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A "Fashionable Poet" in New England in the 1890s: A Study of the Reception of John Donne

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Accounting for the aestheticism of Boston in the nineties, a perfunctory note in Van Wyck Brooks's *New England: Indian Summer 1865-1915* observes that John Donne was a "fashionable poet." His poetry was annotated by the Concord authors and eventually published by The Grolier Club.[1] The purpose of this article is to find out what the Donne vogue consisted of and who its main instigators were. My observations are mainly based on testimonials from literary people in the Boston-Cambridge area around the turn of the century. The examination of Donne's reputation has nevertheless necessitated viewing the reception of his work from broader geographical and chronological perspectives. The image of Donne emerging at this time is naturally linked with earlier conceptions of the poet and the man. Connections need to be made, in this respect, between the views of the Transcendentalists, Charles Eliot Norton, and T. S. Eliot. Yet by concentrating, as this article does, on a relatively small group of people and their criticism of Donne, I hope to be able to direct attention to early trends in the poet's American reputation.

Clearly, no older writer can single-handedly return from a past that has done its utmost to obliterate him from the literary consciousness. He needs assistance. But the help he may receive often reflects the needs and urges of his latter-day benefactors and the support they seek in him. If the outcome is a "restoration," it is due to an organic process that involves both the reader and the writer. The fact that Donne became a Boston favorite in the nineties is thus not a consequence of a series of unrelated circumstances, but of the traditions and aspirations that then held sway.

An examination of the Donne vogue invites varied approaches. One tactic leads to inquiries that focus on contemporary literary trends and developments, on attitudes and norms governing interpretation. This

"horizon" will be only casually treated here. Another approach, less elusive, but perhaps more rewarding for our purpose, projects the individuals and groups who generated criticism of Donne. It also surveys the communicative network between them (across generations and oceans) as well as transcultural dependences and influences. The two approaches are naturally interlinked. R. W. Emerson's sympathy for Metaphysical wit and, in particular, for Donne's bold language, in whose company "we can almost pass our hands through our own body," is, for instance, a manifest application of his transcendental philosophy, which he saw reinforced in Donne's poetry.[2] Again, to widen the perspective, Emerson's stand and the other Concord men's commitment to Donne can be considered in the light of the high esteem in which the poet was held by the English Romantic poets. Their influence in alerting America to Donne is indisputable. As a consequence, Emerson and Thoreau made ample use of Donne's works; his name recurs often in their talks, evening classes, notebooks, journals and lectures.

Annie Fields, the wife of the famous Boston publisher and dinner-host James T. Fields, was one of the many who heard Emerson read aloud from the Metaphysicals. In her "memoir" of February 1869 she records one such session at the Emersons' house:

> Heard Emerson again, and Laura was with me; we drank up every word eagerly. He read Donne, Daniel, and especially Herbert. . . . The facility of the old poets seemed to impress him with almost undue reverence.[3]

Emerson passed on his "reverence" to J. R. Lowell, who became one of Donne's most accomplished and devoted advocates in nineteenth-century America. Like Emerson he was thrilled at discovering in the poet an "organic" handling of materials. Donne's imagination, Lowell endlessly rehearsed, is unified; form and content are one. His poetry "makes one little room, an everywhere."[4] His contributions to the popularization of Donne are varied. A major one is his effort to publish Donne's poetry. Throughout his life he annotated a Donne volume with an eye to having his "favourite Donne" published.[5] He completed an edition and had Donne's poems issued in the Boston printing of F. J. Child's *Complete Collection of British Poets* (1855, reissued in 1864 and 1866).[6] Apparently, he was dissatisfied with his efforts, because he afterwards continued to annotate his Donne volume. Curiously, Lowell's annotations were lost for a time, then located and used by Charles Eliot Norton for The Grolier Club editions of 1895 and 1905.[7] Lowell's impact as a Donne critic and advocate was even more lasting and persuasive among

colleagues. He was often identified as Donne's ambassador. "One needs to brace one's self with a strong dose of Dr. Donne," he tells Norton in a letter from 1887.[8] He never lost his feeling of spiritual affinity with the poet.[9] Typically, Barrett Wendell in a commemoration speech at the centenary of Lowell's birth in 1919 emphasized Lowell's Old English heritage, his "loyalty . . . sprung from the thought and the law and the literature ancestral alike to Old England and to New."[10] The statement is grandiose, as it should be on such an occasion, but it recalls the position Lowell was thought to have as a mediator of this literature in his day.[11]

