THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

SECRET ROOMS: THE LIFE AND WORK OF CHARLES TENNYSON TURNER

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the University of Hull

by

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September 1993

His lustre pierceth through the midnight glooms;
And, at prime hour, behold! He follows me
With golden shadows to my secret rooms!

('The Lattice at Sunrise')



1. Charles Tennyson Turner 1864, by I. Mayall. (*Lincolnshire Library Service*).

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Acknowledgments

I have received help from so many institutions in the creation of this work, it would be a lengthy process to list them all here. Their contribution is acknowledged at appropriate points in the text and I thank them all for the courtesy, efficiency and care with which they have all responded to my queries. I would, nevertheless, like to express my warmest gratitude to Miss Susan Gates and her excellent staff in the Tennyson Research Centre, Lincoln, for making my work there such a rare and constant pleasure. The debt I owe them is inestimable. To the other end of the world, Dunedin Public Library, New Zealand, I offer also my special thanks for their so readily supplying me with copies of material from the Kemble archive: I am particularly grateful to Ms. Pamela Treanor for this kindness.

I have been given such consideration from the following, I feel my thanks are inadequate, but they must be assured they are very real indeed: Mr & Mrs. G. H. Harrison, for so very kindly showing me around their Grasby home, Charles's vicarage; Mr Roger Lushington, for giving me access to his delightful family collection; Mr A. Price of Cheltenham, for allowing me to look round 6 Imperial Square; Dr F. B. Pinion and Mrs Pinion for their kindness and stimulating correspondence; the Reverends David Davis and Alan Wynne, for respectively providing me with material relating to Grasby and to Charles's sermons; Mrs. Sheila

Corrall, for matters Greek; Miss Ann Gooderham, for matters German; Mr Malcolm S. Muir, for matters legal. Mr Christopher Sturman has made a surpassing contribution in his invaluable readiness to search the Lincolnshire Archives Office for me when I have not been able to get to it. I thank him very warmly indeed for all his efforts, so very often unsolicited and made with kindness and generosity. I have similarly been given unstinted help by my colleagues in the British Library and I particularly thank Miss Shelley M. Jones for her forbearance in the latter stages of this endeavour and Mr Michael Boggan for his great consideration in the provision of photographs.

I have been encouraged and much sustained at various points in my work by Prof. Arthur Pollard, by Dr Aidan Day, by Dr Giovanni Pontiero and above all by Dr Marion Shaw in whose wise guidance I have found a veritable "sea-star".

I have been driven about Lincolnshire with uncomplaining humour by Patrick R. Usher whose photographs grace these pages and I have been granted the most tireless, efficient and kindly typing assistance I could have wished for by Miss Shirley O'Neill.

Finally my deepest sense of gratitude, for unswerving faith and encouragement, goes to the late Graham Bunting and to Oun Varawala who has borne with the problems this kind of study creates with admirable fortitude.

Introduction

In 1880, a year after Charles Tennyson Turner's death, a collected edition of his poems - *Collected Sonnets Old and New* - was published,[1] revealing for the first time the full range of his powers. It was republished in 1884 and again in 1898, but since that date his name has been sustained mainly by piece-meal offerings of frequently-repeated sonnets in anthologies. These fleeting appearances have regrettably stimulated but little critical response and his stature in the canon of English Literature has thereby suffered.

His first publication, *Poems by Two Brothers*, jointly produced with his brothers Frederick and Alfred, is of course well known, but his four independent volumes, whence sprang the material for *Collected Sonnets Old and New*, are today virtually unknown and are indeed rarely to be found. The first was the product of his years at Cambridge, *Sonnets and Fugitive Pieces*; the rest, *Sonnets, Small Tableaux* and *Sonnets, Lyrics and Translations*, were late flowerings from his mature

years. None of his volumes was received with public éclat and there was something melancholy about the remaindered state of those still lying in the publisher Macmillan's store a year after his death: "We still have some copies of the little volumes we printed for your uncle Turner", wrote Alexander Macmillan to Alfred's son, Hallam. "As they stand, they don't sell & are practically of no value, but if they were done up in small lots & sent to one of the auctioneers, I think they might sell at some small sum."[2]

