

# Notes and References

## Introduction

1. Letter to Mary Russell Mitford, reprinted in Margaret Reynolds (ed.) (1996) *Aurora Leigh* (New York: Norton), p. 329 (30 December 1844).
2. See the biographical sketch of Edward Robert Bulwer-Lytton in Philip Kelley, Ronald Hudson and Scott Lewis (eds) (1984–) *The Brownings' Correspondence*, 18 vols (Winfield, KS: Wedgestone Press), XIX, pp. 349–63.
3. Owen Meredith [Edward Robert Bulwer-Lytton] (1860) Dedication to *Lucile* (London: Chapman & Hall). Further references are to this edition and are hereafter given in the text.
4. Owen Meredith [The Earl of Lytton] (1893) *Lucile* (London: Longman, Green, and Co.), Preface to the Collected Edition, pp. xiii–xiv.
5. William Allingham, *Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland* (1864, 1869) (1999) (Poole: Woodstock Books), Preface (1864), p. vii; Preface (1869), pp. iv–v.
6. *Brownings' Correspondence*, X, p. 14 (7 January 1845). Simon Avery, for example, has noted that ‘from Barrett’s other correspondence we can see that she was in fact very well aware of the work of a whole range of other women poets’, but that ‘in employing this genealogical model which effectively makes her into a literary orphan, Barrett seems to be attempting to clear a space for herself as a new type of woman poet and to be defining herself *against* the traditions of women’s poetry established by her direct predecessors and contemporaries’. Simon Avery and Rebecca Stott (2003) *Elizabeth Barrett Browning* (London: Longman), p. 3.
7. [Aubrey de Vere] (1858) ‘The Angel in the House’, *Edinburgh Review*, CII, 121–33 (pp. 121–3).
8. R. H. Super (ed.) (1960–77) *The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold*, 11 vols (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press), I: *On the Classical Tradition*, p. 12.
9. William Wordsworth (1979) *The Prelude: 1799, 1805, 1850*, ed. by Jonathan Wordsworth, M. H. Abrams and Stephen Gill (New York: Norton), I.158, 166, 168, 222 (quotations from 1850 version).
10. Coventry Patmore [1906] *The Angel in the House together with The Victories of Love*, intro. by Alice Meynell (London: Routledge). Further references are to this edition and are hereafter given in the text.
11. Christopher Ricks (ed.) (1987) *The Poems of Tennyson*, 3 vols (Harlow: Longman). All further references to Tennyson’s poetry are to this edition and are hereafter given in the text.
12. All roads, more or less, lead back to Carlyle’s monumental *Past and Present* (1843), the fervency of which broods over the period as a whole. The critical works that deal with this Victorian preoccupation with the past are legion, from treatments of the historiography of the period to studies of the medievalist turn in its literature. General engagements with Victorian attitudes to past and present include Walter Houghton’s classic analysis of

- their conception of their own period as 'an age of transition' in *The Victorian Frame of Mind* (London: Yale University Press, 1957); A. Dwight Culler's *The Victorian Mirror of History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), which considers the Victorians' varied uses of history; Raymond Chapman's *The Sense of the Past in Victorian Literature* (London: Croom Helm, 1986); and, more recently, John D. Rosenberg's *Elegy for an Age: The Presence of the Past in Victorian Literature* (London: Anthem, 2005).
13. Super, I, p. 3.
  14. [Walter Bagehot] (1859) 'Tennyson's Idylls', *National Review*, IX, 368–94 (pp. 375–6).
  15. Alexander Smith (1909) 'A Life-Drama', in William Sinclair (ed.) *The Poetical Works of Alexander Smith* (Edinburgh: W. P. Nimmo, Hay, & Mitchell), Scene VI, p. 71. Further references are to this edition and are hereafter given in the text.
  16. Reynolds (ed.), *Aurora Leigh*, 5.202. Further references are to this edition and are hereafter given in the text. However, see also Volume 3 of the recent, definitive edition of Barrett Browning's complete works, which draws on and updates Reynolds' edition and offers a useful critical and textual introduction to the text: Sandra Donaldson (ed.) (2010) *The Works of Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, 5 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto); and for a good recent, highly accessible version, Michele Martinez (2012), *Elizabeth Barrett Browning's Aurora Leigh: A Reading Guide* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
  17. Isobel Armstrong (ed.) (1972) *Victorian Scrutinies: Reviews of Poetry, 1830–1870* (London: Athlone Press), p. 6.
  18. Dorothy Mermin (1983) *The Audience in the Poem: Five Victorian Poets* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press), p. 4.
  19. Super, I, pp. 13–14.
  20. Howard Foster Lowry (ed.) (1932) *The Letters of Matthew Arnold to A. H. Clough* (London: Oxford University Press), p. 99 (February 1849).
  21. Letter to Edward Hawkins, Frederick L. Mulhauser (ed.) (1957) *The Correspondence of Arthur Hugh Clough*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press), I, p. 249 (3 March [1849]).
  22. Humphry House (1948) 'Pre-Raphaelite Poetry', BBC Third Programme (1948), in James Sambrook (ed.) (1974) *Pre-Raphaelitism: A Collection of Critical Essays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), pp. 126–32 (pp. 128–9).
  23. Herbert Francis Brett Brett-Smith and Clifford Ernest Jones (eds) (1924–34) *The Works of Thomas Love Peacock*, 10 vols (London: Constable & Co), VIII, p. 12.
  24. Thomas Blackwell (1972) *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer* (Menston: Scolar Press), pp. 26, 28.
  25. Miles Taylor (ed.) (2001) *The English Constitution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 41.
  26. A. C. Bradley (1909; reprinted 1959) 'The Long Poem in the Age of Wordsworth', in *Oxford Lectures on Poetry* (London: Macmillan), p. 191.
  27. (1831) *Westminster Review*, XIV, 210–24. Reprinted in *Scrutinies*, pp. 71–83 (pp. 73, 83).
  28. John A. Heraud (1839) 'The Chartist Epic', *The Monthly Magazine*, II, 1–38 (pp. 35, 36). Of course, Carlyle's own response to the age, above all in the

- fierce and epoch-making *Past and Present* (1843), was deeply ambivalent and even paradoxical.
29. (1842) *Quarterly Review*, LXX, 385–416. Reprinted in *Scrutinies*, pp. 125–47 (p. 134).
  30. *Scrutinies*, pp. 37, 18.
  31. (1853) 'Recent English Poetry', *North American Review*, LXXVII, 1–30. Reprinted as 'Recent English Poetry: A Review of Several Volumes of Poems by Alexander Smith, Matthew Arnold, and Others' in Buckner B. Trawick (ed.) (1964) *Selected Prose Works of Arthur Hugh Clough*, (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press), p. 144.
  32. See J. P. Phelan (ed.) (1995) *Clough: Selected Poems* (London: Longman) for a fuller account of the manuscript and publishing history of the poem, as well as textual variants between the 1849 version, the version that appeared in 1858 in the new periodical *The Atlantic Monthly* and the corrections Clough made to the poem in 1859.
  33. Virginia Woolf (1932) 'Aurora Leigh', *The Second Common Reader* (New York: Harcourt Brace), reprinted in Reynolds, pp. 439–46 (p. 444).
  34. Poems of a similar calibre to Violet Fane's [Mary, Baroness Curie, née Mary Montgomerie Lamb] melodramatic verse-novel *Denzil Place* (1875) can be dug up at any point during this period, but the form does not either develop further or rise above the (very) ordinary beyond the 1860s.
  35. W. J. B. Owen and Jane Worthington Smyser (eds) (1974) Preface to *Lyrical Ballads* (1850), *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press), I, pp. 139, 143.
  36. These examples can all be found in George Watson (ed.) (1969) *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, Volume 3:1800–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). Those mentioned range from the utterly obscure to names at least vaguely familiar to scholars of the period: Thomas Campbell, *Theodric: A Domestic Tale* (1825); Charles Jeremiah Wells, *Joseph and his brethren: a scriptural drama* (1824); Charles Dibdin, *Young Arthur, or the child of mystery: a metrical romance* (1819); Richard Mant, *The simpliciad: a satirico-didactic poem* (1808); William Glen, *The lonely isle: a south-sea island tale* (1816); John Galt, *The battle of Largs: a Gothic poem with several miscellaneous pieces* (1804); William Motherwell, *Renfrewshire characters and scenery: a poem in three hundred and sixty-five cantos, by Isaac Brown* (1824); Thomas Lovell Beddoes, *The improvisatore, in three fyttes, with other poems* (1821); Thomas Tod Stoddart, *The death-wake or lunacy: a necromant in three chimeras* (1831); Ernest Hones, *The lass and the lady, or love's ladder: a tale of thrilling interest* (1855). See also Stuart Curran's 'Prolegomenon: A Primer on Subtitles in British Romantic Poetry' to his *Poetic Form and British Romanticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).
  37. See Richard Altick (1991) *The Presence of the Present: Topics of the Day in the Victorian Novel* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press), pp. 36–7.
  38. Preface to the Edition of 1815, *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, III, 27.
  39. Anna Seward (1784) *Louisa: A Poetical Novel, in Four Epistles* (London: J. Jackson & G. Robinson), First Epistle, p. 5.
  40. Perhaps these works' most direct precedent in subject, form, and style is to be found in George Crabbe's unsqueamish depictions of turn-of-the-century rural life in such poems as *The Village* (1782), *The Parish Register* (1807), and