In Lowell's house, at Annie Fields' Saturday afternoon receptions and at various other literary gatherings, the artists, writers, and the educated of Boston and Cambridge met to talk and to listen to lectures. They included, among others, Sarah Orne Jewett, Louise Imogen Guiney, Horace Scudder, William Dean Howells, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Louise Chandler Moulton, and Charles Eliot Norton. Jewett tells her friend Annie Fields in 1889: "I have been reading an old copy of Donne's poems with perfect delight. They seem new to me just now, even the things I knew best. We must read many of them together. I must have my old copy mended; it is quite shabby. . . . ."[12] Jewett first came to know Donne at Lowell's house, as did many others.[13] It is in this group of New England writers and publishers that Donne emerged in the 1890s as the "fashionable poet" of Boston. These translators, editors, lecturers, poets—writers in the broadest sense of the word—all more or less agreed on the need to extend the literary traditions of the past and to re-establish them, above all, through sound scholarship and critical enthusiasm. Two of them are of special importance—Charles Eliot Norton and Louise Imogen Guiney.

Charles Eliot Norton is noted mainly for his lifelong advocacy of a humanism that incorporated veneration of the best fruits that the past could bestow, for his worship of New England egalitarianism, and for his formidable scholarly efforts that included translations of Dante's *Vita Nuova* and *Divine Comedy*. His humanism led him—as editor of the *North American Review* (during the Civil War), contributor to the *Atlantic Monthly*, founding member of the *Nation*, and, from 1873, lecturer and Professor of Fine Arts at Harvard—to consider the task of revitalizing the past. His wish was "to quicken, so far as may be, in the youth of a land barren of visible memorials of former times, the sense of connection with the past and of gratitude for the efforts and labours of other races and former generations."[14] Having abandoned lecturing in the 1890s, Norton set out to supply Americans with "edifices of beauty" to promote their moral civilization and thought. In these works—which include the

Dante translations, collections of correspondence (Thomas Carlyle, Emerson, Lowell, John Ruskin, and others), and editions of poetry—his varied intellectual and scholarly pursuits are intertwined. His two editions of John Donne's poetry, for instance, demonstrate his trust in the power that the literature of the past can generate and his passionate concern for a criticism that is accurate without being pedantic.[15]

Norton seems to have come to Donne late in his life. Kermit Vanderbilt, his biographer, believes that his doing so was "perhaps from a feeling of obligation to complete an edition of the poems which Lowell had left unfinished and disorderly."[16] This is no doubt the reason that he undertook the editorial work, but it does not account for his extraordinary investment of energy. In Donne he recognized, as he did in Dante, a unity of mood and expression which could combat modern disillusionments. His familiarity with Donne is probably of a much earlier date than that suggested by Vanderbilt (1895). He had of course heard Emerson and Lowell praise the poet, heard their readings, and taken notice of the best of their criticism.[17] His knowledge of current English publication and research now familiarized him with the Metaphysicals, as is revealed in his lively correspondence.[18] Alexander Grosart's edition of Donne in 1872-73 received little attention in England, due partly to its limited circulation. In America, however, the joint effects of Grosart's *Donne* and the scattered endorsements of Donne transmitted by the Romantics, produced an enhanced awareness of Donne's value that was inherited by the generation of T. S. Eliot (who can be seen as the direct successor to Norton with respect to Donne criticism). Norton's editions of Donne must be considered in the light of this transatlantic dialogue. The main link in the two continents' growing sympathy for Donne was an Englishman (whose mother was a Boston Brahmin), Sir Edmund Gosse.