For all that, his poems found worthy champions. Alfred himself thought the best sonnets in the language were those by Milton, Shakespeare, Wordsworth and his brother Charles[3]and Edward Fitzgerald was relentless in extolling their virtues: "If you have never read Charles Tennyson (Turner's) Sonnets, I should like to send them to you to read", he wrote to Fanny Kemble. "They are not to be got now ... these Violets now mostly hidden under the rank Vegetation of Browning, Swinburne & Co. Some of these Sonnets have a Shakespeare fancy in them: some rather puerile - but the greater part of them pure, delicate, beautiful and quite original".[4]Gladstone, acknowledging receipt of the posthumous collected edition, was quite astonished at the quality of the poems:

My dear Tennyson,

Believing that I owe the gift of your Brother's Sonnets to your kindness, I must not, although I am

not yet fully saturated with them, any longer delay my thanks for a book so beautiful and so delightful.

That I was ignorant of them (though I had heard of their rare merit) during his life time may seem both strange and damnatory to you, for you do not and cannot know by what a wall of adamant my profession shuts me out from most of what is worth knowing in the world.

His deep, tender, fascinating imagination hardly impresses me more than does, all along, the singularly ethical character of the book. Few volumes of poetry, as I conjecture, form such a piece of portrait-painting: few as I feel, and few still, inspire so deep a regret, and sense of loss, for not having known the person who produced it ...[5]

It is the purpose of the present study to examine these poems and place them in the context of Charles Tennyson Turner's life. No English critical biography of him has ever appeared and the slight, German *Charles Tennyson-Turners Leben und Werke* by Konrad Jelinek (1909)[6] encompasses not much more beyond detailed examination of the structure of Charles's sonnets and a collation of published statements about the poet, which amounted at that time to very little. Jelinek examined no manuscript material. Similarly, although Klaus Achilles examined the contents of the Tennyson family's library,

now in Lincoln, he is more concerned in his thesis 'Charles Tennyson Turner: Untersuchungen zur nachromantischen Lyrik in England' (1967)[7] with the placing of the poet into the *Biedermeier* tradition in German literature than with the facts of Charles's life and the sombre darknesses of his poetry.

A biographer of Charles is fortunately blessed with the assistance provided by the vast body of literature relating to the life of his brother Alfred. The superlatively fine memoir of his father by Hallam Lord Tennyson and the *Materials for a Life of AT*, from which that memoir took its life, are invaluable sources of information on certain details of Charles's life, as are the works of Charles's great-nephew, Sir Charles Tennyson, and more recently the work of Robert Bernard Martin, *Tennyson: the Unquiet Heart*.[8] Hallam's memoir, however, conceals much and reveals nothing of those aspects of Charles's life which might have been then considered socially questionable and while Sir Charles Tennyson's work reveals much, he unfortunately cites very few sources so that verification of details in his work is difficult. Professor Martin, in his treatment of Alfred's brother, often follows Sir Charles's lead and because of this he occasionally falls into error. Nevertheless, if there are occasions when the present study takes issue with some of the views found in these works, it does so with a very full acknowledgment of the debt owed to them in other ways.

So closely knit were the first twenty-two years of the lives of Charles and Alfred Tennyson, it is inevitable that much ground covered by a commentary on Charles's life in that period should already have been trodden in works relating to Alfred. It is the intention of this study, however, to look again at the sources and so elucidate certain experiences shared by them both. Thus their school-days come under closer scrutiny here than in previous work and a more sympathetic appraisal of the Louth establishment's role in their lives is offered. Also a fresh examination of the publishing practices of Jacksons of Louth was felt necessary to account for that firm's ready acceptance of their juvenile volume. While the domestic problems of the Somersby rectory and family discords have not been minimised, there is an attempt in this study to be less partisan against, to be fairer to, certain members of the family - notably the grandfather, George Tennyson of Tealby, and the uncle, Charles Tennyson, later Tennyson d'Eyncourt. Although accounts of Charles's life at Cambridge are sparse in the extreme, a picture of Trinity's contribution - and Arthur Hallam's contribution - to Charles's poetic life is presented as distinctly separated from that afforded to Alfred.

