amazement of local populaces, chaises and carriages of the gentry and aristocracy increasingly encamped around rural churches on Sundays. Both the rising middle class and many members of the established upper class by the 1830s adopted, at least outwardly, Evangelical sexual mores in defense of England, crown, and property. When memories of the terrifying

French Revolution were beginning to fade, the rise of Chartism and the abortive revolutions of 1848, especially in France, resurrected them.

By the middle of the nineteenth century it was estimated that only about a hundred aristocratic families were left in England in which there was not at least one Evangelical member (Bradley 37). Like the middle-class Evangelicals, the aristocratic converts regularly attended church and also held household prayers. An historian of the period stresses, "It is impossible to overstate the pervasiveness and intensity of the moralism which the evangelicals had infused into every aspect of Victorian life" (Altholz 62). Contributing to sexual repression was the perceived attractiveness of prostitution and its sister in sin, sensuality, especially as propounded in French novels. Whatever was considered to violate moral or religious convention received "the full force of social stigma" (Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind 398). It is no wonder, then, that Clough was loath to publish many of his poems and, in revising, bowdlerized his own verses.

In literature Evangelical morality put an end to the freedom to deal with sexual, and even excremental, themes enjoyed by eighteenth-century writers like Swift, Fielding, and Richardson. Byron's rollicking tale of Don Juan and his mistresses was reprobated by proper Victorians such as Dr. Thomas Arnold, while the creator of Becky Sharp could only hint at her modus operandi. It was not until the 1850s that

moral strictures on literature began to relax (Trudgill 156).⁵

Although in his later letters and other prose writings Clough railed bitterly against Evangelicals, he was himself in many ways an archetypal Evangelical as a youth and young man. Victorian Evangelicals frowned on the theater, cards, dancing, singing, reading fiction--whatever they found enjoyable. Revelatory of Evangelical self-denial is an anecdote about Sir James Stephen, a son of a member of the Clapham Sect, who on smoking a cigar was so delighted that he never tried one again.⁶

Similarly, Clough as a young man was prudish and abhorred pleasure. In his Rugby diary for 11 April 1837 he noted, "a pretty good day, but too much pleasure" (Notebook 2, 20 verso). In September 1845 he wrote a Rugby friend:

[M]ay I never be carried again to the ballet! It is really strange that matrons and maidens delicately nurtured . . . should pa[t]ronize such sights.

(Correspondence 1: 152)

A month later he wrote of George Sand's Jeanne that it was "the most cleanly French novel I ever read--and not cleanly only, but pure" (Lowry, Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough 58).

⁵ On the other hand, an earlier commentator, Kathleen Tillotson, believed the 1840s were more permissive regarding literary sexual explicitness, at least in novels, than were later Victorian decades (54-64).

⁶ Sir James Stephen (1789-1859), under-secretary of state for the colonies and a Cambridge professor of modern history, was the father of Sir Leslie Stephen and grandfather of Virginia Woolf.

Evangelicalism taught what some contemporary commentators called feminine values: modesty and obedience. Certainly Clough was modest, even to the point of being unable to accept praise, and his notorious willingness to submit to more dominating personalities is seen in what one biographer calls his favorite and most apposite French maxim: "Il faut s'y soumettre" (Williams 122). John C. Shairp, an Oxford contemporary, recalled that some of his fellow students joked at Clough's "exceeding silence and reserve, and unworldly ways" (Knight 53). Clough intentionally smothered his natural ebullience and berated himself whenever he broke his self-imposed silence and permitted himself the luxury of talking. As a child he was fearful he might appear bumptious and as an adult he was afraid of seeming to seek acclaim by brilliant conversation.

Beginning with his childhood Clough was afflicted by alienation and a fragile sense of self-worth. He was born in Liverpool on January 1, 1819, the second of four children of James Clough, a cotton merchant and his wife, Anne. (The oldest child, Charles, was born in 1817; Anne Jemima was born in 1820; the youngest, George, was born in 1821.) Mrs. Clough came from a Yorkshire banking family named Perfect, a most appropriate name as she was an Evangelical who instilled her "stern integrity" into her son (PPR 1: 9). Clough's father was descended from a Welsh family which traced its ancestry to a Sir Richard Clough, supposedly a relative of John Calvin, a relationship also appropriate for Clough. While James Clough was a lively and loving father, unfortunately his frequent

business trips meant he was seldom at home. Late in 1822 James Clough moved his family to Charleston, South Carolina. There the Clough children were not allowed to attend school or even associate with American children whom they could only spy wistfully during their Sunday trips to church. Possibly the elder Cloughs were trying to retain their children's sense of being English, but such insularity was practiced by Evangelicals to protect their children from contamination by those outside the pale.

When in the fall of 1825 Arthur's older brother Charles was taken by their father to school in England, Clough became his mother's confidant during the father's eleven-month absence. Clough's lonely, shy mother taught her children prime Evangelical values: respect for "God and duty" and ardor for Protestant martyrs and such heroes as the defenders of Thermopylae. Looking back on her mother's relationship with Arthur, his sister wrote, "I cannot but think that her love, her influence, and her teaching had much to do with forming his character" (PPR 1: 9).

In November 1828 Arthur joined Charles at school in Chester, not far from Liverpool. After a few months both boys were transferred to Rugby. Charles stayed only for a year or two, but Arthur stayed for nine years, from the age of 10 until almost 19. For the first eight of these years he was in effect homeless, as his parents and sister remained in the United States, not returning to Liverpool until the summer of 1836. (Charles and George attended other English public schools.) During vacations in the years he was separated from

his parents, Clough was shunted from the home of one relative to another, where, initially at least, he recoiled from the boisterous play of his male cousins, probably because he had been kept close to his mother and not allowed to play with neighboring American children.

The impact of Evangelical doctrines Clough received in his early years from his mother was immeasurably increased during his school days when he received the full brunt of the overwhelming personality of Dr. Thomas Arnold at Rugby. Dr. Arnold preached the doctrines of duty, work, earnestness, selfless devotion to others, and eradication of ambition for the world's goods.⁷ As Clough wrote later, Dr. Arnold was not only in loco parentis for his almost nine years at Rugby, but was even more than a father to him (PPR 1: 33).

To measure up to Dr. Arnold's standards young Clough drove himself unmercifully. In late 1836 he noted in his diary, "Have today done a copy of a Chorus of Sophocles--have read 6 hours beside the 4 in school but have wasted at least an hour" (Notebook 2, 10 recto). As Clough labored and studied for Dr. Arnold--the terms are interchangeable--he constantly examined his motives. Was he working so hard in order to achieve praise? Dr. Arnold abhorred selfishness and lauded selflessness. Among the sources of Clough's constant examination in his poetry of motives for action was his overly sensitive schoolboy conscience. However, despite the headmaster's immense influence on him, Clough did not

⁷ Thomas Carlyle, who was also a friend and mentor of Clough, advocated the same archetypically Victorian values.

subscribe to Dr. Arnold's valuing moral action above truth.

To Dr. Arnold, who had taken orders in the Church of England shortly before assuming the headmastership of Rugby, the only alternative to Christianity was animalism, or evil. That the cornerstone of Dr. Arnold's religious belief was the divinity of Christ is ironic since the most powerful poem of Clough, probably his most famous pupil, is "Easter Day I," with its refrain "Christ is not risen." Even at Rugby Clough's religious belief was eroding, although his tormenting conscience remained active. In his diary for 1 March 1837 he wrote: "Very great wickedness and I sometimes fear my love to God is diminishing" (Notebook 2, 16 recto).

To Dr. Arnold boys were innately evil, and to combat their evil--lying, drinking, smoking, bullying, fighting--he enlisted the help of the sixth formers, the praeposters, to maintain order and set examples. The praeposters were Dr. Arnold's cats' paws who snatched younger boys from the fire of moral evil. Dr. Arnold himself compared running Rugby to playing chess with the devil and having the boys as pawns. Clough in his last years at Rugby was the head of the school, the chief praeposter in the School House, a dormitory for 70 boys where Dr. Arnold and his family also lived. While at the time Clough echoed his mentor's views, as an adult he questioned the headmaster's moral emphases--assailing minor faults as "evils"--as shown in the epilogue to Dipsychus.

Clough was not only an exemplary sixth former in behavior, but he also was successful in Dr. Arnold's next-most important area of concern: academic achievement. He won

every prize the school offered. But even his successes were occasion for self-castigation as they led to the first deadly sin. In 1836 he believed that when he had been in the fifth form he was "thoroughly impregnated with evil" because he had been possessed by a "burning thirst for praise" (Correspondence 1: 39-40).

Clough was, almost singlehandedly, the editor for two years of the Rugby Magazine.⁶ A number of his poems in those years show him as expressing true Victorian humility and sense of sin, including "Sonnet IV" in which he confesses himself unworthy of the stars' "kind" light as he is a selfish "wretch." The young poet also makes the unlikely claim that he has felt "all the joys of sin" (471; 5, 6, 11). Another poem, "Thoughts of Home," addresses Dr. Arnold. In her memoir of Clough, his widow explains the poem's occasion, his observing from a window while he was sick some of the headmaster's children at play. Seeing them evokes memories of Clough's own "far away" family (471; 3). It ends with one of the youthful Clough's conventional self-abnegating moralizings in which he condemns himself as selfish and sinful for allowing himself to be lonely.

As Dr. Arnold waded jubilantly into Christian battle

⁶ The young editor's aim was to promote the widest possible circulation for the magazine in an attempt to reverse the school's declining enrollments. Although Clough probably was unaware of it, the fall in student numbers primarily resulted from Dr. Arnold's endless public embroilments with Newmanites and others who did not agree that his Broad Church precepts were the only salvation for the Established Church. Interestingly, it was Clough who invented the term "Broad Church" (Sanders 7).

against evil, Clough conscientiously attempted to befriend younger students in order to influence them for good and in his letters piously exhorted his younger brother to Christian work and prayer. Dr. Arnold was a proponent of physical exercise (though not of the famed Rugby athletic program, as is popularly believed), and Clough followed suit. Just as Dr. Arnold exulted in long walks and bathing--swimming no matter what the weather--Clough did also. Though some commentators have questioned whether Clough's involvement in organized athletics resulted from his love of sport or his attempt to befriend other students to influence them for good, Clough was famed as a goal-keeper in football. The strain of his multifarious efforts for Rugby can be seen in his precarious health. In his letters to his family are frequent mentions of illness and exhaustion from over-stimulation. A letter of 9 July 1835 to his mother mentioned that for at least three years he had been "in one continued state of excitement" (Correspondence 1: 16).

The effects on Clough of his dedication to Rugby were disastrous. Writers on Clough sometimes cite a question that, according to A. P. Stanley, an early biographer of Dr. Arnold, the headmaster frequently asked himself: "Can the change from childhood to manhood be hastened without prematurely exhausting the faculties of body or mind?" (1: 111). In the case of Clough the answer has always been "No." Clough often is viewed as being a failure, and, depending on the critic, his mother or Dr. Arnold or both are blamed.

Clough crowned his Rugby career with winning the Balliol

scholarship, the most prestigious offered by an Oxford college. But then, when he went up to Oxford in the fall of 1837, the strain of living up to his own and others' expectations of him started to tell. In the unreformed Oxford of his day, the curriculum consisted of humane letters and mathematics. Not a good mathematician, Clough concentrated on humane letters, which meant the same ancient Greek and Latin writers he had already mastered. Bored, he neglected his studies, read novels and newspapers, and gave and attended wine parties. As a result he was unprepared for his examinations, which he should have taken in the fall of 1840. Despite postponing them until April 1841 he still failed to get a first class degree. Though his friends were shocked and some even accused the examiners of being blind to his merits, Clough acknowledged the justness of their evaluation and feared only that his second class degree would impede his ability to attract students to be tutored.

Punishment imposed by Clough's conscience for scanting his duties was immediate, with his torments increased by his Evangelical habit of using a diary to keep himself up to his neurotically high standards. In "the most introspective feature of a highly introspective religion," Evangelicals constantly examined every crevasse of their lives (Bradley 23). To aid themselves in their search for failings, almost all Evangelicals jotted in their diaries close analyses of each day's behavior. Further, since Evangelicals felt required to use every moment purposefully, their diaries provided records of how each moment was spent.

Excerpts from Clough's Oxford diaries present an almost unrelievedly sad picture of a youth always oppressed by consciousness of sin and unworthiness. On 25 March 1838 he resolved: "I must never pass a day without trying to realize all my exceeding wickedness and abuse of God's grace from my very childhood" (Diaries 30). In the early diaries Clough's self-accusations of sinfulness are likely to concern pride as he had arrived at Oxford preceded by his Rugby reputation. At the start of his second term he wrote, "All the enjoyment, and attention, & be-praisement of this Place is [sic] too much as yet for me" (Diaries 3.)

Another major cause for self-castigation was lapses in religious orthodoxy. On 23 February 1838 he wrote, "Alas, parts of this day I felt quite independent of God." Two days later he regretted having "aweful [sic] feelings of . . . atheism" (Diaries 12-13). Periods of unbelief were followed by admonitions to penitence. (Clough's loss of faith proceeded in fits and starts, finally leaving him with a vague theism.) On 16 March 1839 he wrote, "I continually let myself forget that every thing [sic] I do wrong is sinful and grievous to Christ. . . ." (Diaries 106).

In his diaries Clough constantly berates himself for his failings: keeping irregular hours, not studying enough, laziness, lying late in bed (a fault particularly reprehensible to an earnest Evangelical), greed, complacency, vanity, ill temper, love of ease, scanting his prayers or letting his mind wander at church, loquacity, pride, and excessive socializing. Representative is a section of his

entry for 5 May 1838:

[M]y motives are such as I dare not examine, I have lost much time & opportunity, I have been unclean, selfish, cowardly, conceited, and still am so, I have done much harm and committed great & crying sins. (Diaries 56-57)

He criticized what he considered a tendency when he was sick to slacken his inordinate self-demands. "I let any little unwellness serve my purpose. . . . It is quite possible that a man should be punished by continual inadequate and dipsychus [double-minded] efforts to be good. . . ." (Diaries 22). This is an early appearance in Clough's writing of the Greek term he used twelve years later as the name of what many consider his best long poem, Dipsychus, and its eponymous hero.

Clough's diaries show that he not only tried to account for each moment but also evaluated how worthily it was spent. Reporting on an afternoon hour in which he read Greek, he wrote, "1 to 2 Sophocles: rather slovenly" (Diaries 101). He even felt guilty at not spending enough time analyzing his sins. Further, his convoluted sense of self-awareness caused him to reproach himself for being proud of reproaching himself! Other entries show tension between his need to be loved by his friends and a fear of being too familiar. His desire for friendship caused him sometimes to become overexcited when with his friends, resulting in insomnia. In another twist of his conscience's thumb screw, he tried to force himself to feel that such overexcitement was wicked. It is not surprising that many of Clough's Oxford diary entries refer to his frequent headaches, fatigue, insomnia and other

ills. He was likely to blame his poor health on his sinfulness, which Kenny says his doctors encouraged him to do (Diaries xx). But Clough found a silver lining in his illnesses: they limited his scope for sin. On 23 May 1838 he wrote, "Were it not that I am unwell, there is much that wo[uld] be wilful sin to-day" (Diaries 62). For a diligent reader of even the published excerpts of Clough's diaries this is a welcome statement, for his dissection of his over-sensitive conscience is like a reversal of Yeats' expanding gyre: Clough spirals down into ever more minuscule discriminations. By the time the reader finds on page 90 the statement: "I do not call to mind my offences nearly enough," the dichotomy between Clough's perceptions of his sinfulness and reality is only too apparent.

Most poignant to a modern reader is Clough's anguish over his inability to control what he called in his diary entry for 6 April 1838 "my worst sin," undoubtedly masturbation, which seems to have occurred when he was half asleep (Diaries 36). A month later he confessed to his diary that it had been five and a half years "since I contracted that wretched habit which still clings to me: by this I may measure how little I have really done" (Diaries 66). To avoid mentioning even the term "worst sin," Clough drew large stars on the pages of his diaries to indicate the sin's incidence, something he must have felt required to confess. There is a link between lack of faith and the "worst sin." After starring the date 6 September 1839, he noted, "Whenever there is the least approach to wilfulness this Catastrophe [sic] occurs" (Diaries

120). "Wilfulness" that day meant forgetting to say his prayers.

While today Clough's frantic attempts to avoid masturbating appear humorous--a star is followed by "th[ough] after a cold bath" and "foolishly took tea"--to Clough, and early Victorians in general, masturbation was no laughing matter (Diaries 178-79). Clough went so far as to consult a Liverpool surgeon in October 1840 to try to prevent his "worst sin." A poem written as part of his 16 May 1841 entry contains the line: "Yet am I fainting for a little ease," a complaint which recurs in his poetry (Diaries 165; 3). Both the day before and the day after are starred.

Indeed masturbation was considered in the nineteenth century as the most foul of sexual sins. An Edinburgh doctor in 1812 condemned "the disgusting habit of self-pollution." Initially it caused "lassitude" and the body became "flabby or emaciated . . . Then occurs trembling hands, dim eyes, confused indistinct hearing . . . frequent and violent headache, drowsiness, without the power to sleep . . . the patient . . . is tired, fretful, terrified and discontented. . ." (qtd. in Smith, "Sexuality in Britain, 1800-1900" 195). Specifically it was thought that the masturbating schoolboy risked sterility and endangered "his intellectual capacity, his moral fiber, and the obligation to preserve a healthy line of descent for his family and his social class" (Foucault 1: 121). By mid-century it was believed that onanism led to: "impotence, consumption, amnesia, curvature of the spine, dyspepsia, epilepsy, blindness, insanity, and death" (Trudgill

52). No wonder Clough was disturbed by his "wretched habit."

Early Victorian physicians described a supposed disease caused by masturbation, "spermatorrhea," i.e. loss of sperm, for which a painful urethral ring with metal prongs was sometimes prescribed to thwart nighttime erections and the potential loss of vital semen. Trudgill states, "For a great many Victorian men sleep each night brought torment, not repose" (54). Certainly for Clough there would seem to be a cause-and-effect relationship between fear of masturbating in his sleep and insomnia.

Although masturbation was a heinous sin, neither was abstinence a desirable alternative. It was thought to cause permanent impotence. The solution, in an era in which middle-class young men often had to wait until their thirties before they were affluent enough to afford middle-class comforts for their brides, was often recourse to prostitutes or compliant lower-class girls. Kenny believes there are indications in the Oxford diaries that Clough might have had sexual relationships with country girls in two communities near Oxford: Shotover and Woodeaton, the latter about a mile north of Oxford. More than 35 unexplained visits to Shotover are noted, considerably fewer to Woodeaton, where a woman named Susan seemed to live. On 8 February 1841 Clough wrote, "Spoke to Susan but weakly & to no purpose" (Diaries 157). On 5 April 1841: "Woodeaton and [in Greek] Susan's matter" (Diaries 163).

Despite a possible hint in Tom Brown's School Days of homosexuality at Rugby (and Clough was Thomas Hughes' "fag

master"), there is no mention of it during Dr. Arnold's tenure as headmaster in McCrum's 1989 biography of Arnold. Nor is there any hint of overt homosexuality in Clough's life. Kenny believes it was highly unlikely, given the agonies Clough experienced over masturbation, that he ever engaged in homosexual activity.

But Clough did experience the intense infatuations endemic to single sex schools. As a Balliol undergraduate, he was the unwilling recipient of the excessive emotional attachment of his mathematics tutor, William George Ward, a Newmanite later deprived of his Oxford degrees for publishing a book supporting Tract 90. Although much has been made of Ward's attempts to convert Clough to Tractarianism, his proselytizing seems to have been subsidiary to his jealous demands for exclusive intimacy with Clough. Initially Ward flattered Clough's ego by praising his student essays. Clough in return tried to bolster Ward, a manic-depressive, when he was in his depressive phases. Realizing that Ward was disturbed, Clough gently repulsed the older man's jealously possessive demands in order not to hurt his feelings. Similarly Clough found himself in 1840 forced to reject the emotional demands of a Balliol contemporary, William Tylden.

The infatuation that Ward and Tylden had felt for Clough, Clough himself developed for two other Oxford men. For Theodore Walrond, five years younger than he, Clough experienced the greater passion. He first knew Walrond at Rugby when the younger man was a lower classman. After spending some summer weeks in the Lake District with Walrond

in 1838, Clough tutored him for six weeks at Grasmere during the summer of 1841 for the Balliol scholarship examination in November. Walrond won his scholarship that fall, but two days later Clough himself failed the competition for Balliol fellowships, though the following spring he won an Oriel fellowship, which Newman and Dr. Arnold had won before him, and which Matthew Arnold won later. By 1843 Walrond was one of the group with Clough and the Arnold brothers, Matthew and Tom, whose roaming the countryside around Oxford is celebrated in "The Scholar Gipsy" and "Thyrsis." In 1847 Walrond was among a number of Clough's friends who joined him briefly at Drumnadrochet on Loch Ness where he was tutoring a reading party.

According to Kenny, Clough also had a strong emotional tie to another Oxford student, Thomas Battersby, four years younger than he, who entered Balliol in 1841. But it would seem that the emotion Clough felt for Battersby might have resulted from the pressure of preparing for the Oriel fellowship in the early part of 1842 after failing the Balliol competition. On 18 February 1842 Clough wrote in his diary that a note from Battersby was "refilling my, as I seemed to see it, empty heart" (Diaries 193). By 4 March Clough resolved to end his relationship with Battersby if the younger man were only indulging his fondness for him as he himself had indulged Ward's passion. As the Oriel examinations at the end of March approached, Clough alternated between diary confessions of passion for both Walrond and Battersby. On 9 March he felt he was "[p]ossessed wholly by Walrond" (Diaries 196), while four

days later he "rested wholly on the belief & acceptance of B[attersby]'s love" (Diaries 197).

It would seem that neither Clough's attachment to Battersby nor his more publicized friendships with Matthew and Tom Arnold were as engrossing as his relationship with Walrond, who in 1848 became a Rugby master for three years and in 1855 joined the first Civil Service Commission as an examiner. In a brief autobiography which Clough sent in April 1853 to his fiancée, Walrond is mentioned seven times, compared to five occurrences of Matthew Arnold's name and two occurrences each of the names of Tom Arnold and Thomas Burbidge, a Rugby friend and poet with whom Clough in 1849 jointly published a book of lyrics. Interestingly, of 1308 known Clough letters listed by Frederick L. Mulhauser in an appendix to Clough's correspondence, only seven are from Walrond, and of these five are to Mrs. Clough after her husband's death. Since Clough was possessive about his correspondence, at least once prohibiting Blanche from discarding some of it, one wonders why Clough did not keep more than two of Walrond's letters. Presumably there were more, unless their correspondence was one-sided. In a 1952 article on Walrond, John Curgenven mentions that "a large number of letters" from Clough as well as from Matthew Arnold were destroyed by Walrond's order after his death (56).

During his Oxford years Clough's social views were liberal, so much so that Matthew Arnold referred to him as "Citizen Clough." During the Irish famine Clough published a booklet, known as the Retrenchment pamphlet, which urged

profligate Oxonians to retrench their consumption of luxuries so that more material goods would be available to the impoverished. Viewing private property under the rubric of Biblical injunctions, he admonished his readers, "The property is not your own. . ." (PPR 1: 286). Not just a parlor liberal, Clough actually rubbed shoulders with the underprivileged, working in a soup kitchen and assigning beds to the homeless in a dormitory run by an Oxford charitable association.

A proposal Clough mentioned to his sister about another underprivileged sector of society is hard to assess. During a trip to the Continent in June 1846 he told Anne that he disapproved of live-in servants (Blanche Athena Clough 62). He proposed that after their days' work they spend their nights elsewhere, perhaps in boarding houses, so that their mistresses could not dictate how they behaved and dressed. The motive for Clough's proposal may not have been quite what he alleged to Anne. Domestic servants were considered likely to become prostitutes. While the number of Victorian female servants who were seduced by males in the families of their employers was not as high as the boasts of Walter, the author of My Secret Life, would indicate, it is possible that Clough's proposal to eject servants from their masters' homes at night might have been impelled by more than egalitarian principles.

Also contributing to Clough's emotional turmoil during his Oxford years were his precarious finances. For years his father's cotton factoring business had been foundering. By

early 1840 his family's economic problems were severe enough to cause Clough recurrent bouts of worry, although his father did not actually fail until 1843. From his tutoring fees Clough contributed to his family's finances, and after his father's death in October 1844 he became the sole support of his mother and sister for a number of years. His younger brother had died of yellow fever in America in 1843, and in 1846 his older brother married.

Another area of emotional disturbance at Oxford was Clough's rapidly diminishing adherence to Anglicanism. Oriel fellowships lasted for seven years, at the end of which time the holders were expected to take religious orders, unless they entered the fields of either law or medicine. Clough had no interest in law or medicine and very little in taking orders. Each time it was necessary to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, such as when matriculating for a degree, Clough had a struggle with his conscience.

At the time all Oxford fellows were required to be unmarried and pledged to chastity, a situation which undoubtedly heightened Clough's sexual tensions. Whether Clough fell in love or had any sexual experience before marriage is unknown because of his extreme reticence concerning his relations with women. But his realistic handling of sexual material in his poetry leads many Clough critics to believe that he had, as James Bertram suggests, "at least some degree of first hand experience" (222). From Clough's recurrent use of the theme of a male scholar involved

with a country girl, critics theorize that Clough fell in love during an Oxford long vacation, probably in Scotland where he took university undergraduates for reading parties. The girl is generally thought to be a Highland lassie, although Bertram believes she might have been Théodore Walrond's sister Agnes, to whom Bertram thinks Clough was attracted in August 1845 (223). During his Oriel years there are frequent, and tantalizing, mentions of love and marriage in Clough's correspondence. In a May 1846 letter to his sister he wistfully complains that the opportunity to fall in love "has never duly befallen me, at least in the cases where I could have wished it most" (Correspondence 1: 170). Presumably by then he had experienced love, although the relationship was in some way unsatisfying. Most mystifying is another letter to Anne dated Wednesday, 18 November with the year missing, which Mulhauser assigns to 1846. The letter refers to an unnamed woman whom Clough plans to marry:

As for her who I hope someday to see your sister it is very true that it won't be in a moment that you will quite understand each other--but there is no fear in the end. She is very slow to advance--and I almost think that the visit to Ambleside, pleasant as it was, was too much of an advance. If you can, let all advances come from her, and don't be afraid, that they will . . . call her by her name as little as possible. I doubt whether she is quite up to it, except from Mother. When you write to her, it would come best at the end of a bit from

Mother. (Correspondence 1: 175)

The letter's description of a shy, easily frightened woman fits into the theory that Clough had a love affair with a country girl. Presumably Clough had taken her to visit his mother and sister on vacation in Ambleside in the Lake District. This relationship could possibly have given rise to the short poem "My wind is turned to bitter north," which may date from 1847. In this poem Clough makes uncharacteristic and poignant use of metaphor to convey loss and decay of love: bitter wind, foggy sky, black autumn leaves, and rains lashing his home's "roofless ruin" (25; 9).

While there is no other mention of the shy woman, Clough continues to refer to love and marriage in his correspondence, but not to sex. An exception occurs, curiously, in connection with Emerson. In November 1847 the American philosopher had given a group of lectures in Liverpool, and after one of them he had heard in the home of Samuel Bulley, a friend of Clough, a reading of sections of Clough's Retrenchment pamphlet which urged aid to the victims of the Irish famine. Clough wrote his sister that he wished he were able to join her to listen to Emerson. Unable to do so, Clough instead wrote to the American, inviting him to visit Oxford and citing Anne's having met him at Bulley's home as his justification for what he termed would otherwise have been an "unwarrantable liberty" (Correspondence 1: 186). Because of the press of his lecturing schedule in England, Emerson was unable to take up Clough's invitation until the following spring. After the American sage's first visit to the university, they met again in Paris

where Clough, a fervent republican, had gone to observe the 1848 revolution against the monarchy, and the two spent a good deal of time together. It was in his Paris diary for 22 May 1848 that Clough made his mention of sex. Possibly being in Paris itself, that notorious center of lubricity, enabled Clough to touch on such a problematic topic, though briefly, cryptically, and in French and Latin, as though to further distance himself: "Dimanche . . . Emerson [de sexualibus]" (Diaries 249).

The topics of love and marriage, less threatening than sex, could be discussed in English. In November 1848, writing to Tom Arnold, who had emigrated to New Zealand the previous year, Clough concluded, "one lives in the daily possibility of falling in love" (Correspondence 1: 223). In the same letter Clough rejoiced in his "emancipation" from his Oriel fellowship, which he had relinquished the previous month. He had found he could no longer in good conscience subscribe to the Church of England's Thirty-nine articles. He had given up his tutorship for this reason six months earlier.

Although some critics believe that Clough was thrown into a religious turmoil by both Ward and Newman, who was at the height of his Oxford influence during Clough's undergraduate years and whom Clough knew then and later when both were Oriel fellows, neither Clough's poems nor his other writings attest to Tractarian tendencies. In his first two Balliol years Clough read and discussed Newmanite theories, but there is no indication he ever was affected by them. While Clough, like many other Oxonians at the time, was stirred as an

undergraduate by Newman's sermons at St. Mary's, he was unconcerned with the major Tractarian issues: ritualism, surplices, sacramentalism, apostolic succession, and the role of the early church. It is more likely that Clough's religious doubts were precipitated by readings in philosophy and contemporary scholarship, such as Leben Jesu by D. F. Strauss, to whom he alluded in the title of one of his major skeptical poems, "Epi-strauss-ium." Carlyle's epiphany in Sartor Resartus in which he found God immanent in nature does not seem to have influenced Clough. Evelyn Barish Greenberger thinks Clough picked from Carlyle's cornucopia of beliefs only those that had appealed to him earlier (62-66).

The effect of his years of faith and study of Christianity (examinations in divinity were required in his Oxford time) and an essentially mystic temperament left Clough suffused with Christianity--its legends, parables, and morality--everything except belief. Indeed, as was commonplace among agnostic Victorians, as Clough's belief in Christianity's truth declined, starting in the early 1840s, his adherence to its essential morality strengthened. In November 1848 he wrote his sister: "It is far nobler . . . to teach people to do what is good because it is good simply than for the sake of any future reward" (Correspondence 1: 227). His disbelief in such a reward is shown poignantly in an 1850 letter to Shairp, then a Rugby master and fervent Christian who frequently tried to recall him to orthodoxy. Using mock archaic diction to blunt the sting of his words, he urged Shairp, and, by extension, himself, to leave academia and

enter the real world of "common merchants . . . sailors and coalheavers" and do work, "for there is no experience, not pleasure, nor pain, nor instruction nor anything else in the grave whither thou goest" (Correspondence 1: 284). A few years later when Clough had obviously tried to lay claim to possessing a "spiritual residuum" of Christianity, Shairp briskly retorted that "a Christianity without the historical Personal Christ as its centre, I can make nothing of" (Correspondence 2: 400).