Gosse's reading of Donne goes back to the early 1880s. In the first edition of his *Seventeenth Century Studies* (1883), he complains that he has had to remove Donne from his discussion as being "too large" for the subject, for "to write fully of his work would be to write the history of the decline of English poetry, to account for the Augustan renascence, to trace the history of the national mind for a period of at least a century."[19] Gosse's biological/historical approach established Donne as a transitional poet, whose works were seen as a paradigm of a literary process that having reached fruition could well overripen and go to rot. In 1884 Gosse visited Boston and gave a series of lectures at the Lowell Institute on the subject of "Poetry at the Death of Shakespeare" (which form the substance of his book *From Shakespeare to Pope*, 1885). These lectures single Donne out as the leader in a line of poetry whose very qualities of

intimacy and personality were inimitable and paradoxically destructive in the long run.[20] Donne could only survive as Donne, not as a model. This view was consonant with Barrett Wendell's thesis that contemporary literature was stagnating or collapsing in reaction to the fullness of the previous period.[21] Thus, paradoxically, when Donne is viewed as a part of the cyclic progression of literary history, for which both Wendell and Gosse were spokesmen, his influence is deemed pernicious. But when he is judged separately, outside his "cathegory," Donne represents literary qualities that only the best can hope to achieve. Gosse and Wendell would not reconcile these viewpoints. They were not clear about what to make of Donne. Nevertheless, the parallels they discovered between Donne and the literature of New England writers of the generation before them at least stimulated interest and research into the poetry of the Metaphysicals.

Gosse was lionized in Boston. He filled the lecture hall (850 seats) each time he gave a talk. Among those who came to listen to him were Norton, Guiney, and Scudder.[22] His observations on English seventeenth-century literature seemed to be in tune with the "time." He withheld from his audience a fuller treatment of Donne until 1894.[23] Then he published his *Jacobean Poets* in which Donne is treated at length and finally appears as the bridge between two antagonistic literary periods. This essay was the forerunner of Gosse's biography of Donne published in 1899.[24] Gosse's fascination with the poet's personality coincided, as we have explained, with the American aspirations to learn more about him, to make him more accessible. For many Bostonians Gosse's name figured mainly in association with Donne's. Some also knew at an early stage that he had started to write Donne's life. Louise Imogen Guiney, one of Gosse's transatlantic correspondents, wrote to him: "I do not believe Mrs. Gosse and you have ever let over your Sunday threshold a greater lover of one John Donne, D.D. [than Professor Whittemore], for whose *Life* we are still hungrily looking."[25] The book was on the whole favorably received in England.[26] But the enthusiasm in Boston was moderate: Guiney's "hunger" was all too soon satisfied.

Norton was furious with Gosse's biography, as his review of it and the venemous marginalia in his copy testify.[27] Norton accused Gosse of ignorance, of letting fancy prevail over fact, and of scholarly inaccuracy and amateurism. "It is difficult to conceive how even the most careless reader could misunderstand these poems," Norton exclaims, reacting to Gosse's attempt to reconstruct "a deplorable but eventful liaison" with a married woman on the basis of the poems "The Blossome" and "The Apparition."[28] Norton had the scholar's ingrained suspicion of a style of

writing that was both flamboyant and personal; Gosse's style was "perverse" and in conjunction with his indiscriminate use of facts, his criticism was, to Norton's mind, miserable.

Before we examine at some length the substance and the direction of the actual criticism of Donne appearing in Boston during the last decade of the century, the odd work and unfulfilled aspirations of the Irish postmistress and poet of nostalgia, Louise Imogen Guiney deserve mention. One of the many New England personalities who frequented the homes of the Fields, of Longfellow, and of Lowell, and who feverishly corresponded with publishers and antiquarians in England,[29] Guiney responded to the New England affinity for Europe and expressed an anxiety to recapture the past in order to possess it.[30] If she is remembered today, it is in these capacities. As a guardian of the past and as an Irish Catholic, she fell in love with seventeenth-century poets of a Catholic bent, including Henry Vaughan, George Farquhar and Thomas Stanley. She eagerly resurrected them. Her naive and romantic adoration of the knightly concepts of self-sacrifice and honor makes her own poetry sound tasteless and bizarre; not unexpectedly, she undertook enterprises such as restoring Vaughan's grave in England and fundraising for a bust of Keats.[31] But her idolatry of obscure "Catholic" poets in England, of early English "deaders" (her own term), did not prevent her from taking part in everyday affairs in Boston. Gosse is, characteristically, badly informed when stating, at her death in 1920, that "she lived so completely in the past, and in that little section of it which fought and fell between 1640 and 1650, that the world passed her by, bewildered."[32] It was not Guiney who was "bewildered" but Gosse: she was a pivotal figure in many respects in Boston's nineties, linking not only the two ethnic halves of the city, but also the genteel and the aesthetic traditions.[33] All her interests naturally led Guiney to Donne: the quest for the old "beauties," the genteel veneration for the New England traditions, Catholicism, and the cherishing of an aesthetic of irrationalism and romance.