- The Borough* (1810). His work, however, is subject in reality to that solitariness which belongs only rhetorically to the later cluster of poems.
41. Rod Edmond (1988) *Affairs of the Hearth: Victorian Poetry and Domestic Narrative* (London: Routledge), p. 35.
  42. See, for example, James R. Kincaid, *Tennyson's Major Poems: The Comic and Ironic Patterns* (1975), Daniel Albright, *Tennyson: The Muses' Tug-of-War* (1986), and Herbert F. Tucker, *Tennyson and the Doom of Romanticism* (1988).
  43. John Jump (ed.) (1967) *Tennyson: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul), p. 6.
  44. Barrett wrote to Robert Browning in 1846, upon hearing that Tennyson was writing a new poem along the lines of *The Princess*: 'it is in blank verse and a fairy tale, & called the University, the university-members being all females [...] I don't know what to think – it makes me open my eyes. Now isn't the world too old and fond of steam for blank verse poems, in ever so many books to be written on the fairies?' *Brownings' Correspondence*, XII, pp. 28–30 [30 January 1846]. Indeed, the overlaps – and stark differences – between *The Princess* and *Aurora Leigh* illuminate the underlying distinctions in their respective poetics as well as their gender politics. Cora Kaplan contrasts the two poems in her seminal introduction to *Aurora Leigh and Other Poems* (London: The Women's Press, 1978); Marjorie Stone's 1987 essay 'Genre Subversion and Gender Inversion: *The Princess* and *Aurora Leigh*' explores at length the ways in which Barrett Browning inverts and frequently satirizes many elements of Tennyson's poem. *Victorian Poetry*, XXV, 115–27. Reprinted in Reynolds, pp. 494–505.
  45. Ricks, II, p. 195 (line 232 of original).
  46. Charles Kingsley's (1850) review of Tennyson's poetry, *Fraser's Magazine*, XLII, 245–55. Reprinted in Jump, pp. 172–85 (p. 180).
  47. (1848) Review of Tennyson's *The Princess*, *Literary Examiner*, 8 January, 21.
  48. Jump, p. 8.
  49. Many critics have written about *Maud* as a treatment of the 'Condition of England question'; see, for example, A. Dwight Culler's *The Victorian Mirror of History*, p. 207, and Herbert Tucker's *Tennyson and the Doom of Romanticism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), pp. 406–7. More recently, see David G. Riede's *Allegories of One's Own Mind: Melancholy in Victorian Poetry* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005), pp. 87–8, and Stefanie Markovits' 'North and South, East and West: Elizabeth Gaskell, the Crimean War, and the Condition of England', *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 59 (2005), 463–93, which brings together Tennyson's poem with Gaskell's novel in relation to the Crimean War.
  50. Hallam Tennyson (1897) *Alfred, Lord Tennyson: A Memoir* (London: Macmillan), p. 396.
  51. Emile Montégut (1857) 'Un poème de la vie moderne en Angleterre' ('A poem of modern life in England'), *Revue des deux mondes*, II, 322–53 (p. 334): 'Çà et là il est fait mention de certains détails de notre vie moderne : il y a bien une banqueroute, mais c'est le souvenir d'une banqueroute ; il y a une fête, mais nous n'y assistons pas, et nous n'en voyons que les reflets ; la guerre de Crimée nous renvoie le retentissement lointain de ses canonnades : sons et échos perdus dans l'air, voilà tout ce que le poète a mis dans son œuvre de la vie moderne' (translation mine).

52. 'Tennyson and Musset', in Sir Edmund Gosse and Thomas James Wise (eds) (1925–7) *The Complete Works of Algernon Charles Swinburne*, 20 vols (London: William Heinemann), XIV, p. 329.
53. Herbert F. Tucker (1992) 'Trials of Fiction: Novel and Epic in the Geraint and Enid Episodes from "Idylls of the King"', *Victorian Poetry*, XXX, 441–61 (p. 445).

## 1 The Modern and the Everyday

1. Tony Bennett and Diane Watson (eds) (2002) *Understanding Everyday Life* (Oxford: Blackwell), p. x.
2. Important precursors to theories of the everyday in the middle decades of the twentieth century, however, include Marx's *Communist Manifesto* (1848), Freud's *Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (1901) and the work of first-generation German sociologist Georg Simmel.
3. See Bennett and Watson, pp. x–xiii.
4. (1883) 'The American Scholar', *The Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, with a general index and a memoir by James Elliot Cabot*, 14 vols (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co), I: *Nature, Addresses, and Lectures*, p. 110.
5. Altick, p. 42. The novel has, for obvious reasons, thus far proven more fertile ground for critics exploring the Victorian experience of everyday life than the poetry of the period. See in particular Laurie Langbauer's 1999 study *Novels of Everyday Life: The Series in English Fiction, 1850–1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), which assesses the 'series impulse' (p. 6) of such writers as Trollope and Conan Doyle as a means of capturing the 'expansiveness', 'repetitiveness' and 'complication of closure' of everyday life (p. 2).
6. Jürgen Habermas (1987) *The Theory of Communicative Action, Volume 2. Lifeworld and System: The Critique of Functionalist Reason*, trans. by Thomas McCarthy (Boston: Beacon Press), p. 155.
7. Ben Highmore (2002) *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory: An Introduction* (London: Routledge), p. 32.
8. Highmore, p. 2.
9. William Makepeace Thackeray (1914) 'De Juventute', in *Roundabout Papers* (London: Dent), pp. 86–7.
10. Tennyson later said of this passage: 'When I went by the first train from Liverpool to Manchester (1830), I thought that the wheels ran in a groove. It was a black night and there was such a vast crowd round the train at the station that we could not see the wheels. Then I made this line'. *Memoir*, p. 195.
11. Paul D. Sheats (ed.) (1982) 'On the projected Kendal and Windermere Railway' (1844), *The Poetical Works of Wordsworth* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin).
12. Paul Veyriras (1964) *Arthur Hugh Clough (1819–1861)* (Paris: Didier), pp. 280–1: 'une double audace : celle d'introduire le chemin de fer dans sa poésie trois ans après que Wordsworth eût fulminé contre lui – et celle de considérer qu'un tunnel, un pont, un train, étaient des objets suffisamment poétiques en soi pour pouvoir prêter un peu de leur poésie aux sentiments humains qui leur sont comparés' (translation mine).

13. [William Barnes] (1863) 'Patmore's Poems', *Fraser's Magazine*, LXVIII, 130–4 (p. 132).
14. 'Aurora Leigh' (1856) *Literary Gazette*, 22 November, p. 918.
15. *Brownings' Correspondence*, IX, p. 65 [31 July 1844]. The 'palpitating engines' that 'snort in steam' across Lady Geraldine's acres owe much to the expression of Tennyson's own reservations about the modern march of progress in 'Locksley Hall'; Glennis Stephenson traces the resemblances (and departures) between the two poems in *Elizabeth Barrett Browning and the Poetry of Love* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989), pp. 55–6. *Aurora Leigh*, however, while continuing to couch the new in terms of the old (Aurora's train shoots 'through tunnels, like a lightning-wedge / By great Thor-hammers driven through the rock', 7.431) just as 'Lady Geraldine' does with its equine imagery, paints a more enthusiastic (though still menacing) picture of the train than either 'Lady Geraldine' or 'Locksley Hall' – as it is more optimistic about the modern age than the earlier poems, which do not move far beyond roundly castigating its materialist values.
16. [de Vere], p. 123.
17. [n.d.] (London: The Scott Library), pp. 26, 80, 81, 26, 81.
18. Virginia Woolf (2003) 'Modern Fiction', in *The Common Reader: Volume I* (London: Vintage), p. 150.
19. Anthony Kenny (2005) *Arthur Hugh Clough: A Poet's Life* (London: Continuum).
20. Lowry, p. 145 (25 November 1853).
21. Lowry, p. 99 (February 1849); p. 126 (14 December 1852); p. 111 (23 September 1849).
22. H. F. Lowry, A. L. P. Norrington and F. L. Mulhauser (eds) (1951) *The Poems of Arthur Hugh Clough*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press). All further references to Clough's poetry are to this edition and are hereafter given in the text.
23. Unfinished Poem 12, Lowry, Norrington and Mulhauser (eds), pp. 395–6.
24. Mulhauser, p. 311 (16 May 1852).
25. Shirley Chew (1987/2003) Introduction to *Arthur Hugh Clough: Selected Poems* (Manchester: Fyfield Books/Carcenet), p. 15.
26. Lowry, p. 95 (November 1848).
27. Lowry, p. 131 (12–13 February 1853).
28. Lowry, p. 146 (30 November 1853).
29. Mulhauser, p. 276 (November 1849).
30. Trawick, p. 168.
31. Wendell V. Harris (1970) *Arthur Hugh Clough* (New York: Twayne), p. 118.
32. 'Lecture on Wordsworth', Trawick, p. 120. The exact dates of Clough's lectures as Chair of English Literature and Language at University College in the early 1850s are difficult to ascertain; see Kenny, p. 207, who suggests Clough was lecturing on Wordsworth in 1852.
33. Lowry, p. 66 (about 24 February 1848).
34. Houghton, in the first full-length treatment of Clough's poetry by a modern scholar, clearly articulated the "unpoetic" nature of Clough's poetry when held up to the demands of Romantic-influenced, Tennysonian Victorian poetics – demands such as sensuous diction and imagery, syntax that can be grasped at first reading, and the incorporation of "ideas" without becoming