Charles's life assumed its own individual pattern after the brothers left Cambridge and it is this study's purpose to gather together as much material as is possible within the space permitted to give an accurate representation of his activities. Presented here for

the first time are details concerning his inheritance, his legal problems, his role as Vicar of Grasby, his rebuilding of the church, his friends and above all the distressing problems of his marriage which are central to the study of the years between 1836 and his death. Equally new is the melancholy information about his death and the startling information about that of Louisa, his wife. Since Sir Charles Tennyson wrote on the matter, the problem commentators have associated with Charles is that of his opium-taking. While acknowledging its existence as a blight in his life for a time, particularly *after* 1849, this study firmly stands against the view that it was responsible for the temporary collapse of his marriage and tries to put the matter into its social perspective.

While Charles's poetry has come under sympathetic appraisal from editors, particularly F. B. and M. Pinion, from reviewers and from essayists, notably A. J. Symington, James Spedding and J. R. Ebbatson,[9]there have been no extended studies of its thematic structure. The aim of this work is to trace elements in Charles's writing which characterise his thinking, his imaginative response to experience and his utilisation of personal circumstance as a vehicle for poetic expression. It also hopes to make manifest the tensions within his later work brought about by his indebtedness to two rich veins of poetic inheritance: the Romantic tradition and the Sacramentalist idiom. Equally it acknowledges his

fundamental grounding in a classical tradition and traces his recurrent attraction towards it.

To carry the burden of this approach, each volume is examined in its chronological context as are his occasional publications, of which there are a notable number. There can be, within the confines of this study, no attempt at an appraisal of all of his poems, but it is granted to certain poems of high significance. To avoid the need for repetition, whole runs of poems in individual volumes have been ignored when their themes have already been explored in the evaluation of earlier volumes. This will be seen particularly in the appraisal of *Sonnets, Lyrics and Translations*, where only the poems dealing with human relationships are given close examination. All quotations from Charles's works in this study are taken from the publications in which they first appeared.

The bibliography is the first such to be attempted. Its most important section, that listing his published works, is the result of extensive exploration among Victorian periodical publications and has aimed at being exhaustive. The list of pertinent anthologies is by no means exhaustive, but it is included to illustrate Charles's posthumous standing; the lists of works relating to his life and to his work are intended to be exhaustive.

For the whole of this study extensive and richly-rewarding exploration has been made in the Tennyson archive, held in the Tennyson Research Centre, currently

in Lincoln Central Reference Library. Charles's library takes its place coherently beside the libraries of other members of his family, but much of his personal material has been neither catalogued nor sorted by the Centre and has been deposited for convenience in a number of boxes. The memorandum books of both Charles and Louisa have never been closely examined before; indeed the author discovered letters and notes secreted in their pockets. Also, apparently unexamined, were Charles's working notebooks containing drafts of a number of the poems published in 1864 and 1868. Variant titles found in these clarified the import of certain sonnets. Virtually untouched since his death were bundles of well over a thousand sermons, all neatly-sewn - perhaps by Louisa - into individual booklets, and scattered among this archive were individual folios bearing Louisa's almost impenetrable introspective musings. The history of this material may be traced in a letter sent by Charles's trustee, Franklin Lushington, to Hallam Tennyson after the Turners' deaths:

> ... Thanks for having removed that incubus of the black carriage box with endless unseen papers. There does appear to be one more receptacle of papers probably of no importance - to wit an old Japanese writing table of your Aunt Louy's in the drawing room, with a locked drawer. Gilbert confirms Mrs H. T. as to this fact. Had I better tell him to get it picked

and the papers & contents made into a parcel & sent direct to you or your mother at Aldworth?[10]

It should be noted that Louisa's entries in her memorandum books are only occasionally useful in elucidating current events in their lives.