Although Clough had no way of supporting himself when he left Oxford in 1848, this juncture in his life could not be considered a failure. As though released from bondage, he wrote, in two months, his only truly light-hearted long poem, The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich. Subtitled "A Long Vacation Pastoral," it describes in often mock-heroic hexameters an Oxford reading party in the Highlands and the experiences in love of Philip Hewson, a radical and a proto-feminist. The Bothie was published late in 1848, just before the long meditated publication of a volume of lyric poems, Ambarvalia, a joint product of Clough and Thomas Burbidge. Burbidge had been an editor of the Rugby Magazine with Clough, later attended Cambridge, and then took orders. Their title was the Latin word for an ancient Roman festival in which fields and boundaries were purified. Perhaps the choice of title was influenced by the undeniably sexual content of some of Clough's Ambarvalia poems. At least subliminally they must have been disturbing enough to require ritual purification.

CHAPTER 2 - Poems on Love and
Sexuality, 1837-1848

What makes Clough fascinating are the tensions between his liberal intellectual approach to the incendiary topics of love and sexuality and his underlying emotional attachment to convention in both areas. In the years from 1837 through 1848, his poetry moves from youthful prudery and conventionality to lyrics seemingly revelatory of sexual experiences to finally the bold extended metaphors of his first long poem.

"Rosabel's Dream," which was published in the November 1837 Rugby Magazine, finds sex immitigatably bad. The poem, strongly indebted to Coleridge's "Christabel," concerns a medieval maiden who, after a day of "sweet impassioned" pleasure, dreams of Lord Ethelbert. Dream fairies urge her "Freely then to deathless love / Yield the service of thy soul" (496; 164-65). This seems to mean sinful sex as Rosabel's "holy heaven-fraught breast" is convulsed by sobs. She wakes to realize that "things without or things within, / Had tempted her to grievous sin" (498; 2155-16). The poet's confusion of "deathless love" with sin is underscored by a Miltonic reference to "gleams . . . / That make the darkness visible" (498; 229-30). The poet pleads on behalf of mortals, "Oh, who will be the spirit's stay, / Should earthly passions break their sleep, / And fleshly nature take her way" (498; 238-40). He reproves Rosabel for not having banned sinful

thought from her dream, which, as one critic has pointed out, is more censorious than Milton, who had Adam excuse Eve's dreaming of plucking the forbidden fruit on the grounds that she was not responsible for her dreams (Gollin 118). Possibly too the adolescent Clough was seeking spiritual help in preventing nocturnal occurrences of "fleshly nature" taking its way. As though realizing he has been too revelatory, the young poet then has his heroine experience hallucinogenic dream fragments which are not overtly sexual. Finally her dream ends with angels promising her that when her hour of trial by evil thoughts is over angels will minister to her.

Many of Clough's tensions concerning love, sexuality, and marriage can be seen in the lyrics he contributed to Ambarvalia. In an early Ambarvalia poem, "When panting sighs the bosom fill," Clough's youthful prudery is still present. Mulhauser believes that what stimulated the poem was the marriage of a former Oxford astronomy professor a few years older than Clough. Clough had written to Burbidge in June 1844: "I confess I had not expected his marriage to any thing [sic] but an Abstraction: he is highly aesthetic. . . ." (Mulhauser, "Love and Reason" 175).

The published version of the poem condemns human lovers' learning "so soon" the mating behavior they share with beasts. Only man's higher aspirations redeem man's "bestial" sexuality:

soul and spirit add
To pleasures, even base and bad,
A zest the soulless never had. (6; 20-22)

The poem contains a number of cruxes: Is sexual attraction a reliable indication of love? Even if one's reason approves passion's choice, should not one hesitate in case a more perfect love appears? In the case of marriage Clough's characteristic hesitancy to make a commitment was thoroughly justified. Underlying this poem and many other Clough love and marriage poems is the subtext that marriage in England until 1857 was almost indissoluble.⁹ The poem cautions against choosing a mate on the basis of erotic attraction as this may preclude a later, more desirable, choice.

I hear high Prudence deep within
 Pleading the bitter, bitter sting,
 Should slow-maturing seasons bring,
 Too late, the veritable thing. (6-7; 33-36)

The poet advises: "Let Reason first her office ply; / Esteem, and admiration high, / And mental, moral sympathy" (7; 47-49). He worries that if reason is not exercised first, then passion will blind her vision. True love, he concludes, is reason.

While the final version of the poem advises the reader to wait for an ethereal love, in the first version, as Mulhauser points out, Clough fears that he may never experience such high-minded bliss, either because he does not merit it or through sheer mischance.

a love full well I wot

⁹ Prior to the Divorce Report Act of 1857 it was practically impossible to dissolve a marriage. Divorce required wealth and influence and was possible only by a private act of Parliament, which cost up to 900 pounds. Almost always the plaintiff was the husband, accusing the wife of adultery and seeking monetary redress from her lover.

May of fine natures be the lot
 Which of my coarser cometh not;
 Or if of loftier kind I be,
 Yet is not Fortune cross to me? (Mulhauser, "Love
 and Reason" 176; 70-74)

The poet absolves himself of seeking mere sensual indulgence; accepting an earthly love may enable him to do "many an [sic] useful deed" (Mulhauser, "Love and Reason" 176; 78).

The first draft ends with a decision that if a more worthy love does not appear by the time the speaker is 26 or 28, he will settle for sublunary love. While Clough does not adopt Marvell's term for earthly love, in the second draft of the poem he seems to allude to the earlier poet's most noted metaphor:

yet at the back
 Of Love on every earthly track
 And querulously sadly talking
 Is seen a ghostly shadow stalking. (Mulhauser, "Love
 and Reason" 177; 39-41)

Despite a disclaimer to Burbidge at the end of the first draft that the poem does not refer to himself--"I, you will remember am only twenty five"--, there seems no doubt that the poem reflects Clough's desires at the time. The next day Clough added to his letter: "I do acknowledge a certain sympathy & understanding with the quidam who loquiturs" ("Love and Reason," 177).

After Burbidge commented on the first two drafts, Clough rewrote the poem two more times, elevating reason and removing

the personal touches, one of the unfortunate examples of Clough's revising his work to please his friends.

In another letter to Burbidge of over a year later Clough included a couplet which is one of the earliest evidences of his sensitivity to feminist issues:

"It is because it is," the reason ladies use
Is better than the man's "It is because I choose."

(573)

Anthony Kenny suggests that another Ambarvalia poem, "Thought may well be ever ranging," which resulted from a weekend trip to Mold in Wales in the summer of 1841, is Clough's first love poem. At Mold some "foolishness" occurred with a person whose canceled name in Clough's diary could have been "Dora" (Diaries xlv). The poem's theme is much like that of "When panting sighs the bosom fill." The poet sternly warns that "Hearts . . . / Must or once for all be given, / Or must not at all be given" (26; 8-10). In addition, love must be consonant with duty. "Show of love, where'er you find it, / Look if duty lurk behind it!" (26,7; 18-19).

In a 10-part poem, "'Blank Misgivings of a Creature moving about in Worlds not realised,'" whose title comes from Wordsworth's "Intimations of Immortality," Clough at the start of 1842 examines and finds wanting the first third of his Biblically-appointed life span (though, sadly, his anticipation of another 46 years of life was misplaced). Preeminent in the cataloguing of his sins is a sexual one: "Yea, the first kiss that by these lips was set / On any human lips, methinks was sin--" (28; 10-11). An earlier draft of

the poem has the kiss set on his mother's lips, and from this type of evidence Chorley in her biography of Clough deduces that he had an Oedipus complex (346-54). Gollin thinks that the sinful kiss was given to one of Clough's aunts (165); while Kenny sees its sinfulness as deriving from the young Clough's preferring someone created rather than the Creator (God and Two Poets 21). However, this is a rather extreme adherence to Puritan doctrine since even a precocious poet's first kiss of anyone undoubtedly occurred before the age of reason. A less convoluted interpretation of the lines can be achieved simply by defining the "first kiss" as one given sensually to a woman. To Clough's Evangelical equation of sin and sex, a sensual kiss was a sinful one.

Yet Ambarvalia also contains a poem that takes sexual attraction so naturally that it becomes a metaphor for the burgeoning world. The poem, "Natura Naturans," delightfully describes the sexual tension that arises between the male speaker and a girl sitting next to him in a second-class railway car, a contemporary setting in itself worthy of note. The pair's heightened consciousness is likened to the power that drives the growth of lichen and lily and spurs a gazelle in Libya, a leopard in India. Although the poet cannot later recall the girl's face, as they sat side by side:

Yet owned we, fused in one,
 The Power which e'en in stones and earths
 By blind elections felt, in forms
 Organic breeds to myriad births;

.

Slow-spreading, strengthening long, at last

Vibrated full in me and her. (36; 41-48)

The force that Dylan Thomas later saw as driving through a green fuse to death reaches its apex in Clough's poem in sexuality. Images of evolutionary development change and grow.

Flashed flickering forth fantastic flies,

Big bees their burly bodies swung,

.

Their shells did slow crustacea build,

Their gilded skins did snakes renew,

(37; 55-66)

Since its publication in 1849 "Natura Naturans" has attracted both harsh censure and high praise. An anonymous reviewer in the Literary Gazette of April 1849 called it "trash" (qtd. in Thorpe 85). Another contemporary critic assailed it as violating decency (Thorpe 97). Mrs. Clough also found "Natura Naturans" abhorrent and successfully fought against its inclusion in the 1862 and 1863 editions of Clough's poems.

On the other hand, its modern reception has been almost uniformly favorable. Barbara Hardy believes it is possibly "the most successfully sensual Victorian poem" (in Armstrong, The Major Victorian Poets 269). Bertram considers it was "for its time a daring treatment of a subject hardly touched on in English poetry between Byron and Hardy" (n. 161). But Wendell Stacy Johnson questions Clough's intent in the stanza concerning the role of sexual force in Eden:

Such sweet precluding sense of old

Led on in Eden's sinless place
 The hour when bodies human first
 Combined the primal prime embrace,
 Such genial heat the blissful seat
 In man and woman owned unblamed,
 When, naked both, its garden paths

They walked unconscious, unashamed. (37; 73-80)

Johnson wonders if Clough's Eden is sinless because there is no sexual activity. He further asks: "And how ironic are the rhymed words unblamed, unashamed, with their apparent implication that modern love, far from Eden, does involve blame and shame?" (81) The answer would seem to be that since Eden is "sinless" during the "primal prime embrace," Clough here shares Milton's view that our first parents engaged in blameless sex before the fall and that Clough is blameless of irony in this stanza.

The next poem in Ambarvalia, which has a Greek title meaning "God be with you," is one that is often cited in proof of the theory that Clough had a love affair in Scotland in the 40s. For the American edition of his poems, published posthumously in 1862, Clough noted that this poem was written in September 1847 in the Highlands (587). Turner believes that it was at a dance after a deerstalking party held by a Scots laird at Glenfinnan Inn in Fort William that Clough fell in love with the mysterious Highland lassie (581). In the brief published poem the speaker recalls his sad parting from the girl. In memory he will again take hold of her "shyly passive hands in joyous Highland reel" (38; 10). Presumably the girl's

hands are "shyly passive" because she is in awe of her gentleman partner, who will recall her the following summer during travel on the Continent. The disparity in social class probably was a reason for the speaker's leaving her. The poem ends with his dreaming regretfully of: "life in some black bothie spent . . . With barefoot lads and lassies round, and thee the cheery wife, / In the braes of old Lochaber . . ." (38; 19-22).¹⁰ Certainly here is anticipation of the Bothie of the next fall.

There are three manuscript versions of "God be with you," much longer than the version Clough printed in Ambarvalia, which give additional support to the love affair theory, but as the deleted lines are the musings of a speaker who eventually became the Bothie's Philip Hewson I will comment on "God be with you" in my discussion of that poem.

The first 10 lines of "God be with you," identical in all three versions, throw light on the next Ambarvalia poem, also with a Greek title, "On Latmos," referring to the Endymion myth. The speaker of "On Latmos" would transport his beloved away from the "rustic dance" of earthly maids to Artemis's glades and escape the double standard of the censorious world.

But the life, the life to me,
 'Twas the death, the death to them,
 In the spying, prying, prating
 Of a curious cruel world.
 At a touch, a breath they fade,

¹⁰ A bothie is a hut.

They languish, droop, and die. (39; 13-18)

Just as fascinating as Clough's sympathy for the plight of women stained with sexual innuendo is the great emphasis he gives sexuality here by equating it with his life. It would seem that the heavier the weight of sexual sin Clough felt, the more he valued sexuality.

"Homo Sum, Nihil Humani--," a poem originally planned for Ambarvalia but canceled on a gathering of proof sheets, begins with a speaker whose sexuality is more than emphasized; it is brutal. He kisses "upon the road" a girl with a "coarse and common grace" because she was carnal and he possessed a "mightier Force than she" (163-64; 1, 4, 20). On kissing her he "muttered as I held her chin, / God give you of his grace" (16; 27-28). The crudeness flaunted by the speaker probably shocked Clough even as he wrote the poem because in the last two quatrains he distances himself from the speaker's machismo. He introduces the framing device of a moral second speaker who disingenuously wonders if the first speaker's benediction "did her good" (164; 30). But Clough must have realized that the sanctimonious blessing did not negate the unpleasantness of his exercise in male chauvinism and therefore canceled the poem. (See further discussion of this poem in chapter 3.)

Two undated poems which Mrs. Clough found in manuscript and published after her husband's death echo themes found in the Ambarvalia poems and were presumably written about the same time. "Whence are ye, vague desires" asks if man's carnal desires come from heaven or are just a "fever in the

blood" to which women succumb to their detriment. Even though carnality makes youth "prematurely old," the poet thinks its creator had "some good end designed / For man and womankind (!)" (367-9; 23, 41, 58-59).

Similarly anti-sex is "Repose in Egypt" in which the poet tells the Christ-child that for a time he must share the "seeming ill, contaminating joys" of mortal life. But at least in Mary's face there is "No sad suspicion of a lurking ill, No shamed confession of a needful sin. / Mistrust her not. . . for she conceived Him without shame" (364-65; 13, 18-20).

While many of Clough's early poems on love, sexuality, and marriage are unpalatable to modern tastes, his Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich has never lost its appeal. It is a delightful novel in verse, a love story as practically all Victorian novels were, even each of Trollope's despite his conscious attempt to write one without lovers. Subtitled A Long-Vacation Pastoral, the poem is a colloquial, witty Bildungsroman whose hero, Philip Hewson, is a member of a reading party of six Oxford students and their tutor in the Highlands. The heroine, Elspie Mackaye, daughter of a blacksmith, is sensitive and articulate, and, above all, sturdily independent, not to be intimidated by Philip's unconscious chauvinism.

After giving up his Oriel fellowship, Clough wrote the original Bothie's over 1900 hexameter lines at his mother's home in Liverpool in September and October of 1848. The hexameters were inspired both by Homer and Clough's reading aloud of Evangeline to his sister and his mother that fall.

While the Bothie's hexameters do not possess Longfellow's smooth euphony and frequently have been criticized as rough, the mock-epic parody of Homer is skillful and points up the contemporary setting. For example, the poet invokes a modern muse at the opening of Book 4, one who is: "Swifter than steamer or railway or magical missive electric" (64; 4). Homeric epithets characterize the students: Lindsay is "cigar-loving" and, like Zeus, a "cloud-compeller" (45, 59; 25, 81).

Many of the Bothie's events are based on Clough's own experiences. In the poem's first book the members of the reading party are guests at a banquet given by a local landowner. The scene was probably derived from a dinner in Fort William given by a local laird which Clough had attended. In his diary for 2 September 47 he noted that after a "Deer-drive" there were "The Feast & the carouse. The Song & the Dance even unto 5 AM." Interestingly, the next day he wrote: "Cool reflection & bitters--abeunt [they go away]" (Diaries 242). This cryptic comment may refer to an incident that Clough adverts to in the manuscript versions of "God be with you." All the versions start "You left me, O my comrades"--the comrades wondering if the speaker was going to seduce a Gaelic country girl. However, invoking God with the Greek benediction "God be with you" helps the speaker to resist despoiling the girl. To the girl he says, "And I leave thee, leave thee smiling, with a kiss upon the brow / And an earnest, not a wilful word, O God be with you," the last phrase in Greek (588; 9, 10). The girl, unsophisticated and having a limited command of English, wonders if her would-be

lover is trying to speak Gaelic with an English accent. He rails against their being divided by their social classes. Her democratic life contains "new blood of strength and health." She is guiltless of "the lies of breeding, birth, and rank." His benediction is superfluous; God is already with her: "The Justice and the truth with thee" (589; 37, 41-49). Anguished, he leaves the girl and follows after his comrades, questioning his decision. "This green and shady lane, where I've tarried--would it lead / Dared I follow, to an end I should welcome sure indeed?" (589; 57-58). That is, he wonders if the girl is the ideal mate he seeks.

The Bothie deals with a number of social issues, among them the relationships between classes, the condition of women, and prostitution. While the woman issue in the Victorian era was more likely to concern the quality of womanliness, Clough's liberalism led him to question the conspicuous consumption and indolence of the leisure classes, especially of their women. Also contributing to his interest in the condition of women was his closeness to his sister, whose reading and thoughts he guided and whom he counseled as to her choice of teaching as a profession, then unusual for a woman. Possibly Clough's non-sexist estimate of women was partly due to his sister's emancipation from the female stereotype. After Clough's death Anne Jemima Clough was instrumental in obtaining for women the ability to attend lectures and take examinations at Cambridge University. She also helped establish at Cambridge a residence hall for women,

Newnham College, and became its first principal in 1871.¹¹

In the Bothie Clough proposes that women, and men, do what they are fit for, a view highly subversive of class distinctions. If a gentleman is best equipped to be a hostler, he should be one. If a lady can bake bread well, she should be a baker. Conversely, if a poor boy has the makings of a scholar, he should be enabled to become one. In connection with women, such advocacy is far beyond what, for example, Tennyson the previous year had proposed for women in The Princess. No professions for middle-class women, but only "All that not harms distinctive womanhood. / For woman is not undeveloppt man." For Tennyson, woman's "childlike" mind was not meant to compete with that of men (174; 259-60, 268).

Clough's feminism clashed with the era's beliefs about middle-class women. They were supposed to be fragile, frail, passive, and ornamental, physically weak, and unable to exercise, work, or eat heartily. To maintain the last fiction some Victorian women ate copiously before dinner parties and then picked daintily at their food to impress fellow diners with their delicacy. Dickens, who in Coleridgean style partly created as well as described Victorian women, sentimentalized them in Pickwick Papers: "women, the tenderest and most fragile of all God's creatures, were the oftenest superior to sorrow . . . [having] an inexhaustible well-spring of affection and devotion" (384). Higher education was seen as masculinizing women and depriving them of their fertility.

¹¹ In the 1920s Clough's younger daughter, Blanche Athena, became the head of Newnham College.

The indolent, cosseted, pleasure-seeking middle-class females whom Clough assailed in the Bothie were specific to their era, anomalies bred by the industrial revolution's creation of a middle class prosperous enough so its women did not need to work. Indeed their conspicuous and expensive idleness was a Victorian potlatch custom: the more it was displayed the greater renown accrued to the paterfamilias who supported them. The penalty for removing women from the active world was their infantilization and male contempt for them. The 1848 Bothie included a section about women eliminated by Clough for the Boston edition of his poems presumably because of its feminism and its frankness.¹² As usual with Clough, "dancing" here means the mating dance, the ritual of finding a spouse.

But they will marry, have husbands, and children,
and guests, and households--

Are there then so many trades for a man, for women
one only,

First to look out for a husband and then to preside
at his table?

Learning to dance, then dancing, then breeding, and

¹² In 1859 when Clough was preparing the American edition of his poems, which became the Boston 1862 edition, he wrote Charles Norton that he was revising the Bothie's text to trim "the literary and sermonizing parts" (593). However, comparing the 1862 text with the published 1848 text and other proof and manuscript versions shows that a good many of Clough's excisions were bowdlerizations. Mulhauser prints the Boston 1862 text and gives the meaningful variants in his notes. Also Patrick Scott has published a facsimile version of the 1848 edition, with an introduction and copious explanatory and textual notes.

entertaining?

Breeding and rearing of children at any rate the
poor do

Easier, say the doctors, and better, with all their
slaving.

How many, too, disappointed, not being this, can be
nothing!

How many more are spoilt for wives by the means to
become so.

Spoilt for wives and mothers, and every thing [sic] else
moreover! (Scott, The Bothie 50-51; 57-65).

It is hard to imagine a set of Clough's verses which would have more infuriated his wife: her role as a middle-class wife and mother depreciated, its most sacrosanct aspect, motherhood, called "breeding," and her ability to give birth to and raise children considered inferior to that of the poor. Even referring to parturition Blanche Clough would have considered "coarse." Not the least offensive is the final volley against wealth: its insidious influence is widely destructive, ruining women for wifhood, motherhood, and everything else.

The infantilization of Victorian women was promoted by legal constraints. When they married, ownership of their property passed to their husbands as did any earnings. They could not open their own bank accounts, and, if they left their husbands, they lost custody of their children.

Placed on a pedestal, a woman found her sphere limited to home and family. The ideal Victorian woman was expected to

practice "exaggerated self-abnegation" (Mill 44). To ensure that women knew their place, the nineteenth-century version of conduct books, especially those by Sarah Ellis, instructed them in the docility suitable to their inferior position. Mrs. Ellis advised them to veil their intelligence and channel it into improving their husbands' characters. The woman was the creator within her home.¹³

A properly submissive and idealized wife is the heroine of Coventry Patmore's The Angel in the House, a poem which was extremely popular among the Victorians. The difference between Patmore's etherealized view of women and Clough's realistic women can be seen in the dissimilar responses of their narrators to the close presence of women. When Patmore's narrator, Felix Vaughan, kneels in church beside his beloved, Honoria Churchill, she seemingly is "An angel teaching me to pray" (95; 5).¹⁴ When Clough's narrator in "Natura Naturans" sits next to an unknown girl in a second-class railway car he feels sexual excitement. Many Victorian agnostics transferred their religious sentiments from God to angels in the house, but Clough was not one of them. (Patmore was first a pious Anglican and then, after the death of his "angel," a Catholic convert.)

¹³ Such views were not limited to Victorian England. Earlier, in Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship, Goethe enunciated the same idealist theme: women have the highest station in society--orderers of the household (2: 31).

¹⁴ Carol Christ believes both Tennyson and Patmore had a fear of sexuality which showed itself in a desire for what were considered the feminine traits of passivity and asexuality. Thus Patmore idealized his "angel," and Tennyson wrote of Mariana and the Lady of Shalott (158-59).

The Bothie's original title was The Bothie of Toper-na-Fuosich, the name of a forester's hut on the northwest shore of Lake Ericht at which first Shairp and Tom Arnold and then Clough stayed overnight during walking tours in the summer of 1847. But shortly after the Bothie's 1848 publication, to Clough's chagrin, he discovered that the title in Gaelic was a toast to the "woman of the bearded well" and was assailed by a reviewer for its "vile jest" (Thorpe 49). Interestingly, in writing to Tom Arnold in New Zealand about the mishap of the title, Clough was too embarrassed to translate the name and resorted to extensive circumlocution to explain the brouhaha. At that, much like Dante's Guido da Montefeltro, he told Arnold the episode was "too appallingly awkward to tell anyone on this side the globe" (Correspondence 1: 244). In April 1855 Clough wrote to William Allingham: "I was so disgusted with the mishap of the name, that I have never had pleasure in it since" (593). (The antecedent of "it" is obviously the Bothie, but Clough in 1855 overstated his lack of regard for the poem, for he certainly enjoyed the renown it gave him during his American stay in 1852-53.)

The Bothie's title was not the only aspect of the poem to be assailed for indecency. The poem's references to bare legs of country girls washing clothes in a stream and kilted Oxford students dancing aroused similar charges. Charles Kingsley wrote a friend in December 1848 that Clough was "not ashamed to describe what he saw, even to Hobbes' kilt and the

'hizzies' bare legs" (Waddington, 160).¹⁵ Kingsley's review in Fraser's Magazine the next month asserted that "racy" stories in the Bothie had aroused "much pious horror at Oxford, a place where prudery is tolerably rampant" (Thorpe 43). When writing in February 1849 to Clough about his resignation as an Oriel fellow, the college's provost, Edward Hawkins, criticized it as "indelicate" (Correspondence 1: 247). Clough's sister noted in a reminiscence she wrote after his death that although he enjoyed having his poem published: "He did not quite like shocking some of the more soberminded of his relations" (Notebook 36). To Emerson, who expressed surprise that his "staid and reticent" friend could produce such a light-hearted jeu d'esprit, Clough replied that at Oxford the poem was considered "indecent & profane, immoral & (!) Communistic" (Lowry, Emerson-Clough Letters, Letter 8).

Considering the clamor provoked by the second half of the Bothie's title, it is surprising no one seems to have pointed out the sexual associations of the first half. A bothie was also a sleeping facility for unmarried farm workers. Even though bothies were generally segregated by sex, according to J. C. Smout in "Aspects of Sexual Behavior in Nineteenth-Century Scotland," visitors of the opposite sex led to pregnancies (65). A bawdy folk song, "Bothy Ballads," tells of nightly bothie visits by one man or a band of men (Smout 71).

The initial mention of the eponymous bothie occurs at the

¹⁵ "Hizzie" is Scots dialect for "hussy," or country girl.

end of the poem's first book after Philip at a clan banquet has given a speech in which he opposes the game laws. This is favorably received by an unnamed man in homespun, who invites Philip to visit him if he ever passes near the Bothie of Tober-na-vuolich. The next morning the students, who attended a dance after the banquet, speak "of noble ladies and rustic girls, their partners" (49; 17). Philip, the radical, cries out against titled, indolent ladies:

Oh, if our high-born girls knew only the grace, the
attraction,
Labour, and labour alone, can add to the beauty of women,
(50; 25-26).

Philip deplores the leisured classes' "Utter removal from work, mother earth, and the objects of living" (51; 61). It is work, not artifice, which makes women attractive, he insists, citing in proof the first time he "properly felt the relation between men and women," which is as specific as Clough allows himself to be in the 1862 version (50; 33). The 1848 version is much franker:

Never, believed me, revealed itself to me the sexual
glory,
Till in some village fields in holidays now getting
stupid
.....
Chanced it my eye fell aside on a capless, bonnetless
maiden,
Bending with three-pronged fork in a garden uprooting
potatoes. (Scott, The Bothie, 11; 41-46)

In both versions Philip is sure he is charmed by the girl's labor, causing "a new thing" to be in him. The 1862 version does not explain what that is, but in the first published version Clough is explicit:

Yes, amid prurient talk, the unimparted mysterious secret
 Long, the growing distress, and celled-up dishonour of
 boyhood,

Recognised now took its place, a relation, oh bliss! unto
 others. (Scott, The Bothie 11; 59-61)

Seldom have so few words revealed so much about a boy's sexual awakening: Philip had heard sniggering whispers; his changing emotions and body mystified him, especially his "worst sin." Finally his response to the potato-digging maiden is an epiphany, revealing that what he had been too ashamed to speak of with his friends is part of the maturation process, and he is delightedly restored to a normal relationship with others.

Why should Clough in 1855 have expunged a passage so adeptly phrased, so psychologically accurate? The answer undoubtedly is the same as the answer to the far broader question of why he stopped writing poetry between the summer of 1853 and mid-1861: The previous year he had married Blanche Smith, a paradigmatically proper, conventional, upper-middle class, Victorian Englishwoman, who considered "coarse" even the merest hint of sexual expression. Even in November 1852, Clough was defensive about the Bothie in writing to Blanche from America, where he had gone in search of a career. Finding copies of his poem, which had been printed in a pirated Boston edition in 1849, displayed in the homes of his American hosts,

Clough wrote to Blanche: "I saw it, last night--and find it innocent enough, which indeed believe me my dear child it really is--a little boyish of course--but really childishly innocent" (Correspondence 2: 338). He probably knew that his protests sounded like those of the player queen in Hamlet.

Despite his happy acceptance of sexual feelings, Philip is bored by the mating rituals of the bourgeoisie and objects to "Offering unneeded arms, performing dull farces of escort" (51; 58). He derides the idle consumption and empty social graces of the leisure class. Based on both his own epiphany and Chartist principles, Philip insists that work makes a woman attractive to a man, especially the work she does for him, and even more especially, work she does for him while she is pregnant by him. The callow chauvinism of this proposal is somewhat relieved by Philip's qualification that the woman's burden will be lightened by the man's love for her. Clough makes sure the reader knows this is post-adolescent bombast by categorizing Philip's argument as one in which the horse runs away with the rider.

Philip's insistence that "[n]eedful household work . . . as washing, cooking, and scouring" beautifies women is seized on by one of the students, Hobbes, who in a manuscript draft dilates on the charms of dairymaids. The draft included a line which Clough must have realized was more appropriate for chambermaids: "So but the bed be well-made who made it is worthy to fill it" (Scott, The Bothie 61). Again, it is work that makes women attractive.

Entering the discussion of women, the tutor insists

"Women all have their duties," and these are unequal as befitting their social station (54; 180). Rebuked in his egalitarianism, Philip decides to take a Highland walking tour with three of the other collegians. When the students find shelter from a storm in a farmhouse, Philip is smitten by golden-haired Katie, whom he helps with the reaping, bringing in peat for fires, and spreading clothes to dry. His sex and class egalitarian principles cause him to "fume, fret, and fidget to find her stand waiting at table" (62; 198).

After a glance from a girl he passes on a road shakes him out of his infatuation, Philip flees to the western hills in a whirl of "fierce, furious walking" (65; 36). From there he sends a letter to Adam, his tutor, telling him of his bewitchment by Katie and their one kiss, by which:

[H]e had seemed made nobler and stronger,
Yea, for the first time in life a man complete and
perfect. (67; 100-01)

There is a bowdlerization at this point of the 1848 version which was not perpetrated by Clough, but presumably by his wife in editing the 1862 English edition. Philip in a letter to Adam writes about his ardor for Katie. He describes how he:

Lived on her eyes, unspeaking what lacked not articulate
speaking;
How in the room where he slept he met her cleaning and
dusting,
How he unmeaningly talked of clothes for the washing,--of
this thing,

That thing, and still as he spoke felt folded unto her,
 united. (Scott, The Bothie 29; 133-36)

Possibly Blanche found the lines repugnant because they place a young gentleman in a bedroom with an attractive menial, impermissible to a straitlaced bourgeoisie because the situation violates both propriety and class barriers.

