

Notes

PROLOGUE

1. Benjamin, *Illuminations*, 86–87, 99. Hereafter cited in the text implicitly or as “Benjamin.”
2. Bakhtin, “The *Bildungsroman* and Its Significance,” 16–23. Throughout this book I usually say “man” in contexts where I mean “human being” for reasons similar to those discussed by Jacques Barzun, ranging from literary tradition (the obligation to write concise prose), etymology (the word’s derivation from the Sanskrit *man*, *manu*, designating the human being as such), and the unintended exclusivity even of phrases such as “man and woman,” “he or she,” etc.—for one should in fairness also include teenagers and children of both sexes, which would require a lawyerly fussiness (*From Dawn to Decadence*, 82–85).
3. *Bildung* must be distinguished from *Kultur*, insofar as the latter refers, as in Herder and in later historians such as G. F. Klemm (*Allgemeine Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit*, 1843–1852), to the whole way of life of a particular people. But the terms overlap when *Kultur* refers to the “general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development,” or when, as in Arnold’s “culture,” we are asked to think of the contents of that development, the specific canon of the best that has been thought and said. This tendency to fuse into one word the process and product of “cultivation”—a word deriving metaphorically from *cultura*, which in turn derives from *colere* (designating, most importantly here, the tending or cultivating of crops or animals)—is conspicuous not only in Arnold’s *Culture and Anarchy*, but in most English usage since the mid-nineteenth century (Williams, *Keywords*, 87–93). More than *Kultur*, however, *Bildung* emphasizes the “personal” aspect of the process and, to a degree, of the product of cultivation. Hence the English equivalent, “self-cultivation.”
4. As Herder bitterly wrote in June 1782 about the man who had become, after Karl August himself, the most powerful figure in Weimar: “So [Goethe] is now Permanent Privy Councillor, President of the Chamber, President of the War Office, Inspector of Works down to roadbuilding, Director of Mines, also *Directeur des plaisirs*, Court Poet, composer of pretty festivities, court operas, ballets, cabaret masques, inscriptions, works of art etc., Director of the Drawing Academy in which during the winter he delivered lectures on osteology; everywhere himself the principal actor, dancer, in short, the factotum of all Weimar” (qtd. in Craig, “Unread Giant,” 105).
5. Mann, “Germany and the Germans,” 59; Benjamin, 241.
6. Warshow, *The Immediate Experience*, xl–xli.
7. I think readers should let novels possess them before they attempt critically to possess the novels. Cf. Anthony Hecht’s remark about the title of his *Obbligati: Essays in Criticism*, affirming “the proper role of criticism as a musical obbligato: that is, a counterpart that must constantly strive to move in strict harmony with and intellectual counterpoint to its subject, and remain always subordinate to the text upon which it presumes to comment” (vii).

8. Largely because I have some time ago published on them elsewhere, and with the usual authorial immodesty I list the relevant texts here: *Samuel Butler Revalued* (University Park: Penn State Press, 1981), primarily about *The Way of All Flesh*; “Meredith’s Concept of Nature: Beyond the Ironies of *Richard Feverel*,” *ELH* 47 (1980): 121–48; “Myth and Morals in *The Mill on the Floss*,” *The Midwest Quarterly* 20 (1979): 332–46; “Thackeray’s Pendennis: Son and Gentleman,” *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 33 (1978): 175–93. I have incorporated some more recent essays (see acknowledgments) into this book.
9. See, for instance, Elizabeth Abel, Marianne Hirsch, and Elizabeth Langland, eds., *The Voyage In: Fictions of Female Development* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1983); Susan Fraiman, *Unbecoming Women: British Women Writers and the Novel of Development* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); Geta LeSeur, *Ten Is the Age of Darkness: The Black Bildungsroman* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1995); Annie O. Eysturoy, *Daughters of Self-Creation: The Contemporary Chicana Novel* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996); Pin-Chia Feng, *The Female Bildungsroman by Toni Morrison and Maxine Hong Kingston: A Postmodern Reading* (New York: Peter Lang, 1998); Lorna Ellis, *Appearing to Diminish: Female Development and the British Bildungsroman, 1750–1850* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1999); and Patricia P. Chu, *Assimilating Asians: Gendered Strategies of Authorship in Asian America* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).
10. See Christina Hoff Sommers, *The War Against Boys: How Misguided Feminism Is Harming Our Young Men* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000).

CHAPTER 1

1. Noted in George Henry Lewes’s great mid-Victorian biography, still in many ways the liveliest in English, more compact than Nicholas Boyle’s current, multi-volume tome. Apropos the morality of Wilhelm Meister, Lewes added Wordsworth’s quip about Tam O’Shanter: “I pity him who cannot perceive that in all this, though there was no moral purpose, there is a moral effect.’ What each reader will see in it, will depend on his insight and experience” (*The Life of Goethe*, 404–05).
2. Eliot, “The Morality of Wilhelm Meister,” 146–47.
3. James, *Literary Criticism*, 947–48.
4. Great but uneven. Candor drives James to admit what many German readers have felt about the sameness and often flatness in the voices of both the narrator and many of his characters, which Thomas Carlyle’s Englishing, brilliant as it is, hasn’t been able to disguise. What Hermann Hesse says of the mixture of the prosaic and the poetic in Adalbert Stifter’s 1857 novel, *Der Nachsommer* (*Indian Summer*)—“exactly like in a little Goethe, philistine commonplaces about art and life in a wooden language . . . [juxtaposed] to others of enchanting beauty” (“Gratitude to Goethe,” 183)—can stand for similar complaints by Novalis (*Schriften*, 3.638 on), Susanne Howe (*Wilhelm Meister and His English Kinsmen*, 63), and T. J. Reed (*The Classical Centre*, 113). The “enchanting beaut[ies]” drive us (“for very pity,” as James said) to discover the meaning that the aridities obscure.
5. Here and elsewhere, as with names like Aurelie and Natalie, I retain Carlyle’s Anglicized forms. It keeps me consistent with quoted passages. I use Carlyle’s translation, for besides being both faithful and powerfully rendered, it is the one my Anglophone exemplars relied on. Anyone wanting a twentieth-century translation can’t do better than Eric A. Blackall and Victor Lange’s *Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).
6. Schiller, *Correspondence*, 1.197; hereafter cited in text as “*Correspondence*.”
7. Goethe, *Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship*, 2.146–47; hereafter referred to implicitly.

8. Unhistorical criticism is no less salient in Europe than in England or America. W. Daniel Wilson, who teaches at Berkeley but publishes in Munich, has in *Das Goethe-Tabu* taken Goethe to task for failing to prevent the execution of a Hetty Sorel-like Weimar woman who had killed her child, or for not opposing the cashiering of the atheist Johann Gottlieb Fichte from his post at the university at Jena, or for allowing Weimar citizens to be impressed as mercenaries in the American war for independence, and so on, holding up to a public intellectual of 200 years ago the same high standards he would impose on one now. As Gordon Craig tartly notes, "Goethe's Weimar was profoundly different from Wilson's Berkeley," and a chief virtue of Mr. Boyle's new life, which he is reviewing, is its endeavor to achieve historical objectivity ("Germany's Greatest," 52).
9. Boyle, *Goethe*, 1.289. Hereafter cited in the text, by volume, implicitly or as "Boyle."
10. See Ian Watt's justly famous *Rise of the Novel* and Q. D. Leavis's less famous but equally indispensable "The Englishness of the English Novel."
11. Reed, *Classical Centre*, 106–07.
12. The Beautiful Soul is to the modern ear the preferred translation of the *Schöne Seele*, which Carlyle too Elizabethanly rendered as the "Fair Saint."
13. Humboldt had used the term *Bildung* as a botanical metaphor, which Goethe frequently if unsystematically pursued when trying to understand the trajectory of any organism's life. Reading Kant's *Critique of Judgment* had freed him from the idea that organisms—insects, plants, human beings—had any external purpose in living. Like inorganic things—rock, air, water, fire—organic creatures exist merely for themselves. What Goethe describes in essays such as "The Metamorphosis of Plants" can, as Mr. Boyle argues, be applied to the metamorphoses Wilhelm passes through: in childhood he has a sort of genetic memory of the images and ideals pictured in his grandfather's art collection, just as a seed "remembers" the glorious flower from which it sprang; and as the seed in time produces its own flower, so Wilhelm in time realizes some of the ideals depicted in the paintings, and in marrying Natalia recovers the collection itself. Further, just as a plant grows by putting out paired or alternate leaves from node to node, so Wilhelm grows through a series of encounters with paired characters—Philina and Laertes, the Melinas, Mignon and the Harper, Lothario and Natalia, or Augustin and Sperata with their story of "insufficiently differentiated development . . . who, like monocotyledons, hasten to sexual union before they have become fully formed" (2.414).
 Wilhelm forms as it were his own seed at the end, when he becomes part of the Tower's new international organization that hopes to bear liberal, anti-Jacobin fruit throughout the West, and when he beholds and dedicates himself to the rearing of his biological offspring Felix. As Mr. Boyle acknowledges, however, the botanical metaphor, which is too submerged for common readers to notice, in any case finally breaks down. Schiller may epigrammatically have urged people to emulate the plant, voluntarily choosing to go through the natural process of sprouting, ripening, and decaying that the plant goes through involuntarily, but that sort of no-purpose-beyond-oneself contentment lacks the moral interest the Weimar classicists believed human life had to contain. As Kant had taught, our lives have no more natural purpose than this rock or that spider: phenomenally considered, that is, existence is without meaning and therefore the occasion for despair. Fortunately, we are able to impute a more-than-natural purpose to our lives whenever we discipline ourselves to be regulated by a moral law that transcends any individual person or culture: noumenally considered, that is, existence has a larger meaning, and is therefore an occasion for hope. So I would summarize Mr. Boyle's botany-cum-Kant treatment of Goethe's idea of organic but finally moralized *Bildung* (2.411–15). I return to Kant when speaking of Natalia.
14. Taking an expansive view of European history one can say, with Bakhtin, that the shift of emphasis from "being" to "becoming" marks the Renaissance-to-Enlightenment transition

- from medieval supernaturalism to modern secularism. What Goethe does as a novelist is consonant with what he does as an amateur geologist, geographer, botanist, and so on: he focuses “chronotopically” on the connections between this point of time-space and that, the “necessary” (i.e., non-random) development from past to present, present to future. “The simple spatial contiguity (*nebeneinander*) of phenomena was profoundly alien to Goethe,” Bakhtin writes, “so he saturated and imbued it with *time*, revealed emergence and development in it, and he distributed that which was contiguous in *space* in various *temporal* stages, epochs of becoming. For him contemporaneity—both in nature and in human life—is revealed as an essential multitemporality: as remnants or relics of various stages and formations of the past and as rudiments of stages in the more or less distant future” (“The *Bildungsroman* and Its Significance,” 28). In short, Goethe was among the eighteenth-century investigators who made nineteenth-century evolutionary theory possible: he tried, often successfully, to *see* where “x” had come from and where it might be going. The “x” in *Wilhelm Meister* is of course primarily the hero’s emerging identity.
15. The folly Wilhelm must risk is, among other things, sexual. He is never troubled by the erotic guilt that, in *The Sorrows*, makes Werther’s wet dreams about Charlotte so agonizing. He does hesitate about giving in to Philina’s charms, but only because he feels he should avoid women altogether after having, as he thinks, been betrayed by Mariana. But once Philina has turned up as a live succubus in his bed, he is eager for more, and would indeed get it if a real conflagration did not forestall the erotic one in his veins (see 1.358). Not that he lacks scruples. He stops short of pedophilia, being horrified at the possibility that his live succubus might have been Mignon, who indeed had been on watch that night, had her primal scene, and appeared much more womanly the next morning. And he wants to stay faithful. Aurelia’s story of Lothario’s perfidy makes him vow that “no woman shall receive an acknowledgment of love from my lips, to whom I cannot consecrate my life!” (1.308)—a vow that he naturally breaks during the inebriated night with Philina, but that, in spite of his frisking from her to Theresa to Natalia, he sincerely means to keep. His frisking is really a movement, as we shall see, toward the best embodiment of what his unconscious most desires, and once he reaches it, there is some reason to think he will stick.
 16. Mr. Boyle points out the parallels in the *Theatrical Mission* between Wilhelm’s stage ambitions, purportedly conceived in the 1750s, and Goethe’s hopes for a national theater in 1778, during the Storm and Stress movement. The novelist gave his hero Shakespeare’s Christian name, and made him a poet of some note who has a five-act biblical tragedy *Belshazzar* (the young Goethe had written such a drama) that is looking to be produced. Wilhelm learns what Goethe had, namely that mid-eighteenth-century Germany would be culturally unified not by the theater, which after all depended on isolated performances before small, often only courtly audiences, but by the printed book, especially the literary drama, which many people could read and which several theater companies could put on simultaneously. Goethe’s disillusionment with the national theater project stemmed also from a local canker—the somewhat *louche* troupe of Giuseppe Bellomo that had begun performing at Weimar in 1784 (1.320, 365, 372, 400). By the time he turned the *Theatrical Mission* into *Wilhelm Meister*, Goethe abandoned what had amounted to an attempt at autobiographical fiction and made his hero not a playwright but a simple enthusiast (see Boyle, 2.236). No more portrait of the artist or *Kunstlerroman*: we have the portrait of a plain young burgher, mediocre (as Mann would say) in the honorable sense.
 17. Eckermann, *Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann*, 132; hereafter cited in the text implicitly or as “Eckermann.”
 18. Lawrence, *Letters*, Vol. 6, 342.
 19. See Minden, *The German Bildungsroman*, 42.