Because no call-numbers have been assigned by the Research Centre to the items in this particular archive, it has been thought inadvisable in the notes to provide call-numbers for those in the main archive already assigned, for it would present a confusing heterogeneity. Hence all items attributed to the Tennyson Research Centre are here described simply as 'TRC'. Catalogued manuscript material in the archive can be easily retrieved by reference to author and date.

To avoid confusion in the body of the text of this study, the forename 'Charles' has been used throughout, despite the familiarity this form connotes. It would be capricious and indeed perverse to call him 'Tennyson' in his early years and his change of name in 1835 compounds the problem. It has been felt logical, therefore, to use the form 'Alfred' in all references to his younger brother.

Charles can in no sense be seen as a rival to Alfred and there is no attempt in this work to suggest that he was. His was an extremely modest nature and he was fully aware of his limitations in comparison with the aspirations of those he admired, and this included

the laureate. Such lofty spirits are depicted in his sonnet 'The Ascent of Snowdon' (1870):

Upward and onward still, intent to quaff
The topmost airs, beyond the dark blue tarns
And silver mists and echoes ...

while such a one as himself

too weak for that steep track,
Sat with the boulders and the shining threads
Of mountain-spiders, till his friends came back;
And watch'd their tints among the breezy ferns,
Their shy escapes and beautiful returns,-
And caught and kiss'd the wandering thistle-seeds.

His poetry is at its best in its tender and evocative portrayal of the "shy escapes and beautiful returns" of the natural world he loved, but it is also given body and strength by his bold perception of those dark manifestations of the world's unhappiness above which the human spirit must rise if it is not to be held in thrall. There is shadow as well as light in his work and this enriches his vision. Alfred saw this clearly and in a moving tribute to his brother on his death he unconsciously offers a challenge to any commentator who hopes to reveal the complexities of Charles's nature and the worth of his poetry:

Midnight, June 30, 1879[11]

Midnight - in no midsummer tune
The breakers lash the shores:
The cuckoo of a joyless June
Is calling out of doors:

And thou hast vanish'd from thine own
To that which looks like rest,
True brother, only to be known
By those who love thee best.

II

Midnight - and joyless June gone by,
And from the deluged park
The cuckoo of a worse July
Is calling thro' the dark:

But thou art silent underground,
And o'er thee streams the rain,
True poet, surely to be found
When Truth is found again.

III

And, now to these unsummer'd skies
The summer bird is still,
Far off a phantom cuckoo cries
From out a phantom hill;

And thro' this midnight breaks the sun
Of sixty years away,
The light of days when life begun,
The days that seem to-day,

When all my griefs were shared with thee,
And all my hopes were thine--
As all thou wert was one with me,
May all thou art be mine!

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1 Jointly edited by Hallam Tennyson and James Spedding, with AT taking editorial control in its early stages. Though no-one is named as editor in the editions of 1880 and 1884, Hallam is named as such in the 1898 edition.

2 Alexander Macmillan to Hallam Tennyson, 26 April 1880. British Library Add. MS 55410 (2), sheet 794. (Unfoliated).

3 William Angus Knight, 'A Reminiscence of Tennyson', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 172 (August 1897), p.264.

4 Edward Fitzgerald to Fanny Kemble, 22 May 1879. A. M. Terhune and A. B. Terhune eds., *The Letters of Edward Fitzgerald*, 4 vols. (Princeton, 1980) 4, pp.216-217.

5 W. E. Gladstone to AT, 28 October 1880. TRC.

6 Published in Leipzig.

7 Ph.D. thesis in the University of Hamburg. Achilles likens CTT's work to that of Edward Mörike (1804-1875) and Annette von Droste-Hülshoff (1797-1848) among others.