In 1894 Guiney published *A Little English Gallery* (prefaced by Norton and dedicated to Gosse), which contains miniature sketches of diverse non-canonical literary figures. Among them is Lady Danvers (1561-1627), mother of George Herbert and friend of Donne. The portraits in the *Gallery* "glow with sympathy and love," writes Guiney's biographer Henry G. Fairbanks.[34] The warmth of her appreciation also extends to Donne: his genealogy and Catholic "tendencies" interest her. But he is not singled out as is her favorite Catholic poet, Henry Vaughan, who symbolizes her ideal: the Jacobite singer and the Christian mystic. To him she devoted a number of articles and much painstaking research

(she completed an edition of his prose works). Still, she studied and read Donne throughout her life and grew more and more anxious to present him as a "Catholic" poet.[35] In 1896 she proposed unsuccessfully to issue a set of volumes featuring the Caroline poets, and Donne was to be the subject of one of these studies. She completed a sketch of his life with some criticism of his works.[36] In her only published article on Donne, written the year she died, she elaborates again Donne's affiliations with her own Church and the need to establish him as "one of the greater apostates": "Some one, first in that field, should write a little book, which should be a scientific and authentic study of Dr. John Donne as a Catholic; preferably should the author of it be of the same faith."[37] Was it possible that Guiney considered publishing her old manuscript from the 1890s?

Having observed the deep respect, if not adulation Donne elicited from such Bostonians as Annie Fields, J. R. Lowell, Charles Eliot Norton, and Louise Imogen Guiney, let us now examine what their work amounted to. What did Americans say about him; what use did they make of him; how was his reputation affected? The image of Donne as the old, venerable man preaching his own death sermon, troubled but passionately following his religious course, never shaped the conceptions of him in America. He was not perceived in America as an Anglican saint. Throughout the century any coherent picture of Donne in this country had its imaginative basis in his poetry and not (as in England) in Walton's hagiography and in the sermons. Thoreau and Lowell, among others, emphasized Donne's "energy," "vitality," and "originality." They admired the youthful poet, bristling with life. Walton's stereotype of Dr. Donne, pervasive in both literary and clerical polemics during most of the nineteenth century in England, was replaced in America by the fascinating and enthralling persona of Jack Donne.

Agnes Repplier, the Philadelphia author who befriended most women writers in Boston, contrasted Donne's love poems with Browning's: the latter's are "strenuous, analytic, half-caustic, and wholly discomforting"; Donne's vibrate with a life-and-death struggle where passion and pain contend.[39] They are, she continues, free from restraints and conventions. With Browning "the brightness of youth has fled," she asserted.[40] The juxtaposition of Browning and Donne was, one might say, an English coinage which always looked odd and maladroit in America. There was more relevance, somewhat later, in comparing Donne with Rupert Brooke. George Edward Woodberry was one of the many (in both England and America) who drew parallels between the two. In fact, he introduced Brooke to the U.S.A. (edited and published him) against the background of his enthusiasm for the poetry of the