- "intellectual" or difficult. *The Poetry of Clough: An Essay in Revaluation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963), pp. 9–10.
35. Lowry, p. 99 (February 1849).
  36. Quoted by Geoffrey Tillotson, in Geoffrey and Kathleen Tillotson (1965) *Mid-Victorian Studies* (London: Athlone Press), p. 148.
  37. Lowry, p. 97 (after September 1848–49).
  38. John Goode (1971) '1848 and the Strange Disease of Modern Love', in John Lucas (ed.) *Literature and Politics in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Methuen), pp. 45–76 (pp. 57–8).
  39. John Goode (1969) 'Amours de Voyage: The Aqueous Poem', in Isobel Armstrong (ed.) *The Major Victorian Poets: Reconsiderations* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul), pp. 275–97 (pp. 290–1).
  40. (1862) 'Mr. Clough's Poems', *National Review*, XIII, 310–26. Reprinted in Michael Thorpe (ed.) (1972) *Clough: The Critical Heritage* (New York: Barnes & Noble), pp. 161–75 (pp. 165–6).
  41. C. B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry (eds) (1950) *Arnold: Poetical Works* (London: Oxford University Press).
  42. (1848) *Spectator*, 2 December, 1166. Reprinted in Thorpe, p. 31.
  43. Letter (21 January 1849), reprinted in Thorpe, pp. 34–6 (p. 35).
  44. (1849) *Fraser's Magazine*, XXXIX, 103–10. Reprinted in Thorpe, pp. 37–47 (p. 40).
  45. (1868) 'Arthur Hugh Clough', *Fortnightly Review*, 1 December, 589–617. Reprinted in Thorpe, pp. 219–49 (p. 232).
  46. Trawick, p. 119. True to the contrariness of their views, Arnold, the staunchest of Wordsworth defenders, wrote in his essay on the older poet (published as the preface to his volume of selections from Wordsworth's poems in 1879) that he was superior to Burns, Keats and pretty much any poet since Shakespeare and Milton because 'he deals with more of *life* than they do; he deals with *life*, as a whole, more powerfully' (Super, IX: *English Literature and Irish Politics*, p. 48). His earlier poem 'Stanzas in Memory of the Author of "Obermann"', however, had registered a similar reservation to Clough's: 'But Wordsworth's eyes avert their ken / From half of human fate'.
  47. Trawick, p. 137.
  48. Carol Christ (1980) 'Victorian Masculinity and the Angel in the House', in Martha Vicinus (ed.) *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women* (London: Methuen), pp. 146–62 (p. 147).
  49. Representative is John Maynard's dismissal of *The Angel* as 'a very false direction of Patmore's poetic inspiration' and focus instead on the 'sometimes great – and barely known – odes' of the later volume in *Victorian Discourses on Sexuality and Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 2. More recently, see Jason Rudy's *Electric Meters: Victorian Physiological Poetics* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2009). Exceptions include Patricia Ball's extensive consideration of *The Angel* in Chapter V of *The Heart's Events: The Victorian Poetry of Relationships* (London: The Athlone Press, 1976); Ian Anstruther's *Coventry Patmore's Angel: A study of Coventry Patmore, his wife Emily and The Angel in the House* (London: Haggerston Press, 1992), to my knowledge the only full-length study of the poem; and, more recently, Adela Pinch's 2008 article 'Love Thinking', *Victorian Studies*, L, 379–97. Pinch interrogates one prelude from *The Angel* in particular, 'The



- Kiss', with a seriousness not often accorded the poem as a whole, noting of the verse: 'This is in some respects a pretty bad piece of poetry, but its badness is not the kind of badness that has often made *The Angel in the House* an object of derision: an overly earnest, highly sentimental idealizing of feminine virtue and married bliss' (p. 380).
50. Alice Meynell, Introduction to *The Angel in the House*, pp. 17–18.
  51. Herbert Read (1936) 'Coventry Patmore', in *In Defence of Shelley and Other Essays* (London: W. Heinemann), p. 94.
  52. Following the publication of a new edition of the poem as part of a series of 'literature's greatest works' in 1887. See Anstruther, p. 98.
  53. See Sister Mary Anthony Weinig (1981) *Coventry Patmore* (Boston: Twayne), p. 21, and Meynell, p. 24.
  54. J. C. Reid (1957) *The Mind and Art of Coventry Patmore* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul), p. 58.
  55. (1860) Review of *Faithful for Ever*, *The Critic*, 20 October, p. 480.
  56. B. Ifor Evans (1933) *English Poetry in the Later Nineteenth Century* (London: Methuen), p. 135.
  57. Reading the poem today, we must take it on faith that, as Meynell remarks, it 'amused many to find the Cathedral Close as gaily sung as the Village had been or the Court' (p. 15); at our distance, all three settings appear equally quaint, and therefore lack the immediacy – and hence incongruity – that struck contemporary audiences.
  58. Weinig, p. 73. Weinig explains that Patmore is describing 'not the trimming but the braid or cording customarily sewn into the bottom edge where skirt and lining join, to save the long skirt from wearing out too quickly as it brushes the ground'.
  59. Reid, p. 259.
  60. (1998) Prologue (1st edition), *The Angel in the House by Coventry Patmore: A facsimile of the first editions of the first two books of the poem* (London: Haggerston Press with Boston College). Patmore revised *The Angel* constantly in the years following its publication; references to the original version are to this edition, and are hereafter specified in the text.
  61. Wilkie Collins (2008) *Basil* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 4.
  62. [de Vere], pp. 123–4.
  63. Incidentally, this principle of the divine manifesting in the guise of the everyday also explains the poem's title: in spite of the reflexive use ever since of the term 'the angel in the house' to refer to a particular conception of womanhood, a careful reading of the actual poem gives no sanction to this usage. For a fuller discussion of the title and the function of the angelic within the poem, see my 2015 article 'The Realism of *The Angel in the House*: Coventry Patmore's Poem Reconsidered', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, XXIII, 41–61 (pp. 55–56).
  64. See Chapter 5 of Cheryl A. Wilson's 2012 volume *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Jane Austen to the New Woman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 'Les contretemps dangereux: enter the waltz', for a full discussion of this 'scandalous' dance form.
  65. [de Vere], pp. 126, 130.
  66. [Coventry Patmore] (1862) 'William Barnes, The Dorsetshire Poet', *Macmillan's Magazine*, VI, 154–63 (p. 156). A parallel concept to this