8 See bibliography.

9 See bibliography.

10 Franklin Lushington to Hallam Tennyson, 7 August 1879. TRC.

11 This is the title and the form of the poem as they appeared in *Collected Sonnets Old and New*. The poem joined the body of AT's verse in *Tiresias, and Other Poems* (1885) under the title 'Prefatory Poem to My Brother's Sonnets', with a slightly different format and one small change of wording.



2. The Somersby Cross, seen from a south window of the church. (*Photograph by Patrick R. Usher*).

1.

Early Years, Early Poems

"Time passeth." This uncompromising truth is inscribed on the sundial above the south door of the village church in Somersby, Lincolnshire. It is a truth seemingly belied by the remarkably well-preserved mediaeval churchyard cross, which stands, with its figures of the crucified Christ and the Virgin and Child, a few feet away to the east of the path to the porch. To the west of the path lie interred the mortal remains of "the Reverend George Clayton Tennyson LL.D., eldest son of George Tennyson, Esq., of Bayons Manor, and Rector of this parish, of Bag-Enderby and Benniworth and Vicar of Great Grimsby in this County".

It was this Rector who was moved to write at the top of a page in his notebook,[1] covered otherwise by estimates of the cost of various lengths of shelves, "Son born 4 July 1808 at 40 minutes past eight in the Evening", adding across the page a few days later "baptized by the name of Charles July 10th." Taking steps to gather all the godfathers, he then towards the end of August had the boy christened[2] so that, in the words of the Book of Common Prayer, he, "being steadfast in faith, joyful through hope, and rooted through

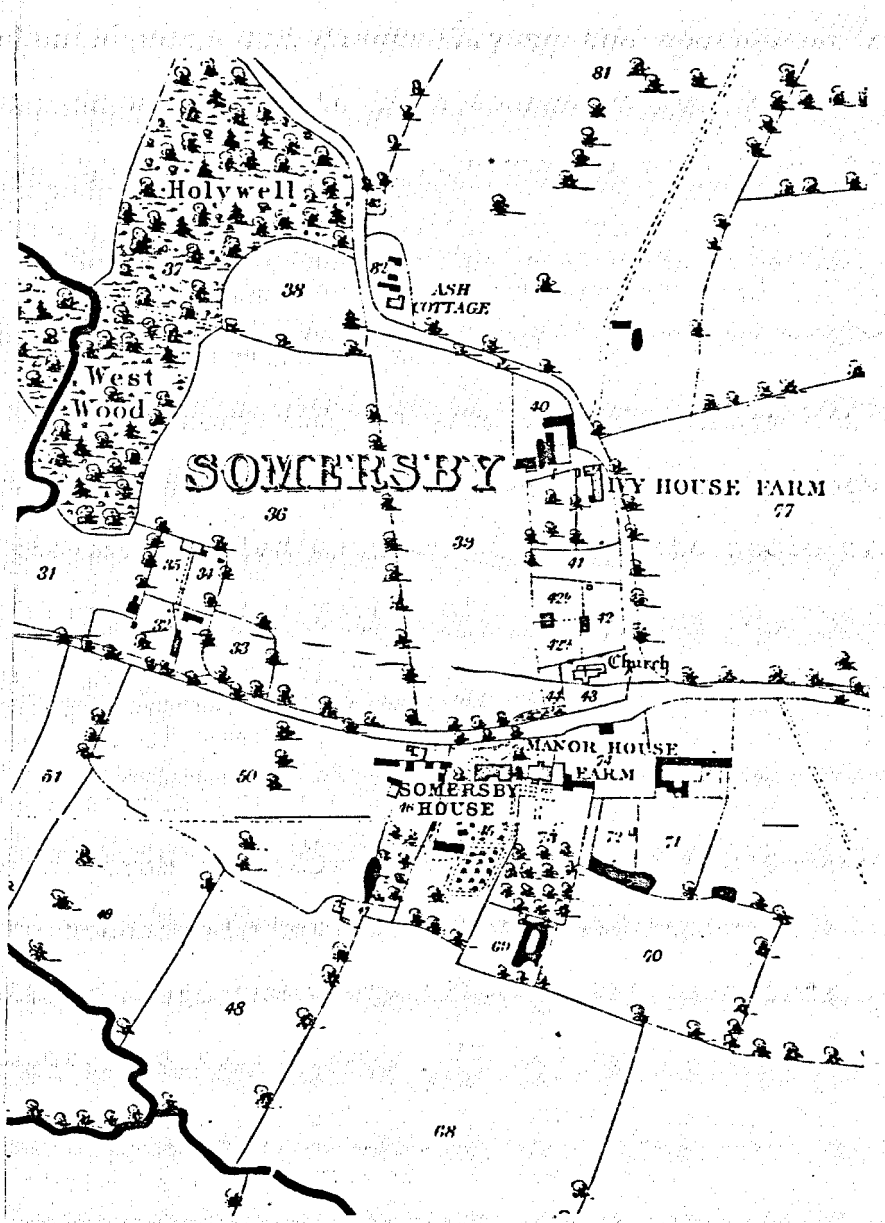
charity, may so pass the waves of this troublesome world."