Elizabethans.[41] Donne and Brooke are juxtaposed as types of the "inspired poet," whose very youth is a guarantee of truth and clarity, poetic energy and intellectual power.[42] These terms and phrases became, in fact, commonplace and hackneyed in the New England criticism of Donne. "Donne," writes Guiney, "had the superabundance of mental power which Minto has pointed out as the paradoxical cause of his failure to become a great poet. He was a three-storied soul . . . , a spirit of many sides and moods, a life-long dreamer of good and bad dreams."[43] The "superabundance of power" was recognized as Donne's hallmark; from it stemmed his unbridled individualism and egotism. Guiney could not altogether approve of his will power and of the verbal and moral dialecticism perceived in his poetry, although she took some comfort in the assumption that this might be an expression of his life-long, agonized search for the right spiritual values. Donne's "restlessness" and "changefulness" were the consequences of his untamed, religious personality, she thinks. Norton, by contrast, was alarmed by Donne's "double nature" and despite his general broadmindedness he withdrew a number of Donne's poems from his 1905 edition. Donne's "nature," he explains in the Preface, "was extraordinarily complex. Heaven and Earth contended in it with a force that made his life a succession of alternating exaltation and depression, loftiness and baseness, rapture and despair."[44] Norton would not seek excuses for Donne's "immorality" in his "youthful recklessness." Edmund Gosse and many of his English contemporaries were equally fascinated and repelled, occasionally hiding behind a self-righteous mask of liberalism in their advocacy of the poet, as Gosse does in his biography. No such ambivalence or double moral standard appears, however, in Gamaliel Bradford's criticism of Donne. In Bradford's *Naturalist of Souls* Donne stands as an exponent of his theory of psychography: a view that sought to establish a set of relatively congruous traits in the character of a writer and the texture of his works. Donne's originality was his "energy": "The word which stamps itself in every line of his works, on every trait of his nature, is intensity, that restless, hungry energy of mind, which will not let a man shut his eyes while there is a corner of thought unprobed, unlightened."[45] Donne's vitality, his nervous activity of mind that now and then tempted him to transgress the boundaries of good taste,[46] Bradford believed, evidenced a deep honesty. Wendell similarly characterized Donne as "rudely his own," an Elizabethan whose "intensity of individuality," originality, and uniqueness, "with all its disdain of amenity, make . . . his verse in these days of ours reveal more and more to those who ponder it most."[47]

The focus on Donne's personality, his youthful passions and sexuality (euphemistically characterized in the '90s as "hunger"), proves at least that readers were becoming acquainted with his poems. The voice they identify, the manly, thrilling, and occasionally brutal voice speaks, in their view, a language expressive of their feelings. The observations that relate more specifically to Donne's style, tone, and his tendency to parody accord with perceptions of his personality, his "vigour." In fact, remarks that do not focus on Donne's dynamism are rare, and they reflect another critical somersault in the history of Donne's reputation. One recalls from previous generations the mass of commonplaces objecting to Donne's "fantastical" language and imagery. Now Donne's language could be championed as exemplary. In an idiom that reverberates with hardy New England accents, Bradford observes that Donne's language is made up of "words . . . split to make a rhyme, accents . . . shaken. . . . He ploughs his way along, regardless of obstacles, tearing up language and metre by the roots."[48] The energy that propels his verse "cannot stop to arrange its expressions, to choose its figures," he adds with approbation.[49] Paul Elmer More views Donne's stylistic shock-tactics similarly: "With him," he says, "the language must be fresh and immediate; sharp, unusual words must cut through the crust of convention; the mind must be surprised out of its equilibrium by novel juxtapositions."[50] As we will see, a number of critics expressed the notion that T. S. Eliot appropriated in the 1920s: that Donne's art reveals a fusion of the intellect and emotion (an idea that goes back to the earliest commendatory lines on his verse). The myth that Eliot "discovered" Donne is linked to the role Eliot came to occupy in theoretical debates on the dramatic quality of Metaphysical wit and paradox. But Eliot, in fact, merely transmitted a traditional view. Bradford, for instance, notes: "Donne . . . is stung with intense feeling; he blends beauty and grace with his harshest rhythms, with the subtlest refinements of his thought."[51] Norton noted this aspect of Donne's lyrics as well. "[They] had such combination of rapturous passion with delicate sentiment; of vivid imagination in conception and expression, with lively wit and charming fancy, as to set them above all others of their kind."[52] Towards the turn of the century these criticisms became commonplace. Clyde Furst in *A Group of Old Authors* observes that Donne's poems contain "a deep and subtle music which adds true feeling to the thought"; Felix E. Schelling concludes that "no one . . . excepting Shakespeare . . . has done so much to develop intellectualized emotion in the Elizabethan lyric as Donne"; and Edward Bliss Reed, comparing Donne and Francis Thompson (a comparison which became another