- everyday divinity of Patmore's is to be found in Markus Poetsch's analysis of Romantic poets' engagement with what he terms the 'quotidian sublime' in his 2006 book "*Visionary Dreaminess: Readings in Romanticism's Quotidian Sublime* (New York: Routledge).
67. 'William Barnes', pp. 155–6.
  68. [Coventry Patmore] (1856) 'New Poets', *Edinburgh Review*, CIV, 337–62 (p. 339).
  69. [Coventry Patmore] (1857) Review of *Aurora Leigh*, *North British Review*, XXVI, 443–62 (p. 454). To be fair, Patmore was basically correct about how exceptional Barrett Browning's (and Aurora's) career was at the time; Dorothy Mermin notes that the real-life poet's biography lent credibility to 'what would otherwise seem fantasy or wish-fulfillment, her heroine's accomplishments being no more remarkable than her own' (*Elizabeth Barrett Browning: The Origins of a New Poetry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 220). Of course, that the uniqueness of the example makes it 'uninteresting' is a leap not many readers seem to have made alongside Patmore.
  70. Patmore's gender conservatism emerges explicitly in his criticisms of *Aurora Leigh* in private. He wrote to William Allingham in April 1857 (quoting *The Angel*) that the poem 'reminds me of an ill-conditioned child jumping at the stars and stamping on the flowers. "Standing on the head makes not / Either for ease or dignity," some one says, and the operation becomes still more undignified when the performer wears flounces.' Basil Champneys (ed.) (1900) *Memoirs and Correspondence of Coventry Patmore*, 2 vols (London: George Bell & Sons), II, p. 186 (28 April 1857). (Allingham, who was a warm admirer and friend of both Brownings, did not, in fact, share his opinion.) Barrett Browning was well aware of what she called Patmore's 'infamous doctrines' on the woman question, and certainly expected that Patmore's assessment of the poem would be influenced by his very public views on gender; in a letter in 1856, she wrote that 'I hear he is to Review [...] my poor "Aurora Leigh," who has the unfeminine impropriety to express her opinion on various "abstract subjects," – which Mr. Patmore cant [sic] abide' (both letters quoted in Marjorie Stone (1995) *Elizabeth Barrett Browning* (London: Macmillan), p. 176).
  71. Introduction, p. 13.
  72. I, XII.6 (first edition).
  73. [de Vere], p. 122 (italics mine).
  74. Book I, Canto III, Accompaniment I, 'The Lover', 2 (first edition).
  75. (1858) 'Poems by Coventry Patmore', *North British Review*, XXVIII, 529–45 (pp. 531–2, 545).
  76. In *Principle in Art, Religio Poetae and Other Essays* (London: Duckworth, 1889), p. 40.
  77. *Principle in Art*, p. 43. The divergent approaches of Patmore and Barrett Browning to the contemporary find a parallel in the political differences of the two poets. As brilliantly captured by Elizabeth Woodworth's 2006 article 'Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Coventry Patmore, and Alfred Tennyson on Napoleon III: The Hero-Poet and Carlylean Heroics' (*Victorian Poetry*, XLIV, 543–60), the conservatism of Patmore (and Tennyson) in relation to Louis Napoleon offers an instructive contrast with the passionate

- hero-/cause-worship of Barrett Browning; while the former (two) agitated for rifle clubs at home in response to the 'threat' from the Continent, Barrett Browning, front and centre in Paris for the coup in 1851, welcomed the change and scoffed at the insularity of English reactions. Their respective political responses in this case – ambivalence as opposed to an embracing optimism – correspond closely to their aesthetic approaches in relation to the developments and commotions of the age.
78. 'Things to Be Studied' (1857), in E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (eds) (1903–12) *The Works of John Ruskin*, 39 vols (London: George Allen), VI, p. 227.
  79. Reynolds, Introduction to *Aurora Leigh*, p. ix. Other perceptive tellings of the reception and afterlife of the poem include Stone's detailed and wide-ranging analysis in Chapter 5 of *Elizabeth Barrett Browning* and Simon Avery's introduction to his and Rebecca Stott's *Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, 'A Poem Lost and Regained'.
  80. Deirdre David (1995) "'Art's a Service": Social Wound, Sexual Politics, and *Aurora Leigh*', in Joseph Bristow (ed.) *Victorian Women Poets: Emily Brontë, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Christina Rossetti* (London: Macmillan), pp. 108–31 (p. 109).
  81. This is not to minimise the achievement or the subtlety of much of the (non-reductive) work that has been done on gender in *Aurora Leigh* and in Barrett Browning's life and work more generally. Dorothy Mermin's *Elizabeth Barrett Browning* in particular is consistently incisive and far-reaching in its analysis of her poetry in light of the obstacles faced by Barrett Browning as a Victorian woman poet and her struggle to carve out a place for herself in the central, distinctly male poetic tradition.
  82. Reynolds, p. 347 (14 May [1858]).
  83. Reynolds, p. 329 (30 December 1844).
  84. For more extensive discussion of the significance of Byron as a precursor to and point of orientation for Barrett Browning and for *Aurora Leigh* in particular, see Marjorie Stone (2008) 'Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Victorian Versions of Byron and Wollstonecraft: Romantic genealogies, self-defining memories, and the genesis of *Aurora Leigh*', in Andrew Radford and Mark Sandy (eds) *Romantic Echoes in the Victorian Era* (Aldershot: Ashgate), pp. 123–41; and also Dorothy Mermin (1993) *Godiva's Ride: Women of Letters in England, 1830–1880* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).
  85. (1994) *The Works of Elizabeth Barrett Browning* (Ware: Wordsworth).
  86. Mermin, *Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, pp. 111–12.
  87. Reynolds, p. 330 (27 February 1845).
  88. *Brownings' Correspondence*, IX, pp. 118–19 (21 March 1845).
  89. Reynolds, p. 341 (9 January [1857]).
  90. (1856) 'Aurora Leigh', *Leader. A Political and Literary Review*, 29 November, 1142.
  91. [W. E. Aytoun] (1857) 'Mrs. Barrett Browning – Aurora Leigh', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, LXXXI, 23–41 (pp. 39, 41).
  92. Reynolds, p. 443.
  93. [H. F. Chorley] (1856) 'Aurora Leigh', *Athenaeum*, 22 November, 1425.
  94. Arthur Symons (1924) 'Modernity in Verse' (1892), *Studies in Two Literatures* (London: Martin Secker), p. 46.

95. Stone, 'Genre Subversion and Gender Inversion', in Reynolds, p. 502. For further discussion of *Aurora Leigh's* depiction of cities, see in particular Daniel Karlin's essay 'Victorian Poetry of the City: Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Aurora Leigh*' in Valeria Tinkler-Villani (ed.) (2005) *Babylon or New Jerusalem? Perceptions of the City in Literature* (New York: Rodopi), pp. 113–23.
96. (1856) *Literary Gazette*, 22 November, 918.
97. Stone, *Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, p. 143.
98. Few critics tackle *Aurora Leigh* without directly addressing this passage; as Herbert Tucker notes, this 'theoretical meditation on the generic means and ends of contemporary writing' (along with its counterpart, the 'novelistic rendition of [...] drawing-room life' that takes up most of the second half of Book 5) sit at 'the professional center of Aurora's life, and at the structural center of her poem', nested in the concentric circles of the 'three-ring circus' of the nine-book poem ('*Aurora Leigh: Epic Solutions to Novel Ends*', in Alison Booth (ed.) (1993) *Famous Last Words: Changes in Gender and Narrative Closure* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia), pp. 62–85 (pp. 64–5)). Another excellent treatment of the celebrated passage is Holly A. Laird's '*Aurora Leigh: An Epical Ars Poetica*', in Sandra Donaldson (ed.) (1999) *Critical Essays on Elizabeth Barrett Browning* (New York: G. K. Hall), pp. 275–90.
99. Ricks, II, p. 1.
100. [Bagehot], p. 375.
101. [Bagehot], pp. 375–6.
102. [William Caldwell Roscoe] (1857) 'Aurora Leigh', *National Review*, IV, 239–67 (p. 254); [Aytoun], p. 34.
103. (1983) *Alton Locke: Tailor and Poet, an Autobiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 98.
104. See Kaplan's classic introduction to *Aurora Leigh* for a discussion of Barrett Browning's poem as 'a sort of counter-text' (p. 29) to *Alton Locke*. The poem openly opposes the socialism of Owen and Fourier, and by implication the Christian version of it promoted by F. D. Maurice and Kingsley, but as Kaplan notes, Barrett Browning found Kingsley personally genuine and charismatic, writing after meeting him in 1852: 'Few men have impressed me more agreeably than Mr. Kingsley. He is original and earnest and full of a genial and almost tender kindliness which is delightful to me. Wild and theoretical in many ways he is of course, but I believe he could not be otherwise than good and noble let him say or dream what he will' (p. 30).
105. In December 1849, she wrote to Mary Russell Mitford that she and Robert had met Clough 'at last', and urging Mitford to get hold of *The Bothie* if she hasn't already: 'a "long-vacation pastoral"['], written in loose & more-than-need-be unmusical hexameters, but full of vigour & freshness, & with passages & indeed whole scenes of great beauty & eloquence'. *Brownings' Correspondence*, XVI, pp. 28–31.
106. Trawick, p. 121.
107. Lowry, p. 97 (after September 1848–49).
108. Reynolds, p. 339 (10–18 December 1856). For comprehensive and nuanced treatments of Barrett Browning's religious beliefs (including her Swedenborgianism) and their influence on her poetics, see, among others,

- Linda Lewis (1998) *Elizabeth Barrett Browning's Spiritual Progress: Face to Face with God* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press); Charles Laporte (2011) *Victorian Poets and the Changing Bible* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press); and Karen Dieleman (2012) *Religious Imaginaries: The Liturgical and Poetic Practices of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Christina Rossetti, and Adelaide Procter* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press).
109. Angela Leighton (1986) *Elizabeth Barrett Browning* (Brighton: Harvester), p. 115.
  110. *Brownings' Correspondence*, VII, p. 214 (30 June 1843).
  111. [William Stigand] (1861) 'The Works of Elizabeth Barrett Browning', *Edinburgh Review*, CXIV, 513–34 (p. 533).
  112. [Roscoe], p. 252.