The Rector had brought his wife Eliza, the daughter of the Revd Stephen Fytche, former Vicar of Louth,[3] to Somersby not long before the birth. Indeed the first entry in the Parish Register appearing under his name as Rector is that for 28 June 1808. The Rectory was actually the old Manor House; the former Rectory[4] stood where two cottages now stand, to the west of the house. Married in 1805, the couple had lost their first child, George, in the following year but they brought a child in arms with them, Frederick, born in 1807. While Eliza was a small and remarkably pretty woman who, according to her later testimony,[5] had rejected twenty-five suitors, the Rector was a striking figure, over six feet tall, powerful in build, dark and swarthy of skin. He was both of a scholarly bent and of a practical disposition; also something of a poet, an architect and a musician and he had benefited from a classical education at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he was a Ducket Scholar.[6]

He had come to Somersby with good financial prospects,[7] for his father, George Tennyson of Tealby, an attorney with a shrewd eye for investment, had settled on him 107 acres of land at Ludford and the reversion on his own death to lands at Grasby. Already holding the Curacy of Benniworth, the Rector was also presented with the living of Bag Enderby, about a mile from Somersby, all of which brought him, at Sir Francis Hill's

estimate, about £773 a year. From his father came an allowance of about £200 a year with a further £140 to augment the livings. He was in 1815 to acquire, through the intercession of his maternal uncle, the Reverend Samuel Turner, the living of Great Grimsby; very near Grimsby, at Scartho, his father had three times as much land as Lord Yarborough,[8] whose total Lincolnshire estates were vast.

Somersby is a tiny and remote village on the southern edge of the Lincolnshire Wolds, about half way by road between Horncastle and Spilsby. In the Rector's day it was "so far away from the world, so behindhand", as Thackeray's daughter so lyrically but appositely put it,[9] "in its echoes (which must have come there softened through all manner of green and tranquil things, and, as it were, hushed into pastoral silence), that though the early part of the century was stirring with the clang of legions, few of its rumours seem to have reached [it]." It is a pleasant pastoral spot to this day, lying in a dell embraced by softly undulating hills. From the map[10] used in 1892 for the sale of the estate, the Rectory can be seen quite clearly looking obliquely across the road up to the church on its rise. By that date it had assumed the name 'Somersby House'. To the west stand the small cottages which after 1873 replaced the old Rectory and to the east lies Manor House Farm, a building reputed to have been designed by Sir John Vanbrugh. Northwards lies Holywell Wood where the local school nestled picturesquely among the trees in



Map 1. Somersby. Originally from Ordnance Survey *Lincolnshire*, 25" to 1 mile, Sheets LXXIV (2, 6), 1888, and here reproduced from a catalogue for the sale of the Somersby estate, 1892. (*British Library*).