20. It is important to underscore the historical context of Goethe's plea for an integration of noble and burgherly talents, since, as we will see, someone like Franco Moretti can, in his fervor for an equality of results, dismiss these mésalliances as a mere selling out to the ruling class, and in fact regard marriage itself as a metaphor for a repressive social contract: "One either marries or, in one way or another, must leave social life: and for more than a century European consciousness will perceive the crisis of marriage as a rupture that not only divides a couple, but destroys the very roots—Anna Karenina, Emma Bovary, Effi Briest—of those sentiments that keep the individual 'alive'. For this world view a crisis, a divorce, can never be a plausible 'ending'" (*The Way of the World*, 22–23; hereafter cited in the text implicitly or as "Moretti"). But there we are: in realistic fiction, characters can do only what is historically, humanly possible.
21. Blackall, *Goethe and the Novel*, 136.
22. Lukács, *Goethe and His Age*, 56.
23. The Harper and Mignon have been placed in the background in this discussion because they contribute so little to the novel's social theme, yet as representatives of the magical, inward power of music and verse, dark energies and (in Mignon's prepubescent case) ambiguous gender, they clearly express another, nonrational, contra-Jarno side of Goethe's genius and are probably, with Philina, the book's most memorable characters—almost eclipsing the hero himself, as Micawber and Steerforth, say, almost eclipse David Copperfield.
24. Qtd. in Howe, *Wilhelm Meister and His English Kinsmen*, 65.
25. "We have defined a story as a narrative of events arranged in their time-sequence. A plot is also a narrative of events, the emphasis falling on causality. 'The king died and then the queen died' is a story. 'The king died, and then the queen died of grief' is a plot," Forster says (*Aspects of the Novel*, 86). Of course the causality Goethe is concerned with is, in Aristotelian terms, not merely efficient, it is final.
26. Mann, *The Magic Mountain*, 594.

CHAPTER 2

1. Q. D. Leavis, "The Englishness of the English Novel," 312–13.
2. Troeltsch, "The Ideas of Natural Law," 207; hereafter cited in the text implicitly or as "Troeltsch."
3. Relevant here is Dietrich Bonhoeffer's articulation of this dynamic under the yet more dangerous conditions of the Third Reich. Germans, as he noted from the prison Hitler had put him in, under suspicion of having plotted his assassination, have always been brave in obedience. "But the German has preserved his freedom—what nation has talked so passionately of freedom as we have, from Luther to the idealists?—by seeking deliverance from his own will through service to the community. Calling and freedom were two sides of the same thing. The trouble was, he did not understand his world. He forgot that submissiveness and self-sacrifice could be exploited for evil ends [e.g., by the Nazis]. Once that happened, once the exercise of the calling itself became questionable, all the ideals of the German would begin to totter. Inevitably he was convicted of a fundamental failure: he could not see that in certain circumstances free and responsible action might have to take precedence over duty and calling" (*Letters and Papers from Prison*, 137).
4. Santayana, *Character and Opinion*, 120–21.
5. In September of 2001, we learned that certain Islamic fundamentalists—turning 767s into cruise missiles to strike buildings full of people, and calling on Muslims everywhere to kill, indiscriminately, Americans and Jews—are willing to pursue the same "our way, or no way"

- logic that, as Santayana lived to see, twice in the twentieth century made Germany the enemy of the democracies.
6. For a succinct account of the Reformers' views on vocation, see Mintz, *George Eliot and the Novel of Vocation*, 8–13.
 7. Schiller, *On the Aesthetic Education of Man*, 43; hereafter cited in the text implicitly.
 8. James, *Literary Criticism*, 947–48.
 9. Carlyle and Welsh, *The Collected Letters*, 3.102.
 10. *Ibid.*, 2.434, 437.
 11. Carlyle, *Reminiscences*, 241.
 12. Allingham, *A Diary*, 253.
 13. Carlyle himself later seems to have doubted the rightness of accent in his portrait of the *Goetheszeit*, especially when he saw an affinity between the “windy” cult of English aestheticism in the early 1850s and the implication in Goethe, as in Schiller, that if the Good is subsumed in the Beautiful, then “Art is higher than Religion” (*Two Note Books*, 158). As David DeLaura says, the idea of *Bildung* was not sufficiently moralized to remain in Carlyle's lexicon after the death of Goethe in 1832 (“Heroic Egotism,” 48–49). He thereafter preferred men of action, and if before the cry was to close thy Byron and open thy Goethe, it was now close thy Goethe and open thy Cromwell, Frederick, or Abbot Samson.
 14. Heine, *Selected Works*, 207.
 15. Carlyle, “Goethe,” 1.22. Hereafter cited in the text as “Goethe.”
 16. General studies of the English reception of Goethe include those by Rosemary Ashton, John Boening, Jean-Marie Carré, Patrick Crury, David DeLaura, Susanne Howe, and Richard Holt Hutton—all listed in the bibliography.
 17. Qtd. in Bruford, *The German Tradition*, 42.
 18. Qtd. in Howe, *Wilhelm Meister and His English Kinsmen*, 80–81.
 19. In Boening, ed., *The Reception of Classical German Literature in England, 1760–1860*, 7.190.
 20. Nietzsche, *Daybreak*, 111–12.
 21. Mill, *Autobiography*, 151–52.
 22. Qtd. in Hayek, *John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor*, 253–54.
 23. Qtd. in Semmel, *John Stuart Mill and the Pursuit of Virtue*, 81.
 24. Mill, *Later Letters*, 345–46.
 25. Mill, *On Liberty*, 56.
 26. See Inman, *Walter Pater's Reading*, 10–11.
 27. Pater is quoting Carlyle's misquotation, in “Death of Goethe,” of Goethe's “*Generalbeichte*,” where in the fifth stanza he says “*Und im Ganzen, Guten, Schönen / Resolut zu leben*.” It was Carlylesque to misremember *Schönen* as *Wahren*, but the translation of *Ganzen* as “indifference” is solely Pater's, and ill fits the context of Goethe's poem (see Inman, *Walter Pater's Reading*, 146–47).
 28. Arnold, *Complete Prose Works*, 5.94.
 29. *Ibid.*, 10.166–67.
 30. *Ibid.*, 4.334.
 31. See the essays in James Hardin's collection, *Reflection and Action: Essays on the Bildungsroman*, especially Martini, “*Bildungsroman—Term and Theory*,” 1–25, and Jeffrey Sammons, “*The Bildungsroman for Nonspecialists: An Attempt at Clarification*,” 26–45, plus Randolph P. Shaffner's *The Apprenticeship Novel*.
 32. See Shaffner, *The Apprenticeship Novel*, 31–33.
 33. Swales, *The German Bildungsroman*, 14.
 34. Qtd. in *ibid.*, 12.
 35. Dilthey, *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*, 250.

36. Howe, *Wilhelm Meister and His English Kinsmen*, 4.
37. G. W. F. Hegel pregnantly remarks on the transformation of the knightly quester into the burgherly young man on the rise: “The contingency of external existence has been transformed into a firm and secure order of civil society and the state, so that police, law-courts, the army, political government replace the chimerical ends which the knights errant set before themselves. Thereby the knight-errantry of the heroes as they act in more modern romances is also altered. As individuals with their subjective ends of love, honour, and ambition, or with their ideals of world-reform, they stand [poetically] opposed to this substantial order and the prose of actuality which puts difficulties in their way on all sides. . . . [T]hey regard it as a misfortune that there is any family, civil society, state, laws, professional business, etc., because these substantive relations of life with their barriers cruelly oppose the ideals and the infinite rights of the heart.” The young heroes accordingly try to transform the world, or to carve out some private domestic paradise—“to seek for the ideal girl, find her, win her away from her wicked relations or other discordant ties, and carry her off in defiance. But in the modern world these fights are nothing more than ‘apprenticeship’ [the obvious reference being to Goethe’s novel], the education of the individual into the realities of the present, and thereby they acquire their true significance. For the end of such apprenticeship consists in this, that the subject sows his wild oats, builds himself with his wishes and opinions into harmony with subsisting relationships and their rationality, enters the concatenation of the world, and acquires for himself an appropriate attitude to it. However much he may have quarrelled with the world, or been pushed about in it, in most cases at last he gets his girl and some sort of position, marries her, and becomes as good a Philistine as others. The woman takes charge of household management, children arrive, the adored wife, at first unique, an angel, behaves pretty much as all other wives do; the man’s profession provides work and vexations, marriage brings domestic affliction—so here we have all the headaches of the rest of married folk” (*Aesthetics*, 1.592–93). The sarcasm of this description, for all its opacities, is evident, but the modern novel’s “corrective” to “the fantastic element” of early tales of knight-errantry is in the end precisely what the spirit of the age was due to bring, and is therefore welcome to all good Hegelians. The aptness of this description of the typical youth’s progress will be obvious when reading most of the *Bildungsromane* on my list.
38. Howe, *Wilhelm Meister and His English Kinsmen*, 64.
39. Bruford, *German Tradition*, 30.
40. Mann, *The Magic Mountain*, 728.
41. Mr. Redfield’s prize-winning book offers many learned insights into the “aesthetic ideology” of the Jena romantics, Schiller’s inspired simplification of some of Kant’s theories in *The Critique of Judgment*, and its pertinence to *Wilhelm Meister*, *Middlemarch*, and Flaubert’s *L’Éducation sentimentale*. Mr. Redfield acknowledges large debts to the group of present and past Cornellians (Neil Hertz, Jonathan Culler, Cynthia Chase) and to J. Hillis Miller, who have fondly kept faith with Paul de Man’s method of criticism, carefully separating, if I may bastardize T. S. Eliot’s famous dictum, the man who suffered (and caused others to suffer) from the mind that (de)created.
42. Buckley, *Season of Youth*, 18.

CHAPTER 3

1. Hollington, “*David Copperfield and Wilhelm Meister*,” 129.
2. Chesterton, *Chesterton on Dickens*, 332.
3. Eliot, *Selections from Letters* (to Frederic Harrison, August 15, 1866), 318.

4. Dickens, *The Personal History of David Copperfield*, xii; hereafter cited in the text implicitly.
5. Woolf, "David Copperfield," 75.
6. Mary Poovey's treatment of *Copperfield* is representative of this anti-universalist approach. Nothing about a person is accepted as "given," everything is "made" by social forces—everything including the novel—which unconsciously reproduces the "systemic class and gender inequality" of the society within which it exists (*Uneven Developments*, 123; hereafter referred to implicitly or as "Poovey"). The novelist's conscious and unconscious criticisms of that society, being inadequately Jacobin, feminist, or Chartist, never go far enough. "The concept of the individual," which for the nineteenth-century novelists like Dickens and Charlotte Brontë whom she studies "was a solution," is for Ms. Poovey "a problem": "the ego-centered subject is a historical construct" (20) that readers of a later historical moment can take apart, understand, and, when coming to themselves, their children, or their students, construct in a presumably community-centered way. This is a millenarian hope in some ways akin to Dickens's own: platitudinously, he too was against egoism. Only, he for good reasons was not a social constructionist in Ms. Poovey's sense. To put it very simply, he believed that in the process of "subject" development, nature mattered as well as nurture. "As well as" instead of "as much as," since he doesn't have a measuring-stick.

By the way, the endnotes in this book contain most of the critical praise and combat I wish to offer my fellow critics.