## 2 The Long Narrative Poem

1. Dino Felluga (2002) 'Verse Novel', in Richard Cronin, Alison Chapman and Antony H. Harrison (eds) *A Companion to Victorian Poetry* (Malden, MA: Blackwell), pp. 171–86; Adam Roberts (1999) *Romantic and Victorian Long Poems: A Guide* (Aldershot: Ashgate). Recent writers on epic include Franco Moretti (1996) *Modern Epic: The World-System from Goethe to García Márquez*, trans. by Quintin Hoare (London: Verso); Colin Graham (1998) *Ideologies of Epic: Nation, Empire and Victorian Epic Poetry* (Manchester: Manchester University Press); and Simon Dentith (2006) *Epic and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). On the much less examined class of epics by female poets, see Bernard Schweizer (ed.) (2006) *Approaches to the Anglo and American Female Epic, 1621–1982* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate).
2. Herbert F. Tucker (2008) *Epic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 2, n2.
3. Catherine Addison (2009) 'The Verse Novel as Genre: Contradiction or Hybrid?', *Style*, XLIII, 539–62 (p. 539).
4. Karl Kroeber (1960) *Romantic Narrative Art* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press), p. 84; Hermann Fischer (1991) *Romantic Verse Narrative: The History of a Genre*, trans. by Sue Bollans (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 216–17.
5. Fischer, p. 52.
6. Alfred Austin (1889) 'On the Position and Prospects of Poetry', in *The Human Tragedy* (London: Macmillan), pp. xxvii–xxviii.
7. Austin, pp. xi, xxvi, xxvii–xxviii.
8. The sentiment is almost Wordsworthian; and certainly the (at least partial) subject of *Aurora Leigh* echoes Wordsworth's *Prelude* in tracing the 'growth of a poet's mind'. For a helpful account of the parallels (as well as some divergences – in particular, relating to gender) between *The Prelude* and *Aurora Leigh*, see Kathleen Blake (1986) 'Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Wordsworth: The Romantic Poet as Woman', *Victorian Poetry*, XXIV, 387–98.
9. Bradley, pp. 199–200.
10. Bradley, pp. 202–3.
11. Stefanie Markovits notes the frequency with which Hamlet appears in those texts that prove germane to her 2006 study *The Crisis of Action in*

- Nineteenth-Century English Literature* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press), observing that 'Hamlet stands at the center of the debate about action and character in nineteenth-century literature' (p. 83).
12. *Memoir*, p. 396.
  13. F. E. L. Priestley (1973) *Language and Structure in Tennyson's Poetry* (London: Andre Deutsch), p. 107.
  14. [W. Y. Sellar] (1862) *North British Review*, XXVII, 323–43. Reprinted in Thorpe, pp. 175–94 (p. 192).
  15. Peter Brooks (1984) *Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp. 22, 20, 22. For a more comprehensive discussion of the temporality associated with narrative, and the nature of the lyric, see the introduction ('Narrative, Lyric, and Time') to Monique Morgan's 2009 book *Narrative Means, Lyric Ends: Temporality in the Nineteenth-Century British Long Poem* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press).
  16. Mermin, *The Audience in the Poem*, p. 10.
  17. Letter to Benjamin Bailey, Grant F. Scott (ed.) (2002) *Selected Letters of John Keats* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), p. 42 (8 October 1817).
  18. Ball, p. 5.
  19. Mermin, *The Audience in the Poem*, p. 11.
  20. Jerome Buckley (1982) 'The Persistence of Tennyson', in *The Victorian Experience: The Poets*, ed. by Richard A. Levine (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press), pp. 1–21 (p. 16).
  21. *Doom of Romanticism*, pp. 346–7.
  22. Priestley, p. 122.
  23. *Doom of Romanticism*, p. 349.
  24. T. S. Eliot (1951) 'In Memoriam', *Selected Essays* (London: Faber & Faber), pp. 330–2.
  25. Priestley, p. 109; *Doom of Romanticism*, p. 409.
  26. *Doom of Romanticism*, pp. 16–17.
  27. *Memoir*, p. 396.
  28. Priestley, p. 108.
  29. Isobel Armstrong (1962) *Arthur Hugh Clough* (London: Longman, Green & Co.), p. 21.
  30. Letter to John Gell, Mulhauser, p. 49 (7 July [1838]).
  31. Kenny, p. 144.
  32. Barbara Hardy, 'Clough's Self-consciousness', in *The Major Victorian Poets*, pp. 253–74 (p. 269).
  33. *The Poetry of Clough*, p. 103.
  34. Kenny, p. 144.
  35. Katharine Chorley (1962) *Arthur Hugh Clough: The Uncommitted Mind. A Study of his Life and Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), p. 152.
  36. Chorley, p. 195.
  37. Chorley, pp. 206–7.
  38. *The Audience in the Poem*, p. 145.
  39. Hardy, p. 264.
  40. *The Audience in the Poem*, p. 113.
  41. *The Audience in the Poem*, p. 114.
  42. *The Audience in the Poem*, p. 121.
  43. *Arthur Hugh Clough*, p. 34.

44. Markovits, p. 80.
45. Chorley, p. 6.
46. 'Love', *The Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, II: Essays*, p. 163.
47. (1856) 'The Angel in the House: The Espousals', *Harvard Magazine*, II, 412–25 (pp. 412–13).
48. Evans, p. 140.
49. Evans, pp. 140–1.
50. Evans, p. 138.
51. Ball, p. 193.
52. (1855) Review of *The Angel in the House*, *Eclectic Review*, IX, 546–56 (p. 554); (1858) 'Mr. Coventry Patmore's Poems', *National Review*, VI, 188–98 (p. 195).
53. [de Vere], p. 131.
54. Evans, p. 136; Reid, p. 149.
55. Reid, pp. 256–7.
56. [Robert Alfred Vaughan] (1857) 'Aurora Leigh', *British Quarterly Review*, XXV, 263–7 (p. 265).
57. [Roscoe], p. 254.
58. Laird, pp. 276, 284.
59. Reynolds, p. 330 (27 February 1845).
60. Montégut, pp. 338–9: '[l]a vérité et la beauté abstraite suffisent à l'homme'; '[l]'homme d'une ferme volonté peut se passer du monde extérieur'; '[les femmes] semblent ne pouvoir contempler la vérité et la beauté en elles-mêmes et sans le secours d'un intermédiaire'; 'rester fidèles à la vie, à la vie partagée avec des êtres vivans, à la vie sentie dans son intégrité et non divisée arbitrairement en vie morale et en vie physique, comme le fait le sexe pédantesque et fort' (translation mine). Montégut does not intend this observation as an endorsement of the surface narrative of *Aurora Leigh*; his remarks follow a discussion of the union between 'narration' and 'poetry' in the work, in which he judges that its most 'poetic' part is to be found in the reflections arising out of the poem's incidents, rather than the incidents themselves which, having been taken from unpoetic modern society, are inherently unpoetic.
61. Here Barrett Browning's imagery converges with that used by Patmore and Clough of the flower and its humble, earthy roots. While the picture of Honoria contemplating turning down Felix in order to pursue poetry herself (rather than serve as her husband's Muse) is, to say the least, an unlikely one, both *The Angel* and *Aurora Leigh* identify the humdrum reality of married life with the (generally undervalued, but good and necessary) root to what is 'higher' (in both cases, although – it must be conceded – in quite different senses, the divine).
62. Avery and Stott, p. 121. In this context of dialogue and didacticism, it is worth mentioning the sophisticated arguments about *Aurora Leigh* as Victorian sage discourse made in particular by Rebecca Stott, Marjorie Stone, and Karen Dieleman. All three make a case for Barrett Browning's adaptation of the 'prophetic' tradition first asserted in the period by Carlyle to forge a more 'gynocentric' version of sage writing, one that complicates the authoritative, masculinist voice of the prophet and values the communal pursuit of truth over the unilateral teachings of the sage figure. As Dieleman concludes, '[Aurora] desires dialogue, not pronouncement' (*Religious Imaginaries*, p. 94).

See chapter 8 of Avery and Stott's *Elizabeth Barrett Browning* and chapter 4 of Stone's *Elizabeth Barrett Browning*.