Charles's youth and diagonally to the south-west runs the brook which was to be a source of much delight to the Tennyson children. The eastward road leads to Bag Enderby thence on to Dalby[11] and a dozen or so miles further to the sea, and the north-bound road leads to Louth, some ten miles distant.

The Rectory and its grounds had a charm often to be recalled by its inhabitants. The son of a local bricklayer recalled many years later "the apple trees that bore such fine yellow apples running up from the stables to the house, the broad lawn where some boys whom I wot of used to astonish me by coming out with those wondrous gauze helmets and long foils ... the Siberian crab tree down the garden, the old Scotch firs at the house end where the rooks used to build ... where you first heard the wrens twitter, the blackirds, thrushes, the robins sing. Many a speckled trout and silver eel have I caught in the brook running through the meadow below."[12] The witch-elms, the huge sycamore shadowing the lawn and the four poplars potently entered the verse of Charles's younger brother, Alfred,[13] and from the flower bed Charles himself "learnt how marigolds do bloom and fade".[14]

The house had no manorial gloom, but was bright and cheerful: the pleasant little drawing-room, which looked southwards onto the lawn, was lined with bookshelves and furnished with yellow curtains, sofas and chairs.[15] The walls were adorned with paintings - "'eathen gods and goddesses wi'out cloäs", according to one housekeeper[16]-

acquired by the Rector. One of them was a picture of Armida and Rinaldo with the Decoy-Nymph, with its sombre hilly background,

A purple hill, where all my dreams found room[17]

as Charles was to recall. To accommodate an increasingly large family, the Rector - in about 1819[18]- took it upon himself to enlarge the Rectory and to his own design built, with the help of his coachman, Horlins, a new dining room in the Gothick style. This eccentric chamber had, according to a survey done later in the century, "an elliptic groined ceiling, the centres in carved bosses, and the springings with antique corbels, the spaces between forming pointed arches on the walls". The surveyor continues "The overmantel to [the] chimney is carved as a miniature Rood screen. The Gothic arched windows have a centre quatrefoil and are filled in with stained glass."[19] These windows, according to Charles,[20]made 'butterfly souls' on the walls. The chimney piece, the door and the stone figures in niches over the windows outside were carved by the Rector himself.

Throughout Charles's early years his mother was in an almost constant state of pregnancy; Alfred was born in 1809, Mary in 1810, Emilia in 1811. Edward, Arthur, Septimus, Matilda and Cecilia were to follow between 1813 and 1817 and finally Horatio in 1819. This burgeoning brood were to impose increasingly stressful demands on the small Rectory. Indeed by 1826 the Rector found that, including the servants, he had twenty-three

people sleeping in the house, some sleeping five or six to a room. When the family came to give up the house in 1837, twelve bedsteads were disposed of.[21] This was a microcosm of society which to a large degree managed to subsist on itself. This is not to suggest that the family was alienated from the world outside, for the Rector, who purchased the degree of Doctor of Civil Law in 1813, was very conscious of his local responsibilities. He was, for example, a Commissioner of the Peace and even a Vice-President of the Spilsby Savings Bank, a function he discharged with his brother-in-law, John Bourne.[22] Far from being retiring, he was known for his great conversational powers in the barristers' rooms in Spilsby and for the support he gave to local charities, such as that for the Horncastle Dispensary.[23] But the self-sufficiency he brought to the life of the Rectory - admittedly of a rarifed kind which took little cognisance of economic realities - was remarkable: he was an accomplished harpist, bound his own books, designed even a new way of hanging curtains.[24] He could read Syriac and Hebrew which he appears to have taught himself, he wrote a treatise on oil painting[25] and collected a distinguished library of some 2500 volumes. This creative faculty, this propensity for building his own physical world, was inherited by only two of his children, Charles and Alfred, who were to build their own homes; the other siblings were to be content to live in other people's houses.