convention of Donne criticism), declares that Donne's poetry constitutes the "union of two minds," of the intellect and the heart.[53] The discordant voices were exceptional. Vida D. Scudder remarks, for instance, in regard to "A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning," that the conceits Donne employs mar the presentation, and Agnes Repplier, although admiring the compassionate intensity of the love poems, is less convinced about their effectiveness; "Donne the most ardent of lovers and the most crabbed of poets, who united a great devotion to his fond and faithful wife with a remarkably poor opinion of her sex in general, pushed his adulations to the extreme verge of absurdity."[54]

For the most part, the literary historians in the 1890s who admired Donne's poems as inspiring models were disillusioned with their own era. The Concord energy was consumed, its vitality lost, its vision scattered, laments Wendell.[55] This decline had its parallel in another collapse in the history of English literature: the post-Renaissance era. Wendell, More, George Herbert Palmer, Edmund Gosse, and many others, in their surveys of English literature, were emphatic about the similarities between the two periods. In both they point out, poets separated content from voice, impoverishing their work and making it sterile and impersonal. In Donne's England and Emerson's New England the peaks in poetic excellence had been reached and—as if by a law of nature—the powers of fragmentation and disintegration had set in. Somehow the vacuum had to be filled and the batteries recharged. The only solution was, in the manner of the Concord men, to go back to the literary roots, to turn the searchlight back down the ancestral line. What the Renaissance abounds in is what we need most, Wendell declares: "spontaneity," "enthusiasm," "versatility."[56] In the Metaphysical poets George Herbert Palmer finds what he has been searching for:

> What they seek is veracity, full individual experience, surprise, freshness of phrase, intellectual stimulus. At a moment's turn they turn their flexible wits in any direction, and enjoyment for them is measured by the abundance of the material their minds receive. The meagre, the dull, the usual, are their detestation. . . . The pleasure which an American takes in physical action, these vigorous creatures feel in the action of the mind.[57]

Van Wyck Brooks characterized the prevailing mood of Boston in the nineties as one of retrospection, regret and defeat. Literature had become, he thinks, "merely literary . . . because it had lost its native impulse. It was driven to follow models more abjectly than ever, and

models that were also arbitrary, unlike the co-ordinated models of the earlier writers, who had borne an organic relation to the men they followed."[58] Those who pointed to John Donne and the Metaphysicals for guidance and inspiration would not altogether have endorsed Brooks's negativism. The loss of the "native impulse" was perhaps not irreversible; it could be restored and re-established with the help of seventeenth-century mentors.

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Notes

[1] *New England: Indian Summer 1865-1915* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1940), p.443. See also pp. 451, 456.

[2] See my *Reputation of John Donne 1779-1873* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1975), p. 164; and further on Donne in America, pp. 159-61.

[3] M. A. De Wolfe Howe, *Memoirs of a Hostess: A Chronicle of Eminent Friendships Drawn Chiefly from the Diaries of Mrs. James T. Fields* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly, 1922), pp. 95-96.

[4] *The Reputation of John Donne*, p. 169.

[5] In a letter to W. K. Clifford in 1884, in *Letters of James Russell Lowell*, ed. Charles Eliot Norton, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1894), II, 284.

[6] See Geoffrey Keynes, *A Bibliography of Dr. John Donne* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), pp. 211-12.

[7] Horace Elisha Scudder, *James Russell Lowell: A Biography*, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1901), II, 102; *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton with Biographical Comment by his Daughter Sara Norton and M. A. De Wolfe Howe*, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin), 1913, II, 224.

[8] *Letters of James Russell Lowell*, II, 344.

[9] See *Letters of James Russell Lowell*, II, 428, where there is a reference to Donne from 1890.