7. See Leavis, "Dickens and Tolstoy," 81. While not all critics agree that David is representative—for example, Philip Collins (*Charles Dickens: David Copperfield*, 43) and Robert E. Lougy ("Remembrances of Death Past and Future," 94)—it seems evident to me that Dickens meant him to be a character that the common Victorian male reader could identify with: not a vulgarly ordinary young man, obviously, but one who, as a self-conscious autobiographer, amplifies the young man's ordinary aptitudes for observation, snobbishness, generosity, and so on. For a reading of David's psychology "within the higher ranges of normalcy," see Jerome Hamilton Buckley ("The Identity of David Copperfield," 231 and *passim*). A more negative account is offered by U. C. Knoepfelmacher. Because David is almost always under the sheltering care of women—his mother, Peggotty, Mrs. Micawber, Aunt Betsey (sister to his father's *mother*), Dora, Agnes—he becomes "an increasingly passive and effeminate bourgeois young man" who regards women as idealized angels (or, if they are bad like Miss Murdstone or Rosa Dartle, as devils), rather than as the in-between human beings they are. When he is angry at any of the angels (his mother or Emily, for instance), he is not allowed to express it directly; he doesn't get into fights with Steerforth who has betrayed him or Heep who gives him the willies; and so he becomes increasingly wimpish, passively accepting "the female sobriquets given to him by others: Daisy, Doady, Scheherezade, Trot" ("From Outrage to Rage," 78, 82). In short, a case of failure to grow up, in contrast to the less-sheltered, manlier Pip (no woman ever shelters *him*). I don't dispute the data Mr. Knoepfelmacher adduces or his interpretation of them. But I would add that, if David is at all effeminate, it is precisely because the novelist is diagnosing the crisis in absent fathers and suppressed or misdirected masculine energies found elsewhere among the *Bildungsromane* I am studying here.
8. The reliable A. D. Nuttall has noticed how, like Magwitch, Betsey is a benefactor who at first appears to be a monster, aptly enough in "the child's world of mingled fear and dependence" (*Openings*, 186). Adult fiction usually neglects the child's initial assumption that nine grown-ups out of ten are ogres, but fairy tales, Victorian children's books, and Dickens get it right.
9. Alexander Welsh quotes D. W. Winnicott's remark that "growing up means taking the parent's place. *It really does*. In the unconscious fantasy, growing up is inherently an aggressive act." David's biting of Murdstone, Mr. Welsh rightly argues, is an act of selfish aggression with which "*any* boy" in our century or Dickens's must identify: it is part of the ambition

- “to pursue a career different from his father’s, to enter the market place with his labor,” presupposed by “the assumptions of modern [capitalist] economics.” Mr. Welsh gives a “fortunate” Eriksonian, rather than a “tragic” Freudian, reading to Dickens’s version of the famous plot: “There is no use experiencing an Oedipus complex unless one can leave it behind . . . The tale of childhood that *Copperfield* tells—the weaning of the child from his mother and the biting of the hand that wards him—frees the man for labor and the punctual discharge of duties” (*From Copyright to Copperfield*, 170–71). Mr. Welsh’s is the best book we have on the biographic background of *Copperfield*, *Chuzzlewit*, and *Dombey*.
10. This allusion to backbone is as good a place as any to recognize that the disciplining of David’s undisciplined heart has been a theme often contested and occasionally defended since Gwendolyn B. Needham’s centrist, classroom-friendly essay of 1954, “The Undisciplined Heart of David Copperfield.” As Malcolm Andrews indicates, Dickens’s concern for a disciplined heart and hardened head sustains an effort dating back at least to Austen’s *Sense and Sensibility* and Scott’s *Waverley*, and, in the dawn of his own career, to Carlyle’s attempt to de-Byronize English sensibility. The early 1830s were after all the time when, according to Butler’s *The Way of All Flesh*, the importance of being earnest, the *imitatio [Dr.] Arnoldi*, began to push the cultural pendulum away from dandyism and latitudinarianism generally (*Dickens and the Grown-Up Child*, 160–61). Those pre-Victorian years were, figuratively as well as literally for writers such as Dickens and Thackeray, identified with childhood—their own, and their nation’s, and we can regard the comparatively earnest *David Copperfield* and *Pendennis* as would-be mature farewells to the more uncritically comic, racier productions of their early careers (see 163). This, with all our ambivalence about the costs of maturity, seems to me a “sensible” understanding of discipline: it is a process of requisite socialization that can sometimes go too far, as it does with the Murdstones and with Creakle, in which case the need is for a liberally corrective spontaneity, but that, given the inevitable conflict of desires both within David himself and between him and other people, can’t be skipped altogether.
- The obvious here needs to be said because of the influence, strong, for instance, in Jeremy Tambling’s introduction to the new Penguin edition, of D. A. Miller’s account of *David Copperfield* and other Victorian novels as illustrations of discipline *à la* Foucault, which often equates the home—with its necessary “Don’t talk with your mouth full”; “Do pick up your toys”—and the prison—with its equally necessary “Time to go down to the exercise yard!”; “No weapons allowed!” (*The Novel and the Police*, 219). Such bad-boy protest rejects the notion that Dickens’s characters are charming: that, Mr. Miller says, is merely a label we give these tic-ridden, “boxed” creatures in gratitude for the illusion they offer of our own contrasting freedom (207–08). This is in addition to the trumpeted truism that identity isn’t unitary, that David like everyone else isn’t really “there” as a stable self, and that this is just as well for a hero whose profound desire since that Day of Murdstone if not before has been to live vicariously, through daydreams and ultimately through the novels he reads and writes. The same, apparently, is true of us in our novel reading: what other way is there to escape “the world’s carceral oppressions” (216)? What Mr. Miller might find less dreary, one infers, would be an accouplement of David and Steerforth, or Steerforth and Emily living in Laurentian defiance of Mrs. Grundy in a villa in Italy. Frank immoralism, however, can on the evidence of Foucault’s own life, to say nothing of his work, be drearier than any patch of David’s.
11. Dickens, “Number-Plans,” in Tambling’s Penguin edition of *David Copperfield*, 822; hereafter cited in the text as “Plans.”
 12. House, *The Dickens World*, 132.
 13. Lougy, “Remembrances of Death Past and Future,” 87–92.
 14. This self-in-the-mirror moment at Yarmouth is the last of half-a-dozen, beginning with little David’s looking at his puffed face in the mirror after Murdstone has beaten him, when

- he sees himself objectified as a creature other than his mother, who now seems to belong to Murdstone; and including his self-inspection as a mourner for his mother when at Salem House he first is told of her death, a further step in egoism, which conceives the story of her death as really the story of his own suffering, and so on. Barry Westburg's French–Freud analysis is, on careful consideration, full of insight about the autobiographer David's evolving ways of “imaging” himself, and is happily free of jargon. He draws a common sense inference from David's self-inspection at Yarmouth: he needs to stop aestheticizing other people (as images in the mirror of his own imagination, players in his life's drama) and start recognizing that they have lives of their own. “Looking-*at* rather than looking-*into* would reveal to him the banality, the emptiness of the mirror and the specular image . . . he could then look-*through* the window to others. Thus the mirror would teach that it teaches nothing: a considerable lesson.” Which, however, he fails to learn and so, for Mr. Westburg, fails to grow up—being at the end of the novel a “monster-child” narcissist who still treats other people (Agnes now most of all) as screens onto which he projects his own fears and needs (“David Sees ‘Himself’ in the Mirror,” 45–46). This seems to me too hard on David, who, yes, may fall short of sainthood when it comes to remembering the houseless etc., but who as self-centered autobiographer has if anything been most often accused of dulling himself for the sake of heightening the portraits of the vivacious people, from spear-carriers on up, who were supposed to be supporting cast.
15. Kincaid, “The Structure of *David Copperfield*,” 91.
 16. Simon Edwards makes the nice point that the quibble about Britannia metal versus Georgian silver means that, in David's middle-aging mind, Traddles's “*sterling* qualities” are being displaced by a radiant “collection of objects with merely *exchange* value” and so on (“*David Copperfield*: The Decomposing Self,” 74). In a new-historicist mode, wherein every material and mental object connects with everything else and double entendres and puns are as common as blackberries (e.g., “Uriah Heep's name, both parts of it frankly excretory in suggestion—a paradoxical heap of piss challenging the discipline of the constipated Murdstone—hints also at a set (you-or-I) of undifferentiated, unconscious desires” [76]), Mr. Edwards is never boring, and discomfits our ideas of what counts as relevant.
 17. Indicative, as Margaret F. Darby remarks, of the real power of the pen being in David's hand not Dora's (“Dora and Doady,” 166). But as I think needs to be said in response to “gendered” interpretations of such situations in Victorian literature, Dickens was first of all intent on offering someone like Dora as a representative figure, brought up, in Ms. Darby's nice phrase, to “the trained incapacities of the upper class wife” (164), which echoes Dickens's working note to number 12: “Poor little Dora not bred [as against ‘born’] for <the world> a working life.” And in fact, the desired capablizing of such a wife came about sooner through realistic portraits such as Dora's than it would have through wishful drawings of fictive versions of George Eliot or the Brontë sisters. *They* were one-in-ten-million sorts of women, and their mute and inglorious counterparts weren't seriously going to be helped by novelists, even male ones, taking ultra-liberal attitudes (Ms. Darby seems to view the “unworthy” David as the narratorial equivalent of a Taliban spokesman); they were to be helped, as girls, by educational and work opportunities on par with what boys had, which in another century past Dickens's time they more or less would have achieved.
 18. Wilson, *The World of Charles Dickens*, 216.
 19. Not everyone is charmed by Steerforth the way Angus Wilson is; indeed the typical view over the last quarter century, expressed by Badri Raina for instance (*Dickens and the Dialectic of Growth*, 90), is that the young man's only attraction, if David were honest with himself, is that he is comparatively upper class—the critic adding that Heep's physical ugliness is an aesthetically prejudiced and in any event gratuitous low blow, meant to privilege the

handsome Steerforth (97). On the contrary, Dickens consistently responds to his culture's ideas of beauty and ugliness in a go-along way, only adding the sensible proviso that beautiful people (e.g., Estella in *Great Expectations*, and we remember that Murdstone is supposed to be handsome) can be spiritually twisted and physically frozen by experience that corrupts their hearts, and that unbeautiful people (Peggotty or her brother, whose skin has been roughened by work and weather) can be physically warmed and spiritually graced by experience that has enriched their hearts.

As for the ways in which an "illiberal society" has shaped Uriah Heep's 'umble demeanor, Dickens, especially in Chapter 39 (574–75) where Uriah tells David about his school-days, is no less revealing (see Hardy, "The Moral Art of Dickens: *David Copperfield*," 11, and Tambling, "Introduction," xvi–xix). Only, like most people, he has difficulty overcoming the visceral likes and dislikes he feels toward socially constructed personalities, and their innate physical and temperamental traits.

20. I would urge anyone so tempted to get buggery out of his mind, since, *pace* Oliver S. Buckton's attempt, in "My Undisciplined Heart," at "declassifying homoerotic secrets" in this novel—poor David is supposed to be melancholy because he is forced to give up same-sex sex for the other kind—he as narrator never even hints at such schoolboy vice. Remember that Dickens was in this regard fortunate never go have gone to boarding school himself. This isn't to deny that he would have known that Steerforth's prototype, Byron, was bisexual or that what Robert Graves would have called pseudo-homosexual feelings (read guy-to-guy affection) obtain between Steerforth and the David he calls "Daisy." It *is* to deny that Dickens "writes into" his story a homoeroticism even as oblique as what Forster will write into *The Longest Journey*.
21. Tambling, "Introduction," xii.
22. Qtd. in *ibid.*, xiii.
23. See Poovey, *Uneven Developments*, 115.
24. As Dickens wrote to his friend John Forster: "Still undecided about Dora' (7th of May), 'but MUST decide to-day.' 'I have been' (Tuesday, 20th of August) 'very hard at work these three days, and have still Dora to kill. But with good luck, I may do it to-morrow'" (Forster, *Life of Dickens*, 2.101).
Death was for the Victorians what divorce was for the late twentieth century. As Michael Black writes, the haunting question of this novel is what David would do if Dora had lived, and he were left in Dickens's own domestic situation (*The Literature of Fidelity*, 101). Would he, like Dickens, separate from his wife, or would he, like an Isabel Archer, with bad-faith fidelity, stick it out? Stick it out, of course. He has accepted the unsatisfactoriness of his marriage, he tolerates and even cherishes Dora for her weaknesses, and gets help in that effort from Betsey and Agnes. He would no more throw Dora over than Betsey would throw over her dependent, Mr. Dick.
25. Slater, *Dickens and Women*, 251.
26. As Barbara Hardy correctly says, we have to grant artists the stock responses of their age ("The Moral Art of Dickens," 12), just as, I might add, we hope future generations will grant us ours. If Dickens's heart swelled at the conjunction of woman and stained-glass window, he was in his day hardly singular. Since he often associated churches, whether in village or town, with social stability, spiritual peace, and of course the Christian salvation of his soul, Arlene M. Jackson contends that, "Sharing Dickens' position, we know something David does not: he is attracted to Agnes because she emanates the warmth, security and richness of personality associated with the stained-glass window of his childhood church-going experiences" ("Agnes Wickfield and the Church Motif," 60). We don't have to be churchy ourselves to appreciate the justness of that remark, as a reminder of probable authorial intent.