Sometime before 1856 Clough canceled lines 47-50 and 61-81 of the 1848 Bothie, probably because in them Philip repeats his self-laceration over Katie. The lines were omitted in the 1862 edition, the one Mulhauser uses as his text, but Mrs. Clough reinserted in the 1863 edition all the lines except 71-73:

We, if we touch, must remain, if attracted, cohere to the
 ending,

Guilty we are if we do not, and yet if we would we could
 not:

Would I were dead I keep saying, that so I could go and
 uphold her. (Scott, 1848 Bothie 27: 71-73)

If the first two of these lines reflect Clough's own moral stance, they throw a light on why he persisted, despite grave doubts, in his courtship of Blanche Smith. Perhaps she excised these lines because they mirror his possible guilt over their touching and thus need to "cohere to the ending." While Victorians insisted on the utmost propriety in the behavior of engaged couples even when they were by themselves, Peter Gay points out that natural desire, as always, was likely to take its way (1:80).

Clough's obsession with prostitutes, which pervades three

of his four major long poems, enters the Bothie when, after leaving Katie, Philip describes a repetitive dream of prostitutes "slithering by" on the streets "of a dissolute city" (68; 133-34). The dream shows Philip projecting onto prostitutes his own sexual desire, which he still feels is shameful, despite his earlier recognition of its normalcy. The girls have:

Paint on their beautiless cheeks, and hunger and shame in
their bosoms;

Hunger by drink, and by that which they shudder yet burn
for, appeasing. (68; 135-36)

Most tormenting to Philip is his fear he would seduce Katie and set her on the road to prostitution.

I now first see how it happens,
Feel how tender and soft is the heart of a girl; how
passive
Fain would it be, how helpless; and helplessness leads to
destruction

Maidenly reserve torn from off it

.

Oh, who saws through the trunk, though he leave the tree
up in the forest,

When the next wind casts it down,--is his not the
hand that smote it? (69; 145-51)

While the jump from a single act of seduction to prostitution may seem excessive, the situation of the world's oldest profession in mid-nineteenth Britain makes Philip/Clough's fears not improbable.

At the time sexual purity was "the supreme virtue and sexual irregularity the blackest of sins," and a woman who committed a sexual sin was ostracized by society (Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind 356). Such was the publicity given prostitution and the guilt sensitive souls felt for society's complicity in it that numbers of Victorians, most notably Gladstone, were obsessed by it. Gladstone, who brought harlots to his home to try to rescue them, called prostitution "the chief burden of my soul" (qtd. in Walkowitz 32). Less sensitive souls loathed prostitutes not out of social guilt but because of their own anxiousness about sex and their fear that if prostitutes thrived then their own pure womenfolk might be tempted to stray (Trudgill 101). Clough recognized the particular stigma attached to erring women in one of the manuscripts of his satiric poem "The Latest Decalogue." In this version the parody of the seventh commandment was: "Adultery it is not fit / Or safe, for women, to commit" (676; 13-14).

In the 1830s and 1840s the number of prostitutes in England was estimated by the police as less than 30,000, with about 7,000 in London (Weeks 85). By the 1840s and 1850s Victorians believed prostitution to be growing, mainly because it was more obvious in the streets at that time than it had been earlier. Houghton cites the Westminster Review in 1850 as giving the figures of 50,000 prostitutes then in England and Scotland, with 8,000 of them in London (The Victorian Frame of Mind 366). The increase was attributed, by a writer in the Lancet in 1853, to greater numbers of middle-class marriages

being postponed (Sigsworth 80-85). The prospective husband was expected to wait for matrimony until he could support his bride in style. The average age at marriage of men in the upper classes between 1840 and 1870 was almost thirty, and they had the added burden of thinking abstinence was unhealthy (Trudgill 118-19).

Mid-Victorian prostitutes were mostly lower-class, either city-bred women or country girls recently arrived in cities. The sexual initiation of prostitutes generally was non-commercial and came at age 16 with a lower-class male. Then there was a one- or two-year lapse before they entered prostitution. The profession was not lifelong for most prostitutes, their careers usually lasting until only their mid-twenties (Walkowitz 17-19). Their clients generally were working men although there was a pervasive contemporary belief that middle-class males seduced the working-class girls into prostitution. A number of reformers, mostly Evangelicals, wrote in the 1840s about what was later called "the Great Social Evil" (Walkowitz 32-33). The writers agreed that middle-class men often sexually initiated girls, usually domestic servants, into prostitution. The liberals of the time, socialists and Chartists, saw such seduction as indicative of capitalist exploitation. Social reformers insisted that prostitutes suffered from "sterility, frigidity, dissolute habits, and physical deterioration" (Walkowitz 37). In such an ambience, it is not surprising that Philip/Clough was obsessed by the possible results of letting his nascent sexuality overpower him.

Clough's horror of prostitution is even more understandable in that in Oxford, where he had spent eleven years as a youth and young man, prostitution was not the experimental, temporary career which modern researchers believe was the case in England as a whole. In Oxford it was more likely to be a permanent livelihood. This was an unintended result of Oxford's successfully petitioning Parliament to retain the ability to imprison prostitutes simply for "riotous or indecent behavior" when such imprisonment was eliminated in 1824 for the rest of England (Engel 80). The glaring light focussed on women imprisoned for prostitution thus "may well have had the ironic effect of making prostitution in Oxford more of a career" by making it less likely that women could drift unnoticed in and out of prostitution as they did elsewhere (Engel 88).

In 1847 the number of prostitutes in Oxford was estimated at between 300 and 500, with an additional "large number" in nearby Woodstock, Witney, and Abingdon (Engel 84). Since the Oxford police were actively seeking prostitutes, undergraduates were likely to leave town to satisfy their sexual needs. Neither in Oxford nor in its environs were the students likely to suffer legal consequences for their part in such sexual transactions. They seldom were either expelled or suspended for violating the university proctors' rules against even being suspected of consorting with prostitutes. The police were supposed to report names of undergraduates found with prostitutes, but they were bribable and hesitant to arrest "gentlemen."

Although prostitutes' pariah status in Oxford justified Philip in anticipating a descent into streetwalking for Katie if he seduced her, Clough seems to have been unaware that prostitution was an unlikely result of a sexual slip in rural Scotland at the time. However, Clough was aware that a Scots farm girl like Katie was likely to be more sexually sophisticated than his hero. While Philip is alone on a mountain envisioning a life of sin for her, Katie is dancing in the farmhouse with the other collegians, "smiling and blushing as ever" (67; 176).

Daughters of small Scots farmers had rather lax morals. While statistics for illegitimate births are available only after 1855, it would seem that when Clough wrote the Bothie bastardy was frequent among the lower rural classes, more so than in Scots cities, and was relatively unstigmatized, despite the efforts of local divines. A parish preacher in 1863 denounced the Banffshire rural populace because among them illegitimacy was "scarcely thought a sin at all, just a mistake" (Smout 71). A half-century earlier than Clough's era the casual approach to sexual mores in the Isle of Lewis permitted local women made pregnant by gentlemen not only to find husbands, but even to be vied for, presumably on the principle that if gentlemen wanted them they were worth having. By the nineteenth century such droit de seigneur exercised by Scots landowners fell into desuetude, possibly due to the spread of Evangelical precepts.

In a rather schematic plot development, Philip becomes enamored of an earl's daughter, Lady Maria, cousin of one of

the collegians. Immature, irresolute Philip writes Adam that he now justifies class stratification if the labor of the poor enables sublime beauty such as hers to exist. Such inequality, he insists, is sanctified by God's hierarchical creation. Neither her beauty nor anything else about Lady Maria is described, possibly because she is merely an abstraction representing a class polarity. Clough's failure to portray her, in concert with Lindsay's hilarity over country girls' "lily-white legs" as they "trod in the wash-tub" (52; 111), follows the unwritten Victorian rule Helena Michie finds concerning literary mention of women's bodies: middle- and upper-class women's bodies were off-limits, but those of lower-class women could be described (53).

In pursuit of his proclaimed adherence to station and degree, Philip is returning by coach to rejoin the tutor and his fellow students when one of the coach horses casts a shoe. The horse is shod by a blacksmith, David Mackaye, the man who after the clan banquet had invited him to his home, the Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich. At the bothie Philip finds that it was Elspie, one of David's two daughters (the other is Bella), whose glance shook him from his infatuation with Katie.

As Philip conducts his shy courtship, another Cloughean area of concern about love is presented: worry that it may be based solely on juxtaposition. Elspie tells Philip she had seen the start of Philip's attraction to Katie at a farm dance and knew Katie was not the right girl for him. "All a mere chance, you know, and accident,--not proper choosing" (78; 25). Then Elspie mentions that she had looked at him when

passing him on a road, though, modestly, she is sure he does not remember her glance. At this, Philip, overcome by emotion, declares his love for Elspie, but she, aware of the difference in their social levels, is hesitant. However, in two highly sexual extended metaphors Elspie expresses her love for Philip. In the first she tells Philip she feels as though she were half an arch of a bridge, building herself over a burn. She imagines she sees across the burn the other half, "better and stronger," rising toward her. She tells Philip:

Sometimes I find myself dreaming at nights about arches
and bridges,--

Sometimes I dream of a great invisible hand coming down,
and

Dropping the great key-stone in the middle: there in my
dreaming,

There I feel the great key-stone coming in, and through
it

Feel the other part--all the other stones of the archway,
Joined into mine with a strange happy sense of

completeness. (79; 67-72)

For a young man who was in all probability a virgin this is quite a remarkable evocation of a woman's sexual response. Moved by her "sweet idea and image," Philip takes her hand, lying in her lap, "his tears down-dropping on it," and then kisses it, an appropriately shy first kiss (80; 79-80). Elspie hesitates at his request that she stop calling him "Mr. Philip," a tribute to his superior class:

Call me, this heavenly night, for once, for the first

time, Philip.

Philip, she said and laughed, and said she could not say it;

Philip, she said; he turned, and kissed the sweet lips as they said it. (80; 94-96)

Predictably, the next evening Elspie retreats from the swiftness of their responses to each other. She recalls what she said the night before on their return to the bothie: "[I]t is too soon, too sudden" (80; 100). Although she has been kissed before, Philip's kiss "terrified" her in its intensity. She insists he is "too strong," and she tells him of a second dream with an image of flooding tide which Clough used so memorably the following year in "Say not the struggle naught availeth" (81; 117, 120):

You are too strong, you see, Mr. Philip! just like the
 sea there,
 Which will come, through the straits and all between the
 mountains,
 Forcing its great strong tide into every nook and inlet,
 Getting far in, up the quiet stream of sweet inland
 water,
 Sucking it up, and stopping it, turning it, driving
 it backward,
 Quite preventing its own quiet running: and then, soon
 after,
 Back it goes off, leaving weeds on the shore, and wrack
 and uncleanness:
 And the poor burn in the glen tries again its peaceful

running,

But it is brackish and tainted, and all its banks in
disorder. (81; 120-28)

Briefly, in this image Philip is the sea tide forcing its salt way into her fresh water stream, and then retreating, leaving behind "wrack and uncleanness," her stream "brackish and tainted." This is both more subtle and more sexual than the first of Elspie's metaphors. The figure of the flow and ebb of the tide as it meets the land stands for both the physical expression of sex and an inexperienced, fearful woman's emotional response to a man's urgency. Elspie concludes:

That was what I dreamt all last night. I was the

burnie,

Trying to get along through the tyrannous brine, and
could not;

I was confined and squeezed in the coils of the great
salt tide, that

Would mix-in itself with me, and change me. (81;

129-32)

Horrified by Elspie's meaning, Philip promises to leave her and pleads with her not to hate him. Repentant, Elspie takes his hand and asks his forgiveness. Imitating his action of the previous night, she kisses his fingers, at which point "he fell on his knees and kissed her own past counting" (82; 152). In her mind she revises her dream, herself feeling his passion, not as an ocean, but as:

myriad springs, her sources, far in the mountains,

Stirring, collecting, rising, upheaving, forth-

outflowing,
 Taking and joining, right welcome, that delicate rill in
 the valley,
 Filling it, making it strong, and still descending,
 seeking,
 With a blind forefeeling descending ever, and seeking,
 With a delicious forefeeling, the great still sea before
 it;
 There deep into it, far, to carry, and lose in its bosom,
 Waters that still from their sources exhaustless are fain
 to be added.

Critics have not paid much attention to this part of the second metaphor. In it Elspie has reconsidered human passion: it is not limited to the male, but arises, like springs, in women too. Water from the springs joins the "delicate rill in the valley," which is the same as the burnie inundated by the sea in the first part of the image. The rill, or burnie, represents asexual, timorous maiden love, higher, more ethereal than earthy passion. The springs are the earthly life force which are welcomed by the higher love as they strengthen it. Then the two, now one, enter "the great still sea" of human love, adding its contribution to the totality of existence.

Though Elspie and Philip declare their love, still for Elspie the problem of their class differences remains. Clough uses a bifurcated viewpoint as Elspie worries over Philip's higher social position:

But the many things that he knew, and the ease of

a practised
 Intellect's motion, and all those indefinable graces
 (Were they not hers, too, Philip?) to speech and manner,
 and movement,

.

Daily distincter, distincter within her arose the
 conviction,

He was too high, too perfect, and she so unfit, so
 unworthy,

(Ah me! Philip, that ever a word such as that should be
 written!). (83; 7-19)

It is as though Philip, not Clough, is the prime writer of the poem and Clough is adding his comments, criticizing Philip's unconscious class superiority. Also perhaps Clough is condemning his own feelings of class superiority in his dealings with a Highland lassie.

When Philip blames Elspie's concern for class differences on her having lived for a year in England, she spiritedly replies that she is not bound by barriers of class and education and announces she will read his books: "you'll leave me some, Philip" (86; 112). Philip, however, retains vestiges of Victorian chauvinism and responds patronizingly:

Not I, replied he, a volume.

This is the way with you all, I perceive, high and low
 together.

Women must read,--as if they didn't know all beforehand.

(86; 112-14)

That is, women need to know nothing from books because their sphere is non-intellectual. Patmore is similarly explicit about women's intuition as superior to man's reason. While Felix Vaughan "hunts down [knowledge] with pain," Honoria's intuition "Flies straight and does exactly hit." Her love is "full of truth not shaped by thought" (58).

Like a typical Victorian male, Philip expects his wife to provide a retreat from the workplace. When he and other (male) intellectuals come home:

Weary and sick of our books, we come to repose in your
eye-light,

As to the woodland and water, the freshness and beauty of
Nature,

Lo, you will talk, forsooth, of the things we are sick to
the death of. (86; 117-19)

While Honoria, the "angel" is the archetypal uninformed woman--"How wise in all she ought to know, / How ignorant of all beside!"-- (122), plucky Elspie releases a feminist volley. "I am to read no books! but you may go your ways then, / And I will read, she said, with my father at home as I used to" (86; 121-22). Philip compromises by offering to read his books to her. She is tempted, but firm. "Well, she said, but no, I will read to myself, when I choose it" (86; 124). Also Elspie will not be patronized by Philip's treating her, perhaps unconsciously, as a possession. When within seven lines of dialogue, Philip refers to her three times as "my Elspie," she responds by calling him "my Philip." However, two lines later, perhaps frightened by her temerity, she

returns to "Mr. Philip" (86-7; 142-52).

As David Mackaye requires at least a year's wait before their marriage, Philip returns to Oxford, studies hard, wins a first, goes again to the Highlands, and with David "studied the handling of hoe and hatchet" (90; 112). When the lovers marry, Hobbes sends a letter figuring Philip as Jacob marrying both Rachel and Leah, metaphors for a frequent Clough concern, the duality of marriage, "One part heavenly-ideal, the other vulgar and earthy," by which he means ethereal and sexual love (92; 170). Hobbes' wedding gifts are most appropriate, a Bible--for ethereal love, and an iron bedstead--for erotic love.

In a most moving happy ending, Philip and Elspie go off to homestead in New Zealand.

There he hewed, and dug; subdued the earth and his
spirit;

There he built him a home; there Elspie bare him his
children,

David and Bella; perhaps ere this too an Elspie or Adam;
There hath he farmstead and land, and fields of corn and
flax fields;

And the Antipodes too have a Bothie of Tober-na-vuolich.

(93; 196-200)

The Bothie was Clough's first, and last, long comedic poem. His personal problems intertwining with the Victorian sexual and religious ethos gave his work of 1849 and 1850, his poetic prime, a considerably darker cast.

CHAPTER 3 - 1849-1850

The greatest flowering of Clough's poetic talent occurred in two successive years, 1849 and 1850, during which he wrote his two best long narrative poems, the poetic category in which he excelled. Both Amours de Voyage and Dipsychus have as major themes love, sexuality, and marriage. In addition, despite their French and Greek titles, both are set in Italy and resulted from long vacation visits: the first in Rome during the Mazzini republican revolution of 1849 and the second, the following year, in a Venice firmly controlled by the Austro-Hungarian empire. Perhaps the hope of Rome's liberation, even though ephemeral, and the presence of a heroine even more attractive than Elspie, since less addicted to lengthy metaphors, account for the lighter tone of the Amours compared to the mordancy of Dipsychus. Certainly Dipsychus is bitterly satirical about both love and marriage, and its poetic tension, instead of being between a hero and a heroine, occurs between the hero, again a surrogate for Clough's retiring, aesthetic self, and his sex-obsessed doppelgänger. Also underlying the sardonic tone of the second poem was Clough's miserably unhappy first year in London.

In January 1849 Clough obtained the post as principal of University Hall, a residence for the Unitarian- and Presbyterian-sponsored London University, to start the following October. Then in April he went off to Italy where his experiences in Rome became the basis of Amours de Voyage,

and his subsequent visit to Naples resulted in the Easter Day poems, the first of which is among his best, if not the best, of his shorter poems. On his return home from Italy his sister found that:

[H]is stay among the works of art had given him a greater amount of taste, a stronger love of the beautiful, and a longing for something superior to that which he had been accustomed to. And the desire was awakening in him for a home of his own. (Blanche Athena Clough 77)

He was, his sister thought, ready for marriage.

But if the conclusion of Amours de Voyage is any indication, Anne Clough was wrong, for it is not a comedy and does not end with a wedding. Almost an epistolary novel in verse, the Amours is written in hexameters, but unlike the Bothie, is not rollicking or romantic. The hero, or anti-hero, of the Amours is Claude, an upper-middle class skeptical aesthete whose trip to Rome to view art and antiquities is interrupted by the Mazzini revolution and an encounter with a mercantile English family, the Trevellyns. Mary Trevellyn is as intelligent and level-headed as Elspie, but Claude, though attracted by and finally in love with her, in Evangelical fashion constantly analyzes and doubts his motives. He repeatedly expresses the fear of engaging in insincere, "factitious" action. As a result Claude does not declare his lukewarm love for Mary and lets mishaps of war and travel separate them at the end.

After returning to England in the fall of 1849, Clough showed the Amours to Shairp, then teaching at Rugby, who

objected to it in toto, especially inveighing against Claude's "ceaseless self-introspection" (Correspondence 1: 277).¹⁶ Although Shairp's sweeping criticism almost piqued Clough into publication, he decided against it for fear of antagonizing his new employers, toward whose insistent piety in University Hall's operation he felt antipathetic from the start of his tenure there. Eventually Clough's American friends arranged for publication of the Amours in 1858 in Boston, which brought him his first, and only, income from his poetry. To those critics, such as Emerson and Carlyle, who argued that the lovers should have married, Clough insisted, as George Eliot did concerning the conclusion of The Mill on the Floss, that he had planned the story around the ending.¹⁷ Certainly as he portrays Claude there is no reason for the reader to think that Claude's love is strong enough to overcome more than the most minor of obstacles.

A hypercritical snob, Claude at first considers Rome's art "rubbishy," holds himself aloof from the revolution, and sneers at the Trevellyns as having "the taint of the shop"

¹⁶ Shairp was probably the worst person for Clough to consult about his own poetry, even more so than Matthew Arnold, who, like Shairp, was highly critical of subjectivity. (Clough and Arnold were mutually abusive of each other's poetry.) But at least Arnold had written subjective poetry himself before he turned to the "grand style." Shairp, who succeeded Arnold as professor of poetry at Oxford, deplored subjectivity in poetry as: "so weakening, so morbidly self-conscious, so unhealthily introspective" (qtd. in Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind 335).

¹⁷ Clough and Eliot's resistance to the conventional Victorian happy ending was not matched by Dickens, who let Bulwer Lytton persuade him to bring Pip and Estella together in the last pages of Great Expectations.

(98; 126). But on closer acquaintance he reveres Michelangelo's frescos in the Sistine Chapel, identifies with the revolution, and is amazed to find he is at ease with the Trevellyns and fond of Mary Trevellyn. The attraction, which at first Claude fears is due to juxtaposition, eventually, because of Mary's honesty, good sense, intelligence, and lack of feminine devices, turns into love. But Claude, Clough-like, hesitates at action and fears premature commitment.

A number of commentators have noted that not only is the name "Claude" much like "Clough," but that their characters are also similar. However, Claude is not Clough, even though such a close friend as Charles Norton wrote after Clough's death that the two were identical (Thorpe 128). Claude is the introspective, alienated, liberal, intellectual, truth-seeking part of Clough. Left out of his portrait of Claude are Clough's warmth, devotion to duty, and, above all his admitted desire for love, his conscious sexual conflicts, and his strong sexual drive. Indeed, the fact that the poem's protagonist was not himself enabled Clough to gain enough distance from Claude to make the Amours the artistic whole that it is.

The growth of Claude's fondness for Mary is traced primarily through his correspondence with Eustace, a conventional Victorian Anglican pastor who had been a school friend. Very early in his relationship with the Trevellyns Claude becomes attracted to Mary. In Letter 7 of Canto 1 he retracts his initial sweeping criticism of the family to Eustace, but then further mocks them and himself by calling

himself an Adam who names and approves God's creation of the Trevellyns. However, he notes, "[B]ut for Adam,--alas, poor critical coxcomb Adam! / But for Adam there is not found an help-meet for him" (99; 150-51). A few lines later Claude confesses to Eustace that he likes being with the English family and its "feminine presence." He fears Eustace will call him "wrong" and condemn as mawkish his being one of the "poor soft souls" who find "happy, serene coexistence" with women "a necessity simple" (99; 170-01). That is, to the Claude who portrays himself to his friends as a supercilious intellectual, betraying a desire for normal, heterosexual companionship and love is an admission of culpability.

Claude expresses his fear of both emotional commitment to Mary Trevellyn and of sex in a revealing metaphor. He has landed, like Ulysses, on Circe's island, but instead of being protected by Hermes' moly, he is able to explore sexuality without fear because of a more mundane charm, a rope.

Lo, with the rope on my loins descend through the
 fissure; I sink, yet
 Inly secure in the strength of invisible arms up
 above me;
 Still, wheresoever I swing, wherever to shore, or to
 shelf, or
 Floor of cavern untrodden, shell-sprinkled, enchanting,
 I know I
 Yet shall one time feel the strong cord tighten about
 me,--
 Feel it, relentless, upbear me from spots I would rest

in; and though the
 Rope sway wildly, I faint, crags wound me, from crag unto
 crag re-
 Bounding, or, wide in the void, I die ten deaths, ere the
 end I
 Yet shall plant firm foot on the broad lofty spaces I
 quit, shall
 Feel underneath me again the great massy strengths of
 abstraction,
 Look yet abroad from the height o'er the sea whose salt
 wave I have tasted. (102; 242-52)

Writing before Freud, Clough could use unself-consciously the metaphor of a man being lowered into a very gender-specific fissure, complete to even the vagina dentata-like crags which injure him as he swings violently against its walls. The woman, as is appropriate in a Victorian fantasy, is a virgin: "Floor of cavern untrodden." His machismo is extraordinary: "I die ten deaths" (que hombre!)¹⁸ But what is very Cloughean, and not humorous, is that rope around the loins. Claude is a spelunker, both protected by the strong arms of his friends on the surface and, ever ambivalent, kept from delightful crannies he would explore. But his friends will do their part, return him to that upper world of intellection that gives him firm footage (delightful mockery!) on "broad lofty spaces" where he can look down condescendingly

¹⁸ Barbara Hardy finds the sexuality in Amours "weakly rational" (265). In this passage it would seem instead to be strongly irrational.

and perhaps regretfully on the "salt wave" of love and sexuality that he has safely reconnoitered. (Here Clough again uses, as in Elspie's dream, the salt sea as a metaphor for physical passion.) The rope, not so incidentally, circles not the waist or hips, but the loins, that Old Testament site of male procreative power. By girdling Claude's loins, the rope not only removes him from the dangerous maw (pun unintended) of woman, but effectively prevents his exercising that male procreative power.

At the start of Canto 2 Claude's concern is primarily focussed on the French attack on the new republic, with which he now unconsciously aligns himself: "Yes, we are fighting at last, it appears" (106; 95). And although he initially doubts he will defend the "British female," he does aid the Trevellyns during the siege (105; 66). It is Eustace who brings up the incendiary word "love." "I am in love, meantime, you think," Claude writes his friend (110; 250). He himself does "not think so exactly," though he concedes that Mary is pleasant to be with as she speaks rationally on serious subjects and abjures feminine wiles. He fears that passion might lead him into a "factitious" relationship in which he would be ensnared by his "terrible notions of duty" (111; 271-73). Sadly, this passage is proleptic of Clough's actual experience with Blanche Smith.

Claude wishes to stay as he is with Mary: "Ah, let me look, let me watch, let me wait, unhurried, unprompted!" (111; 274). But stasis, of course, is impossible, and what happens is that Claude thrashes between self-denigration on one hand

and insouciance mixed with misogyny on the other. He is convinced she finds him repellent and too timid. Women prefer swashbucklers, he is sure. Then Claude expresses one of Clough's few and ambiguously held misogynist motifs: women disdain knowledge: "Knowledge, O ye Gods!--when did they appreciate knowledge? / Wherefore should they, either? I am sure I do not desire it" (112; 294-95). On the other hand, he does not "care very much" if Mary dislikes him and as an intellectual he does not need "the nearest arm to comfort, help, and support" himself. But then, "Mary Trevellyn, Eustace, is certainly worth your acquaintance," and he invites Eustace to join them in Florence to which he plans to accompany the Trevellyns as they escape from Rome's revolution (112; 302-16).

However, Mary's conventional elder sister, Georgina, prompts her fiancé, George Vernon, whom Claude had known in England, to ask Claude what his "intentions" are toward Mary. Furious, Claude devises an excuse to remain in Rome. Without mentioning Vernon's interference, Claude muses to Eustace about his reaction to the turbulence of the sea as he voyaged from Marseilles to Civita Vecchia. As is usual with Clough, the wave-tossed surface of the sea represents the blind, unthinking, physical forces of existence. They engulf the drowning intellectual as he bestows on the world the last glance of his "painful victorious knowledge" (115; 53). Knowledge is what Claude values most despite his recognition of its demerits. It is, as he puts it, the topmost blossom on the Tree of Life, though "alone . . . decaying . . . needless,

unfruitful" (116; 84). Knowledge, that is, is separate from nature's requirement that humans join and reproduce.

Claude then expresses what must be one of the darkest male views of marriage recorded in literature: no man would agree to the marriage procession "But for his funeral train which the bridegroom sees in the distance" (117; 117). This funeral train bears man to the "great tranquil depths" of "a limitless ocean divine," undisturbed by "ripples of trouble" on the "wind-tost surface," i.e. married life (117; 125-27). The brides, of course, do not share this marital theory. Claude exclaims: "Ah, but the women,--God bless them!--they don't think at all about it" and proceed in the workaday marryings of this world (118; 129). As a lover Claude/Clough always has one eye on the empyrean peace awaiting him, and, in his devotion to truth, feels he should tell the woman he woos "That she is but for a space, an ad-interim solace and pleasure" (118; 143). This approach to love is the one Clough takes more than two years later in writing to Blanche Smith at the start of their courtship:

We are companions--fellow-labourers--to the end of our journey here. . . . But as for everlasting unions, and ties that no change can modify, do not dream of them--God knows, he only; it is no evidence for them that the exacting hearts of girls would fain believe in them, and make their lovers (mostly) pretend to do so.

(Correspondence 1: 301)

To justify his self-imposed separation from Mary, Claude derides what must have been Eustace's praise of love under the

rubric of "affinity." To Claude the only "affinities" which will last are those mandated by law and "the ruinous force of the will," that is, only a facade of marriage can be maintained, not love (118; 152, 155). He repeats the lines from Terence which Clough had alluded to in the canceled Ambarvalia poem "Homo Sum, Nihil Humani--." In that poem, as we recall, the speaker used his superior class and strength to kiss a beggar woman on the road simply to prove he could do so. However, in the Amours the allusion to Terence is extended eschatologically:

Lo, as I pace in the street, from the peasant-girl to the
princess,

Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto,--

Vir sum, nihil faeminei,--and e'en to the uttermost

circle. (118; 157-60)

Surely Clough must have been aware that by using the phrase "the uttermost circle" he placed both men and women in hell. From this viewpoint the speaker in the Ambarvalia poem was dabbling in hell-sent carnality when he kissed the beggar woman.

Claude then expands his concept of affinity. It is not just that all mankind is united to him, but also all nature:

I can be and become anything that I meet with or
look at:

I am the ox in the dray, the ass with the garden-stuff
panniers. (119; 162-63)

Eventually Claude inflates his identification to include all the earth, which effectively negates any fellow-feeling

whatsoever. He recognizes this when he claims that "the stones of the street" share with him "Something of kindred, a common, though latent vitality" (119; 167-68). However, it is not vitality that concerns Claude, but the obverse of it. He would:

escape from our strivings, mistakings, misgrowths,
and perversions,

Fain could demand to return to that perfect and
primitive silence,

Fain be enfolded and fixed, as of old, in their rigid
embraces. (119; 170-72)

The kinship he feels with the "primitive silence" of stones is unmistakable. The man who can view his marriage with equanimity only because his death will end it undoubtedly refers here to his fellowship with tombstones.