[10] *Commemoration of the Centenary of the Birth of James Russell Lowell. Held under the Auspices of the American Academy of Arts and Letters in New York, February 19-22, 1919* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919), p. 48.

[11] Lowell's dicta on Donne were extremely popular and quoted whenever the poet was introduced or commented upon; see Clyde Furst, *A Group of Old Authors* (Philadelphia: W. Jacobs, 1899), p. 16.

[12] *Letters of Sarah Orne Jewett*, ed. Annie Fields (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), p. 60. The book she mentions in her letter was old indeed: *Donne*, 1635. See *A List of the Books from the Bequest of Theodore Jewett Eastman that Bear the Marks of Ownership of Sarah Orne Jewett* (Cambridge: Harvard College Library, 1933).

[13] See *Sarah Orne Jewett: Letters*, ed. Richard Cary (Waterville, Me: Colby College Press), 1956, p. 95. See also Francis Otto Matthiessen, *Sarah Orne Jewett* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1929), pp. 64-65.

[14] From Kermit Vanderbilt, *Charles Eliot Norton: Apostle of Culture in a Democracy* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1959), p. 143.

[15] In a letter to W. F. Melton, in May 1908, occasioned by the latter's work, *The Rhetoric of John Donne's Verse* (Baltimore: J. H. Furst, 1901), he writes with gusto: "I do not question the value of such works as yours upon Donne, and I admire the industry and the acuteness of intelligence it exhibits; but it seems to me to have little more relation to the great qualities of Donne's poetry, to all that gives it real charm, than the study of the bones of the skeleton has to the portrait by Titian or Tintoretto" (*Letters*, II, 406-07).

[16] *Charles Eliot Norton: Apostle of Culture in a Democracy*, p. 174.

[17] The earliest reference to Donne in his *Letters* is from 1890 (II, 200).

[18] Norton commonly referred to the following two articles on Donne which seem to have played an important role in the molding of the American criticism of Donne: William Minto, "John Donne," *Nineteenth Century* 8 (1880), 884-93; and E. Dowden, "Poetry of John Donne," *Fortnightly Review* 53 (1890), 791-808.

[19] "Preface to the First Edition" (London: William Heinemann, 1913), p. vii.

[20] *Six Lectures Written to Be Delivered before the Lowell Institute. In December 1884* (London: Chipswick, 1884), pp. 9-30.

[21] In *A History of Literature in America*, with Chester Noyes Greenough (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), pp. 379-89.

[22] *Transatlantic Dialogue: Selected American Correspondence of Edmund Gosse*, ed. with Notes and Introduction by Paul F. Matthiessen and Michael Milgate (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1965), p. 154.

[23] Gosse's *Gossip in a Library* (London: William Heinemann, 1893) includes a brief description of Donne's *Death's Duel* (pp. 55-64), written in 1891. "To chronicle the career of this extraordinary man, with all its hot and cold fits, its rage of lyrical amativeness, its Roman passion, the high and cloudy serenity of its final Anglicanism, would be a fine piece of work for a writer of leisure and enthusiasm" (p. 64), Gosse announces, reserving the job for himself.

[24] *The Jacobean Poets* (London: John Murray, 1899), pp. 47-67; the essay on Donne was first published in *The New Review* 9 (September 1893), 236-47; *The Life and Letters of John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's*, 2 vols. (London: William Heinemann, 1899).

[25] Thomas Whittemore taught at Tufts College. *Letters of Louise Imogen Guiney*, ed. Grace Guiney, with a preface by Agnes Repplier, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1926), II, 1.

[26] See, for example, *The Spectator*, 11 November 1899, pp. 697-98, and *The Athenaeum*, 11 November 1899, pp. 645-46.

[27] The review was published in Norton's own magazine *The Nation* 70 (February 8, 1900), 111-13 and 70 (February 15, 1900), 133-35. Note also Edward Bliss Reed's castigation: "Mr. Gosse has done a definite tale of dishonourable intrigue" (in *English Lyrical Poetry from Its Origin to the Present Time* [New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1912], p. 238).

[28] From the margins of Norton's copy of Gosse's book, at the Houghton Library, Harvard University (Gosse, I, 75).