27. John Carey writes: "David's obtuseness is enough to make any girl weep. For Agnes has perfectly normal instincts, in fact, and is pointing not upwards but towards the bedroom. The inadequacy lies in David, not her. . . . Readers who come away thinking Agnes a sexless saint miss the point. David sees her as that, but only because his own fear of a mature woman forces him to turn her into something untouchable" (*The Violent Effigy*, 171–72). Unfortunately, Mr. Carey's energetic formulation misses, predictably, the ethico-religious side of Agnes. But he is better than Mr. Moretti, who, as we saw in chapter 2, dismisses her (and the novel) altogether (192).
28. See Bandelin, "David Copperfield: A Third Interesting Penitent," 29—a critic acute about how David's disapproval casts Dora down so much that she simply resigns her place in the world, and about how, more subtly, David in effect sets up Steerforth—he can't in conscience take Emily to his own bed, so he "arranges" for his friend to do it for him—and then, feeling guilty, waits for time and tide to punish Steerforth for having done it. When they actually drown him and of course Ham, David irrationally feels like a murderer—two victims now in addition to Dora. Like most probings of characters' unconscious, Mr. Bandelin's seems to me deeper and darker than anything Dickens himself could have been conscious of. But then, it is really Dickens's unconscious—in a Laurentian "trust the tale" mode—that is being probed, and if the tale doesn't actually *invite* Mr. Bandelin's ethico-psychoanalytic interpretation, it does, with its abundant data-up-for-grabs, *allow* it. The same is true of (say) John O. Jordan's ethico-materialist interpretation ("The Social Sub-Text of *David Copperfield*," hereafter cited in the text implicitly or as "Jordan"). I am trying to stick with an interpretation that the novel's data seem expressly to invite.
29. Kincaid, *Dickens and the Rhetoric of Laughter*, 181.
30. As Humphry House points out, Dickens "never meant Micawber to be a Chestertonian saint who 'never ought to succeed,' whose 'kingdom is not of this world.' . . . The moral of Micawber rather is that even in a man as fantastically improvident and as gay about it as he, there is a secret possibility of success. This moral is plainly more trite than Chesterton's; but its triteness was peculiarly topical" (*The Dickens World*, 85). In any case, David suffers a significant loss when Micawber and the Peggotty group emigrate, for, as I argue, they represent forces with which neither his middle-class sense of self nor his wife Agnes can live without embarrassment. The best treatments of this uneasy aspect of the novel's ending are in Robin Gilmour, "Memory in *David Copperfield*," passim; Jordan, 85–89; and Malcolm Andrews, *Dickens and the Grown-Up Child*, 170.
31. Quite aside from the biographical knowledge that as a boy Dickens would have seen plenty of degrading sexual activity in the streets of London—David mentions how "ashamed" he was to have become such a "knowing" little chap, a remark his author might have made of himself—and that he (Dickens) thereafter tended to connect promiscuity with the wild, and dirty, lower depths of society (see Ackroyd, *Dickens*, 89–90), we might still judge that Emily is rather severely punished. She both loses Steerforth and isn't allowed, afterward, to marry even one of the reformed convicts she would encounter in the back of beyond. There, in Australia, Martha may marry as she pleases, but Emily, who hasn't fallen more than a ledge below respectability, must spend the rest of her life in an open-air convent.
32. The Peggottys' uncle–niece, the Wickfields' father–daughter, and the Strong's husband–wife relationships have, not surprisingly, seethed with possibilities for dysfunction—hunting caseworkers whose actual credentials read "English professor." Still, while eschewing the more pointless of their diagnoses, there is no reason to deny that, beneath the surface of many of Dickens's homely relationships, energies are stifled and spirits unhappy. Representative studies of morbidity in *Copperfield* are by Brian Crick ("Mr. Peggotty's Dream Come True") and Philip Weinstein ("Mr. Peggotty and Little Em'ly"), who don't

approve of Mr. Peggotty's horny hand on the rescued Emily's shoulder. Well, Dickens's mythically virtuous figures, "a going to seek" whatever sheep or coin may be lost, have hormones like the rest of us, and I don't believe a fair-minded jury of readers will convict Mr. Peggotty of sexual harassment. His impulses are well in check.

33. For a different, exclusively political interpretation of Ham, Mr. Peggotty, and all the other sub-middle-class characters, see Jordan. One can willingly applaud an attempt, in the spirit of E. P. Thompson, to disclose the repressed social implications of a novel most critics have considered exclusively domestic. But Mr. Jordan's determination to see *Copperfield* as a deluded "Whig history of class relations, narrated by a middle-class subject" (79), is such that David, in a sexual transfer meant to prove him Steerforth's social equal, is said to "give" Emily to the Byronic youth in exchange for Rosa Dartle (69–70); or that the grins on the faces of Mr. Peggotty and Ham merely cover up "their class resentment and anger" (74); or that Heep is a "scapegoat . . . victim of the ruling class, just as his Biblical namesake, Uriah, was for King David" (79). Ms. Poovey acknowledges her debt to Mr. Jordan's essay, and with her too I think a resistant reading puts us in an insupportably extreme opposition to the novel's express intentions. We need, for example, to take seriously the narrator David's distinctions between the unconscious wrongdoings of his younger self (letting slip the reference to Mr. Mell's mother's indigence, or introducing the seducer Steerforth into the Emily's life) and the conscious wrongdoings of Uriah. True, they are both fatherless, poor boys and later self-made men, but they aren't mere doubles of one another (117–21). Uriah's blackmail, forgery, and theft aren't simply illegal; they are, within the community of sensibilities implied by this novel, immoral, and since he undertakes these acts deliberately, they are punishable. We may feel, as Dickens certainly felt, that the society that allowed the rise of David and disallowed that of Uriah should do more to open up educational and therefore social and economic opportunities to poor children generally. But it is a too-common mistake to construe chapter 61 ("I am shown Two Interesting Penitents"—namely Uriah and Littimer) as an indictment of inequality of opportunity, when it is palpably an indictment of these "model prisoners'" stubborn persistence in a this-is-*your*-fault self-pity that would make even a truly equal-opportunity system unworkable.

Mr. Jordan and Ms. Poovey nonetheless ought to be read by everyone interested in this novel, for like any good critic who combs through a text asking a single insistent question, they draw attention to epithets and speeches others have overlooked, and challenge us to see them not just with David's eyes, nor finally with Marx's, but with our own.

34. See, for instance, J. Hillis Miller, *Charles Dickens*, 155–59.

CHAPTER 4

1. Comic not tragic. The tone, as F. R. Leavis insisted in a once-famous exchange with Marius Bewley, is "extraordinarily high-spirited," and while the grown-ups' adulteries obviously bring "pathos" into Maisie's life, there is no sense of portentous evil such as we get in *The Turn of the Screw*. "It is no more the pathos of innocence assailed or surrounded by evil," Leavis writes, "than the distinctive pathos of the early part of *David Copperfield* is that" (*Anna Karenina*, 80). I would add only that the tonal difference between *Maisie* and *Turn* is, where assailed children are concerned, like that between *Copperfield* and *Bleak House*.

Comedy, it should go without saying, is quite as serious in its moral and psychological insights as tragedy, which is why—to cite another most eminent mid-century critic—Edmund Wilson was not denigrating *Maisie* when he called it, along with the other late

- novels, “a sort of ruminative poem which gives us not really a direct account of the internal workings of [James’s] characters, but rather [his] reflective feelings, the flow of images set off in his mind, as he peeps not impolitely inside them.” In short, James is not a “deep” psychologist—not (I would claim) in the way Lawrence is, or Kafka—but “his sense of life” is nonetheless “often profound and sure” (*Triple Thinkers*, 126). Exactly.
2. I find myself echoing J. Hillis Miller, who puns that Maisie is often “‘amazed’ . . . as a wondering spectator” (*Versions of Pygmalion*, 53). The child all a-wonder at adult goings-on wasn’t, of course, a merely English fictive type. F. O. Matthiessen long ago pointed to Nathaniel Hawthorne’s *The Scarlet Letter*, where Pearl gazes, knows, and drops gnomic sayings (see *American Renaissance*, 279).
 3. James, *What Maisie Knew*, 13; hereafter cited in the text implicitly.
 4. Thus Diane Johnson in her introduction to the Modern Library edition: *What Maisie Knew* “seems wonderfully modern today because of our familiarity with its central situation: the remarriage of divorcing spouses, and the ongoing custody battle in which a child is used as a pawn by her two warring parents.” Ms. Johnson grants that what today is “practically a commonplace of life” seemed to James “extreme, even fanciful,” but she shares none of his dismayed outrage at what such divorces do to children (“Introduction,” xi).
 5. As James writes in the “Preface” to the novel, “Small children have many more perceptions than they have terms to translate them; their vision is at any moment much richer, their apprehension even constantly stronger, than their prompt, their at all producible, vocabulary. Amusing therefore as it might at the first blush have seemed to restrict myself in this case to the terms as well as to the experience, it became at once plain that such an attempt would fail. Maisie’s terms accordingly play their part—since her simpler conclusions quite depend on them; but our own commentary constantly attends and amplifies” (x). In short, *What Maisie Knew* is a rather different project than *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Maisie hasn’t Huck’s richness of regional dialect, nor does James have quite the same ironical intentions Twain does: what the latter is willing to leave confused and analphabetic in his hero’s heart, the former pushes toward articulation in his heroine’s head.
 6. Many critics write “Countess” in quotation marks, on the forgivable assumption that Beale is lying: “Oh yes, my dear, but it isn’t an English title. . . . No, nor French either. It’s American” (177). Doesn’t that make it plain that she is a mulatto South American countess, a titled descendant of someone like Miss Swartz in *Vanity Fair*? There were, e.g., countesses in Brazil before 1889. On the other hand, James in the “Preface” (xii) refers to the woman as Mrs. Cuddon, the name Mrs. Beale thinks correct, but he may be misremembering, for he has made Beale say, “My dear child, my wife’s a damned fool! . . . she doesn’t really know anything about anything” (178). A small point, but I am sticking with South American countess.
 7. For Mr. Miller, Maisie’s “spasm” is part sexual, “a paroxysm of sexual desire [for Sir Claude] and loss” (*Versions of Pygmalion*, 37; cited implicitly throughout this note), and part epistemological, a feeling of falling “into a bottomless chasm” (39)—the chasm opened, for this deconstructionist, by “the incommensurability between ascertainable meaning and historical effect” (77). He is referring to the inevitable “interval” between words and the things, acts, feelings, and ideas they are supposed to identify and convey. *Maisie* is a ripe text for deconstructive analysis, since James’s awareness of the discrepancy between his heroine’s childish language and his (or his narrator’s) own suggests indeed that some of what she thinks and feels will remain unexpressed and ergo unknown. From this it is only a backward half step to declare the unknowability of everything, especially ethical universals. What is “universal”—the word is James’s in the “Preface” (xii)—for Mr. Miller is precisely that unknowability. This epistemological blank entails an incommensurability between any act of expression (whether Maisie’s, the narrator’s, James’s, or the reader’s), on the one hand, and “any straightforward ethical action that will ‘do good’ in the social and political world, on

the other. Maisie, like James's other signal protagonists [Isabel, Strether, Maggie, Milly], ultimately renounces participation in the social round. She withdraws in order to protect her moral and imaginative deal [*sic!*—he means 'ideal'], which cannot be made materially operative in the real world. This harsh law would presumably hold in any conceivable society. The fact that Maisie's bliss is bale for others is not a contingent historical fact. It is, according to James, a universal law of human life" (79). In short, Maisie's purity is a consequence both of her refusal to participate in, or even referee, the crisscross sexual games the grown-ups play, and of her withdrawal into a nonpractical, nonpolitical, and therefore oddly nonethical realm of meditative being. James had reasons to be skeptical about language, thought, and action, but, as I argue, he wasn't as beaten as this clever pyrrhonic account would suggest.

8. Apropos of the possibility of incest, Julie Rivkin presents it as at best a subject of ambivalent concern. "Viewed in terms of the structure of the oedipal family," she writes, the propriety of Maisie's implicit suggestion that she and Sir Claude become lovers is as "perfectly undecidable—both proper and improper"—as his own suggestion that she become part of an adulterous *ménage* with himself and Mrs. Beale. "To speak [Maisie's] desire as an 'older' woman, rather than as a daughter, is to compromise herself as daughter, to remove him from his paternal position, and to neutralize the meaning 'incest' which the oedipal family frame would have assigned her desire. Because her desire is spoken from a position already outside the family relation, it is both incestuous and not incestuous at once, undecidably, a confirmation of the oedipal scheme and an abandonment of its logic."

Translation and commentary: The solution is to break with the Oedipal family, which Maisie would do by transforming Sir Claude from stepfather into boyfriend and, we presume, finally into husband. No more incest, no more adultery—but (wouldn't you know!) yet another basis, should she bear him a child, for oedipal family romance and the recrudescence of incestuous and adulterous impulses. Maisie's absconding with Mrs. Wix is not, *pace* Ms. Rivkin, the meaning of her uniqueness—"renouncing the family," "ceas[ing] to be the agent of other characters' projects of representation" (*False Positions*, 158–59). Maisie is again accepting Mrs. Wix as her surrogate mother, and she will in all probability one day leave her to marry somebody who isn't Sir Claude.