Patrick Scott points out that the line "I can be and become anything that I meet with or look at" echoes Tennyson's "Ulysses" (Amours de Voyage, 33). However, it is a sad, derisive echo. It is the reverse of Tennyson's very Victorian hero's ambition for transcendence and infinitude. Indeed, in intent, it more closely echoes Tennyson's original, Canto 26 of Dante's Inferno, where Ulysses burns in the eighth circle for having deceived Rome's ancestral city by devising the Trojan horse. Which brings us back to hell. Women present Claude with a hellish problem. In his fear of matrimonial "mistakings," which in that time were almost uncancelable, and "perversions" (sex itself), Claude would retreat to that "perfect and primitive silence" of the tomb.

Claude's claim of universal philanthropy effectively releases him from any need to love specific men and women. His self-proclaimed "pleasure sincere and unmingled" in the love others have for each other is really bitter cynicism: "And as I walk on my way, I behold them consorting and coupling; / Faithful it seemeth, and fond, very fond, very probably faithful" (119; 173-74). But not surely faithful. If only he could excise his desire for affinity, "This vile hungering impulse," then "Life were a beatitude" (119; 180-01). In a canceled section after line 169 Claude is even more specific: "But to be perfect, alack, there is one way, Abstinence only. / Let us abstain!" (641). Houghton points out that in the Oxford of the 1830s and 1840s a life of celibacy and religious writing had great cachet (The Poetry of Arthur Hugh Clough 141).

To achieve peace Claude confides to Eustace that he even considers entering a monastery:

Mild monastic faces in quiet collegiate cloisters:

So let me offer a single and celibatarian [sic] phrase,

a

Tribute to those whom perhaps you do not believe I can
honour. (119; 182-84)

Some critics think that here Claude considers taking up the celibate life of a university don. But he expressed no animus earlier against university dons; "collegiate" can also refer to clergy, and Claude repeatedly attacks Catholicism. It seems that what is driving Claude to a monastery is Eustace's suggestion that his friend has an "[o]bligation" to Mary (119;

189). As though anticipating Henry James' anti-heroes, Claude announces that it was Mary's not holding him to any obligations that attracted him to her. But then he wonders if her ingenuousness was only a trap for him:

She spoke not of obligations,

Knew not of debt,--ah, no, I believe you, for excellent reasons. (205; 205-06)

Even for Claude this is extreme, and he turns on his over-subtle self: "Hang this thinking, at last!" (120; 207). At this depth of distrust, fortunately, a mutual friend, Miss Roper, tells Claude that Mary knew nothing of George Vernon's questioning him about his intentions, and Claude, in a frenzy of activity, hires horses and accompanies Miss Roper and her ill brother to Florence. The reader does not discover this instance of what Claude would consider bourgeois softness from Claude, but from a letter of Mary's to Miss Roper.

Mary's reactions to the contretemps of George Vernon's clumsy interference provide some of the most subtle passages in a highly subtle work. Presumably because of guilt at causing the loss of Mary's suitor, Georgina reveals her fiancé's intervention to another sister, Susan, though not mentioning that she had instigated it. Susan then tells Mary, who writes to Miss Roper to suggest that: "If it could only be known, though we may never meet him again, that it was all George's doing, and we were entirely unconscious" (121; 244-45). But before she can send her letter, one from Miss Roper in Rome arrives telling her that Claude has informed her of Vernon's inquiry. Relieved, Mary adds a postscript telling her

friend that she would "extremely dislike" having Claude know she is aware of the gaucherie, but "If you think it sincerer to tell him I know of it, do so." She confides to Miss Roper that, concerning the incident, she would like to be able "to show him myself I forget it." But to have even been aware of such a lapse in taste is a faux pas itself, so Mary adds another postscript, urging her friend: "Not to let it appear that I know of that odious matter" (122; 252-61).

Before Claude leaves Rome, he writes two poems, one a farewell to the Eternal City and the other a graceful lyric as he sets off to seek Mary: "Weariness welcome, and labour, wherever it be, if at last it / Bring me in mountain or plain into the sight of my love" (123; 9-10). But when he arrives in Florence, the Trevellyns have left. A frustrating quest follows across northern Italy and Switzerland, marked by missed connections and a lost letter. Mary, unaware that Claude never received her letter, fears she has exposed herself to being considered forward and is "heartily vexed" that she wrote him (126; 75). Claude returns to Florence to see if Miss Roper knows the Trevellyns' whereabouts, but the Ropers now too have left Florence, with no forwarding address. After rushing to Pisa on a false lead to search for the Ropers, Claude accepts defeat, prepares to forget Mary, and "aspire evermore to the Absolute only" (128; 59). He hopes that friends of Eustace will direct him toward the Ropers and Mary, but he is depressed and despondent, referring to her in the past tense: "Ah! she was worthy, Eustace. . . ." (128; 68). Claude desires Mary, albeit weakly, but will acquiesce in

parting from her, despite her being an ideal woman.

Just as Prufrock later wistfully observes that the wave-riding mermaids will not sing to him, Claude is a perpetual observer of the world, not a participant in its risks and rewards. In a semi-confessional letter he pretends to write to Eustace, not intending to send it, Claude analyses his decision to abandon the quest for Mary:

I have slunk from the perilous field in
Whose wild struggle of forces the prizes of life are
contested.

It is over, all that! I am a coward, and know it.
Courage in me could be only factitious, unnatural,
useless. (129; 82-85)

Commitment to another is "perilous." The "wild struggle of forces" is a metaphor for the risks of sexual intimacy. Retreat into the carapace of abstract Truth provides the only insurance of safety.

As a sop to love's conventions that despite earthly travails the lovers will always share a mystic communion beyond this world, Claude writes (as though to Mary, but safely in a letter to Eustace): "I shall be thine, O my child, some way, though I know not in what way" (128; 61). Three years after writing the Amours Clough used almost the same words when he was trying to extricate himself from his engagement to Blanche Smith. Horrified by his discovery in the spring of 1852 that Blanche's parents were not, as he had thought, obstructing their marriage, Clough wrote her insisting they must separate. He added, incoherently:

Yet to have been united in those hopes is, heaven knows, for me a great event, and though we should be sundered now, an [sic] union in some sense lasting, I must believe it, though I know not how, beyond this present existence. (Correspondence 1: 313)

Another connection between the fictional Claude and the real Blanche occurs in his penultimate letter to Eustace: "Shall we come out of it all, some day, as one does from a tunnel?" (132; 181). In March 1853, bedeviled by choices of career, wife, and even country--America or England--Clough wrote to Blanche from Boston:

Are you aware my child, that life is very like a railway--one gets into deep-cuttings and long dark tunnels, where one sees nothing . . . and one . . . waits and then it all comes clear again. Only in life it sometimes feels as if one had to dig the tunnel as one goes along, all new for oneself (Correspondence 2: 390).

Both Claude and Clough use railway tunnels as similes for life. But while Claude sees himself as being pulled passively through a tunnel, Clough is aware that he must hew--as Michael Timko points out--like Philip Hewson, his own way through life (137).

Since Claude, unlike Clough, never declared himself to his love, he is able to retreat honorably from his approach to matrimony. He pretends to be miserable, but that his misery is itself factitious is underscored by his claim that he was comforted by the sound of an "English psalm-tune" played on a barrel-organ and was tempted to seek solace in religion (129;

89). But he resists, just as he promises to resist even up to his most vulnerable moment, the moment of death: "Off, and depart to the void, thou subtle, fanatical tempter!" (129; 103).¹⁹ In a revision of 1 Cor. 13, he finds that faith and love pass away, but "Knowledge abideth . . . Seek it, and leave mere Faith and Love to come with the chances" (132; 198-202). His plans for the future show attenuation and bleakness: He will spend the winter in Egypt, the home of the sterile cult of the dead.

In the poem's last letter Mary tells Miss Roper that she understands Claude's failure to find her. Meeting too many obstacles, "He would resign himself, and go . . . So I also submit, although in a different manner" (133; 214-15). The key word here is "submit," and here the gender roles are reversed. Claude, with what is still considered female passivity, accepts as fated his parting from Mary. She, however, emphasizes to Miss Roper that her submission is not resignation. The "different manner" in which she submits must be resistance, the opposite of resignation. One feels that Mary submits angrily to the passive role that Victorian society has forced on her as a woman who must wait to be sought by a man.

As Claude's friend Eustace points out in a canceled letter after line 155 of Canto 5, Claude could easily trace the Trevellyns back in England. But a happy ending would have

¹⁹ Those critics who think Clough suffered lifelong indecision about religious belief should note the epithets applied to faith here.

run counter to the other major theme of the Amours: the downfall of the Roman republic and the return to power of the Papacy. Further, to have pursued Mary would have required a more aggressive, self-assured, and less Hamlet-like character than Claude possessed.

Wendell Stacy Johnson thought that Claude's failure to pursue Mary meant that "the life of the clear-headed intellectual is incompatible with the wedded life" (85). But Clough certainly knew many "clear-headed," married intellectuals. What must be kept in mind is that Claude is not Clough entire, but one half, the top half, of him: intellectual, introspective, alienated, supercilious.

The bottom half of Clough, so to speak, comes to the fore in "Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne" and Dipsychus. Sex is never very far from the minds of the protagonists of these poems. As can be expected, neither poem was published in Clough's lifetime. Mrs. Clough finally let a version of Dipsychus appear in 1865, but "Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne" had to wait until 1951 for publication.

"Sa Majesté" is a stunning dramatic monologue in which Clough shows an ability to handle the form as well if not better than Browning. The poem exists in two drafts, the first in Clough's 1849 Roma notebook and the second in an 1849-50 notebook. Both drafts satirically attack Catholicism and, to a lesser extent, Puritanism. But the first draft is incendiary. It is more sexually explicit and both coruscatingly funny and slashingly bitter against what Clough considered evils which religion had visited on men. Obviously

Clough, aware of the horror his outspokenness would cause among Victorian readers, ruthlessly censored his own wit. To appreciate just what was lost one must read the second draft first.

A king, probably Louis XV, tells his confessor his sins. Though he does not quite regret his sins of the flesh, which now in his old age spur him less, he feels his true role should have been that of an acolyte, safe from temptation. But even an acolyte grows into a man, which the king deplures. He asks, in the most explicit phrase of the second draft, if under sacred robes "uneasy uncontented blood / Swell[s] to revolt" (196; 21).

The priests drive kings, he complains, into action, which in turn leads to the kings' need for "pleasures and . . . loving soft delights." But the delights are elusive as they must be received from women, who exercise a "tyranny yet worse" than that of men (198; 106, 110). Which action to take perplexes the king, and he feels nothing he can do conduces to God's glory. Rather, inaction, in the form of a life of prayer, leads to God. Obviously responding to the confessor's reminding him that the church is an ever-vigilant guide to its sheep, the king thanks God he was not born an "English Heretic" for then he would have hesitated to move his foot for fear of committing inexpiable sin (197; 182). Now aged, he insists he no longer desires "the old pleasant evil ways," but since he had fruitlessly invoked "all the means of grace" he does not think he could have avoided his sins. He concludes his confession with a smug self-absolution: "Somehow I think

my heart within is pure" (198; 112-122).

Originally "Sa Majesté" had 76 additional lines, in three sections, which made it quite another poem, funnier and more poignant about the emotional carnage caused by religious taboos against sex. The first draft starts not in a confessional, but in the king's bedroom where he is surrounded by his concubines. He suggests they draw lots to see who will be his bed partner that night. Unlike Protestant heretics, they are good Catholics, he assures them, who will be absolved of their sins and, "clad in virgin robes," are bound to enter heaven. Although the girls laugh, the king is devout and completely serious. He thoroughly believes in the efficacy of absolution. Forgetting his suggestion that one girl be chosen to spend the night with him, he invites them all into bed with him where they will: "Forget the uproarious world and dream of the day / When we shall all be mingled into heaven" (671; 34, 49-50).

Then the confessional scene begins. In a canceled part of the first draft the king blames the clergy for his obsession with sexual sin. The clergy found him:

A little, foolish, innocent, ignorant Prince

.

Who at the coarse-tongued age of [illegible] fifteen

Knew not his sister differed from himself

Save in her frock and fashion of her hair.

You found me and you told me--oh kind saints

What was it that you told me then, and how!

But I remember that you left me weeping;

But I remember that from that day forth
The wicked World was real to me and Heaven

Which had the Substance been was Shadow now. (672; 4-16)

It was the most important beings in his life who first told the king of sex, and they told him it was an abomination. Since he was a sexually burgeoning male, the abomination became an obsession: "The wicked World was real . . . and Heaven / Which had the Substance been was Shadow now." In two lines Clough magnificently conveys the incalculable misery that ascetic religions have visited on their adherents by denominating sex as sinful. The power and subversiveness of this passage were too great for the emotionally needy Clough to let stand. The difficulties he had already experienced were as nothing compared to the ostracism such lines would have caused.

In another section of the first draft, the king is musing to his confessor about the prickings of desire that assail men and asks why the baptismal rite does not include castration in order to: "By sharp excision sever the seed of ill" (673; 6). He alludes to Origen's castration as a way to achieve single-minded holiness. Chorley horrifiedly and wrongly thinks that in these lines Clough expresses a wish for his own castration (205). She misses the anti-clerical satire that Clough intends. The next lines are:

Origen was not orthodox, you say,

In this at least was not his heresy:

You, holy priests, who do all else for us

What he did for himself, might do for us. (673)

Origen's religious theories are germane to Clough's views on the interrelationship of Christianity and sex. Origen, who was martyred in 253/4 at about the age of 67 in Caesarea, taught that man's body causes his spirit to fall away from God.²⁰ But each spirit strives to transform itself in order to rejoin God. To facilitate this Origen proposed jettisoning sexuality. Origen advocated permanent chastity since sexual experience vulgarized and damaged the spirit, while maintaining a pure body enabled the soul to return to God.

The concept that sex was the original sin committed by Adam and Eve began developing in the second century CE. Encrates thought that the snake taught Eve about sex. When Adam and Eve's disobedience deprived them of God's spirit, they sank to the level of beasts, engaged in sex, and suffered death. Sex became symbolic of death--if no birth then no death either--and continence enabled man to stand outside the ineluctable processes of life and death. Since following such a theory too rigorously would shortly mean no followers, Christian ascetics modified their teachings. By the latter part of the second century, Clement of Alexandria taught the very Victorian precepts that married sex should be carried out decorously and only for procreative purposes. By the third century the Manichees were teaching that man's flesh was vile, and by the fourth century St. Augustine, who had been a Manichean follower, was codifying the anti-sexual bias of

²⁰ Castration was then a routine medical procedure. Origen supposedly underwent the operation in his early twenties to combat slander that he was engaging in sex with women who studied with him.

Christianity that so afflicted Clough fifteen centuries later.²¹

Further evidence, if any were needed, about Clough's continuing preoccupation with Christianity's interdiction of sexual enjoyment exists in his undated and unpublished Latin prose parody of the Apocalypse.²² The parody, both sexually suggestive and blasphemous, is entitled "Addenda to the Second Vulgate Interpretation of the Apocalypse." The title in itself is blasphemous since Revelation curses with the plagues it describes anyone who adds to them.

In the parody a Spirit offers the first person male narrator his virgin sister, Pandemia, who is about 30 years old. Pandemia, unlike the Spirit, is made of living substance. The Spirit says: "Come, take her and lie with her. For with me no man can lie" (81). Pandemia tells the narrator:

Blessed are those that lie with me . . . he who is without me is wholly in darkness and dare not either do good nor evil; those who possess me both possess the world and are not overcome by the world. He who fears to come to me doth not know where he is, and doth not know even whether he is. . . . [Dare] to come to me and ye shall have life . . . what thou dost, do quickly.

²¹ I am grateful to Peter Brown for information about sexuality and the early church contained in his Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity, New York: Columbia UP, 1988.

²² Anthony Kenny found the parody among Clough's papers in the Bodleian Library. My excerpts are from Kenny's translation of it in God and Two Poets: Arthur Hugh Clough and Gerard Manley Hopkins, London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1988.

The narrator responds:

And I cried, and wept and I said, O my lady, I am spirit.
 I cannot lie with body and flesh. And she placed her
 hand on my shoulder and said, Come, and try, and see. .
 . . And in the evening . . . I saw a woman dressed in
 white clothing [who] said, I am thy fellow servant, the
 servant of the Most High . . . let us help one
 another. (God and Two Poets 81-82)

Kenny makes no attempt at interpreting this composition other than to suggest that Pandemia is an early version of the Spirit in Dipsychus. But the fact that it was written in Latin, and knowing Clough's penchant for shifting out of English when writing of matters that disturbed him, it is more likely that the parody is another example of writing done to explore, and thereby diminish, the conflicts between his sexual desires and his punishing conscience, with the additional impetus of flaying the religion responsible for his torment.

The Spirit without substance would seem to be God, who bestows the gift of sex; God, while good, lacks flesh, which too is good. Pandemia is the age of Christ when he began his mission. Her saying that "he who is without me . . . dare[s] not either do good nor evil" refers to those who, sexually inhibited and impotent, are unable to free themselves from their conflicts. An emasculate, neuter man, sneers Pandemia, is so craven that he does not know "where" nor "whether he is." Only by entering into his sexual existence will man truly live. Clough's own unawareness of mature female

sexuality, or possibly an indication that his sexual experience was limited to prostitutes, is evident in Pandemia's urging the narrator "what thou dost, do quickly." The narrator initially refuses her, claiming he is a spirit, i.e. his religious scruples bar him from enjoying sex. When the woman in white, a virginal counterpart of Revelation's woman clad in purple and scarlet, the whore of Babylon, calls the narrator her "fellow servant," she uses the epithet that Clough urges on Blanche at the start of their courtship (Correspondence 1: 300). As in "Natura Naturans," sexuality is a universal burgeoning of life. By enjoying it man--and woman--are fellow servants in fulfilling God's creation. But such a philosophy violated both the social and religious mores of Clough's time, so it stayed hidden, unpublished, and in Latin.

Dipsychus, written in 1850 during and after a long vacation trip to Venice, does not show "Sa Majesté's" relatively light-hearted mockery of Catholicism's sexual precepts. Its bitter satire of religion and almost prurient concern with prostitutes is closer to the mood of the Revelation parody and is aimed, as Clyde Ryals has said, at Clough's own difficulties in maturing (183). But Ryal's opinion that it is "one of the few truly humorous poems of the Victorian era" (188) seems to miss the despair and misery that underlie Clough's satire. It is not surprising that Clough made no attempt to publish it. While Allott thinks that its sexual explicitness would have shocked Victorian readers (58), Clough's insistent arraignment of religion for tabooing sex

would have been even more objectionable.

Patrick Scott thinks Clough abandoned Dipsychus not out of prudishness but because of a technical inability to merge its bawdy sections with the remainder of the poem ("Victorianism" 38). This would seem to be part of the reason the poem was left unfinished. An even more likely reason is that Dipsychus, unlike Claude, was too close to Clough himself. Clough could not view Dipsychus objectively and as a result was unable to control Dipsychus's hysterical obsession with sex and prostitutes, an obsession undoubtedly mirroring Clough's own fixation. At 31, he was unmarried, frustrated, and farther than ever from solving his sexual problems through marriage. The outlook for his career and livelihood in education was grim. His abjuring of the Thirty-nine Articles closed almost all teaching posts to him. Those, like the University Hall position, which were open to him he found antipathetic because of his objection to the then almost universal religious sponsorship of education.

At the time he wrote Dipsychus Clough had been miserable at University Hall for a year as both its principal and an English professor. Like his position at Oxford, his new post required religious compromises that Clough was unwilling to make, but unlike Oxford it did not provide companionship and intellectual stimulation. He was lonely, his friends were marrying, and, although he was no longer required to be celibate, his income and prospects were not great enough for him to support a wife. Dipsychus reflects the strains of that time.

Dipsychus was first published in the 1865 edition of Clough's poems edited by his wife.²³ She had not included it in earlier editions and even in 1865 was hesitant to publish it because of its criticism of religion.²⁴ When she did decide to include Dipsychus in Clough's collected poems, she eliminated a number of lines and all of Scene 3, presumably, Mulhauser believes, because they were improper (683-84). Four manuscript versions exist, none complete. The first revision may have been finished, Mulhauser thinks, but its first seven manuscript pages were cut out and cannot be found. One wonders who emasculated the manuscript and for what cause. Were the pages excised because they contained even more blatant sexuality or more bitter hostility to religion than what was allowed to remain in the manuscripts?

Clough had applied the term "dipsychus" to himself more than a decade earlier. Anthony Kenny observes that Clough copied in his Oxford diaries the two Greek passages from the epistle of St. James in which the word "dipsychus" occurs (God and Two Poets 139).²⁵ Also in his first year at Oxford Clough castigated himself in his diary for his "dipsychus" (double-minded) "efforts to be good" (Diaries 22).

²³ James Bertram thinks it unlikely that Dipsychus was read during Clough's lifetime by anyone other than Blanche and Charles Norton (197).

²⁴ Patrick Scott comments that Mrs. Clough decided to include the two "Easter Day" poems and Dipsychus in the 1865 Letters and Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough only "after great heart-searching and much consultation with Clough's friends" (The Early Editions of Arthur Hugh Clough 83).

²⁵ "Dipsychus" is translated as "double-minded" in the King James version.

Like Claude, the eponymous hero of Dipsychus, a two-character verse drama, is an intelligent, educated young Englishman sojourning in Italy. Unlike Claude but like Clough himself, he is consciously and hysterically fixated on sex. The "double-minded" Dipsychus is both a pious believer and a skeptic, combining what Clough had been as a youth and what he became. Dipsychus is further paralyzed by having to choose between staying coddled as an eternal student, content with his books, his versifying, walks, and friends, or entering the world by marrying and choosing a vocation. The other character is the Spirit, Dipsychus' alter ego, who not only advocates Dipsychus's entering the world, but is worldly in the worst sense: sly, cynical, and conventional. The poem's debt to Goethe is obvious, especially as in the first manuscript draft the hero is called Faustulus and the Spirit is Mephisto. The diminutive of Faust shows that Clough's aim was limited, not epic, but as in Goethe's drama, the bargain is made, the soul is compromised.

A main issue is whether Dipsychus will rid himself of his burdensome virginity by acquiescing to one of the hordes of Venetian prostitutes. Minor areas of concern for Dipsychus are: what profession to enter, how to find a wife, what stance to take vis-à-vis religion, and whether to challenge a boor to a duel. The Spirit advocates the conventional response in every case: pick a profession for its status, marry for money, give lip service to established religion, and fight the duel.

The poem plays off Dipsychus's exaggerated piety and horror of sex against worldliness about religion and an

exaggerated obsession with sex on the part of the tempter. In the first scene as Dipsychus is wandering in the Piazza San Marco he recalls the first lines of the poem he wrote the previous year in Naples, Easter Day 1 (which certainly shows that Dipsychus and Clough are meant to be one): "Through the great sinful streets of Naples as I past . . . Christ is not risen!" (218-19; 7, 11). The streets in Venice, as in Naples, are swarming with prostitutes, which to Dipsychus negates the divinity of Christ. The realistic Spirit says one rising from the dead in Palestine was enough: religion is a social convenience, to be resorted to when needed. At the moment in the piazza it is not required, and the Spirit suggests paying attention to an Austrian band and a gaggle of dark-eyed young women. Naive Dipsychus wonders what they do. When the Spirit proposes he might enjoy an "earthlier emotion" than praying in San Marco, Dipsychus finally catches on (221; 77).

In Scene 2 the pair are in the public garden, where the Spirit comments on the girls' revealing "To our male eyes unveiled and bare / Their dark exuberance of hair," thus pointing out that the girls are prostitutes since their heads are uncovered (222; 29-30). Dipsychus is appalled, finding the sin the Spirit urges him to commit as heinous as the one that the serpent pressed on Eve:

Off, off! Oh heaven, depart, depart, depart!

Oh me! the toad sly-sitting at Eve's ear'

Whispered no dream more poisonous than this! (222; 34-6)
 Encrates would have been pleased with such a fervent adherent to the theory that sex was tantamount to original sin. Of

course Dipsychus's being so piously extreme in his estimate of the sinfulness of sex is a reaction formation to his fascination by sex, the more depraved the better. But at first Dipsychus pretends to stop his ears to his companion's sly procuring. He will cast his eyes up at the stars' purity, but immediately succumbs to at least observing: "Ah, if it must be, look then, foolish eyes-- / Listen fond ears; but, oh, poor mind, stand fast!" (223; 62-63). Looking bears prompt fruit in the form of a return glance from one of the harlots. The Spirit urges that Dipsychus follow her, but he is torn; he would but he cannot. The perceptive Spirit reassures him: "Trust her for teaching!" (224;84). But the girl is past, and the youth berates himself for almost yielding to the desire which, as the Spirit points out, constantly badgers him.

In Scene 3, the one Mrs. Clough rejected, the Spirit scorns Dipsychus' panting after sex: It is not "A mystic mouthful that will give / Knowledge and death--none know and live!" (226; 44). Neither is it the summum bonum which will overcome the vanity of all things; it will just bring "Some ease" (226; 46). But the Spirit, a good psychologist, urges Dipsychus to try it:

'Try all things'--bad and good, no matter;

You can't till then hold fast the latter.

If not, this itch will stick and vex you

Your live long days till death unsex you--

.

you cannot rest, I'm certain,

Until your hand has drawn the curtain.

Once known the little lies behind it,

You'll go your way and never mind it. (226; 51-60)

In other words, after all his angst, Dipsychus will find sex is overrated. Ignoring the Spirit, Dipsychus outlines a theory of sex which sounds much like the ancient world's hypothesis of temple prostitution: that sexual release leaves a void in man that is then filled by good, not by more lechery and the other six vices:

The very void that ebbing flood had left
 From purer sources would be now refilled;
 That to rank weeds of rainy spring mowed off
 Would a green wholesome aftermath succeed;
 That the empty garnished tenement of the soul
 Would not behold the seven replace the one:
 Could I indeed as of some men I might
 Think this of maidens also. But I know;
 Not as the male is, is the female, Eve
 Was moulded not as Adam. (227; 68-77)

In his view of males Dipsychus here is undoubtedly giving Clough's views. Clough is aware that all sexually active men are not loose-living satyrs, but the view of women is that of Dipsychus, who holds the Victorian stereotype of lower-class or demimonde females as sexually ravenous, a stereotype perfectly able to coexist with the other Victorian stereotype of the sexually anesthetic middle-class wife and mother.²⁶

²⁶ Peter Gay believes that through the eighteenth century women's sensuality was considered greater than men's, a viewpoint held by both physicians and theologians. Then in the nineteenth century both groups reversed their opinions and

The Spirit dismisses this maundering: "Stuff! / The women like it; that's enough" (227; 77-78). But then the tone changes from satiric back to Clough's own liberal sexual theorizing: Dipsychus uncharacteristically would like to believe that "a good girl from weary workday hours" might be "refreshed" by sexual intercourse like those "some men" he knows (227; 74, 80, 83).²⁷ The Spirit says such invigoration might be possible: "In married life you sometimes find / Proceedings something of the kind" (227; 87-88). (One wonders which offended Mrs. Clough more: Dipsychus's proposal for recreational sex or the Spirit's admitting the existence of matrimonial lust.)

But then the tone switches back to satiric and Dipsychus's exaggerated Victorian views take over: just as one drink makes a drunkard so one sexual experience will doom an unmarried girl to the streets. His turgid rhetoric about prostitutes' fate would warm the heart of Anthony Comstock: "The ripe lips paled, the frolick pulses stilled, / The quick eye dead, the once fair flushing cheek" (228; 106-07), etc. If Dipsychus thought that girls are "reared for nought / But to be swilled with animal delight / And yield five minutes' pleasure to the male--," only then would he indulge in lust with a harlot (228; 118-20). But since this is not the case,

insisted that women's sensuality was almost non-existent (1: 145).

²⁷ In her essay "Browning and Victorian Poetry of Sexual Love," Isobel Armstrong denies that Clough means, "Blake-like," that both men and women could enjoy equally restorative sexual experiences (279).

he must stalwartly protect ravaged womanhood and "Even against entreaty to forbear--" (229; 134). This threnody to lost purity is too much for the Spirit: Not even God can "Renew to Ina frail or Ana / Her once rent hymenis membrana" (229; 146-47). When Dipsychus insists he will not add to prostitutes' grinding sorrows, the Spirit points out they have other options:

They marry . . .
 Or Sidney Herberts sometimes rise,
 And send them out to colonize. (230; 172-73)

This is both a neatly satiric within the poem and proleptically sad in reality, for prostitutes could be sentenced to transportation and Sidney Herbert was a cabinet minister who was, like Clough in his last years, selflessly devoted to advancing Florence Nightingale's efforts to reform military medicine. Both Herbert's and Clough's early deaths within a few months of each other were blamed on Miss Nightingale's implacable insistence on single-minded service to her goals.

When Dipsychus muses that perhaps the hand of God has kept him from "ingress at the fatal-closing door," the Spirit sneers that it more likely was the youth's "cunning shyness" (231; 178, 193). Dipsychus sees that the only way to rid himself of his tempter is to marry:

O welcome then, the sweet domestic bonds,

 And permanence and habit, that transmute
 Grossness itself to crystal. (232; 204-210)

There is still the sting in Satan's tail: it takes "permanence and habit," a dulling of the senses, to make sex morally acceptable. Perhaps recognizing his contribution to Dipsychus's bleak view of marriage leads the Spirit to offer to aid him in finding a bride. To the Spirit's suggestion he seek a wife in polite society, Dipsychus demurs at the required insincerity, but does not bridle at the Spirit's comment that even the most pious members of it think that a youth as proper as Dipsychus is "not quite a man" (234; 23).

In Scene 5 Clough's mockery extends even to his own Amours de Voyage. In phrases from Section 8 of Canto 3, Dipsychus denies that lovers can be faithful and insists only abstention can make life a "beatitude" (239; 69). The Spirit, like some reviewers of the Amours, objects to the hexameters. Reacting to his own cynicism, Dipsychus, in three stanzas which are sometimes printed as a separate lyric, starting "O let me love my love unto myself alone," dismisses both hedonism and Christianity. The former, with its carpe diem philosophy, loses the soul, and the latter falsely manipulates the soul. To Dipsychus only truth should dictate what he loves and worships.

Scene 6 opens with a moral skeptic's Walpurgisnacht. Since there is no God:

O pretty girl who trippest along,
Come to my bed--it isn't wrong.

Uncork the bottle, sing the song! (247; 19-21)

But there is, as always with Clough, an obverse:

Wine has dregs; the song an end;

A silly girl is a poor friend
 And age and weakness who shall mend?
 Dong, there is no God; Dong! (247; 23-26)

In canceled sections from earlier manuscript versions Dipsychus says to the girl in his dream: "Haven't we trembled long enough / Because of that religious stuff?" (703) But since "there is no God," all iniquity can flourish: heterodoxy, both sexual and religious; war; civic corruption; false lovers' vows. The dream mocks the fears of many Victorians: that without the sanctions and taboos of religion morality would be undermined.