63. The question of textual ironies is a disputed point in the criticism of *Aurora Leigh*. Stone in particular argues for a considerable use of dramatic irony in the poem, with Aurora speaking 'as a sage-in-formation whose wisdom is in process of revision and often contradicted by her own actions' in order to 'call into question the authoritative stance so strenuously asserted by some male Victorian sages' (*Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, p. 162). Stone sees Aurora's 'artistic immaturity' (p. 167) in the early parts of the poem as creating the distance required for cases of dramatic irony; I would suggest that Barrett Browning is for the most part too closely implicated with Aurora in her missteps and development, and the reader too closely implicated in the unfolding of the narration, for these fledgling ironies to impact significantly on the workings of the poem.
64. [Roscoe], p. 244.
65. Reynolds, p. 329 (30 December 1844).
66. *Brownings' Correspondence*, IX, p. 177 (8 October 1844).
67. Edmond, p. 131.
68. Reynolds, p. 329 (30 December 1844).

### 3 The Marriage Plot

1. Matthew Reynolds (2001) *The Realms of Verse, 1830–1870: English Poetry in a Time of Nation-Building* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 51–2. For a recent and highly accessible treatment of Victorian practices and attitudes in relation to marriage, see Jennifer Phegley (2012), *Courtship and Marriage in Victorian England* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger). Of course, that courtship and marriage are the consummate (excuse the pun) preoccupation of the Victorian *novel* is axiomatic – though also under scrutiny; see, for example, Kelly Hager's 2010 volume *Dickens and the Rise of Divorce: The Failed-Marriage Plot and the Novel Tradition* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate).
2. Jerome J. McGann (ed.) (2000) *Don Juan*, in *Lord Byron: The Major Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), III.8.
3. James Anthony Froude (ed.) (1883) *Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, 3 vols (London: Longman, Green, & Co.), III, p. 2 (24 August 1859).
4. Ball, pp. 1, 4.
5. Ball, p. 57; Richard D. McGhee (1980) *Marriage, Duty, & Desire in Victorian Poetry and Drama* (Lawrence: The Regents Press of Kansas), p. 23.
6. Kaplan contrasts the 'two-halves-make-a-whole-imagery' of *The Princess* with the 'symbolisation of married love' in *Aurora Leigh*, Introduction, p. 27.
7. Ball, pp. 42, 41, 36, 41.
8. 'Love', *The Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, II: *Essays*, p. 163. Fittingly, Henry Sidgwick quotes Emerson as a contrast to Clough's attitude towards the poetic representation of love in his 1869 review of the latter's poetry, *Westminster Review*, XCII, 363–87. Reprinted in Thorpe, pp. 268–92 (p. 282).
9. Lowry, p. 135 (1 May 1853).
10. Walter Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind*, p. 373.
11. Maynard, p. 240.



12. Book I, Canto IV, Prelude I, 'The Rose of the World'.
13. *Eclectic Review*, p. 551.
14. The argument is a patently gendered one. For Princess Ida in Tennyson's *The Princess* to 'settle down' – 'A lusty brace / Of twins may weed her of her folly' (V.454) – is not for her to find meaningful action but to abandon one meaning for another (one more in keeping with social convention). When the Dorothea Brookes or Maggie Tullivers of the nineteenth century long for a less circumscribed sphere of action, their aspirations tend to be more a question of access (to male domains of engagement with the world) than of existential angst.
15. Thorpe, p. 230.
16. (2009) 'Virginibus Puerisque', in *Virginibus Puerisque and Other Essays* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars), pp. 4, 10, 15.
17. *The Audience in the Poem*, p. 147.
18. *The Victorian Frame of Mind*, p. 233.
19. James Eli Adams (1995) *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Masculinity* (Ithaca: Cornell), p. 7.
20. Kenny provides an engaging account of Clough's own experience of (and epistolary responses to) the siege; for further discussion of the revolutionary contexts to Clough's poetry, see Stephanie Weiner (2005) *Republican Politics and English Poetry, 1789–1874* (London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan) and Christopher M. Keirstead (2011) *Victorian Poetry, Europe, and the Challenges of Cosmopolitanism* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press), the latter of which traces the development of a transcontinental postal system as part of the historical backdrop to both Clough's own Roman correspondence and *Amours de Voyage*.
21. Maynard, p. 61. The mirroring of Claude's experience in love and in war is taken up by many critics of *Amours*; among other nuanced accounts, see Chorley's *Arthur Hugh Clough: The Uncommitted Mind* and Mermin's *The Audience in the Poem* for further discussion of this parallel.
22. Lowry, Norrington and Mulhauser, p. 516.
23. Matthew Reynolds, p. 44.
24. Thomas Carlyle (1899) 'Characteristics', in *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, 5 vols (London: Chapman and Hall), III, p. 30.
25. Kenny, p. 175.
26. Markovits, p. 52.
27. I, VI.II, 'Love Justified'.
28. *Harvard Magazine* (1856), pp. 423–4.
29. II, I.I, 'The Song of Songs'.
30. Markovits, p. 65.
31. There is an echo here of the scepticism Barrett Browning expressed about Florence Nightingale (whom she met, and admired) as a type of female vocation and fulfillment: 'I do not consider the best use to which we can put a gifted and accomplished woman, is to *make her a hospital-nurse*. If it is .. why then, woe to us all, who are artists! The woman's question is at an end.' Letter to Anna Brownell Jameson, *Brownings' Correspondence*, XXI, pp. 83–6 (24 February [1855]).
32. Many critics have written insightfully on this tension between marriage and career in *Aurora Leigh*. See especially Alison Case (1991) 'Gender and

- Narration in *Aurora Leigh*, *Victorian Poetry*, XXIX, 17–32; Deirdre David (1987) *Intellectual Women and Victorian Patriarchy: Harriet Martineau, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, George Eliot* (London: Macmillan); and Helen Cooper (1988) *Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Woman & Artist* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press).
33. Maurice Blanchot (1993) 'The End of the Hero', in *The Infinite Conversation*, trans. by Susan Hanson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), p. 244.
  34. McGhee, p. x.
  35. *The Audience in the Poem*, pp. 11–12.
  36. Matthew Reynolds, pp. 52, 53, 57.
  37. '1848', p. 64.
  38. This ambivalence also runs through Barrett Browning's work, which defies but simultaneously gives a grudging nod to the power of social convention in the cross-class couplings (or near-couplings) of 'Lady Geraldine's Courtship' and Romney and Marian. The conservative Patmore, predictably enough, condemned the union of peasant poet with earl's daughter as a 'social fallacy': 'The more one knows of men and women, the less one thinks of the wisdom and possibility of happiness in a *mésalliance* of this kind [...] so that our feeling, on coming to the "happy conclusion" of the poem, is one of unmixed commiseration for the hero and heroine, who are putting their heads into so desperate a noose, without having the slightest notion of what they are about' (Review of *Aurora Leigh*, pp. 444–5). Of course, in one sense, Patmore is simply pointing out the obvious (and displaying a consistent appreciation for the intricate webs of upper- and middle-class Victorian social life); other critics equally struggled with the heedless optimism of 'Lady Geraldine'. Peter Bayne, for example, noted mildly that the lovers 'were presumably married, and we are free to suppose that they lived happily ever after; but, if they did, Bertram must have been a very true poet indeed, and Lady Geraldine an uncommonly sensible woman'. *Two Great Englishwomen: Mrs. Browning and Charlotte Brontë: With an Essay on Poetry, Illustrated from Wordsworth, Burns, and Byron* (London: James Clarke & Co, 1881), pp. 70–1.
  39. '1848', p. 64.
  40. Kenny, p. 159.
  41. *The Audience in the Poem*, p. 147.
  42. Ball, p. 219.
  43. Reid, p. 150.
  44. Wendell Stacy Johnson (1975) *Sex and Marriage in Victorian Poetry* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press), p. 74.
  45. Johnson, pp. 36–7.
  46. See the earlier discussion, in relation to the narrative form of *Aurora Leigh*, of the gendered nature of the general and abstract as opposed to the concrete and embodied in Chapter 2.
  47. Reynolds, p. 349.
  48. Avery and Stott, p. 188.
  49. Avery and Stott, p. 78. This assumption is more or less pronounced in discussions of Aurora and Romney's relationship and the symbolism of the poem as a whole. It surfaces most recently, perhaps, in Peggy Dunn Bailey's essay

- “‘Hear the Voice of the [Female] Bard’: *Aurora Leigh* as Female Romantic Epic’, which notes of the relationship between Aurora’s personal battles and their representative significance that ‘[a]s a woman, she embodies the conflicts felt by all women who find themselves chafing against cultural gender-based restrictions’, and traces the poem’s various binaries back to its status as a *female* ‘Romantic’ epic. See Schweizer (ed.), p. 118.
50. From *A New Spirit of the Age* (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1844), pp. 253–80. Reprinted in Reynolds, pp. 391–9 (p. 394).
  51. *Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, p. 150.
  52. *Brownings’ Correspondence*, XII, p. 62 (11 February 1846).
  53. Ball, p. 47.
  54. Again, this seems to be a characteristically male difficulty. Perhaps because so many other fields of active participation in social and political life are closed to them, Victorian women poets seem less troubled by the question of whether poetry (or, for that matter, marriage) counts as meaningful action in the world than their male counterparts.
  55. Eric Griffiths (1989) *The Printed Voice of Victorian Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), p. 194.
  56. Adams, pp. 1, 6.
  57. ‘Victorian Masculinity’, p. 158.
  58. Dorothy Mermin, ‘The Damsel, the Knight, and the Victorian Woman Poet’, in *Victorian Women Poets*, pp. 64–83 (p. 67).
  59. Matthew Reynolds, p. 72.
  60. *The Audience in the Poem*, pp. 11–12, 146.
  61. *The Audience in the Poem*, p. 148.