9. James, *Literary Criticism*, 1229.
10. *Ibid.*, 1230.
11. Homosocial, homosexual, "family-man," "grandmother": there is more than a little gender confusion in Sir Claude's mind, not least because, as he explains, in his culture "there *are* no family-women—hanged if there are! None of them want any children—hanged if they do!" (61). He himself wants children, if only to provide a male heir to his baronetcy, and if Ida is too busy playing billiards to care for children (to say nothing of conceiving them), then he feels compelled to care for his stepdaughter himself, and to look out for another woman who might provide him a son. He is no Henry VIII, however, for whatever woman he is with, including Mrs. Wix, he is the one who is supine. John Carlos Rowe picks up his name's homophonic suggestion: "as if he has been *clawed* by the Furies" (*The Other Henry James*, 128).
12. James, *The Portrait of a Lady*, 1.22–23; hereafter cited in the text implicitly. I prefer the metaphoric fullness of the New York Edition (1908), which more than just rhetorically is a very different book from the one James published in 1881. Among the several treatments of the two versions, the best is Nina Baym's "Revision and Thematic Change," which maintains that the Isabel of 1908 is much more inward, less socially conscious than the Isabel of 1881, and that accordingly her comfort lies not in imitating the truly independent Henrietta but in simply seeing and knowing aright. The practical problem for readers remains, however: they can take in only one *Portrait* at a time, just as they can look at, say,

- only one of Constable's several versions of *The Leaping Horse* at a time. Spatial constraints in any event dictate that I address myself to the 1908 version alone.
13. The Kantian influence on New England philosophy was central, and James's father, Henry James, Sr., was sharply critical of its solipsistic proclivities—its sinking of “the finite” and “the relative” under the weight of “the Infinite” and “the Absolute,” and accordingly its “rabid glorification of our natural Egotism” (qtd. in Taylor, *Henry James and the Father Question*, 128). This exactly anticipates Santayana's uneasiness with transcendentalism, not least in its American, Emersonian guise. In any case, James the novelist exposes, through the characterization of Isabel Archer, the fallibility of the transcendentalist “approach to knowledge through intuition and feeling, the assumption of a benevolent universe, the highly self-conscious dedication to the spontaneous realisation of the self,” and so on. Mr. Taylor adds that the chapter “Brook Farm and Concord” in *Hawthorne* (1879), which James was writing in the early stages of contemplating *Portrait*, offers us an Emersonian key to the puzzle of Isabel's self-regard.
 14. These direct, “Trollopean” pleas for patience and sympathy not only ensure that we won't miss the tenderness in James's irony toward Isabel; they bespeak his love, in her figure, for his cousin, Minny Temple, who died at 24, nearly a decade before he began to write Isabel's story, and who has been the object of biographical speculation that needn't divert us here. Richard Poirier has made the important point: James's love for his character precedes, and is indeed the condition for, his knowledge of her. If, remembering Hippolyte Taine's famous dictum, “Balzac aime sa Valérie,” the courtesan careerist of *Cousine Bette*, so James aime sa Isabel—and works to induce us to love her too (*Comic Sense*, 208–09).
 15. Joel Porte discusses Isabel's acculturation within the Arnoldian, Paterian tradition I have outlined in chapter 2. He makes the correct general point that Isabel comes to Europe thinking she will cultivate her garden-self like a connoisseur (Osmond, for instance) picking up impressions—wanting “to see, but not to feel,” as Ralph notes (1.213)—and she learns that, as Arnold and Pater had understood, feeling is in fact required, if her garden-self is to achieve moral beauty. Which is to say, she learns that suffering is required, not to sharpen self-pity, an emotion belonging to childhood, but to connect her little garden-self with the equivalent garden-selves that constitute the race (see Porte, “Introduction,” 15–17, 22–24).
 16. And who, as Ms. Baym rightly notes, was decidedly a feminist paragon in the 1881 version—not “loud, overbearing, and obnoxious,” the clichéd “tough, efficient career girl,” but “pretty, decorous, and ladylike,” and a “highly talented and thoroughly professional” journalist to boot. The Isabel of either version lacks the stuff of Henrietta, whose marriage to Bantling “is presented as a happy event”—happy because they don't depend on marriage “to give life meaning” (“Revision and Thematic Change,” 86). The problem, as I point out, is that Isabel lacks her friend's vocational inspiration—indeed that her access of fortune removes the “get a job” imperative from her life—and that she therefore, like most women of her class and era, *does* rather count on marriage to give her life meaning.
 17. Dorothea Krook appreciated this motive better than most of James's critics, of her time (the 1950s and 1960s) and since. Isabel's apparent coldness or hardness has nothing to do with “frigidity” and everything to do with protecting herself till she finds the “right person,” i.e., a man who can help her develop her mind and whom she can also serve (see *Ordeal of Consciousness*, 366–67). The burden of Krook's argument is that Isabel's believing that Osmond is the right person is a tragic, not merely foolish, error. That is, she is no ditsy victim but a moral agent responsible for her choices, subtly tainted by the aestheticism so unsubtly dominant in Osmond's character.

Mr. Poirier finds tragedy too, but only in the second half. The first has been a theatrical entertainment that turns out to be deceit: “life is only a masked ball into which a Cinderella invariably wanders who must stay after midnight and do the cleaning up”

(*Comic Sense*, 230). True, but Isabel's clean-up job is no temporary position, it is "for the rest of her life" (2.196). In which case it isn't comic role-playing—Mr. Poirier in 1960 was evidently reacting against the "organization man" stiffness of the 1950s—but a commitment to vocation and community that will keep her spiritually alive.

That was not quite the conclusion of another 1960s critique, one of the best ever written on this novel, Charles Feidelson's "The Moment of *The Portrait of a Lady*," which bracingly celebrates Isabel's "embattled consciousness" but alas neglects what to James was correlatively interesting, her conscience—the faculty that in *Maisie* is more often called "moral sense." I would tender the same criticism of what is otherwise the best recent book on James, Millicent Bell's *Meaning in Henry James*, which grants the romantically self-creating Isabel less achieved moral wisdom at the close—less understanding of "the discrepancy between reality and her theories" (91–92)—than, to me, the text indicates. But this is a quibble that the body of my discussion works through.

18. James, *Complete Notebooks*, 13–14.
19. We may reasonably recoil from Osmond's crooning: "My dear girl, I can't tell you how life seems to stretch there before us—what a long summer afternoon awaits us. It's the latter half of an Italian day—with a golden haze, and the shadows just lengthening, and that divine delicacy in the light, the air, the landscape, which I have loved all my life and which you love to-day" (2.81) and so on—but the novel in some measure does achieve James's intention, which was to make the *vie de dilettante*, in the honorable sense of amateur of the arts (Osmond's drawings, Madame Merle's piano), as attractive to Isabel as *Maisie* will find the *vie de bohème*. Such lives are sweet, but one has to watch out.
20. James, *Complete Notebooks*, 14.
21. An implicit corollary is that, in persuading his father to bequeath half his patrimony to Isabel, Ralph has grievously misassessed the chances of Isabel's falling prey to a fortune hunter—indeed, that it is nearly always a mistake to gift an *unprepared* receptacle any huge sum of money, for the simple reason that he or she will surely waste, mismanage, or be robbed of it. A *Bildungsheld* such as Santayana's Oliver Alden, who is born to financial independence, as we will see, is badgered by the needy often enough, but he manages all right because he has grown up with a sense of noblesse oblige. He is the exception that proves the rule illustrated by Steerforth, who regards inherited wealth as a license to prey on boys like David and girls like Emily. The characters in these novels who fare best in their relations to money are those compelled to earn it, as David does.
22. Among the many passages pertinent to the theme of connoisseurship is this, registering Osmond's conception of himself: "If an anonymous drawing on a museum wall had been conscious and watchful it might have known this peculiar pleasure of being at last and all of a sudden identified—as from the hand of a great master—by the so high and so unnoticed fact of style. His 'style' was what the girl had discovered with a little help; and now, beside herself enjoying it, she should publish it to the world without his having any of the trouble. She should do the thing *for* him, and he would not have waited in vain" (2.12). And this one suggesting Isabel's matching conception of herself: "she had put away her mourning and she walked in no small shimmering splendour. She only felt older—ever so much, and as if she were 'worth more' for it, like some curious piece in an antiquary's collection" (2.42). Both Isabel and Osmond are collectors, but while he is often content to regard himself as a specimen, she regards herself as a *self*—and with greater intensity as her suffering increases.
23. "Sin" is a word James didn't blench from, and for reasons a Catholic such as Graham Greene was in a position to understand: the good and evil of human nature generally was inside the artist—either pole helping him grasp the other. In Greene's words: "For to render the highest justice to corruption you must retain your innocence: you have to be conscious

all the time within yourself of treachery to something valuable. If Peter Quint [from *The Turn of the Screw*] is to be rooted in you, so must the child his ghost corrupts: if Osmond, Isabel Archer too" (*Collected Essays*, 28).

This, as Mr. Taylor has suggested, is one reason James preferred "the power of blackness" in Hawthorne to, say, the pungency of *mal* in Baudelaire. The American writer understood evil to reside within himself, as it does within all human beings; the French writer obsessed about a nastiness external to himself, an offense not to his moral sense but to his "olfactories" (see *Henry James and the Father Question*, 129, citing James, *Literary Criticism*, 155–56).

24. Tony Tanner's "The Fearful Self" remains the standard essay on the Kantian difference between regarding oneself and others as objects (means) and as subjects (ends).
25. The only true European we get to know in the novel is Lord Warburton, who, as F. W. Dupee finely said at the dawn of modern James studies, has a self so identified with "his inherited functions as head of the family, landlord, and member of the House of Lords" that the Americanized Europeans, and even the mere travelers Caspar and Henrietta who have perfectly decent jobs and families back home, seem by contrast to be bizarrely "*self-seek[ing]*" (*Henry James*, 122). Not that we should conflate all Europeans with Lord Warburton or all Americans with these expatriates. European *Bildungshelden* such as Wilhelm, David, or Paul Morel, inasmuch as they leave their class of origin, are akin to these self-seeking, self-defining Americans abroad, just as stay-at-home Americans can, in this or that Rutland (unfortunately named town), accustom themselves to the same honorable *ruts* Lord Warburton is so bored with at moated Lockleigh.
26. Bell, *Meaning in Henry James*, 98.
27. Joel Porte connects Isabel's melancholy brooding over Roman ruins with Virgil's *Sunt lacrimae rerum*: "they weep here / For how the world goes," per Robert Fitzgerald's translation (Virgil, *Aeneid*, 20). When following the poignant scene of Ralph's death Isabel sees the ghost of Gardencourt, we know that, morally at least, she has grown up. No more fluttering for what Mr. Porte calls "a Gothic frisson—a private thrill at seeing crumbling castles and predictable ghosts" (24). Deflating Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* or Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* is no mere joke, as it tends to be in Austen's *Northanger Abbey*.
28. Cf. Bell, *Meaning in Henry James*, 121. The critic aptly suggests that such an investment of Isabel's money would not duplicate "Ralph's fatal endowment" of her, for instead of making Pansy a target for adventurers it would enable her to marry the man she has already committed herself to.
29. A notebook entry suggests an idea that is submerged in the novel itself: Madame Merle springs on Isabel the news that Ralph "induced" his father to leave her a fortune because she "wishes [Isabel] to make a *coup de tête*, to leave Osmond, so that she may be away from Pansy" (James, *Complete Notebooks*, 15). That is, the birth mother is jealous of the stepmother, who, given the former's designs on the girl, has a moral obligation to stand fast. Mid-century critics' language turned needfully austere round this subject, from Dorothy Van Ghent's transformation of freedom to enjoy life "into the freedom of personal renunciation and inexhaustible responsibility" (*The English Novel*, 261), to Richard P. Blackmur's *basso-profundo* dourness about the heroine's "conceit [having] turned to a suicidal obstinacy" under pressure from the "force of marriage—not love but marriage," to Krook's insistence that Isabel's dutiful return to Rome means "enduring, simply *enduring*, her life" with her husband (*Ordeal of Consciousness*, 360).

Recent critics have mostly eschewed such austerities—take, for instance, Alfred Habegger, who remarks that "For the American girl to become a lady means the suffocation of her heart's desire, a final acceptance of an absurd set of constraints" (*Gender, Fantasy, and Realism*, 69)—and have consequently had difficulty understanding James on his own terms. Readers too eager to say, from their own current perspective, what makes for real manliness

or womanliness, scarcely allow the novelist to do his or her own social history and critique. Mr. Habegger isn't *that* eager, but after noting, e.g., James's account of Isabel's maternal impulses, he dismisses her rejection of Caspar as a symptom of conventional "Victorian" sexlessness—quite as he dismisses the New York Edition's revision of the "*prick*" Caspar's kiss as "absurdly melodramatic, maybe even hysterical," a sign of James's "exaggerated fear of [male] aggression," particularly in its robber–baron American form (78). James's fear is only marginally relevant if at all. The dramatic point is that, after being rebuffed so often by Isabel, Caspar has been driven to playing it rough, and that she, like the majority of "ladies" in more epochs than her own, insists that he back off. It isn't, to be anachronistic myself, a cry of "date rape"—she doesn't reach for her lawyer. It is a perfectly capable act of self-defense.