One element of the dream may not be satiric. As in the Bothie, a character uses approvingly an image of soldiers' rapine. In the Bothie, Philip, in his reactionary phase of upholding the current social order of which Lady Marias are the product, insists:

Armies shall bleed; cities burn; and the soldier red
 from the storming
 Carry hot rancour and lust into chambers of mothers
 and daughters. (72; 55-56)

In Dipsychus the hero bitterly rhapsodizes about a raped girl's unadmitted joy in being ravished:

Ring, ting; to bow before the strong,
 There is a rapture too in this;
 Speak, outraged maiden, in thy wrong
 Did terror bring no secret bliss?
 Were boys' shy lips worth half a song
 Compared to the hot soldier's kiss? (249; 73-78)

Peeping out of these two references to rape is a semi-repressed fantasy of sexual violence in which the author enjoys being both the sadistic rapist and the masochistic victim. Clough, who both feared and was fascinated by sex and whose favorite maxim was "Il faut s'y soumettre," perhaps was like the similarly inhibited woman who can permit herself to enjoy sex only when she is a helpless victim.

Finally Dipsychus must choose between immediately settling on a profession and wife or waiting for something and someone more perfect. As in the lyric "When panting sighs the bosom fill," he worries that a choice of love may interdict a better one: "To seat some alien trifler on the throne / A queen may come to claim--" (269; 25-26). He believes a perfect love is possible, but is so uncommon as not to be worth waiting for.

love, the large repose

Restorative, not to mere outside needs

Skin-deep, but thoroughly to the total man,

Exists, I will believe, but so, so rare,

So doubtful, so exceptional, hard to guess;

When guessed, so often counterfeit; in brief,

A thing not possibly to be conceived

An item in the reckonings of the wise. (269; 30-37)

Dipsychus yearns for action, but fears whatever he does may be factitious and purposeless.

We ask Action,

And dream of arms and conflict; and string up

All self-devotions's muscles; and are set

To fold up papers. To what end? We know not. (271; 131-34)²⁸

But the world's work must be done, so "Adieu, ye twisted thinkings. I submit" (272; 146). Submission to the world, of course, includes subjugation to the ethos of the time.

Before he gives in to convention, Dipsychus mulls over the moments when his afflatus buoys him and his hopes for perfection do not seem vain.

Hints haunt me ever of a More beyond:

I am rebuked by a sense of the incomplete,
Of a completion over-soon assumed,
Of adding up too soon. What we call sin,
I could believe a painful opening out
Of paths for ampler virtue. (274; 31-36)²⁹

Achieving such an advance, he recognizes, necessitates wrenching change. While Dipsychus does not explain in what way "sin" can lead to "ampler virtue," the conclusion of Clough's last poem, Mari Magno, which will be discussed below, indicates that he believes releasing of over-restrictive moral and social shackles on sexuality and women can contribute to a more transcendent experience of love.

²⁸ This is an unwitting anticipation of Clough's own future. Seven years later he was, as Lytton Strachey scoffs, tying up brown paper parcels as an aide to Florence Nightingale (170).

²⁹ Barbara Hardy misquotes line 34 by substituting the first person singular pronoun for Clough's first person plural, i.e. "What I call sin" instead of "What we call sin" (272). This subverts Clough's meaning as the whole point of his meditation on sin is that Dipsychus questions contemporary definitions of it.

As Dipsychus vacillates between entering the world and staying in his uncommitted, secluded cocoon of books and old friends, he makes a revealing comparison:

The ordinance says, 'and cleave unto his wife.'

O man, behold thy wife, th' hard naked world;

Adam, accept thy Eve. (287; 68-70)

Some of Clough's initial letters to Blanche, cold-eyed and unromantic, are presaged here.

After Dipsychus finally submits, Clough extends his self-mockery to a prose dialogue between a first-person narrator and the narrator's uncle, who blames Dr. Arnold for "'disqualify[ing] the country's youth for after-life and the country's service'" by making them "'full of the notion of the world being so wicked, and of their taking a higher line, as they call it'" (293). The nephew demurs. The cause of "'This over-excitation of the religious sense, resulting in this irrational, almost animal irritability of conscience'" was "'the religious movement of the last century, beginning with Wesleyanism, and culminating at last in Puseyism'" (294). Here Clough is rather disingenuous in deflecting criticism of Dr. Arnold, a major combatant in the nineteenth-century religious frays.

Most critics consider a fragment called Dipsychus Continued an embarrassment. Taken literally it is, indeed, crude. But considered as an allegory it carries on the theme of Dipsychus itself. Thirty years later, Dipsychus is Lord Chief Justice, unhappily aware that justice "is but half just" (294). What has enabled him to achieve worldly success is a

prostitute whom he has left behind, i.e. he has prostituted his ideals by entering the world and becoming Lord Chief Justice. Since he has become dissatisfied with his honors, the woman, an allegorical nemesis, returns and insists on seeing him. He complains that she robbed him of his innocence. Again, the allegory means that the world did this. She replies that her introducing him to the world was his first step in gaining success and that was why he went to her. That is, indulging in lust and losing innocence are prerequisites for worldly success. His reviling her therefore shows ingratitude. As Dipsychus dismisses her so he can attend to Justice, she says she is dying and that her name, which was once Pleasure, is now Guilt. That is, the pleasure he had enjoyed from his high position--his fame, his wife and children--has now turned to ashes. He has betrayed his higher ideals. Unsure of his relation to her, he brusquely dismisses her, telling her to return in six weeks.

The third scene anticipates the beginning of "The Death of Ivan Ilyich" in which the dying Ilyich's legal underlings, buzzard-like, consider how his death will advance their fortunes. Clough, though, after showing the scandal-mongering of the court's barristers, lets his suddenly ill Lord Chief Justice resign rather than die, and the fragment ends with Dipsychus pondering if Pleasure-turned-Guilt will return to him. The level of invention and execution in Dipsychus Continued is admittedly not up to that of Dipsychus itself, but it almost surely is a first draft, written, if Chorley is correct, while Clough was in America (264-66), a period when

Clough experienced extreme stress and when Dipsychus itself became an albatross around his emotional neck.

In its daring approach to sexuality and slashing satire of Victorian mores Dipsychus is an amazing performance. If Clough was still working on the poem during his American sojourn, the probable cause for his abandoning it is clear. The most likely reason for Clough's forsaking his most caustic, complex, and potentially his greatest poem was not any prudishness of his own or technical aesthetic difficulties as Patrick Scott believes. It was Blanche Smith.

CHAPTER 4 - 1851-1853

Frederick L. Mulhauser's The Correspondence of Arthur Hugh Clough has been a foundation of Clough scholarship since its publication in 1957. In his introduction Mulhauser cites two stressful periods of Clough's life as those in which most of his major poetry was written, 1839-40 and 1849-51, the first during his undergraduate years at Balliol College, the second while he was struggling to find a professional career (xvi). However, a third period of stress, which Mulhauser seems to misinterpret, occurred in 1852-53. In that period, in addition to the problem of finding employment, Clough found himself embroiled in a difficult courtship with Blanche Smith. Except for some conventional lyrics to Blanche, little poetry resulted from this stressful time and none thereafter until 1861, the year of Clough's death.

Mulhauser regards Clough's relationship with Blanche Smith as untroubled, and his choice of excerpts from Clough's and Blanche's letters almost fully supports this viewpoint. However, the full correspondence between Clough and Blanche shows a shifting pattern of attraction and retreat. Furthermore, an analysis of the manuscript letters in the Bodleian Library at Oxford shows that Mulhauser, perhaps unintentionally, spliced two letters into one in a way that distorts the actual relationship of the two at this time. Mulhauser also seemed not to realize, along with other Clough scholars, that an 1853 letter to Blanche, from which he gives

excerpts, helps to explain Clough's inability to write poetry during the period from May 1853 until just before his death in November 1861.³⁰

Clough's eight-year poetic silence lasted more than one-third of his adult life, if one dates his maturity, as he himself did, from the age of 20. This period of silence, in a poet who had been so prolific that in his 42 years he wrote almost as many lines of poetry as his friend Matthew Arnold did in his 66 years, has intrigued almost all writers on Clough. Lytton Strachey blames Florence Nightingale, whom Clough helped from 1857-59 to produce her report on improving army medical practices, portraying her as an unmerciful taskmistress (169-82). Robindra Biswas conjectures that Clough's avoidance after 1853 of any intellectual work more demanding than reading newspapers, writing impersonal letters to his friends, and drudging for Florence Nightingale served to sublimate undesired sexual thoughts (443-61). Chorley attributes Clough's silence to unspecified personal tensions which led to his acting as factotum to Miss Nightingale (318).

Eighteen-fifty was a low point in Clough's life. He was unhappy with his position as principal of University Hall, finding that the requirement of religious conformity which had caused him to give up his Oxford fellowship had only been metamorphosed from Anglican to dissenting orthodoxy. Further,

³⁰ Clough also wrote very little prose during the last eight years of his life. Of his 95 prose works (excluding personal letters, journals, and notebooks) only six are dated after 1853. However, one of these six is Clough's five-volume revision of Dryden's translation of Plutarch's Lives.

after eleven years as undergraduate, fellow, and tutor at Oxford, Clough missed the intellectual life and his friends at the older university. While he was expansive and articulate with old friends, he was shy, reserved, and often lonely in London society. As his friends married he felt himself more solitary. Tom Arnold had transferred from New Zealand to Australia, where in 1850 he married a high-spirited girl in Hobart Town. In a letter of July 1850 to Tom congratulating him on his marriage, Clough ironically mused: "I myself begin to think I shall be a last rose of summer, werry faded" (Correspondence, 1: 286).

Clough did not seem to realize that his internal conflicts about sex and marriage contributed to his unwelcome bachelorhood. In a January 1850 letter to Shairp, Clough both complained about his loneliness in London and wrote a poem which encapsulates his sexual problems, "Youth, that went, is come again." In the poem "youth" is a euphemism for sexual desire. Youth, which the speaker thought was dead, has returned. "[U]nsought / Comes he, shall it be for nought? / Eva tell me!" (214; 11-13). At the end of each stanza Eva is invoked. The choice of Eva, or Eve, is intentionally ambiguous. Eve is the incarnation of sexuality for both good and evil. The sexuality which the speaker has kept at bay:

Comes, but will not long remain,
Comes, with whom too in his train,
Comes, and shall it be in vain?

Eva, tell me! (215; 21-24).

The mysterious companion of sexuality possibly is the same as

Dipsychus' Spirit or Eve's serpentine deceiver in the Garden. Will the speaker succumb to the temptation of lascivious riot? (Clough in his more disturbed moments reverted to the Evangelical polarities of asceticism and profligacy.)

The answer to the speaker's question seems to be that sexuality's return at age 31 is unwelcome:

It's a trifle, much I doubt it,
Carnal--we were well without it,
And the world would talk about it,

Ah, yes, Eva. (215; 29-32).

In this poem Clough reveals himself as the paradigmatic result of the clashing forces of sexual instinct and the Judeo-Christian denial of it.

Clough met Blanche Mary Shore Smith during this period of great emotional turmoil in 1850. They were introduced by Richard Monckton Milnes, author, Tory politician, friend of Tennyson and Thackeray, and, for nine years a suitor of Florence Nightingale.³¹ Born in June 1828, Blanche was the eldest child and first daughter of Samuel Smith, a wealthy Unitarian of Combe Hurst, Surrey, whose family moved in the highest social circles in England. She was a double first cousin of Florence Nightingale. Her father's sister Fanny was Miss Nightingale's mother; her mother's older brother was Miss

³¹ The introduction of Blanche and Clough, according to Milnes, took place at his home, presumably Fryston Lodge in Yorkshire, which Milnes called Aphrodisiopolis, where he kept his collection of erotica devoted to sadism (Levy 129; Trudgill 113).

Nightingale's father.³² Blanche's mother, Mary Shore Smith, was Miss Nightingale's redoubtable "Aunt Mai," who accompanied her niece to Turkey during the Crimean War and who earlier had joined Florence in another only slightly less orthodox venture for women: studying mathematics. Clough's connections with Florence were multiply ironic. Her name, which became widely popular for girls after she became famous, stemmed from her birthplace, Florence. (Her older sister was named Parthenope, the Greek name for her birthplace, Naples.) Clough's overwork as Florence's aide led to illness, which sent him south and eventually to Florence, where he died and is buried in the Protestant cemetery there.

Blanche herself was more conventional than her cousin. A traditional upper-middle class Victorian daughter, she dutifully obeyed her parents, travelling with them even after her marriage to Clough. However, Blanche had a firm sense of her own importance. A short "chronology" of her life which she sent Clough in March 1853 shows her as a spirited and self-confident child. The contrast between Blanche's willfulness between the ages of seven and nine and Clough's premature seriousness at the same age is marked. Blanche then: "Once stole a gingerbread out of a shop; another time struck a respectable governess . . . Used to enjoy life pretty well

³² William Edward Nightingale originally had the last name of Shore. In 1815 at the age of 21, William Shore changed his name to that of his mother's brother, who left him a fortune which brought him from 7,000 to 8,000 pounds a year (Woodham-Smith 3). As William Nightingale and his wife had no son, Blanche's younger brother, Shore Smith, was designated as Nightingale's heir.

on the whole . . . " (Correspondence 619). In contrast Clough at the same age refused to remove his shoes and stockings on a beach opposite Charleston and join his brothers and sister in paddling in the water.

As an adult Blanche was, behind a facade of traditional female passivity, both strong-minded and competent. While during their courtship Blanche was loath to follow Clough's urging that she practice translating the French historian Guizot, in the years following Clough's death she not only edited her husband's works, arranged for their publication, and wrote a memoir of him, but she published her translation of Jacob Burckhardt's The Cicerone. These three talents--editing, writing, and translating--were the only professional abilities which their education gave middle-class Victorian girls (David 18).

Blanche can be seen as paradigmatic of her sex and class in a more important aspect: the dynamics of her relationship to Clough. She only too perfectly, if unconsciously, followed the Victorian rules of behavior for her social class, such as those laid down by Sarah Ellis, for women's guiding their simultaneously superior and fallible spouses. While women were inferior in strength to men, they were supposed to possess greater moral sensitivity. To compensate for their deficiency in physical power, women were instructed to use their more acute moral vision to influence men and correct the moral lapses of those they loved (Daughters of England 19-21). In The Wives of England Ellis urges that "no opportunity may be lost, or no means neglected of raising the tone of a

husband's character to the highest scale which man is capable of attaining" (55-56). Ellis's use of the term "highest" is noteworthy in that in a crucial interchange with her lover during their courtship Blanche reprimands him for not always adhering to the "highest" things.

Ellis notes with regret that not all men are perfect, though the better ones are better than women:

The mind of a reasonable man is . . . open to conviction, impartial, and comprehensive; and all these qualities from the very nature of his constitution, he possesses in a higher degree than they can be possessed by woman. An unreasonable man is one who will think and act in a particular manner simply because he will. (Wives of England 59)

Clough, who eventually always submitted to others, certainly fit Ellis' definition of a "reasonable man."

Ellis, and indeed Victorians in general, seemed unaware of the inherent contradiction between their belief that women were inferior to men and the view that they were God's surrogates in leading their husband to eternal happiness. She becomes particularly confused when she tries to yoke the role of woman as moral guide with the conventional portrait of wife as a feeble, cowering dove:

And a sacred and ennobling trust it is for woman to have the happiness of such a being committed to her charge--a holy privilege to be the chosen companion of his lot to come with her helplessness and weakness to find safety under his protection and to repose her own perturbed and

troubled mind beneath the shelter of his love. (Wives of England 72)

In an unfinished poem which he started in 1848 about Adam and Eve and their children, Clough shows a similar confusion about the essence of woman and her relationship to man. It was Eve's fault that she and Adam left Paradise, not because they ate the apple in violation of God's command, but because Eve dreamt the Genesis story, was convinced they were guilty, and insisted they depart. Although Adam is sure Eve is merely hysterical--her only words on the first page are "Oh, guilt, guilt, guilt!"--he agrees to leave as "I in all submit to you" (166; 62). Adam sometimes has fits of guilt too and believes they are cursed by God. But he more strongly heeds a voice that urges him on to "work and live" (168; 111). After one of his guilt seizures, i.e. religious transports, Adam has a fleeting afflatus:

I--seem eternal, O thou God, as Thou;
 Have knowledge of the Evil and the Good,
 Superior in a higher Good to both. (169; 42-45)

That is, Adam believes that man's unaided intellect can enable his thoughts to be superior to the precepts of religion. But his moment of transcendence passes and he wishes he could determine which is right, his flash of inspiration or Eve's belief. He could solve the problem if he "were not troubled with this wife of mine, / And the necessity of meat and drink" (170; 51-52). His, or Clough's, confusion is evident when he wishes he could tell Eve of his epiphany so that the two of them together could puzzle out the truth. "But she would be so

frightened, think it proof / Of all her own imaginings" (170; 61-62). She would think, in other words, his denying of God was inspired by an opposing supernatural principle. It is unlikely that an Eve shackled by religious guilt would be able to help Adam decipher the meaning of the universe. Adam decides he must be courageous, calm his wife's fears, and work for themselves and posterity, keeping his philosophizing to himself.

To Eve's insistence that her fall, or guilt, was greater than his, Adam replies diplomatically that she fell farther perhaps since she started from a higher level. In this speech he calls her "child," later Clough's favorite pet name for Blanche, the Cloughean epithet for the beloved woman for whom the man must assume responsibility.

Nay my child,

About our falls I don't profess to know.

.

But at the first your place was higher up;

It is that, I being bestial, you divine,

We now alike are human beings both.

About our falls I won't profess to know,

But know I do

That I was never innocent as thou. (173-74; 8-18)

Here Clough has Adam express paradigmatic Victorian beliefs about the polar-opposite sex drives of men and middle-class women. The intensity of the male sexual drive was undeniable, but expressing it except in marriage was reprehensible. Adam's last statement shows Clough's intense guilt over his

irrepressible sexuality. Also in these lines Clough presents the common Victorian belief that middle-class females were sexually unresponsive. This is another example of the Victorians' cloudy thinking since they, including Clough, were convinced that prostitutes were sexually voracious. One wonders by what mechanism they imagined a woman's sex drive was determined by her social class.

Martha Vicinus points out that middle-class Victorian women were trained to be "perfectly innocent and sexually ignorant" (A Widening Sphere ix-xiv). Since they were expected to lack sexual drive, they were thereby able to vaunt themselves as morally superior to men. Even when they married they often completely lacked knowledge of sex. Smout cites the case of a 27-year-old, middle-class female pregnant with her first child who wondered where it would emerge (56). Abroad, English prudery had long been notorious. Crabbe Robinson in 1804 wrote from Germany: "To express what we should call Puritanism in language, and excess of delicacy in matters of physical love, the word Engländererei has been coined" (Young 21n).

Beginning practically at birth Victorian middle-class girls were fenced off from sensuality by elaborate structures of fears and taboos, erected by differences from men in etiquette, occupation, education, and by undoubtedly the most unattractive hair and dress styles in history. The narrow band-box in which middle-class women were imprisoned sometimes bred envy and hatred of sexually freer, lower-class women. Trudgill finds that with the Victorian middle-class woman:

Notions of feminine delicacy regularly meant an insulation from all sullyng contact with the sins and cruelties of the world. . . . She was notoriously a slave to conventional opinion, to class prejudice, and to a narrow and bigoted morality. (65-66)

Trudgill could have been describing many aspects of Blanche Smith, who in her detestation of Clough's more overtly sexual poems resembled Mrs. Grundy. Fryer defines Mrs. Grundy as a prude who loathes enjoyment of sex, especially one who seeks to limit others' sexuality in order to strengthen his own resistance to sexual pleasure, with or without an awareness of his motives (18).

In their punitive attitude toward impure women the pure Victorian ones were all Mrs. Grundys. The prostitute had to be punished, thereby symbolically repressing the pure woman's unacceptable sexual desires (Cominos 168). Perhaps such fear of her own sexuality lay behind Blanche's abhorrence of Dipsychus.

Seeking more congenial employment than the religion-ridden University Hall post, Clough in late 1851 became a candidate for the position of principal and classics professor at a college in Sydney. London, even England, was becoming dreary for him. His refusal to subscribe to the Established Church's doctrines effectively locked the doors to his employment in schools and colleges in England, and, although he did not yet realize it, obviated his chances in Sydney as well. Increasingly his friends were marrying and, thus, in Clough's sensitive view, abandoning him. A letter he wrote to

Tom Arnold and failed to send over a four-month period in 1851 seems to testify to his resentment of both Tom's and Matthew's marriages. In March he upbraided Tom for not having written him "since you first were engaged to be married." He himself was not engaged "though 'the good they fall around us,' and the bad too Matt included (I do not mean among the latter--necessarily)." The stressed "necessarily" shows Clough's annoyance at Matt's engagement. As a wedding gift Clough sent Tom his newly written poem "On grass, on gravel, in the sun." In it the once-Chartist poet pays delicate tribute to the courtship of a "footman and a maid" on an April Sunday morning in Kensington Gardens. The poem extends to love in the servant class the same transcendent importance it holds for the speaker and the girl next to him in the second-class railway carriage of "Natura Naturans." In fact the poem goes beyond "Natura Naturans" by stating categorically that the purpose of life is love between man and woman, footman and maid:

The high-titled cares of adult strife,
 Which we our duties call,
 Trades, arts, and politics of life,
 Say, have they after all
 One other object end or use
 Than that, for girl and boy,
 The punctual earth may still produce
 This golden flower of joy? (315-16; 31-38)

In May Clough explains to Tom that he had not sent the letter earlier because he was unable to decide how to write a

self-introduction to Tom's new wife.

[S]o pray give what you think becoming an ancient ally of her husband's--best wishes, and--? submission? For to a certain extent even at this distance, old friends have to make their graceful withdrawal, so it seems to me with Matt at any rate on this side the water, and I consider Miss Wightman as a sort of natural enemy. How can it be otherwise--shall I any longer breakfast with Matt twice a week?

Clough's stressing the word "submission" indicates his understanding of the importance of its meaning to him: acquiescing to others' desires and abnegating his own.

Besides his feeling of abandonment as his friends married, Clough increasingly disliked his job. He wrote Tom: "My situation here under a set of mercantile Unitarians is no way charming." Overall, undoubtedly he was suffering from depression:

Nothing is very good, I am afraid, anywhere. I could have gone cracked at times last year with one thing or another, I think--but the wheel comes round.

In mid-June, the letter still unsent, Clough described to Tom Matthew's wedding to Miss Wightman. "She seems, as Matt calls her, a charming companion--Vale" (Correspondence 1: 289-91).

By December 1851 Clough's relationship with the Council of University Hall was so strained that when he announced that he had applied for the Sydney appointment he was asked to resign immediately, even though he told his employers that his

chance of being appointed was doubtful.³³ To support himself he was left only with some private students and a professorate of English at University College which paid a token 30 pounds yearly. At this point Clough was distraught and dismayed.

The prospect of putting half the globe between him and his friends and family seems to have been the catalyst in Clough's relations with Miss Smith. Their correspondence starts off at the point when he is waiting to hear from the college in Australia. On Clough's part the correspondence is from the first passionate, headlong, and so uncharacteristically candid that he expresses his hesitations and hostilities. While initially formal--addressing him for the first few months mostly as "Dear Mr. Clough"--and puzzled by his epistolary barrage, Blanche shortly was equally, and devastatingly, honest. Critics have often reproved Clough's courtship letters as anti-romantic, but they seem not to understand that in them Clough was trying, unsuccessfully as it turned out, to remold Blanche into his ideal of woman, possibly a cross between Elspie Mackaye and Mary Trevellyn.

By failing to include a representative selection of the letters which show Clough attempting to extricate himself from his engagement to Blanche, Mulhauser allies himself with the majority of Clough critics. Most of the extensive commentary

³³ Clough's and the Council's mutual hostility is indicated by a 12 December letter of Clough's to a Council member, recounting their conversation of the previous day. "You represented to me . . . that my resignation would make an opening for a Gentleman whose connexions [sic] might perhaps restore this Institution to some prosperity--" (Correspondence 1: 299).

published on Clough since his death has tended to accept Blanche's rather self-serving account of Clough's relationship with her, based mainly on the memoir she wrote for the 1869 Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough which she edited with the aid of John Addington Symonds.³⁴ Only a few critics, such as Dennis Enright, have doubted that Clough unhesitatingly embraced matrimony and Blanche. However, a close examination of their courtship letters shows Clough as highly ambivalent about marrying Blanche and Blanche as initially cool but ultimately determined to possess her evasive suitor.³⁵

In the first letter, on 30 December 1851, Clough tells Blanche:

You must not believe me too much. . . . I do talk too pretty when I am sitting by you. . . . I was given to that vice . . . and then took to holding my tongue. . . . 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. . . .

By "bad things" Clough presumably means those words which Blanche regarded as too explicitly sexual. He jokes that it

³⁴ Symonds, a critic and poet, helped Blanche write the memoir and urged, unsuccessfully, that all of Clough's poems be published in the 1869 volumes. Later Symonds described the memoir as done "inadequately" and called Blanche "very timid" (Grosskurth 133).

³⁵ Except where noted, the sections of letters excerpted are not included in Mulhauser's Correspondence. While most are headed only by the day of the week, some can be dated by internal evidence. The excerpts not from Mulhauser appear in the chronological order determined by the Bodleian, which received the correspondence in 1959.

was the "devil" which prompted him during a recent walk to say a word to her from which she recoiled, but, more seriously, he explains that the cause of his offense is their age difference. "At the age of 33 men are to [sic] bad, and at 23 girls are so unprepared for it." He asks Blanche whether she wants him to address her as he had spoken during their walk or in "the sycophantic, wheedling, caressing, self-bepraising tone more familiar to you? It is because you will hate all this that I write it." He adds a postscript, "There my dear Blanche, I have kissed the paper that is to go to you. What other piece of sentimentality could I commit?" The next day he again apologizes for having shocked her and, alluding to the parable of the Gadarene swine, assures her he has "exorcised the ill spirit though this kind cometh not out in a hurry and I have been sitting among the tombs and in desert places pretty well two years now," a reference undoubtedly to his two years at University Hall.

Then, in a much-quoted letter to Blanche, which Mulhauser dates 1 January, Clough attacks the mainspring of romantic love, without, of course admitting that he himself had often wound it up:

What was the true apple? do you know I believe its true name was "Love is everything." Women will believe so, and try and make men act as if they believed so . . . Love is not everything, Blanche; don't believe it, nor try to make me pretend to believe it. "Service" is everything. Let us be fellow-servants. There is no

joy . . . but this. . . .³⁶ (Correspondence 1: 300)

By service Clough means devotion to helping others, a devotion stemming from both religion and his liberal social and economic philosophy. But what has attracted the critics' attention in this letter is Clough's denigration--in a love letter!--of romantic love as leading to the loss of Paradise. His equivocal approach to love and Blanche is apparent from the start.

In Blanche's first note, dated 1 January also, she apologizes for having scolded him. "I may have been too hard in giving you such a bitter return for your honesty." He replies that she was "too hard," but insists that even if she or all other womankind together cast him off he does not care.

I ask no girl to be my friend that we may be a fond foolish couple together all in all each to the other. I will ask no one to put off her individuality for me; nor will I, weak and yielding as I am, if I can help it, put off mine for anyone. (Correspondence 1: 301).

The operative clause here is "if I can help it." For eight years he did give up the individuality of writing poetry.

Then Clough's honesty is only too revealing: "Don't be frightened, for I am a horrid coward at bottom, and you will be able to hen-peck me in no time." But immediately he reverses field and lashes out at her. He would not have written so "fiercely" if her letter had not upset him. He

³⁶ In an article on social theory which appeared in the North American Review in July 1853, Clough asserts: "The highest political watchword is not Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, nor yet Solidarity, but Service" (Trawick 267).

thinks she denies the doctrine of "fellow service" and prefers sentimental love, which he abhors.

It was the thought, I think, that you denied this doctrine . . . which made me write the other sheets [defending himself and reproaching her for rebuking him]--and made me do much more than that, let me tell you, but what, I will not tell you. . . .

However, introspective honesty leads him to all but tell her:

If you will not look at things in this way . . . I must even go my ways and seal myself up again. Was it this thought do you think or mortified vanity that made me after writing these 2 sheets go up and down the dark walk in St. James Park three-quarters of an hour or more tonight doing what I have hardly done since the year 1837?

While the implication of his soliciting a prostitute is inescapable, what is less clear is whether or not he expected sheltered, highly proper Blanche to catch his meaning. At any rate she seems not to have done so.

The next day Clough admits to Blanche that he has doubts as to whether they should marry and insists that every man contemplating marriage has such doubts. "If I have been ashamed to conceal mine from you, is that an insult to you? I think not."

After his rejection for the Sydney post--his Oriel College provost would not recommend him because of his religious skepticism, even though the provost assumed, correctly, that the Sydney college was secular--Clough admits

to Blanche that before he had applied for the position he had planned a solitary life in order to achieve "elevated action." But even though his purpose in approaching her has vanished, he still wants a life with her. He starkly explains in his 7 February letter: "There has never been in my whole life . . . any act of mine, sealing either friendship or love." A month later he writes her that he fears that, in his anxiety to win her before going to Sydney, he was "somewhat brutal" toward her in his "precipitation and necessity."

However, despite impassioned, almost daily, letters to Blanche, Clough typically draws back. On 19 February he suggests she might find someone else and states that, "I, for my part, look about but do not, yet see anybody . . . who may understand things in me better than. . . ." and he trails off. Unsurprisingly, in her answer to this, Blanche writes flatly, "I don't know why I always feel spiteful when I write to you." Clough is not deterred. He concludes a letter, "When you next dislike me mind and let me know. Ever yours all the same AHC."

In general, though, during their courtship Blanche seems content to play the role that the early Victorians assigned to unmarried, middle-class young women: one that was naive, pious, passive, childlike, and, paradoxically, both seeking guidance from males and, as we have seen, acting as their moral guides.³⁷

³⁷ See essays in Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age, ed. Martha Vicinus, especially the essay by Peter T. Cominos, and Nina Auerbach's Women and the Demon: The Life of a Victorian Myth 67-73. Also, in her multifarious

Although Clough is wildly miscast in the part of masterful male, he attempts to fill the role, addressing Blanche as "my dear child." (Almost every letter from him to Blanche closes with "God bless you, my dear child," thereby neatly combining the two entities, God and Blanche, towards which his feelings were highly ambiguous.) Blanche, just as complex as Clough, could easily slip into the role of child. Indeed child-like behavior was prescribed for the proper young Victorian woman in love. "She was expected, through the relaxed intimacy of love, to show her lover the liveliness and playfulness of a child. . . ." (Trudgill 99).