[29] See *Letters of Louise Imogen Guiney*, II, 110, 171.

[30] See Alice Brown, *Louise Imogen Guiney* (New York: Macmillan, 1921), pp. 13, 98; Sister Mary Adorita, *Soul Ordained to Fail: Louise Imogen Guiney, 1861-1920* (New York: Pageant Press, 1962), p. 70.

[31] For the first project she recruited the assistance of a number of English literary personalities, antiquarians and editors, such as Gosse, Grosart, and Richard Garnett (see *Letters*, I, 77-78, 93, 96); for her endeavors to erect a bust of Keats, see Stephan Maxfield Parrish, "Currents of the Nineties in Boston and London: Fred Holland Day, Louise Imogen Guiney, and Their Circle," Diss. Harvard University 1954, pp. 98-192.

[32] "A Belated Cavalier," in *Silhouettes* (London: William Heinemann, 1925), p. 371.

[33] See Parrish's thesis, which details the forms of her social and activist role in Boston during the nineties.

[34] *Louise Imogen Guiney* (New York: Twayne, 1973), p. 69.

[35] The quotes and references to Donne are numerous and date back to the early 1890s; see, for example, her *Patrins* (Boston: Copeland and Day, 1897), p. 202; *Letters*, II, 110. In 1904 she received a Donne volume from the London antiquarian Bertrand Dobell (*Letters*, II, 110).

[36] The unpublished manuscript, "John Donne: A Character Sketch and a Criticism," should be examined for the additional light it might throw on the nature of her Donne criticism. For its location, see "A Descriptive Bibliography," in E. M. Tenison, *Louise Imogen Guiney: Her Life and Works 1861-1920* (London: Macmillan, 1923), p. 325.

[37] "Donne a Lost Catholic Poet," *The Month* 136, no. 2 (1920), 19.

[38] *The Reputation of John Donne*, pp. 103-14.

[39] *Points of View* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1892), p. 42.

[40] *Points of View*, p. 63; see also "Robert Browning on Donne," in *The Reputation of John Donne*, pp. 155-58.

[41] See his *Inspiration of Poetry* (New York: Macmillan, 1910), p. 43.

[42] "Introduction," *The Collected Poems of Rupert Brooke* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1956), pp. 6, 179.

[43] *A Little English Gallery* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1894), pp. 15-16.

[44] *The Love Poems of John Donne* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1905), p. vi. Only 535 copies were printed.

[45] "The Poetry of John Donne" (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1917), p. 30. The essay was first published in the *Andover Review* (October 1892), pp. 350-67.

[46] Edwin P. Whipple had earlier characterized Donne as "perverted," "bizarre," and "uncouth," in *The Literature of the Age of Elizabeth* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1888), pp. 230ff.

[47] *The Temper of the Seventeenth Century in English Literature* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), pp. 120-25.

[48] *A Naturalist of Souls*, pp. 43, 49.

[49] *A Naturalist of Souls*, p. 39.

[50] *Shelburne Essays*, 4th series (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1906), p. 75.

[51] *A Naturalist of Souls*, p. 53.

[52] "The Text of Donne's Poems.—Francis Beaumont's Letter to Ben Jonson," in *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, vol. 5, Child's Memorial Volume (Boston: Ginn, 1896), p. 6.

[53] *A Group of Old Authors*, p. 15; *English Literature during the Lifetime of Shakespeare* (New York: Henry Hold, 1910), pp. 376-77 (also in his *A Book of Seventeenth Century Lyrics* [Boston, 1899], p. xix, and *The English Lyric* [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1913], p. 275); *English Lyrical Poetry from Its Origin to the Present Time*, pp. 463-525, 527.

[54] *The Life of the Spirit in the Modern English Poets* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1895), p. 30; *Points of View*, p. 45.

[55] *A Literary History of America*, pp. 439-46.

[56] *The Temper of the Seventeenth Century in English Literature*, p. 209.

[57] *The English Works of George Herbert*, ed. George Herbert Palmer, 6 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1905), I, 124-25.

[58] *New England: Indian Summer*, p. 422.