CHAPTER 5

1. Orwell, "Such, Such Were the Joys," 334.
2. Erikson, *Childhood and Society*, 79.
3. Forster, *The Longest Journey*, 4, 8; hereafter cited in the text implicitly.
4. Forster, *Howards End*, 105.
5. Cavaliero, *A Reading of E. M. Forster*, 79.
6. Conjectures about Forster's familiarity with Moore's ideas have been complicated by S. P. Rosenbaum, who regards *The Longest Journey* as "an imaginative interpretation and extension" of Moore's anti-Berkeleyan paper, "The Refutation of Idealism," which appeared in *Mind* (October 1903). But as P. N. Furbank rejoins, it seems clear on Mr. Rosenbaum's own evidence that Forster never actually read either Moore's book or his paper. Not only is Forster's own testimony about his very oblique familiarity with Moore's ideas unequivocal (see Rosenbaum, "*The Longest Journey*: E. M. Forster's Refutation of Idealism," 33, 287, n. 4), but Mr. Furbank rightly "suspect[s] that Moore's rather 'scholastic' and arithmetical way of talking of 'organic unities' . . . would have repelled [Forster] had he encountered it. All one can find about Berkeleyan idealism in Forster, surely, is what any educated person of this century or the previous one knew: that is to say the idea summed up in the famous limerick about the tree in the Quad. Forster in this sense was philosophically naïve, though only in this sense." The limerick goes:

There once was a man who said God
Must find it exceedingly odd,
If he finds that this tree
Continues to be
When there's no-one about in the Quad.

See Furbank, "The Philosophy of E. M. Forster," 45, 50, n. 13.

7. Forster, "Looking Back," 58.
8. Russell, *Autobiography*, 86.
9. At Nassenheide, Germany, in the spring of 1905, "Elizabeth" (Countess von Arnim, later Countess Russell) lent Forster a copy of Butler's *Erewhon* (Furbank, *Forster*, 1:130). He had already, in February, been reading *The Way of All Flesh* and recording his reaction in his diary: "so clever it is at describing character, so bad at making people: the scheme so immense, the effect so unreal because he is resolutely unconventional" (Heine, "Introduction," xlvii; hereafter cited in the text as "Elizabeth Heine"). What did impress him were Butler's witty inversions and his iconoclastic ideas, which, as he remembered of *Erewhon* in 1944, were "a little farther down . . . [the] particular path" he himself was walking (*Two Cheers* 222; hereafter cited in the text as *Two Cheers*).

10. Forster, *Marianne Thornton*, 265.
11. The notion that the school is the world in miniature goes back at least to Sir Thomas Booby, who in Henry Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* (III.v) is quoted as saying that "great Schools are little Societies, where a Boy of any Observation may see in Epitome what he will afterwards find in the World at large"—a position Parson Adams strongly denounces in favor of a "purer" upbringing at home. Compare Forster's review of commencement addresses in 1933, in which he notices how insufferably often speakers summon boys from "the world in miniature" into a still more distorted "world which, as far as my own notions go, has very little connexion with reality, a world where everyone is either managing or being managed, and where the British Empire has been appointed to the post of general manager." He himself would like to reassure boys that "There's a better time coming" ("Breaking Up," 119), when presumably they will be able to cultivate their post-imperial gardens. First, however, would have to come an empire-destroying war, which would leave a lot of ash on those gardens.
12. See Forster's introduction to William Golding's novel (ix–xiii): his enthusiasm has something to do with the latter's realistically dark assessment of *undeveloped* human nature.
13. Forster, "Aspect of a Novel," lxix–lxx.
14. When Forster said that *The Longest Journey* "is the only one of my books that has come upon me without my knowledge" ("Aspect of a Novel," lxvi), he was thinking particularly of the character of Stephen, whose club-footed "original" he had met and shared a pipe with in 1904. It was an experience of Scholar-Gipsy-like reciprocation that he later recalled in the early 1920s for the Bloomsbury Memoir Club. There had been no sexual contact, just pleasant talk about nothing: "I had planned the book before I took that walk to Figsbury Rings; its meagre theme (a man learns he has an illegitimate brother) and its meagre moral (we oughtn't to like one person specially) had both been noted. Then the emotion welled up, spoiling it as a novel but giving it its quality. . . . Although vague and stagy, [Stephen] is the only character who exists for me outside his book, and restores to the world of experience more than he took from it" ("Memoirs," 305–06). It is striking that Forster should have transferred the shepherd's club foot to Rickie, perhaps expressing a desire that the one should have the other's "inherited" homosexual temperament. Striking, too, is a similarity between this shepherd and the Millais-like image of Christ that Forster prefers to the churchy one: "Suppose I could think of Christ not as an evangelical shop walker, but as the young carpenter who would smoke a pipe with me in his off time and be most frightfully kind. 'A man shall be a hiding place in a tempest' would suddenly mean something" (qtd. in Furbank, *Forster*, 1:163). Furbank's two-volume life is standard.
15. Ever since W. H. Beveridge's doubts about this "blend of pagan god and modern hooligan" (qtd. in Elizabeth Heine, lviii), opinions about Stephen have been predominantly negative, though a few have praised him, notably Peter Burra ("The Novels of E. M. Forster," 30) and P. J. M. Scott, who aptly notes that one's judgment of such a character depends to some degree on "one's own experience of our species" (*E. M. Forster*, 101). In an unpublished essay, "Three Countries," Forster himself conceded that Stephen "can be boorish and a bore" (qtd. in Colmer, *E. M. Forster*, 69), and to James McConkey he admitted that "I never showed (except perhaps through his talk with Ansell) that he [Stephen] could understand Rickie, and scarcely that he could be fond of him. So that, in the end chapter, he lies as a somewhat empty hulk on that hillside. Who cares what he thinks, or doesn't think of?" (Forster, *Selected Letters*, 2:267). A major difficulty, we can now see, is that Forster discarded large portions of manuscript centering on Stephen—not just the "Panic" chapter that he mentions in his introduction, but much of the "talk with Ansell," which might have helped make him a more articulate presence. As Ms. Heine remarks,

- the lingering memory of these passages probably heightened Stephen's importance for Forster, who in 1964, near the end of his life, revisiting the Ring with William Golding, could write: "I exclaimed several times that the area was marvelous, and large—larger than I recalled. I was filled with thankfulness and security and glad that I had given myself so much back. . . . I shall lie in Stephen's arms instead of his child. How I wish that book hadn't faults! But they do not destroy it, and the gleam, the greatness, the grass remain. I don't want any other coffin" (qtd. in Elizabeth Heine, lxi, xlii).
16. See Tony Brown, "E. M. Forster's *Parsifal*," and Robert K. Martin, "The Paterian Mode in Forster's Fiction." Judith Herz very finely summarizes the "operatic" (specifically Wagnerian) techniques, early noticed by Benjamin Britten ("Some Notes on Forster and Music," 82): the rhythmic alternation between unlyrical recitative and aria- or ensemble-like big comic or emotionally tense scenes. For some late-Victorian and Edwardian homosexuals, enthusiasm for Wagner was "a lightly coded affirmation of sexual preference" (141), and for Ms. Herz the correspondences of plot and character between *Parsifal* and *Journey*, reinforced by the latter's "music," especially its "Love, the Beloved Republic" arias, tell a "sexually disruptive . . . queer story" ("This is the End of Parsival," 141, 149). She demurs, however, against the assumption of critics such as Nicola Beauman (*Morgan*, 180) that Forster "hated" his own sexual tendency, though surely it is too much to claim "there is no evidence" for such hatred; and she fruitfully suggests that his "making Ansell Jewish was in part an anti-Wagner move" ("This is the End of Parsival," 142, 148), as are the skeptical questionings his deflatingly plain prose brings to his poetical passages, which I find almost embarrassing to quote in isolation, however beautiful they are in context.
 17. Forster, *Abinger Harvest*, 176; hereafter cited in the text as *Abinger Harvest*.
 18. Trilling, *E. M. Forster*, 56. In one sense Trilling is right: as Richard Jenkyns has convincingly shown, Greek motifs were by Forster's time the tired properties of a legion of then popular but now forgotten writers. There is a nice irony in Agnes's common-sense criticism of the artificiality of Rickie's stories mixed with her belief that his themes are original. "Forster returns to this motif later," Mr. Jenkyns says, "when Rickie is dead and Mr. Pembroke is proposing to issue his stories posthumously under the title *Pan Pipes*. Wonham asks, more shrewdly perhaps than he realizes, 'Are you sure "Pan Pipes" haven't been used up already?' And here there is a further irony still: Pan's pipes are 'used up' because Greek religion is used up" (*The Victorians and Ancient Greece*, 191). In this last sentence, however, the irony may be on the critic: Forster's endeavor is to find a renewed validity in "Greek religion," which means doing something subtler and more complex in *The Longest Journey* than he (or Rickie) had done in "Other Kingdom."
 19. Forster, *A Passage to India*, 282.
 20. In a series of astringent essays since *The Cave and the Mountain*, Wilfred Stone has addressed Forster's capacities for "connecting" on the personal and the national level, and he finds a record spotty at best. See his "'Overleaping Class,'" 404, "Profit and Loss," 76–77, and "Subversive Individualism," 32.
 21. Bonnie Blumenthal Finkelstein too has caught here an echo of Shaw's Jack Tanner, who in *Man and Superman* (1903) puts up a stouter fight against his "emissary of Nature," Ann Whitefield, than Rickie does against Agnes. Ms. Finkelstein also notices the nickname, Ricky-Ticky-Tavy, which Ann gives Octavius, the artist-figure who like Rickie is shy of the Life Force (*Forster's Women*, 43–44). The coincidence, which is probably all it is, points up what may be a hard-wired difference between the untutored impulse toward promiscuity in males and the untutored impulse in females toward keeping the impregnator around to help feed and care for the offspring. See Robert Wright's *The Moral Animal*, which is a subtle yet accessible application of Darwinism to philosophical anthropology, and which gives many nuances to the generalization I have just offered.

22. In addition to Ms. Herz's aforementioned essay on Wagnerian elements in this novel, see her "The Double Nature of Forster's Vision," which concentrates on homosexual allegory in the platonic Dickinsonian vein, wherein the "invert" temperament is more important than the "invert" experience (259–61).
23. For Lawrence's complicated counsel and Forster's response, see Furbank, *E. M. Forster*, 2:10–11, 124. The canceled "Prologue" to *Women in Love* is a crucial text for understanding Lawrence's attitude toward homosexuality, and since he is the subject of the following chapter, I address that attitude here. Four years before the opening action, Birkin has during a mountaineering trip with two male friends fallen in love with Gerald, and Gerald (unconsciously) with him: "each would die for the other" (*Women in Love*, 500; cited implicitly to the end of this note). At the same time, Birkin's feelings are clearly bisexual, as he is drawn to intellectual women like Hermione and mere sex-pots like Pussum, who very roughly parallel the Miriam and Clara we see in *Sons and Lovers*. He gets no erotic satisfaction from either sort of woman, and therefore still finds himself attracted—it is a pattern salient in Forster's life—to "ruddy, well-nourished fellows" (like Stephen Wonham) who aren't very bright but who take care of "his delicate health more gently than a woman would . . . He wanted to caress them," but doesn't dare. After a while, however, these friendships fade, and he looks back on the fellows "as [having been] tedious" to talk to (512). David-like, Birkin knows "that is was [not] well for him to feel this keen desire" for these Viking or Mediterranean Jonathans, and so he suppresses it, but (again) he can't uncreate a feeling, any more "than he can prevent his body from feeling heat and cold." So he goes on, waiting for the day when his compass will change, "when the beauty of men should not be so acutely attractive to him, when the beauty of woman should move him instead" (514). Ursula Brangwen, it should be clear, is in the plot destined to "move him" in the whole, profound way that Hermione or the Pussum figures haven't, while his friendship with Gerald evolves, as he hopes, into a *Blutbrüderschaft* (198) based not on buggery but on conversation and wrestling.
- In a letter to Russell (February 12, 1915) Lawrence had this to say about Forster: "why can't he act? Why can't he take a woman and fight clear to his own basic, primal being?" It is because Forster is caught up in "the love for humanity—the desire to work for humanity." Heterosexuality or homosexuality: for "the ordinary Englishman of the educated class" the sex act is mere onanism, and "a man of strong soul [like Forster] has too much honour for the other body—man or woman—to use it as a means of masturbation [*sic*]. So he remains neutral, inactive. That is Forster" (*Letters*, 2.284–85).
24. Forster, *Albergo Empedocle*, 142.
25. Forster conceives his story in terms of "Greek Drama, where [as Ansell reflects] the actors know so little and the spectators so much," adding, behind Ansell's back, that he (Ansell) is also an actor playing his unconscious part (236–37). Such hints seem to put the novel into a tragic mode, though its conclusion is obviously comic. The point is that we should distinguish our attitude from Aunt Emily's, which is comic in a bad sense: having forgotten what people are really like, she just stands apart and laughs at everything and everybody.
26. See Forster, *Passage to India*, 264.
27. Just how important this white-bread, civilized posture became to English writers in the 1930s is evident in Christopher Isherwood's *Down There on a Visit* (1962), where he recalls that *his* representative Englishman was not Chamberlain but Forster, "the anti-heroic hero": "While the others tell their followers to be ready to die, he advises us to live as if we were immortal. And he really does this himself, although he is as anxious and afraid as any of us, and never for an instant pretends not to be" (qtd. in Furbank, *Forster*, 2:229).