Inadvertently revealing his opinion of Blanche as child-woman, Clough pretends to chide himself for not preferring her cousin Florence Nightingale, who is "more sensible and practical (and indeed! more generally intelligent) than B.M.S.S." Ironically Florence is the Victorian woman probably most frequently cited as the antithesis of paradigmatic Victorian femininity. Even more ironic is Blanche's attempt to reverse Clough's dislike of Florence--he found her too intellectual and hard--in light of his later selfless, and self-destroying, overwork for Florence's proposals to reform British military medical practices.

Blanche, unlike Florence, observes the conventions assigned to early Victorian women. She writes to Clough:

I always wanted somebody else to do for me, to teach me

writings, Blanche's friend Harriet Martineau frequently expressed the archetypal Victorian view that women were supposed to set the pattern of morality and guide men.

and keep me up, and punish me when I do wrong, instead of having to do it wearily oneself. While you do some of that for me, dear--I know it is childish, but there, you know, that is a settled thing . . . I like better to be comfortable than almost anything else is not that selfish . . . I am too lazy even to read, which is one reason why I never know anything. . . .

If Clough had not realized it earlier, this letter--in which Blanche admits to ignorance, laziness, and preferring her own comfort beyond all else--must have told him their values were highly divergent.

Frequently critics of the period refer to the archetypal Victorian woman by the title of Patmore's encomium to his wife: the angel in the house. But Blanche was most definitely not such an angel if one thinks of its definition by Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar: one who offers her husband "surrender of herself--of her personal comfort, her personal desires" (25). When Clough proposed that they set up a school together in America, Blanche demurred in a letter of 15 April 1853:

It may be that life will not be very difficult, but sometimes it does look very hard--at least, for it is so different to what I am used--the continual responsibility, the being always at work and ready. . .

. (Correspondence 2: 425n)

In other words, she was one of those indolent, cosseted Victorian ladies whom Clough had assailed in the Bothie.

During an April 1852 visit to Rugby, Clough, writing to Blanche, first jocularly noted a resemblance between the local

geological formations and the appearance of the peasantry and then pedantically remarked that place names ending in -by were of Norse derivation. "Read, my dear child, Yes, and elevate yourself now and then. . . ." Obviously unaware that he has been hectoring, he then asked innocently, "What is it that you sometimes feel spiteful at me about?" Her mocking response was to address him as "My dear old man."

Clough's tendency to quote himself appears in his correspondence with Blanche. In response to her questioning whether her "mysticism" repels him--it did not, but it did "pain" him--Clough wrote, "It seems His newer will we should not think at all of Him, but [turn?] and of the world that He has given us make what best we may." This is, of course, almost word-for-word the religious philosophy of Dipsychus in scene 10 (268; 11-14).

A page later Clough was ironically skeptical and then broke off as he realized Blanche could not follow him. "Good truth, I suppose, must relate to things in heavenly places and have no plain or intelligible reference to fact and reality . . . (no, it is a shame to taunt you with that!)" Soon after, in response to a letter in which Blanche asked what the "objects of life" are, Clough replied, "(a) work for others (b) personal relations and (c) making books, poems, music, etc." His role as a maker of poems seems to have been Clough's major attraction for Blanche. In an early April 1852 letter in which she discussed a number of his published poems, she for the first time called him "my darling." By mid-April Clough, who, up until then, had been unwilling to use the word

"love," also advanced to avowals, writing to her "I love you very much my dear child."

Perhaps it was Blanche's increased ardor that sparked Clough's immediate retreat, or perhaps his own declaration of love frightened him. Whatever the reason, in mid-May (Mulhauser dates Clough's letter 14 May), Clough wrote Blanche to suggest they separate, citing his inability to find employment. While Mulhauser excerpts this letter, he does not mention its successor of the following day. In it Clough admitted that his decision to write the previous day's letter, suggesting they separate, resulted from his discovering that the decision to marry was his and Blanche's--not her parents' as he had thought. "Do you not see too that it was not until I knew that your father and mother would leave it to us, that the question came properly before me?" Clough's assumption that the choice of a spouse for a woman was made by her parents was understandable. Until the mid-nineteenth century parents usually determined a daughter's husband, although they were seldom as brutally insistent on their choice as the Harlowes were in Richardson's Clarissa one hundred years earlier.

The letter in which Clough suggested he and Blanche separate is followed in the manuscripts by the one Mulhauser dates as 17 May (Correspondence 313). In it Clough asserted that he sought "life-companionship" with Blanche when he expected a "career"--in Sydney--but he no longer has that prospect. He held out the chill hope for eventual unison of their souls beyond this sphere of the kind Claude felt when he

abandoned his search for Mary Trevellyn. He added, "It is no selfish weariness of hoping against hope or prospects of other happiness, surely, that has led me thus far on the track that leads away. . . ." But then Mulhauser prints three sentences from a letter that was written on 21 May, according to a pencilled notation, in which Clough announced that he was thinking of going to America. The unwarranted implication of Mulhauser's eliding the two disparate letters is that Clough's "track that leads away" would take him across the Atlantic to find a job so he could marry Blanche, which is not, in fact, the actual case.

The letters between the two conflated sections show Blanche skillfully trying to retain Clough and yet acting within the role of "proper" Victorian female. (The excellent British postal system enabled them to exchange letters two and three times daily.) First, in response to her sending him rhododendrons and scarlet azaleas, Clough self-deprecatingly begged her not to send him flowers as "they are a great deal too beautiful for me." He insisted that only by renouncing her would he be able to find profitable work. In her response Blanche hoped that if they separated Clough would "keep generally good." She asked him to meet her the next day in a London park and concluded by pleading, "Let me stay with you, dear." He declared in his reply, "I must go away in order to work." While he conceded a life together as she saws it was possible, he thought "it would be best preceded by some interval of absence." He suggested they tell her mother he had no prospect of an income and refused to meet her in a park

because it was raining and his pupil was still with him, the latter an insincere excuse since he earlier had postponed pupils and cut short their lessons in order to see her. After the appointed meeting time passed he sends Blanche a note defending his refusal to meet her: If he had gone and she had not, she would have been sorry! Furthermore their meeting in the park without her mother's knowledge would have been improper.

Blanche's virtuoso handling of this temporizing forecasts who will predominate. She had gone to the park, but had not expected him and was sure he had thought of her. It was not raining hard, and the flowers she had bought for him she gave to an old woman. Blanche then shrewdly combined bullying and equivocal flattery:

It is difficult not to feel insulted when you do not respond. . . . If we do go on together I shall . . . be willing to learn strength of you. This is the greatest comfort to me to feel you strong and determined to do the right thing.

To further cajole him, Blanche resorted to standard elements of the myth of female inferiority: that women live for love and that meaningful work is solely the province of men. She argued that their being together would not hinder his working and wished that she could do great work. "Is work the object of life? . . . Sometimes I am terribly inclined to think that love is the object of life. I am afraid it is the weakness of my sects [sic]." She cannily concluded by proposing that they not enjoy each other but that each help

the other to work.

Clough was at a loss to answer this masterly assault, admitted his nature was perverse, and rejoiced that she called him "'Dear boy,' which is the appellation dearest to me in the whole world."³⁸ In his next letter to Blanche he has pulled himself together and announced he would not expect to meet her for a month. Blanche responded by praising the concept of work. "I should think I was cruel and wrong besides if . . . for my sake [you] languish in inactivity instead of doing some good work." (Later, during his eight-year poetic lapse, Clough did "good work"--for Florence Nightingale.) Then, using a revealing adverb, Blanche stated, "I do love you so much now, dear boy. . . . "

In reply Clough admitted he was selfish and in the wrong, but he pleaded for "Time, time." It is then that Clough first announced that he might go to America, 70 folio pages later than Mulhauser places Clough's initial mention of his plan to leave England: "It seems to me that at the present the natural course is to take it quietly and patiently. I will wait--perhaps go over to America first--You shall see." He added:

[Y]ou might within two or three years see someone you should like more than me. I have felt this all along. I have checked you through my own coldness perhaps . . . Under such circumstances . . . I do not think we are arrived at the moment for union.

³⁸ Chorley theorizes that Clough had an unresolved Oedipal complex (352-54). Clough's preference for being considered a "dear boy" might support this view.

In June Clough diffidently wrote Emerson for advice on emigrating to America, first mentioning his lack of remunerative employment. "Meantime, like the rest of mankind, I wish to be married and am as good or bad as engaged--" (Correspondence 314). Despite his lack of enthusiasm for the projected marriage, Clough then asked how much it would cost to take up a married life in New England and if he might find employment teaching languages "anywhere between the Atlantic and the Mississippi" (Correspondence 315). Emerson replied enthusiastically and encouragingly, inviting Clough to stay with him in Concord his first few months in America, although it turned out Clough spent only a few days there on his arrival as Emerson went off immediately on a lecture tour.³⁹

The summer of 1852 found Blanche's and Clough's correspondence increasingly disjunctive. Traveling in Devon with her family, Blanche wrote to Clough, "I do wish you were here my darling--you can't think how I want you--." Clough wrote, "Believe me, if you feel me doing you harm . . . I will leave you at your slightest indication of the wish--for whatever length of time you please."

But in July Clough's reluctance to commit himself began to be interspersed with expressions of physical passion, "I must stop a bit, take you into my arms, as it were, and give you a few, few kisses." A letter from Blanche also shows

³⁹ Emerson similarly invited Carlyle, when he was having difficulty making a living from writing review articles, to try a career in America teaching and lecturing. However, Carlyle, less geographically adventurous and less desperate than Clough, refused.

their relationship is growing warmer:

I like you so much, my darling. I wish you were here. Do you think you would like me as much afterwards. Indeed I'm afraid not . . . it's only yesterday morning I was sitting on your knees being scolded for being cross but I had to box your ears for it. My own darling.

Blanche's wondering if her lover "would like me as much afterwards" probably meant she was worrying that he will not respect her after a bout of light petting. Considering Blanche's propriety and Clough's prudery she certainly was not referring to the heavy variety.

From the time he embarked in November 1852 for Boston, Clough wrote voluminously to Blanche. In America although he was lionized by Boston's literary and social leaders, Clough lacked a close relationship, which recapitulated his boyhood experience of separation by the Atlantic from those he loved. Financially he was no better off than he had been in London. He tutored a few pupils in Greek, wrote some magazine articles and poems for which he was not paid, and started a painstaking revision of Dryden's translation of Plutarch's Lives.⁴⁰ But from the sheer quantity of his letters to Blanche, Clough must have spent much of his time writing to her.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Although at first Clough thought that the Plutarch revision would take only a few months, with his usual conscientiousness he in effect re-translated the biographies. In March 1858 he was still working on the 100-page index and correcting proofs. The work was finally published in England and America in 1859.

⁴¹ For details of Clough's experiences in America in 1852-53 see Correspondence, 329-453 passim, and Levy's chapter 9, 139-62.

Pages in each letter are devoted to assertions of love, even lover's baby talk--Clough wants to talk to her a "little-little-bit." He showed his characteristic self-deprecation in November when he wrote, "I only fear I shall be too happy with you." A few days after Christmas 1852 he complained to Blanche that his friends had not written to him and enclosed the poem "That out of sight is out of mind." In January 1853 he feared he would be "almost unwisely" fond of her. Constantly he implored her to join him in America, about which he was ambivalent. "I am sometimes a little tired, a little sick, sometimes perhaps of the people, who are good enough, but strange to me and not at bottom quite like English people--." On the other hand, responding to Blanche's question as to why he was eloquent by mail but tongue-tied when he was with her, he wrote:

[H]aving come across the water, which I didn't like the thought of, makes me think myself to have done something--so as to loose my tongue, Another thing is that this country is so much more hopeful for me, and the people so much more so than London people. . . .

(Correspondence 2: 369)

Clough's inconsistency about Americans--they are "strange to me," they are "so much more hopeful for me"--typified his entire American visit. However, the bulk of his opinions on America were favorable. He often praised America's good free education and its more democratic, less class-ridden society

than that of England.⁴²

While he consciously planned for success in America, proposing to start schools and estimating how little money they could live on, at another level Clough seems to have sabotaged his chances for success in order to prevent marriage to Blanche. For example, on 7 December 1852 he began tutoring his first pupil, whom he was supposed to teach until the following July. But three days later he noted in a letter to Blanche that he was "having a battle with my pupil which may end in his departing." After a few days' absence the pupil returned, to Clough's displeasure, as he expressed himself to Blanche, "I fear I shan't now write nearly as easily as before, for the naughty pupil has come back and will take up time" (Correspondence 2: 346, 349). While eventually Clough had a number of pupils, all his proposals for setting up schools fell through. One assumes his constant change of plans from tutoring, to running a school, to doing literary work, to sometimes despairing of America altogether were intended to prevent making enough money so he could marry.

Certainly the emotional propulsion toward Blanche given by his trans-Atlantic trip shortly lost its momentum, and Clough's letters again began oscillating between desire for union with her and the reciprocal need to pull away. On 17 January he wrote:

I do indeed sometimes think that my course is one that

⁴² In later years he yearned for America, saying he would have become a citizen if he had stayed, and called it "beyond all question the happiest and best country going" (Correspondence 2: 460).

must be walked alone and that it is altogether too unpleasant and poverty-stricken for married happiness.

(Correspondence 2: 365)

Carlyle, he continued in the same letter, had proposed a job for him in a new ministry. "But--but--but---and for some reasons I would almost rather you came here. . . ." Only his bleak descriptions of the raw New England landscape and winter made her emigrating to America most unlikely, as were his ambiguous views on his finances and their future together in America. In one letter he mixed overt irony and latent threat to Blanche of two of her bete noires: physical labor and inconvenience.

It is agreeable to find here how much more numerous the chances of employment are; every week brings a new--disappointment, shall I say? . . . I don't think you would really mind about the poverty. . . . What is it you most apprehend in it--having to do drudgery? . . . It is very common here . . . to take in a "a boarder" and that of course more than doubles the annoyance, because boarders don't consider. (Correspondence 392-93).

One can imagine Blanche's response to the suggestion that she take in boarders.⁴³

In a February letter Clough asked Blanche's indulgence of his desire to do work "to some purpose"--presumably his poetry, articles, and the Plutarch translation. "I cannot get

⁴³ Years after Clough died Blanche attended a London play in which a character praised lower class morality. Blanche objected to this view as encouraging the lower classes to rise above their place (Pearsall 182-83).

myself to look at things as mere means to money-making, and yet if I do not, I seem in some sense guilty towards you." Characteristically, by the end of his letter he apologized for this "rhadomontade" (sic) and offered to do "any decent work" (Correspondence 2: 380-82). About the same time through Carlyle's friend Lady Ashburton a school inspectorship, of the type held by Matthew Arnold, was proposed for Clough as soon as a vacancy occurred. As spring advanced and her lover made no firm plans to support them, Blanche grew understandably indignant and berated Clough for waiting for a possible inspectorship rather than beginning a school in New England. Detesting the idea of being a schoolmaster in America and not much preferring a school inspectorship in England, Clough responded, "I would far rather live here, take pupils and write than be H. M. Inspector in England" (Correspondence 2: 433).

Concomitant with his devotion to work was Clough's determination to uphold the truth as he saw it, regardless of consequences, another area in which he and Blanche were at odds. In his 17 January letter to Blanche he asserted he would not let the nationalist and abolitionist Theodore Parker be unfairly assailed by the local Boston Unitarians.⁴⁴ Blanche responded worriedly, urging him not to "martyr" himself. She saw in him "something of a morbid sensitiveness to truth that makes you think the opprobrium and the necessity for speaking greater than they are. . . ." (Correspondence 2: 381n).

⁴⁴ Ironically, Parker, like Clough died young, at 49, in Florence.

The emotional firestorm which led Clough to abandon poetry for eight years began to build up shortly after he left England, confiding boxes of his manuscripts and letters to Blanche's safekeeping. Mulhauser quotes the pertinent elements of Clough's and Blanche's interchanges. In early December Blanche wrote for permission to read Dipsychus.

Will you please to give me leave to read Dipsychus, for I want to. I have put some of my books in that box so please write and tell me to read it all. . .

. (Correspondence 350n)

From Blanche's plea to be allowed "to read it all" it can be assumed that she had read some of Dipsychus before she wrote Clough. Perhaps the same psychological mechanism was operating in her as in other Victorians: the greater the surface propriety the greater the interior itch to burrow into the prohibited.

With justifiable anxiety, Clough replied, "[P]lease don't read Dipsychus yet--I wish particularly not. You shall see it sometime--but not now, not, please--dear, I beg not. . . ." Then, on 8 January, Blanche assured him:

I won't read Dipsychus, dear Arthur, don't be afraid, you know I will do whatever you tell me; it was mere chance that I stumbled on that one poem, and I only just glanced it over, pray forgive me. . . . (Correspondence 350n)

But like another young woman, Blanche could not resist opening the forbidden box. In early March she wrote that she had dipped into the manuscripts and was appalled by what she found:

It is strange those peeps and reminders of your old times and thoughts and your other sides always upset me it is horrid--they seem to me full of honest coarse strength and perception . . . but I don't like it. I don't like men in general; I like women--why was not the world made all women. . . . I did hardly know that good men were so rough and coarse.

(Correspondence 2: 402-03n)⁴⁵

Blanche's thunderbolt devastated Clough, lonely, in a foreign land, and without an assured means of support. He hysterically both complained and capitulated to Blanche in a 5,300-word letter which he wrote over a six-day period that, symbolically, included Good Friday and Easter Sunday. While much of the letter is excerpted by Mulhauser on pages 402-05 of the Correspondence, some of Clough's self-flagellation that Mulhauser does not include is worth quoting:

You are above me--better than me. I am soiled--why should I therefore try and come near you. . . . If I had worked more quietly and diligently at my regular work, the feelings you abhor so would not have come upon me perhaps. . . .

The implication is that if Clough had confined himself to tutoring and not written poetry he would not have felt, much less written about, the horrid, coarse masculine emotions that repelled Blanche. By Easter Sunday Clough was incoherent and

⁴⁵ Florence Nightingale shared her cousin's view about the opposite sex. In a jurisdictional dispute over nursing, she wrote, "How I wish there were no men" (Smith, Florence Nightingale: Reputation and Power 162).

defensive:

Truly it is possible that without a loss of your own self to pity from afar off those aberrations which indeed it is very very hard for anyone who does not shut himself from the life of men and their words to keep wholly clear of . . . O my dear Blanche, I hope without taking one step downward you will be able to reach out your hand to me . . . Cannot you do so, cannot you take me up. . . .

Easter Monday he continued:

Your letter gave me the feeling that if you knew (as you say) all my ideas you would have nothing to say to me . . . that you should be revolted . . . you don't know how horrible such thoughts are to me . . . if a few words sufficed . . . to take away every feeling of tenderness . . . Do you think there is no change in me since I used to write letters to Tom Arnold or whoever else it might be . . . Did you ever express any dislike that I did not submit to, at least, and respect and learn to understand?

Clough's panic in response to Blanche's censure is understandable, but now seems both ludicrous and pathetic. Blanche, the product of an era in which Mrs. Grundy and Podsnap were unassailable, was indeed formidable. It also was Clough's misfortune that in his emotional need he was overmatched by someone as implacable as Blanche. Shortly after Clough's outburst of self-abnegation, Blanche continued excoriating him about what she had seen in his boxes of letters and manuscripts, but simultaneously retained her

stance of childlike dependence on him:

I felt very hard and angry at first--with the ideas it put into my head . . . I could not suppose you did not know about wrong, but to be thinking, speaking . . . of things in any way but the highest it incensed me as if you really thought so. Is it necessary for men to coarsen their imaginations? It is curious how very seldom you read any poems, any book of any kind that does not in any degree offend . . . I hope you are not angry with me.

. . .

Whipsawed between the loving, clinging Blanche and the stern, admonishing Blanche--the split angelic/demonic personality types which Victorians, according to Auerbach, contradictorily expected in their women--Clough submitted. Since he could not, like Browning's character, compartmentalize his life between his lover at night and "a world of men" by day, he gave up the poetry that offended his fiancée.

Paramount in Clough's presumably unconscious renunciation of poetry was Blanche's insistence in late spring of 1853 that he determine on a country and a profession. Although Clough constantly veered between England and America, he seemed to favor a literary and tutoring career in America. What precipitated the need for a choice was two jobs offered to Clough in England. One, which came through Lady Ashburton, was an examinership in the Privy Council's Education Office. However, the job, screening candidates for schoolmasters, paid only 300 pounds a year, with an increase to 600 pounds after

12 years. (Three hundred pounds was the minimum on which a middle-class family could live in accepted style with two or three servants.) At the same time a Balliol friend, Frederick Temple, then principal of a boy' school, Kneller Hall, offered Clough the school's vice principalship, paying 400 pounds with board and lodging, with an increase to 500 pounds in three years (Correspondence 2: 429). Between the two jobs in England, Clough preferred the one at Kneller Hall because it involved teaching. Samuel Smith objected to the examinership since it paid so little, insisting Clough have a yearly income of at least 600 pounds a year in England before Blanche could marry him (Correspondence 2: 436). To further complicate matters, Mr. Smith offered Blanche the interest on 4,000 pounds, and Blanche favored America because the interest would go farther there. Instead of making up his own mind, Clough in a letter of 27 May to Blanche's father left the decision to him and Temple.

Dennis Enright believes that Clough's inability in 1853 to decide on which continent to live came from his reluctance to marry Blanche. Clough's decision was:

complicated by the knowledge that by this time he had no choice but to marry Blanche Smith, even if he had no overwhelming desire to and little faith in his suitability as a husband. (5)

Blanche protested against the Council Office position. Unless an inspectorship became available "[W]e should have 12 years to wait" (Correspondence 2: 443). She attributed her lover's indecision to:

a sort of laziness . . . that shrinks from taking the initiative . . . But, if you choose the England . . . do resolve to work on and up . . . You must work through perhaps disagreeable work to success and . . . not be stopping to think it is not your vocation and that you would not have chosen it. . . . (Correspondence 2: 443)

Clough objected to Blanche's "sermon" and to being "spurred and lashed in that wicked way" (Correspondence 2: 446). Typically, however, he retracted his criticism of her a few days later, and, in the end, agreed to Blanche's choice of employment for him, which she described in an even more hectoring letter in June:

I have accepted the Examinership [provisionally] . . . the chances of your rising are very good . . . so you must come over immediately . . . make a stretch to finish Plutarch . . . please, keep up the N. American and try and keep your [American] friends alive--there's a dear boy. . . . Mr. Temple tells me there is no reason why you should not do other work, with the Examinership and I trust you will. . . . Do let me urge you not to be contented with only the work of the office; do go on writing; I should be really be grieved if you did not.

(Correspondence 2: 452n)

It is clear that Blanche wished to be the wife of a successful poet, but by issuing direct orders to the poet she effectively baffled her desire. The extent of her ambition can be seen in that sixteen days after Clough's death she began setting in motion the editions of his works that ensured that she was the

widow of a successful poet.

Clough obeyed most of Blanche's orders: he precipitately returned to England, kept working on Plutarch, and maintained his American friendships. But since childhood Clough had resisted being driven by others. His sister wrote that as a young boy he was "very determined and obstinate. . . . [H]e would always do things from his own choice. . . . (PPR 1: 4). Clough had objected in the past to Blanche's sermonizing and attempts to dictate to him, but since he had always acquiesced eventually, she probably felt safe in exposing her ambition for his poetic fame. However, at some point she went too far. Clough stopped writing both prose and poetry: not despite, but because of her urging him to keep writing. Spite, probably unconscious, against a dominating fiancée and wife, who insisted that he produce poetry but objected to the religious skepticism and sexual frankness that inspired his best poems, arguably kept one of the more important Victorian poets silent for over one-third of his maturity.

Except for a handful of poems, three of which were published in the American periodical Putnam's Magazine in the summer of 1853, Clough abandoned writing poetry from Easter 1853 until a few months before his death in 1861. One of these poems was "Epithalamium," written in the late summer of 1853 for the marriage of a friend's sister, presumably Jane Walrond, Theodore's sister. The poem begins conventionally, praising the bride's beauty and offering a toast to her bliss. Shortly, though, it becomes a most anomalous celebration of a marriage. If the bride knew the speaker's thoughts, "not with

empty glee / Would thou this flowery door / Approach. . .
 (356; 49-51). She leaves the haven of home, which permits
 "failures still to end in hope" and which itself is "A
 treasure-house of hopes and choices largely piled" (357; 58,
 62). That is, for the young and unmarried, home is indulgent
 of mistakes, unlike the situation of the married who are
 brought up to the mark by their mates. Before marriage
 choices are still to be made, not already and permanently
 foreclosed. The post-nuptial imagery is menacing:

Sees thou how great walls bound,
 And stone-work closes round,
 Huge boles of pillars cast
 Broad shadows, dark and vast;
 A massy vault o'er shades
 Dim, cold and blank arcades. (357; 67-72)

The overall image is of a prison-like Gothic cathedral. But it
 becomes even more ominous. The speaker urges the bride, for
 the sake of her bridegroom and "Maternal vague forebodings" to
 "enter at this low door, / And go to come no more" (357; 86,
 90). The "low door" is the entrance of the tomb. No longer,
 as with Claude in Amours, does the tomb provide an escape from
 matrimony. It is matrimony.

CHAPTER 5 - 1854-1861

By the beginning of 1854 Clough's pattern for the next six years was set. Since his return from America in July of the previous year, he had been working at the Council Office six hours a day with eight weeks vacation a year. The job did not seem to be too demanding, bearing out the prediction of Matthew Arnold, who two days before Clough started, wrote him, "I am inclined to think you will toss off the work very easily" (Lowry, The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough, 138). A few weeks later Clough described his job to Charles Norton, "I go in the office [doing nothing laboriously, very laboriously and very nothing too]" (Levy 164).⁶ The job itself he found a relief from teaching where he had constantly to guard himself against mentioning his religious doubts to students. His duties seemingly were not too exigent as he was able to write many of his personal letters from the Council Office. Although his letters to his friends in England were generally impersonal, those to his American friends were often nostalgic and wistful, regretting his departure from their country (Correspondence 2: 460). To Norton he expressed himself as "rather unwilling to be re-Englished after once attaining that higher transatlantic development--However, il faut s'y soumettre. . . ." (Correspondence 2: 471-72). He submitted, but at a price.

⁶ My translation from Clough's Latin.

While Clough's letters retailed the local London literary gossip, Clough himself initially was remote from literary concerns. In a February 1854 letter to Charles Norton he confessed, "I fear I read nothing myself--except an occasional newspaper. . . ." (Correspondence 2: 473). He replied reluctantly to Norton's suggestion that he prepare an edition of his poems. While he valued the proposal for the future:

I don't think I can set to work to unravel my weaved-up follies at this present moment. There are very few indeed that I can at all feel pleasure in tasting again.

(Correspondence 2: 477)

His tangle of emotions about Blanche and her views about his poetry--she deplored much of what he had already written and insisted that more be produced of the type she liked--undoubtedly eroded Clough's joy in his poems. However, by May when Clough sent packets of his Plutarch revision to Norton, he enclosed some of the verses he had written in previous years, including the Amours.

Although by late spring Clough's pleasure in his poetry was at least partially restored, he was not yet reconciled to his forthcoming marriage, as a letter in early June to Emerson testifies:

It is now nearly a twelvemonth since I fled in that precipitate half-voluntary manner from Massachusetts--another fortnight will I think complete the year, and another two days from this will in all probability see me married-- (Correspondence 2: 485)

Two days before his marriage Clough was still hoping something

--as a rationalist he could not expect a miracle--would prevent his almost irrevocable union with Blanche.

While Clough expressed himself as happy that his Council position, unlike teaching, did not pose the threat of embroilments over religion, he seems to have endured rather than enjoyed it. Norton on a visit to England reported to James Russell Lowell, the editor of The Atlantic Monthly, that Clough did not like his work. Tom Arnold, returned from Australia, found Clough in 1857 much changed: "his cheek was paler than formerly, and his beautiful eyes less bright" (114).

Clough's distancing himself from his own poetry, if not actual distaste for it, seems to have intensified after his marriage. By 1857 when Lowell planned to print the Amours in the Atlantic, Clough wrote to Norton:

If you see or write to Lowell, tell him to postpone my hexameters sine die if he likes--I don't think they would be popular and have not any great affection or even esteem for them. (Correspondence 2: 535)

Clough feared that the Mrs. Grundys would object to the Amours, especially in England, and preferred that it be published anonymously. (It is difficult to imagine what in the Amours could have displeased a pre-Freudian prude.) Certainly Lowell found nothing in the poem that could stir the ire of a Mrs. Grundy: "[S]he is quite unable to feel your quiet Art [sic]: her torpid nerves need grosser excitements" (Correspondence 2: 537). It is very likely that the Mrs. Grundy whom Clough feared was a pseudonym for Blanche Clough.

When Lowell began serializing the Amours in February 1858, Clough wrote him unenthusiastically:

It has been suppressed to the orthodox maturity of the ninth year, but like poor wine it is, I fear, only the worse for not having been drunk and forgotten long ago.

(Correspondence 2: 538)

Clough continued to be ambivalent about publishing the Amours and at least pretended to be so about its ending. He provided Lowell with edited copy, but when its first installment was published he told Norton he would not read it, "and it is a great addition to the evil that it will go on for another and another month" (Correspondence 2: 543). In writing Norton about the ending, which Emerson had criticized, Clough seemed indecisive: "I always meant it to be so and began it with the full intention of its ending so--but very likely I was wrong all the same. . . (Correspondence 2:551).

After receiving payment from the Atlantic for the Amours, which he called "really a very handsome sum," he told Norton he was willing to have a volume of his verses published, including the Bothie, the Amours, some Ambarvalia poems, and a few later ones. However, his interest faded so that when, in February 1861, he learned its publication had been postponed, he wrote Norton that he was "rather glad than otherwise" (Correspondence 2: 552, 583). There had been, of course, no new poems since 1853, despite Emerson's complaint in April 1861: "Your muse is silent, and too long" (Correspondence 2: 585).