#### 4 The Uses of Genre

1. C. Day Lewis (1947) *The Poetic Image* (London: Jonathan Cape), p. 95.
2. *The Poetry of Clough*, p. 112.
3. Lowry, p. 97 (after September 1848–9).
4. Claudio Guillén (1971) *Literature as System: Essays toward the Theory of Literary History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), pp. 111, 120.
5. Mary S. Pollock (1996) ‘The Anti-Canonical Realism of Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s “Lord Walter’s Wife”’, *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, XXIX, 43–54 (p. 47).
6. *Doom of Romanticism*, pp. 189–90.
7. [de Vere], pp. 130, 133.
8. Felluga, p. 171; Edmond, p. 36.
9. Ball, p. 5.
10. Edmond, p. 37.
11. Edmond, p. 37.
12. *Leader* (1856), p. 1143.
13. [Aytoun], p. 33.
14. Bayne, p. 120. The running commentary heading the page at this point reads ‘A Strange Wooer’.
15. *Leader* (1856), p. 1143.
16. Thorpe, p. 36 (21 January 1849); Thorpe, p. 39.

17. [Sidgwick], Thorpe, p. 287.
18. *Harvard Magazine* (1856), p. 417.
19. (London: Macmillan, 1859), pp. 1–2. Further references are given in the text.
20. Quoted in Anstruther, p. 51.
21. See, for example, Meg Tasker's chapter 'Aurora Leigh: Elizabeth Barrett Browning's Novel Approach to the Woman Poet', in Barbara Garlick (ed.) (2002) *Tradition and the Poetics of Self in Nineteenth-Century Women's Poetry* (Amsterdam, NY: Rodopi), pp. 23–41; Rod Edmond's *Affairs of the Hearth: Victorian Poetry and Domestic Narrative* (1988); and Stefanie Markovits' *The Crisis of Action in Nineteenth-Century English Literature* (2006).
22. Reynolds, p. 330 (27 February 1845).
23. (1856) Review of *Craigcrook Castle and Aurora Leigh*, *Monthly Review of Literature, Science and Art*, I, 740–54 (p. 749).
24. Reynolds, p. 446.
25. Walpole quoted by David Duff (2009) *Romanticism and the Uses of Genre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 18; Edgar Allan Poe (1984) 'The Poetic Principle', in *Essays and Reviews* (New York: Viking Press), p. 72.
26. Quoted by Dentith, p. 1.
27. Fox, reprinted in Armstrong, *Victorian Scrutinies*, p. 73; Heraud, p. 36, quoted in Amalendu Bose (1962) *Chroniclers of Life: Studies in Early Victorian Poetry* (Bombay: Orient Longmans), p. 100.
28. Quoted by Tucker, *Epic*, p. 128 n1.
29. Quoted in Curran, p. 158.
30. Quoted in Tucker, *Epic*, p. 459 n80.
31. Moretti, p. 14.
32. Bayne, p. 107. The epic features of *Aurora Leigh* – as well as the poem's transformation of the genre's conventions, in particular by a process of feminization – have of course been ably detailed before. See in particular Herbert Tucker's 'Aurora Leigh: Epic Solutions to Novel Ends'; Marjorie Stone's 'Genre Subversion and Gender Inversion'; and Susan Stanford Friedman (1986) 'Gender and Genre Anxiety: Elizabeth Barrett Browning and H. D. as Epic Poets', *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, V, 217–23, reprinted in Reynolds, pp. 466–73.
33. [Roscoe], p. 242.
34. Armstrong, *Arthur Hugh Clough*, p. 24.
35. Kenny, p. 145.
36. Thorpe, pp. 44, 43. The complexities of Clough's 'classicism' in his choice of metre especially are dexterously explicated by Joseph Phelan in his 1999 article 'Radical Metre: The English Hexameter in Clough's *Bothie of Toper-na-Fuosich*', *The Review of English Studies*, L, 166–87. In particular, Phelan situates Clough's hexameters within the lively and somewhat acrimonious debates on classical prosody that were rumbling on throughout the 1840s and 1850s.
37. Thorpe, p. 190.
38. Kenny, p. 146.
39. Markovits, p. 64.
40. Clinton Machann (2010) *Masculinity in Four Victorian Epics* (Farnham: Ashgate), p. 13.
41. *Epic*, p. 338.

42. Tucker, *Epic*, p. 385.
43. *Critic*, p. 480.
44. Anstruther, p. 100.
45. Shane Leslie (1932) *Studies in Sublime Failure* (London: Ernst Benn), p. 115; Maynard, p. 205; Tucker, *Epic*, p. 386.
46. Herbert F. Tucker, 'Epic', in *A Companion to Victorian Poetry*, pp. 25–41 (p. 28).
47. See the analysis of *Aurora Leigh* and the 'live, throbbing age' in Chapter 1, above, for a fuller discussion of this crucial passage.
48. Dentith, p. 104.
49. Alastair Fowler (1982) *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), p. 20.
50. Masaki Mori (1997) *Epic Grandeur: Toward a Comparative Poetics of the Epic* (Albany: State University of New York Press), p. 60; Barbara Kiefer Lewalski (1985) *Paradise Lost and the Rhetoric of Literary Forms* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), p. 7; Jacques Derrida (1980) 'The Law of Genre', trans. by Avital Ronell, *Critical Inquiry*, VII, 55–81 (p. 59); Thomas O. Beebee (1994) *The Ideology of Genre: A Comparative Study of Generic Instability* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press), p. 14; Tucker, *Epic*, p. 45.
51. Curran, p. 198.
52. Graham, p. 9.
53. Duff, p. 126.
54. Priestley, pp. 67–8.
55. The transposition of the Muse trope by Aurora has been the subject of extensive discussion, most notably in Joyce Zonana (1989) 'The Embodied Muse: Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Aurora Leigh* and Feminist Poetics', *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, VIII, 240–62. Zonana tracks previous critical analyses of Romney, of Marian Erle, and of Aurora herself as possible 'Muse' figures by Angela Leighton, Helen Cooper, and others; however, all work in this direction suggests that the convention is deployed in *Aurora Leigh*, if at all, in radically feminist fashion, as a decidedly 'embodied' Muse.
56. Sir Philip Sidney (2002) *An Apology for Poetry, or The Defence of Poesy*, ed. by Geoffrey Shepherd (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press), p. 97.
57. Duff, p. 165.
58. Fowler, p. 107.
59. Fowler, p. 191.
60. Fowler, pp. 183, 191.
61. M. M. Bakhtin (1981) 'Epic and Novel: Toward a Methodology for the Study of the Novel', in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, trans. by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press), pp. 5, 39, 7, 16.
62. Fowler, p. 252.
63. Montégut, p. 336: 'elle ne les a pas si bien fondues ensemble, que nous ne puissions les voir distinctes l'une de l'autre et se contrariant mutuellement' (translation mine).
64. Fowler, p. 205.
65. Edmond, pp. 48–9.
66. Edmond, p. 85.
67. Duff, p. 178.