28. See Forster, *A Room with a View*, 49.
29. Ansell's mandala introduces a leitmotif of circles within squares that many readers have noticed: the most important circles are Rickie's dell at Cambridge, which he would mark with a sign saying "This way to Heaven" (20), and Cadbury Rings, at the center of which stands a tree of knowledge. When Stephen is seen leaning against the tree like a heroic, Blakean Satan, he is unwittingly presenting Rickie with the keys to the kingdom. See, e.g., Barbara Rosecrance, *Forster's Narrative Vision*, 59, and Richard Martin, *The Love that Failed*, 94. For an exhaustive list of the recurrences of the motif, see Elizabeth Heine, xi.
30. It is Frederick C. Crews who, uncharacteristically, has most seriously failed to read it thus. First, he says Rickie must "beware of the 'bankruptcy' that follows from overestimating the worth and permanence of the people he loves," when Forster's idea is that he must learn "the true discipline of [such] a bankruptcy"—which suggests that there is at first some point in loving not wisely but too well. Second, he says Rickie's greatest weakness is "an inherent tendency to view his experience symbolically rather than realistically" (*E. M. Forster*, 53, 58). No, viewing the world symbolically should *enable* him to get at its "core" reality—if only he will deploy the right symbols.
31. See Forster, "Memoirs," 303–04, and "E. M. Forster on His Life," 11.
32. Forster, "A Conversation," 55.
33. Stone, *Cave and Mountain*, 213.
34. Cf. Brian May, *The Modernist as Pragmatist*, 49. Connecting Rickie's Oedipal limp, for which, in a cancelled passage, he is said to "hate" his father, to what Forster believed to be his own congenital homosexuality, Ms. Heine maintains that the novelist, thus disguised, was able to express his own bitterness against "his paternal heredity" (xxi). Forster was after all only two years old when his father died, but his resentment lasted a lifetime, not least because his condition precluded his having children. Even Ellis was morally severe about the question: "Sometimes, indeed, the tendency to sexual inversion in eccentric and neurotic families seems merely to be Nature's merciful method of winding up a concern which, from her point of view, has ceased to be profitable" (xxiii). That is why it must be the sexually unambiguous Stephen whose seed will perpetuate the race.

CHAPTER 6

1. Lawrence, "Foreword," 469–70; hereafter cited in the text implicitly or as "Foreword."
2. A fact often occluded by the followers of Kate Millett, who associate Lawrence with male supremacism. Misandric commentators on Lawrence, academic and popular, have been legion in the years since Millett and Norman Mailer fought it out in the early 1970s—see her *Sexual Politics* and his *The Prisoner of Sex*—but there have also been some valuable nonpartisan assessments of the novelist's ideas about femininity and feminism. See, for instance, Judith Arcana's "I Remember Mama," which correctly insists that Lawrence doesn't simple-mindedly blame the mother; Hilary Simpson's *D. H. Lawrence and Feminism*, which treats Lawrence's female characters in the context of early-twentieth-century England, with its Suffragist movement; and Janice H. Harris's "Lawrence and the Edwardian Feminists," which brings its title nouns into illuminating dialogue.
3. See Robert Bly, *The Sibling Society*, 119–20. Many reviewers have dismissed Mr. Bly with a shrug, pitying or otherwise, but this book, like his *Iron John* (1990), contains two parts pay dirt for one part sludge—a better ratio than most academic publications can offer.
4. Lawrence, *Sons and Lovers*, 323; hereafter cited in the text implicitly.

5. Miles, *God, a Biography*, 253.
6. Qtd. in Frieda Lawrence, “*Not I, but the Wind . . .*,” 74.
7. Lawrence, *Phoenix*, 133–40; hereafter cited in the text implicitly or as *Phoenix*.
8. Spender, *The Struggle of the Modern*, 96.
9. Lawrence, *Phoenix II*, 597–601; hereafter cited in the text implicitly or as *Phoenix II*.
10. I have never seen an attempt to identify this “new one.” It is obviously not Lawrence himself, since his name wasn’t yet legion. Among contemporary candidates, Forster is a possibility, but Lawrence didn’t know enough about him in January 1913 to call him a new Oedipus. Tracking down this or other biographical information is made relatively easy in Lawrence studies by the fine indexes to the Cambridge edition of the letters, the three-volume Cambridge biography by John Worthen, Mark Kinkead-Weekes, and David Ellis (1991–1998), or the one-volume biography by Jeffrey Meyers (1990), which is the source to start with.
11. Lawrence, *Complete Poems*, 490–91.
12. F. Scott Fitzgerald put the perdurable dilemma with beautiful simplicity: “The present was the thing—work to do and someone to love. But not to love too much, for he knew the injury that a father can do to a daughter or a mother to a son by attaching them too closely: afterward, out in the world, the child would seek in the marriage partner the same blind tenderness and, failing probably to find it, turn against love and life.” This from “Babylon Revisited” (*Short Stories*, 628).
13. See R. P. Draper, *D. H. Lawrence: The Critical Heritage*, 67.
14. Larkin, *Collected Poems*, 180. Respecting this famous line, Larkin told an interviewer in 1979 that he was worried the *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* would “lumber” him with it: “I wouldn’t want it thought that I didn’t like my parents. I did like them. But at the same time they were rather awkward people and not very good at being happy. And these things rub off. Anyway, they didn’t put that line in. Chicken, I suppose” (*Required Writing*, 48).
15. See Van Ghent, *The English Novel*, 296–315.
16. Lawrence, *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious*, 9.
17. Lawrence, *Fantasia of the Unconscious*, 159–60. The reference to “the girl”’s life being creamed sounds out of place, since most of Lawrence’s analysis in these studies of the unconscious is devoted to sons. In passing, however, he does forward some fruitful remarks about the Electra problem that a daughter’s relationship with her father can generate, parallel to a son’s Oedipal problem generated by his relationship with his mother. The stories in *The Rainbow* of Anna and Ursula and their fathers (Tom is Anna’s stepfather, of course) could be the source of the later theoretical remarks.
18. Judith Farr describes the trope’s derivation from the Grimms’ “Briar Rose” as well as from Perrault, and its reworkings by Tennyson and the Pre-Raphaelites, whose poems and paintings Lawrence would have known. Throughout the novel Mrs. Morel is “asleep,” imprisoned in a bad marriage and waiting for a son-knight to waken and rescue her (“D. H. Lawrence’s Mother as Sleeping Beauty,” 204). Also asleep is Clara, toward whom Paul can more directly play the prince.
19. Michael Black notes an allusion to John 12.24: “Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit”—adding that “this is not a temptation to suicide, it is, as in the Gospel, a demand for a rebirth” (*D. H. Lawrence*, 83). Fair enough, though since in the context of Lawrence’s paragraph the emphasis is on Paul’s *not* dying, one must, as often in the Gospel, understand the dying metaphorically. Paul has to die to the life of overdependence on his mother, and be reborn into a life now of detached independence, now of mutualistic interdependence.
20. Lawrence, *Letters*, 1.477.

CHAPTER 7

1. Mumford, "The Genteel Tradition at Bay," 27.
2. The primary source for Oliver was Edward Bayley, whom Santayana knew in his youth: "A dumb inglorious Milton who was not a prig, an Emerson with warm blood, who was not proud or oracular or cosmographical, and never thought himself the centre of the universe. Young Bayley was my first, perhaps my fundamental, model for *The Last Puritan*" (*Persons and Places*, 178; hereafter cited in the text implicitly or as *Persons*). See also the likeness to (a) the finely sensitive but more assimilable Cameron Forbes, typical of the "grandsons" of the great merchants, the as it were third-generation Buddenbrooks, whom Santayana taught at Harvard (347–48); and (b) Lawrence Butler, whose indecisive falling-between-two-stools and "vegetative" "petering out" seemed to Santayana suggestive of the befogged Nordic as against the sunny Mediterranean consciousness (383). The young Bayley, Forbes, and Butler were his friends, but friends soon lost after graduation, leaving Santayana, who had been cut off from potential friends closer to his own age by diversities of "race, country, religion, and career," still lonely and socially "somnambulist" (351–52).
3. Santayana wrote in 1928 of how his novel, then in draft, had come to be about "the sentimental education of a young American of the best type, who convinces himself that it is morally wrong to be a Puritan, yet can't get rid of the congenital curse, and is a failure in consequence. It is like the maladaptation of Henry Adams, only concentrated in the first years of youth: for my hero dies young, being too good for this world. He is an infinitely clearer-headed and nobler person than Henry Adams, but equally ineffectual" (qtd. in John McCormick, *George Santayana*, 329; hereafter cited in the text as "McCormick.") Reviewing the novel, Conrad Aiken saw the Adams connection for himself, calling it "the perfect companion-piece" to *The Education* ("*The Last Puritan*," 37).
4. Peter Conn does a competent job of placing *The Last Puritan* in its 1930s context. Reviewers favored it because it avoided the fashionable ways of dealing with the hardships of the Depression: escapist novels such as Hervey Allen's *Anthony Adverse* (1933), Pearl Buck's *The Good Earth* (1932), or Margaret Mitchell's *Gone With the Wind* (1936), which sold 50,000 copies a day, or left-wing engagement novels such as Albert Halper's *Union Square* (1933), Clara Weatherwax's *Marching! Marching!* (1935), or Robert Cantwell's *Land of Plenty* (1934). *The Last Puritan* seemed timely as a continuation of American writers' critique of Puritanism, from Brooks Adams to Randolph Bourne to H. L. Mencken et al., which in the 1920s focused on its sexual repressiveness and in the 1930s on its "capitalist-acquisitive values": "As prosperity had ratified those values, so bankruptcy [in 1929] challenged them, and the Puritan became a commonplace emblem of failed arrogance and the harm that a narrowly conceived sense of duty can inflict" (Conn, "Paternity and Patriarchy," 276).
5. Wilson, *Europe Without Baedeker*, 51.
6. English democratic pluralism had more in common with Santayana's idea of America than most critics have realized. A careful reading of his *Character and Opinion in the United States*, essays such as "Americanism," and his acerbically funny poem, "Young Sammy's First Wild Oats" (1900), reveals that what offended his soul was the intellectual ambience of Brahmin Boston ("a nice place with very nice people in it; but . . . a moral and intellectual nursery, always busy applying first principles to trifles" [*Persons*, 49]), and especially Cambridge, which among other things regarded America as an "exceptional" country. No, it was an ordinary country, going through stages of economic, social, and political development like others before, whereas the New England, Puritanic exceptionalists were—well, "eccentric and self-banished from the great human caravan" (86). In this vein Santayana had written Van Wyck Brooks in 1929: "I . . . think that art, etc., has a better soil in the ferocious 100% America than in the Intelligentsia of New York. It is veneer, rouge, aestheticism, art