Blanche gave her own explanation of the silent years in

her memoir for The Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough. It is both disingenuous and confused. She began:

It has often been a subject of surprise, that with such evident powers and even facility of production, Clough should have left so little behind him, even considering the shortness of his life, and that for such long periods he should have been entirely silent. (PPR 1: 40)

Since there had been no previous mention of "long periods" of silence, Blanche seemed to be trying to distract attention from the only actual period of silence. Then she alleged that Clough wrote only during "short intervals" when he was free from "the pressure of constant hard practical work" (PPR 1: 41). But except in the summers, Clough's job as an examiner in the Privy Council Education Office was not demanding.

When Blanche, as the unacknowledged memoirist, described Clough's life after marriage, her explanations of his poetic silence became defensive:

. . . in June 1854 he married. For the next seven years he lived quietly at home. . . . No events of any moment marked this period; but it was one of real rest and contentment . . . he was able . . . to devote his great faculties freely to the service of others. Up to this date we may almost say that he had been too free from active and absorbing employment for his own happiness.

(PPR 1: 44)

Here Blanche implied that when Clough wrote before his marriage he was too unoccupied to be happy. To her it was only when he was occupied--and not writing--that he was happy.

While a bachelor Clough had time to speculate, but marriage ended vain, solitary philosophizing.

[T]he want of definite and continuous occupation left his mind free to deal with the great insoluble problems of the world. . . . After his marriage there was none of this enforced and painful communing with self alone. He had plenty to do; and the close relations . . . with his wife's family kept him actively employed. . . . (PPR 1: 44-45)

According to Blanche marriage for Clough had blunted the irritating aspects of his character and molded him into perfection. His humor, which had tended to "irony and sarcasm," now was "natural and healthy." His home life "made many perplexed questions, both social and religious, clear and simple to his mind" (PPR 1: 45). She delicately hinted that to her went the credit for Clough's transformation and that an epiphany was about to occur:

The close and constant contact with another mind gave him a fresh insight into his own, and developed a new understanding of the wants of other people . . . it is quite certain, from little things which he was in the habit of saying, that, had he been permitted, he would have expressed his mature convictions in works of a more positive and substantial kind. (PPR 1: 45)

While it is simplistic to portray Blanche as a succubus, draining Clough of his poetic power, the record of their correspondence and Blanche's memoir indicate a dialectic between them that resulted in his poetic stasis.

There was another source of stress for Clough, one that was also a bone of contention between him and Blanche: Florence Nightingale. In October 1854 Clough accompanied Florence and her nurses bound for Turkey as far as Calais. In June 1857 Clough had refused Lowell's request that he be the Atlantic's London correspondent, presumably because by then he was helping Florence revise and prepare for the printers her thousand pages of Notes on Matters Affecting the Health, Efficiency and Hospital Administration of the British Army. Clough's willingness to submit himself to Florence Nightingale's inordinate demands for work (Blanche blamed his death on this) stands in stark contrast to Miss Nightingale's own indomitable character. When her family tried to force her to adhere to conventional female behavior, she refused, writing that she "never understood" the word "'Resignation'" (Woodham-Smith 56).

When Blanche was momentarily expecting a child in February 1858, Clough left London to escort Florence back from a spa she had visited for her health. As Clough's editorial work and service as factotum for her cousin became more engrossing, Blanche and her children stayed for a year in 1858-59 with her father at Combe Hurst where Clough joined them on weekends. Blanche's mother since September 1857 had been living with Florence at the Burlington Hotel in London. Woodham-Smith reports that Clough became Florence's "slave." Each day he went to the Burlington, "wrote notes, delivered reports, fetched letters, tied up parcels, and was content [Florence] wrote, 'to do the work of a cab horse'" 211).

Florence's notorious ill health gave her a lifelong lever to force others to bend to her will. In December 1860 she wrote of Clough:

I have always felt that I have been a great drag on Arthur's health and spirits, a much greater one than I should have chosen to be, if I had not promised him to die sooner. (Cook 2: 11)

Florence broke her promise to Clough. He died eleven months later at 42. She lived another 50 years, dying in 1910 at 90. Immediately after his death, she seemed to regret her exploitation of Clough. "To me, seeing the blundering harasses which were the uses to which we put him, he seemed like a race-horse harnessed to a coal truck" (Cook 2: 12). But by a year after Clough's death, her concern resumed its natural locus. She wrote a friend that Clough, whom she called both a "man of God" and "a poet born if there ever was one," was one of three men "whose whole lives were remodelled by sympathy for me" (Vicinus and Nergaard 230, 236).

The discarded last two stanzas of an Ambarvalia poem which Clough sent to Burbidge in 1840 perhaps explain Clough's service to Miss Nightingale. The first of these stanzas speaks of one whose "plain day-duties seem to sin / Against what once was lord within" (580). Interpreted proleptically, his diurnal labor at the Council Office betrayed his poetic muse. The second stanza urges the sinner to find:

Some poor mechanic task, nor grudge
Some short sad while to play the drudge:
In carefulness and toil endure,

And at the last will come, be sure,
 The bliss whose loss thou mournedst then
 'Like to a little child's again.' (580)

Whether Clough obtained bliss by drudging for Miss Nightingale is problematical. What did result was shattered health. When his third child, a boy, was born in December 1859, Clough had scarlatina.⁴⁷ The following year, suffering from overwork, rheumatism, and neuralgia, he took a six-month rest leave from the Council Office. Matthew Arnold, after Clough's death, wrote a friend: "I had long had a foreboding something was deeply wrong with him" (Lowry, The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough 163). Travelling in Scotland with Blanche in the fall of 1860, Clough met Herbert Spencer, who commented that his "weary expression" indicated physical pain or "mental depression" (Levy 182). It was probably both.

In March 1861 Clough and his family stayed near the Tennysons on the Isle of Wight, where he tentatively began writing poetry again, "From thy far sources," a hexameter lyric describing the passage of a sunny river flowing into and being swallowed up by dark "great waters" (360). Perhaps the "great waters" of Clough's first poetic effort after eight years of silence reminded him of the words mari magno, "on the great sea," from Lucretius' De Rerum Natura, which he adopted as the title of his last work, the long poem Mari Magno.

⁴⁷ The Cloughs' first child, also a boy, died a few hours after his birth in April 1855. The second child was a girl, named Florence.

In June Clough returned to work briefly after travelling alone to Greece and Turkey for his health. During his travels he wrote the first and possibly the second Mari Magno tales. In the notebook which Clough used for revision of the Mari Magno tales are two versions of "Actaeon," a meaningful choice of Greek myth: concerning the vengeful goddess whose "immortal terrific anger / Flew to the guilty doer." Trembling before her, Actaeon "awestruck let his eyes see / The maidenly bosom, but not--dim fear fell upon them-- / Not more had witnessed" (361; 25-27). Besides preventing Actaeon's eyes from dropping below Artemis's bosom, Clough's only other addition to the myth is having the goddess, after transforming the hunter into a stag which flees before his own dogs, "carelessly" lave herself in the stream where Actaeon spied her. Here is woman as demon and man as Clough-like Milquetoast when faced with the implacable Blanche.

Back at work for a few weeks after returning from the East, Clough, according to Blanche after his death, "overdid himself instantly, not by what he did but by the old anxieties coming back" (Correspondence 2: 613). Among these anxieties was his work as secretary for the Nightingale Fund.⁴⁸ Another anxiety was Clough's now admitted dislike of his Council Office position. Matthew Arnold's last letter to Clough, on 5 July 1861, considered two alternatives Clough had presented to him for advice. One was a post which was not yet

⁴⁸ Established with 44,000 pounds raised between 1855-57 as thanks for her Crimean exertions, the Fund trained nurses and midwives. Clough was paid 100 pounds yearly as secretary. (Smith, Florence Nightingale: Reputation and Power 157).

available; the other Arnold dismissed out of hand as "a life of literary work and chance" (Lowry, The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough 155). At the same time Florence Nightingale's brother-in-law proposed to use his influence with the prime minister to obtain a position for Clough. But by then Clough was on the Continent again for his health, never to return to England.

Clough first went to the Auvergne and the Pyrenees, where he wrote the rest of the Mari Magno tales, except the last, and most daring, which he wrote on his deathbed in Florence. Modelled on The Canterbury Tales, Clough's last poem has a frame in which travellers on a ship bound to Boston from England exchange stories about love and marriage. Its flat style, especially the pedestrian diction, probably imitates that of George Crabbe. In a letter of November 1856 to Francis Child, Clough mentioned having recently read almost all of Crabbe's poetry. Isobel Armstrong thinks that Clough chose an unadorned style so that "no image or linguistic detail should get between the reader and the reality of the human situation he describes" (Arthur Hugh Clough 39). Perhaps so. The mockery and ebullience present in his three other long poems are absent. Possibly exhaustion caused by his illness and a presentiment that time was running out led him to a bare-bones approach.

Much of Mari Magno seems to be an attempt by Clough to imagine himself on the road not taken, to fancy what would have happened at crucial points in his life if he had chosen alternate paths from those he had followed. Indeed, he had

used this path metaphor in some canceled lines of "God be with you" when the speaker reluctantly decides to rejoin his collegiate comrades and leave his Highland lassie. With "misgivings" he sadly follows them, "borne on Custom's crowded road," wondering if "This green and shady lane, where I've tarried--would it lead / Dared I follow, to an end I should welcome sure indeed?" (589; 53-58).

The first "revision" of Clough's life in Mari Magno takes place in the preface. There the narrator, a youth--not the mature man Clough was when he took the Canada to Boston in 1852--delights in pressing ahead across the Atlantic, unlike Clough, who yearned for England and Blanche on his voyage. The youth represents the young, eager Clough. A group gathers, as it did on the Canada crossing, including the narrator's companion, a "rising lawyer," who was 33, Clough's actual age at the time. The lawyer, like the tutor in the Bothie, represents the grave, conscientious side of Clough.⁴⁹ Only, unlike Adam, the lawyer is severe and blunt. He "suffered from some pain / Of mind, that on the body worked again" (375; 71-72). Here the lawyer resembles the vignette Herbert Spencer gave of Clough shortly before he started Mari Magno. Also in the group is a New Englander and an English clergyman. In opposition to the clergyman, the lawyer insists that "Marriage is discipline":

A needful human discipline to wed;

⁴⁹ Turner suggests that the lawyer is Thackeray, one of Clough's fellow passengers to Boston in 1852, traveling to America for a lecture tour. Thackeray, Turner points out, was a lawyer.

Novels of course depict it final bliss,--

Say, had it ever really once been this? (476; 87-90)

It would seem from Mrs. Clough's willingness to print these lines that her desire to be linked with a famous poet blunted her understanding of the poet's verses.

The New Englander intervenes in the dispute, suggesting that both the lawyer and the clergyman tell stories of love and marriage. The lawyer tells the first tale, which is considered autobiographical by his auditors and certainly contains elements of Clough's own childhood and youth in Wales with his father's relatives. The tale, called "Primitiae, or Third Cousins," is told in the first person by a young man who, like Clough as a youth, writes poetry and is alternately shy and bumptious. While he is staying with a bachelor uncle who is a rector in Wales, he is invited by Emily, a cousin two years older than he, to stay with her, her five sisters, and her parents at her father's vicarage. This is an accurate reflection, according to Anne Jemima Clough, of Clough's childhood experiences in Wales while his family was still in America.⁵⁰ When the youth falls after rescuing Emily from a wave at the shore, she kisses him, but he is too timid at 12 to respond. At 17, ready to enter college, he visits his cousins again and is stunned to find Emily wise with knowledge not from books:

She had not studied, had not read

⁵⁰ After Clough's death, Anne Jemima wrote: "How lively a recollection he retained of this period of his life, and of the incidents of his holiday excursions, may be gathered from the picture he has painted in "Primitiae" (PPR 1: 10).

Seemed to have little in her head,

Yet of herself the right and true

.

Straight from her eyes her judgments flew,

Like absolute decrees they ran,

And all on such a different plan. (383-84; 46-52)

This view of women as knowing truth by intuition, not reason or learning, is neither meant to be pejorative nor is it unconscious male chauvinism. Emily is shown as wiser than the speaker.

The occasion of the youth's visit is a ball, in which he is loath to join since he is not adept at dancing, that Cloughean metaphor for the advancing and retreating of the mating ritual. At the ball, Emily, queen-like, "looked as if controlling all" (383; 81). Emily refuses to dance with a wealthy older schoolmate of the youth in order to dance with him, but he is too bashful and immature to respond to her. The narrator contrasts the youth's inchoate adolescent turmoil with Emily's confident handling of social situations.

The following year the youth visits his cousins again, this time, in trying to overcome shyness, erring on the side of self-important loquacity, as Clough feared he did, and thereby repelling Emily.⁵¹ Although she marries his former

⁵¹ Frequently in his Oxford diaries Clough censures himself for excessive loquacity. In a 1 June 1838 entry he writes: "I seem to have got into a conceited habit of talking [about great things very pompously and dogmatically] of late" (69). (The words in brackets are translated from their Greek original.) As in many instances, here Clough shifts to a foreign language when mentioning what he found disturbing.

schoolmate, she continues her interest in the youth, advising him to give up his college fellowship--because "Fellows grow indolent" and he will want to marry. He derides the notion that he will marry, accusing her of mocking him. Then, in a passage that rivals if not surpasses the Amours in subtlety, she pleads, successfully, with him to leave college.

One concludes that Clough is ambivalent about the youth's leaving academia, if the lawyer, as the voyagers think, is telling an autobiographical tale. In this case he resembles Dipsychus, who also rejected the academy and, submitting to the world, chose the law. Both are unhappy, although they probably would have been equally miserable if they had stayed in academia. The cause of their unhappiness in both cases is women. In his Faustian compact Dipsychus fell through embracing a woman called Pleasure, or sensuality, who turned to Guilt, destroying him and his worldly success. The lawyer is more complex. His profession has hardened him. Gentle by nature, he has schooled himself to be severe and asks too much of himself: "The world with him her lesson failed to teach / To take things easily and let them go" (376; 75-76). As a result, the lawyer has become bitter, though he is an admirable and demanding mentor to others. One wonders if this is how Clough in his last years saw himself.

The clergyman represents other aspects of Clough. He is "serious and calm," with wide experience of human nature, taciturn, not revealing why he is crossing to America, and sad--perhaps "a wife or child had lost?" (375; 51). He upholds Clough's early, idealistic approach to marriage: "Love

is fellow service," which apothegm also serves as the title of the clergyman's first story. The hero of this story, Edmund, has obliquely been aware since he was 20 and the heroine, Emma, was 17 that: "'Twas beautiful with her to be a man" (397; 32). Besides this narcissistic delight in the discovery of his own sexuality, like that of Philip in the Bothie, Edmund possesses many of the young Clough's traits: He is over-serious, bookish, ascetic, introspective, and "vehement in talk" (397; 36). Clough is critical of the asceticism, which: "from the obvious good still led astray, / And set [Edmund] travelling on the longest way" (397; 43-44). It would appear that at this juncture Clough recognized the claims of the flesh as rightful.

Both Edmund and Emma analyze, in what appear to be diary entries, Edmund's response to her. Although he is sure Emma returns his love--she bridled when he called her by her first name as though they were still childhood playmates--Edmund hesitates to declare himself, fearful that by doing so he would foreclose the possibility of achieving a higher love, a most Cloughean fear. He wonders if what stays him is divine injunction or a failure of will. He questions whether the emotion he feels is truly love since it does not entirely possess him: "Can love, if love, be occupant in part, Hold, as it were, some chambers in the heart" (399; 105-06). Claude-like, he retreats to intellection, quoting Montaigne as valuing "friendship over love," and scorning love as merely physical:

'Tis not in love that we should think to find

The lofty fellowship of mind with mind;
 Love's not a joy where soul and soul unite,
 Rather a wondrous animal delight. (399; 113-116)

Further, the "animal delight" is ephemeral. When "summer days are sped . . . and the blossoms dead: E'en so of man and woman is the bliss" (399; 121-23).

Edmund rebukes himself for citing Montaigne against the charms of Emma, but--"After a while she little has to say. . . . What would it be all day, day after day?" (400; 133-35) (Possibly this question was behind Clough's urging Blanche in their early courtship to read and study.) Edmund fears he does not love, but only desires to love.

Emma finds her lover diffident and self-abnegating: "Rejoices if you humble him" (501; 172). Although she recognizes he is easily led, her pride forbids her preventing his leaving her. After his father is ruined financially, Edmund drudges for three years to support his parents, much as Clough did, damaging his health. Sent by his friends to recuperate by the sea, Edmund encounters Emma after a five-year separation. Now she is intelligent, or perhaps, the speaker volunteers, now Edmund can see her intelligence. This suggests that the charge of stupidity brought against Emma by Edmund, and against Blanche by Clough, was a red herring, designed to divert attention from the real block to intimacy: the male's fear of women, sex, and marriage. At any rate, the sea, the separation, and the sense of time's fleetingness bring them together. Edmund justifies marrying Emma through his theory of fellow service: they will work together and

create--what? Neither Edmund, nor the clergyman narrator, nor Clough has an answer.

The New Englander, who in the preface is described as a purveyor of "racy tales of Yankeeland," tells a story entitled "Juxtaposition," a situation that Claude and Clough feared would lead to factitious love. The tale, of hoary provenance, long antedating Yankeeland, uses the old mistaken-bedroom plot in which a person of one sex inadvertently enters the bedroom, and sometimes the bed, of a stranger of the other sex. Tennyson, for instance, uses it in "Merlin and Vivien." Merlin defends the reputation of a knight accused by Vivien of having anticipated his wedding night. With the flame of his torch blown out as he sought his chamber in Arthur's castle, the knight unwittingly sleeps "stainless" next to his bride-to-be and in the morning "blushing" flees speechless from her (Tennyson 383). Dickens in Pickwick Papers treats the plot as farce. Pickwick realizes as he prepares to retire in an inn that he has left his watch in a public room. Retrieving it, he finds what he thinks is his room and has put on his nightcap when another person enters carrying a candle. Pickwick jumps into one of the two curtained beds, peers out, and discovers a middle-aged woman, also preparing for bed. The expected noisy confrontation occurs and Pickwick flees, hat clapped on over nightcap.

Clough's New Englander sets the story, which, he says, was told him by a "lady," in an American hotel (405; 35). A younger sister, planning to climb into bed by the side of her sleeping older sister, remembers she has left her watch

downstairs. Returning, she slips into bed, as she thinks, next to her sister, but when she awakens in the morning she finds a young man beside her in the bed, observing her. She flies, forgetting her watch. Later the young man searches her out in the hotel's garden, quickly gives the watch to her, and departs. Subsequently: "Love, from this accident . . . arose, Love and happy marriage were the close" (405; 33-34). The fact that neither the man nor the girl speaks during their initial meetings is important. By not resorting to, what Clough undoubtedly thinks, are the artificial conventions of shame and embarrassment, which are wholly unnecessary as nothing shameful occurred, the couple are not fenced off from each other by false propriety. They can, instead, take advantage of their accidental juxtaposition and let love flower.

Mrs. Clough refused to include "Juxtaposition" in the 1862 English edition of her husband's poems, presumably finding it too "racy." It would seem from its having been told by a "lady" to an American that Clough implies that Americans are less hidebound and permit greater latitude to women. (He had noticed that American middle-class women were more outgoing and less formal than Englishwomen of the same class.)

The voyagers differ in their interpretation of the tale. Its teller believes the couple were meant to marry and that fate took an odd way of bringing them together, an explanation that Clough, a mystic, may have partly believed. He also must have agreed partly with the lawyer, who sardonically compares

marriage to treason: "We do not seek, we find it on our way" (405; 38). Taking a sunnier view, the clergyman asserts that any marriage, no matter how brought about, can be irradiated by love, which would seem to be the case with the Cloughs' marriage, despite Clough's chafing at its restrictions and Blanche's irritation at his indecisiveness.

The narrator's tale, "A la banquette, or a Modern Pilgrimage," has been as unpopular with critics searching for love and marriage themes as Chaucer's "Tale of Sir Topas" was with the host of the Tabard. Actually there is next to nothing in the tale concerning love and marriage, but there is a slight, and anti-Catholic, allusion to sex. On a road in the Pyrenees the narrator observes a beautiful, dark-eyed peasant girl pulling a reluctant donkey. The girl is followed by a priest reading his missal as he walks. Seeing this the narrator admonishes the priest:

Read on, O priest, and do not look;

Consider--she is but a child,--

Yet might your fancy be beguiled. (413; 275-77)

It is difficult to determine why Clough included this gratuitous charge that priests might despoil young girls. He basically opposed formal religion, assailing dissenters as well as Catholics. Although Charles Norton was his best American friend, Clough wrote to Blanche in February 1853 that Norton "is too much in the religiose vein to be always quite wholesome company. . . (Correspondence 2: 378). On his return to England Clough told Blanche he planned to "pick up some misbelieving friends in London" (Correspondence 2: 460-61).

To William Allingham he wrote in January 1856, "I find myself recoil as yet from any Church or Chapel and even from the family prayers into which circumstances sometimes hurry one" (Correspondence 2: 515).

Antipathy to religion also sparks the next Mari Magno story. As the tale is recounted by a Scotch-Irishman, the ship's second mate, the aversion is undoubtedly to Catholicism. The mate tells of a pretty, young French governess packed off by a religious Irish family to return home to France. Deposited by the trading steamer that brought her across the Irish Channel onto the Liverpool docks and speaking almost no English, she finds:

The steamer gone for which she had been bound.

The pious people in their careless way

Had made some loose mistake about the day. (415; 31-33)

The captain of the channel steamer suggests that the girl take lodgings for a month until another ship is bound to Bordeaux, but she has no money. The solution to the dilemma, the captain decides, is to marry the girl. Since he is "young and decent," she accepts him. One of the trans-Atlantic voyagers, an artillery captain, comments that the girl "was luckier than she knew" in that her husband did not have a wife or two already (416; 66). Perhaps by working against the stereotype of the unprincipled sailor, Clough is showing that honorable sexual behavior by the strong toward the weak can occur under even unlikely conditions.

Of major interest, however, for its mirroring of Clough's life is the next Mari Magno story, "The Clergyman's Second

Tale." Most critics have found it conventional and even unpleasant. On the surface it is a morality tale very different from anything else Clough wrote. Edward and Jane have been happily married for nine years, since they were 21. Then, like Edmund, the hero of the clergyman's first tale, Edward, whose name is a variant of Edmund, also becomes ill and is ordered by his doctor to go south for his health. In Edward's case he travels abroad for three months. "There he was bid, laborious task, to rest" (417; 34). Jane takes her children to stay with her ailing mother in Surrey.

All of the action so far is autobiographical. After his disastrous return to work in June, Clough, protesting what he saw as exile, set off for southern France, writing to Blanche as he travelled about exploring other ways to make a living-- professorships, civil service posts. In his travels, some of which seem to have been described exactly in the narrator's Mari Magno tale, he stayed at a French watering place, Mont Dore les Bains, where, as he mentions in a letter to Blanche, there were some five to six hundred health seekers boarding at hotels. There he received a letter from Blanche proposing that he take leave from his job until February or March of 1862. He replied indignantly that he wanted to return in September and resume work in November. "I don't at all want to spend a winter abroad, away from the children. . . . (Correspondence 2: 592).

Blanche responded with a long letter insisting he not return to London in September and preferably stay out of England since during the last week of his June visit "the time

and the associations and return to old thoughts were very bad for you" (Correspondence 2: 593). By "associations" Blanche meant Florence and Clough's work at the Nightingale Fund.⁵² Acquiescing, Clough applied for the additional leave and on 30 July sullenly reproached Blanche from Bagnères de Luchon for thinking:

. . . that it can be so very pleasant or easily endurable to stay poking about abroad for more than two or three months at a time, all by oneself or something no better-- or perhaps worse. (Correspondence 2: 595)

The threat of extra-marital solace most probably was not carried out, but Clough's cruelty and selfishness in making it are indefensible. True, he was lonely and sick, but Blanche had the responsibility for decisions about his health and his job, since he, as usual, was irresolute. Whether the threat of infidelity was created just to punish Blanche or whether its provenance was an actual temptation, Clough used it for the plot of "The Clergyman's Second Tale," which, according to Mrs. Clough, was written in one night in the Pyrenees where he was travelling with the Tennysons.⁵³ By that time Clough knew

⁵² A week after Blanche wrote this Sidney Herbert died, another victim of Florence Nightingale's unremitting drive. Two days later Blanche wrote Clough that one of Florence's coterie had exonerated her of any responsibility for Herbert's death: "Sutherland declared that Flo's work in this last 6 months had not in any way increased the illness, for she only did herself what she gave him to do" (Correspondence 2: 596). Sutherland was disingenuous as Florence had an inhuman capacity for work.

⁵³ It was during their travels in the French Pyrenees in the summer of 1861 that Tennyson wrote "In the Valley of Cauteretz," recalling his first visit there with Hallam 31 years earlier.

that Blanche had given birth on 5 August to their fourth child, whom he named Blanche Athena and whom he never saw.

The plot of "The Clergyman's Second Tale" undoubtedly stems from a fantasy of revenge against Blanche for keeping him from his family. Edward dispiritedly roams the spa in which he is exiled for his health. In three weeks his health improves. In his letters he pleads futilely with his wife for permission to return. As he feels stronger, "less he cared to live alone," and he becomes less taciturn (418; 64). His "youthful colour" returns. (Clough was known for his silence and the high color of his complexion as a young man.) His appearance attracts attention, especially that of a dark-haired, dark-eyed beauty who sits opposite him at the table d'hote.

Envisioning Edward's danger, Clough, typically, overstates the importance of a sexual sin. Edward risks "all established happiness" and is "bent on revolution in his life" (418; 76-77). The woman exists only for "Temptation to another soul to give" (418; 81). Clough's long fascination with illicit sex is about to be consummated, if only on the pages of his blue-paper notebook. The woman is no brazen odalisque. Presumably Clough could not see himself succumbing to an experienced seductress. No more than 23, she has a glance which is gentle and shy initially, but she is as tenacious as Florence Nightingale. She possesses all the charms "With which some dreadful power adorns the bad" (419; 99). Vacillating, Edward both responds to the woman's exotic allure and "in ashes and in dust / Abhorred his thought" (419;

114-15). She, a Lilith and a belle dame sans merci, "relentless still pursued / Unmarked, and tracked him in his solitude" (419; 120). Up a stairway she lures him to the door of her chamber:

A sudden madness mounted in his blood
 And took him in a moment to the place;
 He stooped, and seeking swift the half-hidden face
 There, with the exultation of a boy,
 Read in her liquid eyes the passion of her joy;
 And went in with her at the fatal door
 Whence he reissued innocent no more. (420; 129-135)

For two days Edward is fettered in the hell of lust. The third day he is resurrected by a letter from his wife and his eight-year-old daughter's large-scrawled "love and kisses" (420; 142). He was a hundred miles away by evening. Then the true crux of the poem is presented. The clergyman poses the alternative choices that faced an erring Victorian husband. He could brazen out the situation, resume "sweet domestic bliss," dandle his children, and fully participate in his religious consolations. Furthermore, the villain would "not care if people know." But Edward, "God be thanked . . . was not one of those" (420; 153, 159).

Edward, though the clergyman does not seem to realize it, is a much deeper-dyed villain. Consumed with guilt and anger, he punishes everyone available: himself, his wife, his children, and, of course, the seductress. His own punishment is condign and swift. Before he even quits France his hair is "turning grey," and he has written Jane, abjuring her, his

home, and his children (420; 163). She and their children must stay with her mother. Bitter and anguished, he throws himself into his work, lives in a garret, and once a quarter brings his pay, under cover of dusk in a by-road, to Jane, whose loving embraces he rejects. He wishes he were dead, and, the clergyman hints, may still be prey to evil sexual impulses.

Edward's concentration on his job may reflect Clough's own absorption in his Council Office work and his chores for Florence Nightingale, in which he buried himself since he could not lead the "life of literary work and chance" which Matthew Arnold derided and would not produce the poetry-by-the-numbers which Blanche wanted. The infidelity, the confessing of it as soon as possible as a way of bludgeoning Jane, the breaking up of his home, and rejecting his children: all are permutations of Clough's fantasy revenge against Blanche for injuries (only some of which she actually had committed) far more long-standing than exiling him from his family for his health. Clough undoubtedly blamed his wife, however unjustly and subconsciously, for his eight-year separation from the poetry that he loved and for forcing him into the job that he hated. However, there is no question that Clough and Blanche were truly fond of each other. Her letters call him "Dearest Arthur" and "Dearest love." His address her as "My dear love" or "My dearest love," and he begs her to "take particular care of yourself . . . on my account" (Correspondence 2: 598).

Edward holds himself aloof from his family for a year. The description of the misery of one "Who friendless in a London lodging lives" is drawn from Clough's unhappy years at

University Hall. The solitary:

Dines in a dingy chop-house, and returns
 To a lone room, while all within him yearns
 For sympathy, and his whole nature burns
 With a fierce thirst for some one,--is there none?--
 To expend his human tenderness upon. (422; 221-26)

Such a man, the clergyman realizes sympathetically, may fall prey to streetwalkers, "Sisters in pain" (422; 230).

By the time Clough wrote Mari Magno, his third long poem in which prostitution is a main theme, he had lived in London for eleven years, beginning in 1849, and surely was aware of London's streetwalkers. The Times in 1858 called London the European capital with the most blatant prostitutes (Trudgill 107). The streetwalkers, whose occupation then was not illegal, were identifiable because they were without shawls or bonnets on their heads. Thus "good women," to protect themselves from solicitation, were careful to cover their heads. Up to about 1850 London's prostitutes haunted the theaters, plying their trade in stairways, galleries, and boxes. After 1850 they took to the streets. The area from St. Paul's along Fleet street and the Strand to Regent's Park was thick with them at night and sometimes during the day as well (Trudgill 109).

A year after his fall while walking at dusk along a crowded street, Edward is accosted by "a poor flaunting creature of the town / In crumpled bonnet and in faded gown"--his seducer. (Her wearing a bonnet may show she has so recently arrived from the south that she is unaware of the

London harlots' dress code.) "She gaily laughed, she cried, and sought his hand" (422; 235-56, 243). She had come to England:

Not to forsake a friend of all but her bereft;

Exiled, she cried, for liberty, for love,

.

So beauteous once, and now this misery in,

Pity had all but softened him to sin. (423; 247-250)

But not quite. He still refuses her his hand, a truly resonant image for rejecting a woman, while she "Called to his mind the dreadful past delight, / And wildly laughed and miserably cried" (423; 252-53). He thinks their "past delight" was "dreadful," despite her sacrificing everything for love of him. As she vainly beseeches him, "A stranger came and swept her from his side" (423; 255). The girl's so easily letting herself be detached from him reinforces Edward's horror of her. His mood is matched by the street lamp's hellish "baleful glare." And despite the winter season, "A brazen heat was heavy in the air" (423; 260-61).