68. Duff, p. 165.
69. Duff, p. 178.
70. Duff, p. 181.
71. Curran, p. 181.
72. Duff, p. 13.
73. Others have noted the alignment of reviewers' politics (especially their views on gender) with their response to the mixed aesthetics of *Aurora Leigh*; see, for example, Marjorie Stone's essay 'Criticism on *Aurora Leigh*: An Overview', at [www.ebbarchive.org](http://www.ebbarchive.org).
74. [Aubrey de Vere] (1849) review of Tennyson's *The Princess*, *Edinburgh Review*, XC, 388–433 (p. 388).
75. (1857) Review of *Aurora Leigh*, *Dublin University Magazine*, II, 460–70 (p. 465).
76. Thorpe, p. 42.
77. [Chorley], p. 1425.
78. 'Mr. Coventry Patmore's Poems' (1858), p. 196.
79. Thorpe, p. 189.
80. Griffiths, p. 198.
81. Tillotson, p. 142.
82. Sister Mary Augustine Roth (1961) *Coventry Patmore's 'Essay on English Metrical Law': A Critical Edition with a Commentary* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press), p. 9; [Patmore] (1857), p. 448; Canto X, Prelude I, 'The Joyful Wisdom'.
83. Alethea Hayter, 'Experiments in Poetic Technique', in Donaldson, pp. 15–31 (p. 30).
84. [John Nichol] (1857) *Westminster Review*, LXVIII, 399–415 (p. 400); Bayne, p. 131.
85. [Aytoun], p. 37.
86. Letter to Henry Crabb Robinson, reprinted in Thorpe, p. 32 (12 January 1849); Francis Palgrave (1862) 'Memoir' to *Poems by Arthur Hugh Clough*, reprinted in Thorpe, pp. 108–20 (p. 112).
87. Roth, pp. 9–10.
88. W. P. Ker (1928) *Form and Style in Poetry* (London: Macmillan), pp. 282–3.
89. Reynolds, pp. 444–5.
90. Along with Hayter's essay, perhaps the most nuanced and in-depth treatment of the prosody of *Aurora Leigh* is Robert Stark's 2010 article "'[Keeping] up the Fire": Elizabeth Barrett Browning's Victorian Versification', *Journal of Browning Studies*, I, 49–69. Stark is especially helpful on Barrett Browning's use of elision and caesura to create a more dynamic versification, and to approximate to the rhythms of human speech. He concludes that '[h]er version of Victorian speech would not pass modern tests for realistic presentation, as Virginia Woolf has judiciously remarked, but it did make the form seem that bit more plausible as speech' (p. 65). See also Josie Billington's argument that the 'dramatic-poetic mode' of *Aurora Leigh* is in reality radically distinct from that of the Victorian novel in *Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Shakespeare: 'This is Living Art'* (London: Continuum, 2012).
91. Markovits, p. 72.
92. (1850) *The Germ*, I, 34–46. Reprinted in Thorpe, pp. 54–64 (pp. 63–4).
93. Tillotson, p. 129.

94. [Nichol], p. 399.
95. Mori, p. 44.
96. Roberts, p. 78.
97. 'Poems by Coventry Patmore', p. 529.
98. This 'double vision' of the poet has been the subject of much critical discussion, with an emphasis on the specifically female perspective it entails. See in particular Holly Laird's essay 'Aurora Leigh: An Epical *Ars Poetica*' and Dolores Rosenblum's 'Casa Guidi Windows and *Aurora Leigh*: The Genesis of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's Visionary Aesthetic', both reprinted in Donaldson.
99. 'Epic', p. 26.
100. Curran, p. 180.
101. Curran, p. 182; Dentith, p. 106.
102. Reynolds, p. 331 [March 1855]. Of course, more than a decade previously, Barrett Browning had explicitly cited *Don Juan* as a model for the poem she hoped to write (Reynolds, p. 329).
103. Lowry, p. 124 (28 October 1852).
104. Letter to Joseph Cottle, in Earl Leslie Griggs (ed.) (1956) *Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press), I, pp. 320–1 (April 1797).
105. Dentith, p. 110.
106. Bakhtin, p. 35.
107. Moretti, p. 5.
108. Georg Lukács (1978) *The Theory of the Novel: A historico-political essay on the forms of great epic literature*, trans. by Anna Bostock (London: Merlin Press), pp. 34, 56.
109. C. N. Manlove (1978) *Literature and Reality 1600–1800* (London: Macmillan), p. 210.
110. Jonathan Aaron (1974) 'The Idea of the Novelistic Poem: A Study of Four Victorian "Verse-Novels" by Clough, Tennyson, and Browning', unpublished PhD thesis, Yale, p. 198.
111. Trawick, p. 144.
112. Aaron, p. 204.
113. Trawick, pp. 144–5.
114. 'On Translating Homer' (1860–61), *Super*, I, p. 151.
115. Chew, p. 18.
116. Matthew Reynolds, p. 271.
117. Albright, p. 178.
118. 'Epic', p. 27.
119. Carol Christ (1984) *Victorian and Modern Poetics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), p. 115.

## Ends

1. *Scrutinies*, p. 83.
2. [Nichol], p. 413.
3. Kaplan, p. 12. Critics since have defended Barrett Browning against Kaplan's charges of elitism and quixotic zeal; see in particular discussions by Stone



and David of the poem's depiction of the 'people' and her social and political vision for healing and unity. Stone does conclude, however, that 'the critics are surely right in emphasizing that *Aurora Leigh* does not offer any blueprints for reform ... the provision of such "systems" would contradict the most fundamental philosophical premises of Barrett Browning's textual enterprise' – that is, the opposition of 'System' to 'instinct'. Thus the poem's ending, Stone concludes, offers 'not a lack of alternative systems but an open-ended apocalyptic potentiality generating the reader's inscription of meaning' (pp. 185, 187).

4. Stefan Collini (1991) *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850–1930* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), p. 65.
5. *Principle in Art*, p. 219.
6. Kaplan's reading of *Aurora Leigh*'s 'pornographic vision' of Lady Waldemar working at Romney's phalanstery (5.792) as a send-up of Clough's 'voyeurism and chauvinism' in relation to women and physical labour fails to appreciate the subtlety (and self-critique) of Clough's treatment of the matter. Romney is in fact guilty of a parallel fallacy to Philip's, in being uninterested in female beauty, seeking only female (fellow) service: 'He'd rail at Venus' self for creaking shoes, / Unless she walked his way of righteousness' (5.763). The image of Lady Waldemar at work inverts the scenario played out in *The Bothie*: she is the already-beautiful aristocrat who abases herself in her own pursuit of love, rather than the female labourer transfigured and elevated by the beholding eye of the male of a higher class.
7. (1862) 'Clough's Poems', *Saturday Review*, 26 July, pp. 109–10. Reprinted in Thorpe, pp. 130–5 (p. 133).
8. Stephen Gill (ed.) (1980) *Adam Bede* (London: Penguin), p. 223.
9. *The Audience in the Poem*, p. 122.
10. Letter to Clough, reprinted in Thorpe, p. 124 (17 May 1858).
11. Bakhtin, p. 37.
12. Thorpe, p. 40.
13. David, p. 110.
14. [Barnes], p. 130. See also [de Vere], pp. 130–1, who accounts for different kinds of love poetry according to whether or not the poet has hit upon 'the true philosophy of man', and *Harvard Magazine* (1856), p. 420, which argues that the author's purpose – 'to dignify simple, every-day attachments' – will be successful only if 'his philosophy is true'.

## Postscript: Finding a Form for Modern Love

1. Among the aspects of this school of poetry that remain unexplored is its international career. British long poems, from *Festus* to *Lucile*, experienced surges of popularity across the Atlantic; *Amours de Voyage* made its (moderately successful) debut there; and, as Mary Loeffelholz's essay 'Aurora Leigh in America' has demonstrated, American poets found reasons to recast and restage the debates contained in Barrett Browning's verse-novel in the 1860s and 1870s. Meredith McGill (ed.) (2008) *The Traffic in Poems: Nineteenth-Century Poetry and Transatlantic Exchange* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press), pp. 139–59. However, the American epic – though

much called for at the time – has been discussed by critics either as the work of patriotic but inferior rhymesters or as an impulse that found new channels outside the form of verse narrative (whether Whitman's fragmentary *Leaves of Grass* or Melville's prose epic *Moby Dick*). See, for example, John P. McWilliams Jr (1989) *The American Epic: Transforming a Genre, 1770–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). If a vigorous, coherent native tradition of American verse-novels did emerge in the course of the nineteenth century, its history has yet to be uncovered.

2. Reynolds, p. 446.
3. Day Lewis, p. 106.
4. David, pp. 112–13. There have been several more nuanced and comprehensive accounts of the reception of the poem since David; see, for example, Mermin's discussion in *Elizabeth Barrett Browning* (p. 222ff), and Marjorie Stone's essay 'Criticism on *Aurora Leigh*: An Overview', at [www.ebbarchive.org](http://www.ebbarchive.org).
5. See Anstruther, pp. 7–8, 64–5, 74–82, 98.
6. See in particular Adela Pinch's 2008 article 'Love Thinking' for a fascinating take on how the opening lines of *Modern Love* function as a rewrite of Patmore's *Angel* prelude 'The Kiss'.
7. Stephen Regan (2006) 'The Victorian Sonnet, from George Meredith to Gerard Manley Hopkins', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, XXXVI, 17–34 (p. 18).
8. William T. Going (1976) *Scanty Plot of Ground: Studies in the Victorian Sonnet* (The Hague: Mouton), p. 118.
9. 'William Watson', *Studies in Two Literatures*, p. 61.
10. 'Modern Love', in Graham Hough (ed.) (1980) *Selected Poems of George Meredith* (Westport: Greenwood Press).

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