- museums, new theatres, etc. that make America impotent. The good things are football, kindness, and jazz bands” (Santayana, *Letters*, 157; hereafter cited in the text as *Letters*). He could therefore only rejoice that the United States came in on the side of the democratic powers in 1917 and again at the end of 1941, though by then he was a very old, very disengaged man.
7. Santayana himself linked *The Last Puritan* less with the ordinary Book-of-the-Month-Club selection than with “something like Wilhelm Meister or Don Quixote, if I may modestly place myself in good company.” Mr. McCormick, who has written the best biography of Santayana, nonetheless sees the work as a *roman à thèse*, like Walter Pater’s *Marius the Epicurean*, rather than as an *Erziehungsroman* or *Bildungsroman*, insofar as Santayana is supposed to deny “the possibility of *Erziehung* or *Bildung*, conceptions that assume a chameleon changeability at the center of the human psyche making for drama, for domination of experience, no matter what its derivation or direction.” And he quotes Santayana’s own account of Oliver: “while not an ordinary boy, he must be a boy at first, and grow older step by step, while remaining the same person. *I don’t believe in development of character* [McCormick’s emphasis]; the *character* is always the same; but there is a progress from innocent to mature ways of giving that character expression” (McCormick, 327–28). But Santayana is simply maintaining his belief in a core of selfhood, not his disbelief in the unfolding of that self—its movement through different critical stages in a temporal medium, and according to a certain logic of philosophical alternatives and consequences. That is what this chapter is about.
 8. And it is what makes his independent income an ironic blessing. Santayana no doubt grants it to him because, after his own mother’s death in 1912, he himself had one, and because, as an early form of MacArthur Fellowship, it allows his hero to think out philosophical problems undistracted by pecuniary necessities. But the income also cuts Oliver off from other people, exacerbating a tendency to withdrawal that is already there psychologically. He and Santayana nonetheless try to use their money charitably, and as a way of connecting with people. Santayana’s Sturgis-derived resources were considerable: he was worth \$600,000 in 1945 (that is nearly \$6,000,000 in today’s money), and was able to gift the needy but not very grateful Russell with £500 in 1937. The gift was anonymous, but Russell did know who had given it (see McCormick, 373, and Ronald William Clark, *The Life of Bertrand Russell*, 456).
 9. Santayana, “Why I am not a Marxist,” 78–79.
 10. Santayana evidently learnt a great deal from his father’s traditionalism in art (he was an amateur painter) and agnosticism in religion, and he often quoted his phrases. See McCormick, 109 and *passim*. But the determinative fact of his young life was this separation from his father and the ensuing feeling that he never really belonged to the city of Boston, the “Great Merchant” Sturgis family (to which his mother was connected through her first marriage), America, and indeed the world itself. Significantly, he called the world his “host,” upon which he was somehow a parasite, an outsider, though more “inside” than an immigrant Midwesterner like Thorstein Veblen ever was (see Daniel Aaron, “A Postscript,” 225–26). Along with a feeling of alienation, naturally, went one of tragedy, which was most unAmerican. Oliver’s contemporaries at Harvard achieved so little, Santayana thought, because they never really understood that life ends in death, that there is no personal God to give meaning to either the one or the other, and that the joke of the cosmos is on us (see letter to Henry Ward Abbott, January 16, 1887, *Letters*, 14–15). The joke was played on him, he too harshly felt, almost from the moment of fertilization—this sperm from that father: “That fact that he was my father, whose character and destiny were strikingly represented, with variations, in my own, called up a lurid image of what my life in the world was likely to be: solitary, obscure, trivial, and wasted” (*Persons*, 424).

11. The public-spirited side of Harriet is very unlike Santayana's own mother, who deliciously told the president of the Roxbury Plato Club, who wondered what she did with herself: "In winter I try to keep warm, and in summer I try to keep cool"—to which Santayana adds that "Diogenes could not have sent the President of the Plato Club more curtly about her business" (*Persons*, 32). But she and Harriet are similarly distant from and dominant over their sons, concerned that their education should produce a conventional "*persona fina*," "virtuous and enlightened," rather than that it should widen their interests or pleasures and clear their way "to important actions or interesting friendships" (*Persons*, 33). Just ten months before his death in 1952, Santayana told Bruno Lind that "The relation between Peter and his wife was *emotionally* based on that between my father and mother, but *historically* the two cases are contraries. He had money in the novel; she had it in real life, what little there was of it. But my father, if he had been very rich and yet independent of the world . . . would have lived much as Peter did, and would have behaved towards me as Peter did to Oliver" (qtd. in William G. Holzberger, "The Significance of the Subtitle," 243). As he said in *Realms of Being*, "We sometimes find that the mother we love is not the mother we should have liked" (qtd. in McCormick, 16).
12. Santayana, *The Last Puritan*, 1.112; hereafter cited in the text implicitly.
13. Santayana, *Egotism in German Philosophy*, 215; hereafter cited in the text implicitly or as *Egotism*.
14. Santayana, *Interpretations of Poetry and Religion*, 144–45; hereafter cited in the text implicitly or as *Interpretations*.
15. Homosexuality must be part of what Santayana referred to when, in a letter, he spoke of "the dangerous sides of the book—and it has more than one such—[which] seem to have been overlooked or timidly ignored by the critics." He was disappointed that nobody noticed, for prior to publication he had praised fiction as "the only living art," wherein "now it seems possible to print what in earlier days we hardly ventured to whisper" (*Letters*, 309, 207). To pursue this subsidiary subject:

Santayana said in 1929 that "I suppose Housman was really what people nowadays call 'homosexual' . . . I think I must have been that way in my Harvard days—although I was unconscious of it at the time." He would hardly have remained unconscious had he been at the other Cambridge, especially at King's College among the Apostolic "buggers," as Lytton Strachey and his friends called themselves. The young Forster was in this sense on the Apostolic periphery. In America, Santayana continued, "our prejudices against it ['Paiiderastia'] are so strong that it hardly comes under the possibilities for us. What shall we do?" Certainly he never married, though at Harvard there was considerable pressure to do so: President Eliot's "doubts and fears about a man so abnormal as Dr. Santayana" clearly had to do as much with his mysterious celibacy as with his contemplative detachment, brilliant eyes, and military cape (qtd. in McCormick, 51, 71, 97).

In any event, I concur with H. T. Kirby-Smith (*A Philosophical Novelist*, 129) that W. H. Auden, reviewing *My Host the World* in 1952, and other critics since have been impertinent in criticizing Santayana for treating homosexuality (or for that matter heterosexuality) as a "distraction to the healthy psyche." His fondness for his male colleagues and students at Harvard or for Jim's original, the handsome charming predatory Frank Russell, whom he all but worshipped with an ardor like that of Copperfield for the similarly Byronic Steerforth, was quite as innocently clueless, with regard to sexual expression, as was the relationship between Tennyson and Arthur Hallam. His sexless celibacy, in good part the result of what Mr. Kirby-Smith calls the emotional "emasculatation" he suffered during his bicontinental, broken-home childhood, was central to his character, and I would say he made the best of it. All the more credit is due him, given the early twentieth century's culture of obligatory heterosexuality and the later twentieth century's culture of obligatory "follow your promptings"

sexuality of any sort. Cf. Joseph Epstein (“George Santayana,” 326) and Irving Singer (*George Santayana*, 59), both of whom rightly object to Mr. McCormick’s too-positive insistence that Santayana was knowingly gay. He was first and last interested not in sex but in intimate though cool friendship, based, as in Aristotle, on “the pursuit of common ideals” (*Reason in Society*, qtd. in Singer 60). And he roundly disapproved of Oscar Browning’s openly pederastic comportment at King’s as unsuitable “for a teacher of youth,” which the authorities ought to have suppressed but didn’t (*Persons*, 435).

Readers can profit from Ross Posnock’s excellent essay about “genteel androgyny” in Santayana, Henry James, and Howard Sturgis, this last being one model for Mario (see *Persons*, 359–60). Though I think Mr. Posnock describes a younger Santayana more aware of his own sexual inclinations than the record seems to indicate, he has valuable insights into the philosopher’s pro- “fop,” pro-feminine protests against the red-blood masculinists of the day, and he nicely differentiates the ways in which these three authors acted on their indeterminate sexual feelings: “Sturgis’s flamboyant effeminacy, Santayana’s fastidious, immaculate asexuality, and James’s passionate sublimations represent three efforts to mitigate both the nervous repressions of the genteel and the aridity of pragmatic Americanism” (Genteel Androgyny, 61–62). Unfortunately, the “asexuality” that Santayana viewed as an ascetic renunciation, to be only mildly regretted, and that freed him to concentrate on reading, thinking, and writing, Mr. Posnock views as a kind of crucifixion—something a genteel, homophobic Boston society coerced him into (67–68). That is not altogether the way Santayana remembered things, but it is certainly evident that he felt suffocated in the Puritan capital, and for reasons that were sometimes indefinable. His castrating mother, for instance. But Mr. Posnock tends to blame her too exclusively for her son’s inability to trust his own body’s impulses or to get close to other people (71–72, 79). His case is like Oliver’s in this regard, and some of the “blame,” if we must point a finger, must be shared by his absent father. As we have seen with Lawrence, a little dandling, a little wrestling, a little handiworking with the father can help a boy find ways to discover and exercise his masculine energies, and get past androgynous indecisions.

Finally, there is Robert Dawidoff’s piece on Santayana’s critique of the “genteel tradition,” which underscores the degree to which his sense of being out of the sexual mainstream increased his critical distance from the political, philosophical, business, literary, even sartorial mainstream (*The Genteel Tradition and the Sacred Rage*, 153–58). One does notice, however, the reluctance of most critics, including Mr. Dawidoff, to grant Santayana’s own Platonic logic—his feeling (which he makes Oliver share) that renunciation of sex is the natural next step for a young person who has discovered the hollowness of that kind of love, be it gay or straight. Of course it is true that, this side of renunciation, a feeling of sexual otherness will compel a person to understand and criticize the wider society he or she lives in, but that is also true of several sorts of otherness—in Santayana’s case, being a Spaniard among New Englanders, a raised Catholic among Protestants, a Boston Latin graduate at Harvard among alumni of St. Paul’s and Groton, and so on.

Less ample on Santayana, but of considerable interest for his Cambridge milieu, is Kim Townsend’s *Manhood at Harvard* (see especially 138–49).

16. Santayana, *Three Philosophical Poets*, 88; hereafter cited in the text implicitly or as *Three Philosophical Poets*.
17. Frank Russell was Bertrand’s older brother, and three years younger than Santayana. Russell had been sent down from Oxford for committing buggery with Lionel Johnson, and when his housemaid’s sister brought a breach-of-promise suit years later, he was threatened with exposure of his other homosexual escapades. In a letter, Santayana described Russell as “the ablest man, all round, that I have ever met. . . . He isn’t good, that is he is completely selfish and rather cruel. . . . But then both practically and intellectually

- he is really brilliant” (qtd. in McCormick, 67). Russell seems in fact to have treated Santayana with boorish contempt, but the latter bore all with an unattractive mixture of snobbery and self-abasement: “I am quite willing to stand anything, however outrageous, that comes from a certain quality” (68; see also 61–62, 77–78, 122). There are things in every author’s life that one would rather not know.
18. Santayana, “Apologia Pro Mente Sua,” 581; hereafter cited in the text implicitly or as “Apologia.”
 19. Santayana, “A Brief History of My Opinions,” xvi.
 20. Actually based on an essay by one of Santayana’s pupils at Cambridge University (see *Persons*, 394).
 21. In the “Prologue” Santayana qualifies what I am noting here—Oliver’s resistance to Marxism as well as fascism. Since Catholicism and the monk’s life were impossible to a skeptic and Nordic like him—as a Catholic one forgets life is a mission and thinks it a picnic, Santayana says, and how Oliver hated picnics!—if he had lived he would have become a communist, “capable of imposing no matter what regimen on us by force” (1.9). He would have liked the Bolsheviks’ Puritanic scorn of compromise. Well, Marxism did indeed become the religion of more than a few intellectuals after the 1917 Revolution, but one should remember that Santayana wasn’t one of them. As he writes in *Persons and Places*, “I love Tory England and honour conservative Spain, but not with any dogmatic or prescriptive passion. If any community can become and wishes to become communistic or democratic or anarchical I wish it joy from the bottom of my heart. I have only two qualms in this case: whether such ideals are realisable, and whether those who pursue them fancy them to be exclusively and universally right: an illusion pregnant with injustice, oppression, and war” (227). Which is presumably why he told Edmund Wilson, who visited him in the convent at Rome after World War II, that the United States was called, not by Manifest Destiny but “in the natural course of things,” to oppose Russian totalitarianism: “not to do so was to make ‘*il gran rifiuto*’” (Wilson, *Europe Without Baedeker*, 45).
 22. Cf. Levinson, “Pragmatic Naturalism and the Spiritual Life,” 83.
 23. This, and the fact that he was morally unintelligent. He couldn’t understand why logic didn’t produce love, or understand evil even when he did it himself. If, Santayana goes on, Shelley had read Spinoza he would have seen that nothing is evil in itself. “Evil is an inevitable aspect which things put on when they are struggling to preserve themselves in the same habitat, in which there is not room or matter enough for them to prosper equally side by side.” It is all very well to ask cancer-microbes to be reasonable, but they can’t listen to reason. They go on propagating unless exterminated utterly. “And fundamentally men are subject to the same fatality exactly; they cannot listen to reason unless they are reasonable; and it is unreasonable to expect that, being animals, they should be reasonable exclusively. . . . [T]hey are not more capable of sacrificing themselves to what does not interest them than the cancer-microbes are of sacrificing themselves to men” (“Shelley,” 241–42). This entire essay, a study of a kind of English romantic Puritan, repays careful reading.

EPILOGUE

1. Morris, *About Fiction*, 61.
2. Woolf, “How Should One Read a Book?” 259.
3. Goethe, *Campaign in France*, 652.
4. Updike, *Hugging the Shore*, 777.

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