A deus ex machina resolves the plot. On returning to his garret Edward finds a telegram: his daughter is sick in the country. He hastens to her side. The next day Jane speaks to Edward, blames herself for having insisted he stay away from home and again forgives his unfaithfulness. However, his leaving her as a single parent she thinks may be the cause of the child's illness since she is too distracted by his problems properly to attend their children. He is, she concludes, scanting his "duty both to God and man" (424; 310).

Convinced, Edward rejoins his family. Jane/Blanche having sufficiently suffered and properly repented of her crimes against Edward/Clough, the story ends.

In discussing the clergyman's second tale the artillery captain comments: "[L]ife could not be meant / To be so altogether innocent. / What did the atonement [sic] show?" Presumably the artillery captain holds the hedonists' view that the Atonement obviates Christians' sin. By presenting the captain's coarse-grained piety, Clough, a moralist and skeptic, implies that the Atonement invites sin as well. To the non-believing Protestant there is no absolution; each sin is eternal.

"The Clergyman's Second Tale" was praised as a moral exemplum by Victorian critics while modern critics criticize it as a distasteful example of Victorian moralizing. But it is neither. It is a cri de coeur of a man who was sorely buffeted, physically and emotionally. It is a vicarious punishment of Blanche, who, as he saw it, was inflicting grievous suffering on him by interdicting his home and his children.

The most moving of the Mari Magno tales is the closing one, "The Lawyer's Second Tale," entitled "Christian." Clough's last poem, "Christian" seems to have engrossed almost all of his attention in the final weeks of his life. In October and November of 1861 he literally worked on it feverishly as he was dying. He had left the south of France in September to join Blanche in Paris while their children stayed in England. In her memoir Blanche wrote that Clough:

had very much wished to come home and see them . . . but in the present state of his nerves it was considered desirable to avoid any unnecessary emotion . . . He felt the privation very keenly, though he shrank from any words, and could hardly endure to hear about the children. . . . (PPR 1: 51)

For a man suffering a nervous breakdown, which it would seem was at least part of Clough's malady, separation from the children he dearly loved would seem the worse possible therapy. One also wonders about the strain of travelling by coach across Alpine passes blocked by heavy snow.

Clough's health deteriorated as they reached Italy, and two days after arriving in Florence he went to bed with "a sort of malaria," according to his wife, and at some point had a stroke (PPR 1: 53). During three weeks of fever he mulled over the last Mari Magno poem, and when he was able to sit up he worked on it. He wrote a complete draft in a notebook in pencil, which was easier for him to handle than a pen.⁵⁴ He started revising it, and when he no longer could hold a pencil, he dictated some of the lines to Blanche. In her memoir she wrote, "A few days before his death he . . . contrived to write down two verses, and quite to the end his thoughts kept hold of his poem" (PPR 1: 53). Clough himself wrote the revisions of lines 1 to 282; Blanche wrote the revisions of lines 283 to 425 at his dictation, at which point

⁵⁴ Mulhauser comments on the notebook draft: "It is all written in pencil, very feebly towards the end, and in places very hard to read" (798).

the revision stops (798).⁵⁵

In an examination of Victorian attitudes towards sex outside of marriage Nina Auerbach finds no English novel in which a fallen woman goes unpunished (Woman and the Demon 165). If she had extended her search to Victorian poetry, Auerbach would have discovered in the last Mari Magno tale a "fallen woman" who transcends the fate meted out to her less fortunate sisters. Blanche found the tale distasteful and omitted it from the 1862 edition of Clough's poems as she did "Juxtaposition," the other Mari Magno tale which defies Victorian sexual mores.

The unpunished fallen woman is Christian, the tale's eponymous heroine and protagonist, the character who arouses the reader's concern. As Clough handles the name of both main character and title, "Christian" reverberates with multiple resonances.

Christian is the final version of the Highland lassie whom Clough in his poetry often reluctantly abandons just as he may have done an actual girl. But in this poem Clough takes the other road and goes down the shady green Scots lane where the lassie lives.

⁵⁵ Sixteen days after Clough's death on 13 November 1861 Blanche wrote a long letter to Charles Norton from Florence. The first part describes the circumstances of Clough's death, very affectingly and with obvious strong love for her husband. The second part briskly begins arrangements for posthumous publication of Clough's poems and letters and asks Norton if he can change the name under which money was registered that Clough had sent to him for investment. "Could it be altered to my name without any legal arrangements?" (Correspondence 2: 609). One can imagine what Clough would have thought of this request.

The primary male character, who might well be called the antagonist, again is named Philip as in the Bothie. Only here he is closer to the actual Clough: a somewhat "pensive" 25-year-old college fellow and tutor, for whom "An aspiration and a thought have failed" (426; 15). Until almost the end of the tale the college fellow's name is unknown, and he is referred to only by the third person singular pronoun, possibly so Clough could more closely identify with him.

After ending his tutoring chores, presumably during a long vacation, Philip comes to a Highland inn where he is the only guest and is served by Christian, 19 and illiterate. Hazel-eyed and broad-browed, she moves with "easy quiet motions" (426; 7). While being her partner in a "merry dance," Clough's favorite metaphor for courtship, Philip finds that "he could feel again" (426; 19, 25). Possibly Philip has cut himself off from emotion to cauterize the pain of his university failure. He hesitates, fearing to inflict on Christian the "horror of seduction," but they become surreptitious lovers (427; 34).

Her term of service at the inn expired, Christian, an orphan, plans to go to Glasgow to live with an aunt and uncle, and Philip offers to accompany her. He arranges to meet her at the ferry to Oban. (Probably they took a ferry from Fort William down Loch Linnhe to Oban.) But he does not accompany her to the ferry. She is, after all, of a lower social class. He takes a second-class ticket so they appear to be "fellow servants travelling south" (428; 101). (Fellow servant is another resonant Cloughean term.) But on the longer passage

from Oban to Glasgow he buys a first-class ticket while she takes a second-class one, possibly because he fears unwelcome comment if they travel together and their class differences are detected. As Philip is the only first class passenger he is emboldened to ask the captain's permission to let Christian stay in the ladies' cabin since the weather is threatening. There:

the tedium to beguile

He ventured some experiments to make,

The measure of her intellect to take. (429; 137-39)

Finding a book on astronomy in the ladies' cabin, Philip expatiates on "Winter, Summer, and of Night and Day" (429; 143). Idly toying with Christian as an "experiment," he is reifying her. He is pleased to see her mind able to "slowly" follow his:

How beautiful it was to see the stir

Of natural wonder waking thus in her;

But loth was he to set on books to pore

An intellect so charming in the ore. (429; 146-49)

He is not so pleased with her mind that he wants her to sully it by literacy. As a male chauvinist and class-ridden snob, Philip prefers to maintain his en haute supremacy and keep the little woman metaphorically barefoot and, as he shortly knew she actually was, pregnant. In 1861, the same year "Christian" was written, John Stuart Mill in The Subjection of Women recognized the psychic mechanism operating here: for a man sex with a woman who is his inferior is erotically stimulating

(99).⁵⁶ Presumably his sense of his own superiority is enhanced by having a partner who possesses less of whatever he esteems: intelligence, class status, education. The more tenuous a man's own grasp of these desiderata the more he will seek a woman who most obviously lacks them, so at least vis-a-vis her he can maintain a sense of self-worth. It probably was Philip's failure of "[a]n aspiration and a thought" which initially attracted him to Christian. By succeeding with her and unconsciously contrasting his high status with her low one he could rebuild his damaged amour propre.

The scene on the ferry from Oban to Glasgow provides the only, and understated, revelation of Philip's class and gender chauvinism, but it precipitates the story's action and causes the "human suffering and tears" the lawyer promises his auditors as he starts his tale (426; 368). However, the lawyer sees only the dark half of life. In this story Christian love triumphs.

In Glasgow, in order not to part from her lover, Christian explains her relationship with Philip to her aunt and uncle who "took the thing as what will be in life, / Half in a kind, half in a worldly way" (430; 184-85). That is, they charge Philip 30 shillings a week for their second floor. As always with Clough, "worldly" is pejorative; here the opposite of "kind." Philip decides to marry Christian and support her by taking pupils, but first he has to spend three weeks at a college audit. "Half to excuse his present lawless

⁵⁶ Although The Subjection of Women was published in 1869, it was written in 1861.

way," Philip tells the uncle that by marrying he will forfeit a yearly income of 300 pounds (431; 203). Clough, the Oxonian, must have felt it was unnecessary to explain that a college fellow had to relinquish his fellowship when he married. In very Cloughean fashion, Philip seems to fear commitment: he does not tell Christian of his plan to marry her. While he is away her canny uncle writes to him that all three of them are going to Australia and asks him to send "a trifle" since "'Tis an expensive pilgrimage" (432; 230-31). Finally spurred to action, Philip sends a 10-pound money order and a letter to the uncle promising to come in three days and marry Christian. But though the money order is cashed, when he arrives in Glasgow he finds Christian gone with her relatives to Australia.

At this point the clergyman breaks into his fellow passenger's tale to protest: "[I]f the women don't sustain / The moral standard, all we do is vain" (432; 243-44). The clergyman's limitations are shown by having him uphold the double standard.

Philip travels to Australia, fails to find Christian, whose last name he does not know, but discovers an indication that she bore his son. In an era in which non-related middle-class adults referred to members of the opposite sex by their last names unless they were affianced or married (and sometimes even then), Philip's not knowing his lover's last name is a shocking indication of his class bias. To Philip, Christian not only did not merit being called by her last name as he would address a woman of his own class, but since

she was a servant it was unnecessary for him even to know her last name. Thus, ironically, it was Philip's class bias that literally separated from the girl he loved and the son she bore him.

Careless of success because of his loss, Philip gains it in the worldly sense. He leaves college, writes for the journals, serves the government, declines a title, but marries a titled widow, Lady Mary, who proves to be barren, like the aristocracy itself to a liberal like Clough. It becomes "His secret torture and his secret joy / To think about his lost Australian boy" (433; 295-96).

Unlike Lady Dedlock and countless other Victorian sexually errant fictional women, Christian is not only not punished, but to a certain extent is rewarded by her creator. She marries an Australian millionaire, bears him six daughters, and on a visit to England is spied by Philip at a "great party" (434; 315). Philip, anxious to "escape a scene," flees after asking his wife to speak with Christian (434; 318). Lady Mary, who knows and accepts her husband's early love, explains his side of their story the next day to Christian. Exclaiming to Lady Mary that she has brought his son, named after him and now "six foot high," to England with her, Christian promises immediately to send the youth to meet his father, accompanied by a letter. (She was taught to write by a lady on shipboard en route to Australia.) Since a true Christian is honest and direct, she has no false modesty or hesitation in telling the boy of his parentage:

When I was young, I loved your father so.

Together now we had been living, too,
 Only the ship went sooner than he knew.
 In loving him you will be loving me:

Father and Mother are as one, you see. (435; 368-72)

In her letter Christian calls Philip "love," pleading "this little let me call you so" (436; 386). She pours out both her still fervent love for him and her long repressed grief, "Such grief, at times it almost turned to hate" (436; 392). But it did not. Indeed, she asks him to "Dismiss, if haply any yet remain, / Hard thoughts of me that in your heart have lain" (436; 396-97). She fears he would have been angered at her for leaving him. It would have been far more justifiable for her to have been bitter at his abandoning her, knowing she was pregnant with his child and without a word of assurance that he would care for them. Modest and unassuming, she is convinced Philip planned to return to Glasgow, not for her sake, but for the sake of their child, even though her aunt tries to persuade her that Philip will not renounce 300 pounds a year and "all his hopes and prospects" to marry a woman with whom he "has already had his will" (436; 422-23). By immemorial standards even the man who deprived her of her virginity can consider Christian a fallen woman. But Christian has faith in Philip:

O, love, I knew you would,
 I'd read it in your eyes so kind and good.
 Although you did not speak, I understood.
 Though for myself, indeed, I sought it not,
 It seemed so high, so undeserved a lot,

But for the child, when it should come, I knew--

O, I was certain--what you meant to do. (436; 411-417)

Despite Christian's plea that it was her "will and duty" to await Philip's return, her aunt and uncle were insistent that she accompany them to Australia, showing her Philip's letter and money order, which, they implied, was the collegian's quit-claim of responsibility, a guilt payment to be rid of her. Here is the tale's crux: If Philip in his class and gender snobbery had not been unwilling to teach Christian to read and write, she would have herself been able to write him and able to read his letter promising to come in three days and marry her. By inhumanly treating the girl who loved him as an object he deserved to lose her. By preferring her to remain illiterate so he could keep her as a plaything, he ensured that he would lose her.

In her letter to Philip Christian tells how she was forced on board ship, where she wept for 12 hours until she realized her anguish might harm his child. On the voyage she often thought:

Of our dear journey through the Hebrides,

When you the kindest were and best of men:

O, love, I did not love you right till then.

Ironically, of course, it was on that journey that Philip proved least worthy of her love.

Instead of blaming her feckless lover, Christian reproaches herself for being during their idyll "mindful only of the present joy, / When you had anxious care your busy mind to employ" (438; 465). In reality the situation was reversed:

she had the anxiety of being unmarried and pregnant. After enjoying the interlude, he could, and as far as she knew did, irresponsibly walk away.

Nor does Christian blame her duplicitous aunt and uncle. In her letter to Philip she says of them: "They meant me well, but little were aware"--presumably of his dubious fidelity (438; 489). Only after she despaired of being reunited with Philip did she marry a man who "[D]ear / And well he loved and wanted many a year. / Selfish it seemed to turn from one so true" (438; 490-92). She married her husband out of pity and true charity. It is Philip she still loves.

Christian's final example of selfless love comes at the end of her letter to Philip. Philip is otherwise childless, and after sending her son to him she has noticed the boy's fondness for his father. So she gives up her only son, and favorite child, to Philip. Here there are overtones of Mary's giving up her first-born son to the service of his Father.

Fearing she has been presumptuous in writing as though they were still lovers, Christian bids Philip not to write her. She will not: "seek to know / Whether you ever think of me or no" (439; 509). As a true Christian she gives self-sacrificing love without expecting reciprocal love or even recognition of herself. When Philip receives her letter, he weeps: "O love, love, love, too late!" and then, accepting the inevitable, dries his tears.

Christian is not just the last poetic incarnation of the Highland lassie. She is the transcendent bride whose advent Clough feared to preclude by premature choice. She is the

ultimate poetic realization of the ideal woman toward whom Clough was working through Elspie Mackaye and Mary Trevellyn. She is the antithesis of the indolent, artificial, prudish Victorian middle-class women among whom he had to look for an actual wife, almost all of whom were shackled and stunted by the roles their era assigned to them. She is not, most unfortunately, Blanche.

After the lawyer concludes his second tale, the narrator comments: "To bed with tiring thoughts" (439; 512). Even the most sympathetic reader cannot imagine the "tiring thoughts" that the narrator/Clough must have had as with great effort he struggled to finish what he must have known was the last poem he would ever write.

AFTERWORD

What happened to the shy woman whom Clough told his sister he hoped to marry? Perhaps "Christian" throws some light on this enigma. It was Philip's class and gender snobbery which separated him from Christian. Possibly the same emotional mechanisms also parted Clough and the shy woman, who could have been the original of Christian. Probably the woman was timid and easily upset during her visit with Clough's mother and sister because of insecurity in dealing with members of a higher social class. If the aftermath of their relationship is reflected in "My wind is turned to bitter north," then bleak despair resulted for Clough: "For love, departed once, comes back / No more again, no more" (25; 7-8). This reaction is consonant with the separation having been caused by either or both of them. Both the woman and Clough could have feared that their marriage would impede his career. The feelings of class and gender superiority which led to Philip's loss of Christian might have mirrored Clough's response to the shy woman.

Clough's love for the shy woman and attraction to a Highland lassie (who may or may not have been the same person) assuredly are refracted into many of the fleetingly sketched girls in his lyrics as well as idealized and transformed into the fully developed characters of Elspie Mackaye, Mary Trevellyn, and Christian.

Any love affair of Clough's without doubt was undermined

by his almost pathological fear that its genesis was "juxtaposition," not affinity, and that by making a choice he foreclosed the possibility of marrying a finer, more perfect woman. These anxieties are constantly expressed in his poetry from the earliest Ambarvalia lyrics, the opening works of his maturity, to "The Clergyman's First Tale" in Mari Magno, his last long poem.

In only one of Clough's poems, the Bothie, do the lovers marry. Its hero, Philip Hewson, has only the more aggressive, positive aspects of his creator and none of the passive and self-effacing ones. Philip Hewson is outgoing and impulsive and a confident orator, not introspective and fearful of obtruding himself on others like Clough himself and the heroes of his later poems. Academically, Philip Hewson is secure, gaining a first at Oxford, unlike Clough himself and Philip in "The Lawyer's Second Tale." Also secure are Philip Hewson's social and financial positions, whereas Clough's were precarious. While he was a member of the gentry, his father not only was "in trade," but also suffered the ignominy of bankruptcy. Clough, of course, until he obtained his Council Office position, never had either a reliable or remunerative career. Some critics have seen his often repeated preference for a livelihood gained from literature and some tutoring as a way of precluding marriage to Blanche. However, there is no reason to doubt his sincere attachment to both literature and tutoring. His poetry was both self-validating and self-informing, while his students frequently attested their regard for him.

It is barely possible that, despite his egalitarianism, Blanche's impeccable social position was an initial attraction for Clough because of his shaky hold on his status as a member of the gentry. More likely Clough seized on Blanche as the object of his frenzied matrimonial hopes because she was available when he was desperate for a bride to take with him to Australia. If, to make a living, he had to abandon his friends and family and yet continue as a school administrator, which he detested, he at least wanted the sexual and affectional solace of a wife. However, by proposing to Blanche first and getting to know her later, Clough violated all the cautious precepts advanced in his lyrics and embraced by the heroes of his long poems. The commitment that he skirted in his poetry, except in the Bothie, he hastily made in his own life. Clough was not as prudent as Claude, who, utilizing an apothegm of the period, advanced by both Newman and Carlyle, wrote Eustace: "Action will furnish belief,--but will that belief be the true one?" (127; 20).

Blanche's only appearance in her husband's poetry is as Jane in "The Clergyman's Second Tale" where she is sympathetically portrayed throughout. After Edward's fall she never censures him, but, a pious woman, forgives as she would be forgiven. She blames herself for having refused to let him come home. When he meets her on a quarter day, she is loving and "[f]ell on his neck, said all that love could say, / And wept" (421; 190-91). Like Blanche she is assertive and forthright. Rather than let Edward return to his year-long solitary despondency, she insists that he resume his place in

their family.

As a good Victorian wife, Jane does not assume the mantle of total competence. When she urges her husband's rejoining her, she admits weakness and fallibility:

"'Tis not indeed, I'm sure of it, in me,--

All things with perfect judgement to foresee.

This weight has grown too heavy to endure." (424; 306-

08)

Similarly, Blanche, with no apparent irony, would call Clough her strong support. In her letter to Norton of 29 November 1861 after Clough's death Blanche wrote that she had "looked up to him for guidance in every difficulty" (Correspondence 610).

Blanche was not a succubus. She was a determined, ambitious, thoroughly conventional woman in an era when practically the only avenue for a woman's ambition was through her husband's achievements. It was the misfortune of both Clough and Blanche that his obstinate, subconscious resistance to her domineering caused the stalemate of his eight-year poetic hiatus. It is also ironic that without Blanche's vigorous efforts to publish her husband's poems--leading to 24 printings between 1862 and 1920 in England alone--(Scott, The Early Editions of Arthur Hugh Clough 18) he would have been forgotten long before the end of the nineteenth century, much less the twentieth.

In his poetry Arthur Hugh Clough had three major concerns: society, religion, and the grouping which I have called love, marriage, and sexuality. To all three areas he

brought a probing mind which questioned the validity of all a priori givens. Before his eight-year poetic hiatus he had grappled in his poetry with problems of society and religion and come up with liberal answers which satisfied his demand for truth. But in the field of love, marriage, and sexuality he continued until the end of his life exploring in his poetry possible areas for human advancement. Clough did not idealize sexless premarital love or etherealize marital love as did many of his contemporaries. Neither for him did sex outside marriage ipso facto make a woman unclean, the equivalent of a prostitute, as Victorians viewed her, not if the woman was as loving and selfless as is Christian. Unlike the vast majority of Victorian writers Clough did not "condemn or punish all but marital sex" (Maynard 262).

In his last days Clough expressed his faith that sexual love transcends the stifling limits set by God and man. In Mari Magno he tried to fulfill Dipsychus's vision of the here and the hereafter:

Hints haunt me ever of a More beyond:
 I am rebuked by a sense of the incomplete,
 Of a completion over-soon assumed
 Of adding up too soon. What we call sin,
 I could believe a painful opening out
 Of paths for ampler virtue. (274; 31-36)

That is, accepting and celebrating natural sexuality can enable us to live fuller, more rewarding lives because we are more considerate and more loving of each other.

Arthur Hugh Clough spoke out against repression in

society, religion, and in sexuality. He did this in poetry which never compromises with integrity, which never subordinates meaning to melody, which is often witty, and which is always achingly true. After his friend's death Matthew Arnold wrote about Clough: "[T]he impression he left was one of those which deepen with time and such as I never expect again to experience" (Lowry, The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough 163). A reader of Clough's poetry can only echo these words.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allott, Kenneth. "Matthew Arnold (and A. H. Clough)." The Victorians. Ed. Arthur Pollard. Vol. 6 of History of Literature in the English Language Series. 11 vols. London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1970.
- Altholz, Josef Lewis. The Mind and Art of Victorian England, 1837-1901. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1976.
- Armstrong, Isobel. Arthur Hugh Clough. New York: Longmans, 1962.
- . "Browning and Victorian Poetry of Sexual Love." Robert Browning. Ed. Isobel Armstrong. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1974. 267-98.
- , ed. The Major Victorian Poets: Reconsiderations. London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1969.
- , ed. Robert Browning. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1974.
- Arnold, Thomas. "Arthur Hugh Clough: A Sketch." Nineteenth Century and After 43 Jan. 1898: 105-16.
- Auerbach, Nina. Woman and the Demon: The Life of A Victorian Myth. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1982.
- Bertram, James, ed. The New Zealand Letters of Thomas Arnold and Letters of Arthur Hugh Clough. London: Oxford UP, 1966.
- Biswas, Robindra Kumar. Arthur Hugh Clough: Towards a Reconsideration. Oxford: Clarendon, 1972.
- Bradley, Ian C. The Call to Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians. New York: Macmillan, 1976.

- Brown, Peter. Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity. New York: Columbia UP, 1988.
- Chorley, Katharine. Arthur Hugh Clough: The Uncommitted Mind. A Study of His Life and Poetry. Oxford: Clarendon, 1962.
- Christ, Carol. "Victorian Masculinity and The Angel in the House." A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women. Ed. Martha Vicinus. Bloomington, IN: Indiana UP, 1977. 146-62.
- Clough, Arthur Hugh. Correspondence ms. Eng. lett. e 77-82. Bodleian Library, Oxford.
- . The Correspondence of Arthur Hugh Clough. Ed. Frederick L. Mulhauser. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1957.
- . Notebook 2, ms. Balliol Library, Oxford.
- . The Oxford Diaries of Arthur Hugh Clough. Ed. Anthony Kenny. Oxford: Clarendon, 1990.
- . Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough. Ed. F. L. Mulhauser. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1974.
- . The Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough. Ed. B. S. Clough. 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1869.
- Clough, Blanche Athena. A Memoir of Anne Jemima Clough. London: Edward Arnold, 1897.
- Cominos, Peter T. "Innocent Feminina Sensualis in Unconscious Conflict." Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age. Ed. Martha Vicinus. Bloomington, IN: Indiana UP, 1972. 155-72.
- Cook, Sir Edward. The Life of Florence Nightingale. 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1913.

- Cox, Don Richard, ed. Sexuality and Victorian Literature. Tennessee Studies in Victorian Literature 27. Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1984.
- Curgenven, John. "Theodore Walrond: Friend of Arnold and Clough." Durham University Journal 44.2 (1952): 56-61.
- David, Deirdre. Intellectual Women and Victorian Patriarchy: Harriet Martineau, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, George Eliot. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1987.
- Ellis, Sarah. The Daughters of England: Their Position in Society, Character and Responsibilities. London: Fisher, Son & Co., 1842.
- . The Wives of England, Their Relative Duties, Domestic Influences, and Social Obligations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1843.
- Engel, Arthur. "Immoral Intentions: The University of Oxford and the Problem of Prostitution, 1827-1914." Victorian Studies 23 (1979): 79-107.
- Enright, Dennis. "A Kidnapped Child of Heaven: The Poetry of Arthur Hugh Clough." Byron Foundation Lectures. Nottingham: U of Nottingham, 1972.
- Foucault, Michel. The History of Sexuality. Trans. Robert Hurley. 3 vols. New York: Pantheon, 1978.
- Fryer, Peter. Mrs. Grundy: Studies in English Prudery. London: House and Maxwell, 1963.
- Gay, Peter. The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud. 2 vols. New York: Oxford UP, 1984.
- Gilbert, Sandra M. and Susan Gubar. The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth Century

- Literary Imagination. New Haven: Yale UP, 1979.
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von. Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship and Travels. Trans. Thomas Carlyle. 2 vols. Boston: Dana Estes, n.d.
- Gollin, Richard M. "Arthur Hugh Clough's Formative Years, 1819-41." Diss. U of Minnesota, 1959.
- Greenberger, Evelyn Barish. Arthur Hugh Clough: The Growth of a Poet's Mind. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1970.
- Grosskurth, Phyllis. John Addington Symonds: A Biography. New York: Arno, 1975.
- Hardy, Barbara. "Clough's Self-Consciousness." The Major Victorian Poets: Reconsiderations. Ed. Isobel Armstrong. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969.
- Houghton, Walter E. The Poetry of Clough: An Essay in Revaluation. New Haven: Yale UP, 1963.
- . The Victorian Frame of Mind. New Haven: Yale UP, 1957.
- Hughes, Thomas. Tom Brown's School Days: By an Old Boy. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931.
- Johnson, Wendell Stacy. Sex and Marriage in Victorian Poetry. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1975.
- Kenny, Anthony. God and Two Poets: Arthur Hugh Clough and Gerard Manley Hopkins. London: Sidgewick and Jackson, 1988.
- , ed. The Oxford Diaries of Arthur Hugh Clough. Oxford: Clarendon, 1990.
- Knight, William. Principal Shairp and His Friends. London: John Murray, 1888.
- Levy, Goldie. Arthur Hugh Clough. London: Sidgewick and

- Jackson, 1938.
- Lowry, H. F., ed. The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough. London: Oxford UP, 1932.
- Lowry, H. F., and R. L. Rusk. The Emerson-Clough Letters. Cleveland: The Rowfant Club, 1934.
- McCrum, Michael. Thomas Arnold, Headmaster: A Reassessment. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1989.
- Maynard, John. "The Worlds of Victorian Sexuality: Work in Progress." Sexuality and Victorian Literature. Ed. Don Richard Cox. Tennessee Studies in Victorian Literature 27. Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1984. 251-65.
- Michie, Helena. The Flesh Made Word: Female Figures and Women's Bodies. New York: Oxford UP, 1989.
- Mill, John Stuart. The Subjection of Women. 1869. Indianapolis: Hackett, 1988.
- Patmore, Coventry. The Angel in the House. London: George Routledge and Sons, 1905.
- Pearsall, Ronald. The Worm in the Bud: The World of Victorian Sexuality. New York: Macmillan, 1967.
- Ryals, Clyde De L. "An Interpretation of Clough's Dipsychus." Victorian Poetry Aug. 1963: 182-88.
- Sanders, Charles Richard. Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement: Studies in S. T. Coleridge, Dr. Arnold of Rugby, J. C. Hare, Thomas Carlyle, and F. D. Maurice. 1942. New York: Octagon, 1972.
- Scott, Patrick, ed. Amours de Voyage. By Arthur Hugh Clough. St. Lucia, Queensland, Australia: U of Queensland P, 1974.

- , ed. The Bothie. By Arthur Hugh Clough. St. Lucia, Queensland, Australia: U of Queensland P, 1976.
- . The Early Editions of Arthur Hugh Clough. New York: Garland, 1977.
- . "The Victorianism of Clough." Victorian Poetry 16 Spring-Summer 1978: 32-42.
- Smith, F. B. Florence Nightingale: Reputation and Power. Beckenham, Kent: Croom Helm, Ltd., 1982.
- . "Sexuality in Britain, 1800-1900: Some Suggested Revisions." A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women. Ed. Martha Vicinus. Bloomington, IN: Indiana UP, 1977. 182-198.
- Smout, J. C. "Aspects of Sexual Behavior in Nineteenth-Century Scotland." Social Class in Scotland: Past and Present. Ed. A. Allan MacLaren. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1976. 55-85.
- Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn. The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D. D. 2 vols. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860.
- Strachey, Lytton. Eminent Victorians. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1918.
- Tennyson, Alfred. The Poems of Tennyson. Ed. Jerome Hamilton Buckley. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958.
- Thorpe, Michael. ed. Clough: The Critical Heritage. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1972.
- Tillotson, Kathleen. Novels of the Eighteen-Forties. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1954.
- Timko, Michael. Innocent Victorian: The Satiric Poetry of

- Arthur Hugh Clough. Athens, OH: Ohio UP, 1963.
- Trawick, Buckner B., ed. Selected Prose Works of Arthur Hugh Clough. Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama P, 1964.
- Trudgill, Eric. Madonnas and Magdalens: The Origins and Development of Victorian Sexual Attitudes. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1976.
- Turner, Albert Morton. "A Study of Clough's Mari Magno." PMLA 44 June 1929: 569-589.
- Vicinus, Martha, ed. Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age. Bloomington, IN: Indiana UP, 1972.
- , ed. A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women. Bloomington, IN: Indiana UP, 1977.
- Vicinus, Martha and Bea Nergaard, eds. Ever Yours, Florence Nightingale: Selected Letters. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1990.
- Waddington, Samuel. Arthur Hugh Clough: A Monograph. London: George Bell & Sons, 1883.
- Walkowitz, Judith R. Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State. New York: Cambridge UP, 1980.
- Weeks, Jeffrey. Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800. London: Longman, 1981.
- Williams, David. Too Quick Despairer: A Life of Arthur Hugh Clough. London: Rupert Hart Davis, 1969.
- Woodham-Smith, Cecil. Florence Nightingale. New York: McGraw, Hill, 1951.
- Young, G. M. Portrait of an Age. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford UP, 1988.