What Eliza Tennyson brought to the life of the household was quite different. She was a loving, acquiescent woman, kind, gentle of nature with an immense sympathy for animals; ".. quadruped conversation she enters with more interest into than any other",[26]observed her sister-in-law, Mary Bourne. She had a pure unfraught religious faith of an Evangelical kind and was fond of unfraught reflective poetry. Charles in later life remembered her "in her donkey-chair, or dog-chair - for a Newfoundland mastiff was her steed - and as she went through the Somersby lanes, she would listen to our bits of verse, and read to us from Beattie's *Calendar*, or Thomson's *Seasons*, the passages she loved the best."[27] Unconventional in many ways, she would smile at their follies as the boys carried the family pony round the kitchen table in weight-lifting contests or allowed their pet owl to perch on her head. It was a household rich in imagination and originality. For all the unhappinesses that were to mar this domestic idyll, the Tennyson children remained loyal to their father in his short life and adored their mother with an unfading steadfastness, cherishing the memory of her to the end of their days.

When I do think of all thy tenderness,
Thy tears of gladness all for love of me,
Thy life as pure as sinful dust may be,
Thy pity and thy mercy not the less
For all thy days of anguish and distress,

The patient spirit of thy humble mind,
I seek all prayers of blessing I can find ...[28]

Those are Frederick's words and no less heartfelt are Charles's:

But oh! if spirits pure as thine
Through life might be for ever near,
There would be scantier chance that mine
Would sink beneath the doom I fear![29]

Whenever it might have been that such apprehensions of 'doom' were to befall Charles, there is no evidence to suggest that his very earliest days were anything other than happy. Although at some time in his childhood he suffered from asthma[30], he was by no means weakly. He shared the round of childhood pleasures with all his brothers and sisters, increasingly so with Alfred with whom he developed a special affinity: the visits to Aunt Bourne at Dalby where the boys used to "play at being Emperors of China, etc., each appropriating a portion of the old echoing gardens"[31] as their domain; the excursions to the sea at Mablethorpe where they stayed in a rented cottage, their father solicitously taking "a covered cart on purpose to take them to the sea and for them to dress in";[32] their treks to Winceby Field joined by their cousin Lewis Fytche who recalled that "the traditions of Slash Lane running down with blood used to startle us".[33] From the later

recollections of the participants, it is apparent that the boyhood games of the three eldest Tennyson boys were charged with the fanciful notions that fertile, imaginative minds can create. Charles spoke of how he "peopled ... Holywell Wood with forms of fairies, and made the whole surrounding circle of the hills a theatre for enchantment and chivalry".[34] Such enchantment they carried into their indoor activities, for they at some point embarked on "the writing of tales in letter form to be put under the vegetable dishes at dinner and read aloud when it was over."[35] One tale, 'The old Horse', created by Alfred, lasted for months, according to their sister Matilda.[36] In these early years, nurtured by the poetic sensibilities of their parents and eventally by the books they placed at their disposal, the boys took to composing verse. Frederick may have been the first to essay verse, but it was Charles who, having launched himself, saw to it that Alfred followed his lead. When he was nine he gave his younger brother a slate upon which he should compose a poem on the subject of 'flowers'. Alfred in fact covered both sides of the slate with Thomsonian verse, Thomson being the only poet he knew.[37]

Although the boys would have had some instruction at home before they were sent away to school, there is no evidence to support the view that they attended the village school. Indeed one piece of evidence[38]suggests that there was no village school until 1815, the year Charles went to Louth, and even then it was only a room

in the granary over the stables belonging to the old castellated house next door: the move to the building in Holywell Wood appears not to have taken place until 1820, the year before Charles left Louth. In choosing a school for their sons, it is unlikely that the Rector and his wife should have fallen into disagreement, for both were acquainted with Louth Grammar School and were on friendly terms with the Reverend John Waite who succeeded Dr Orme as Headmaster in 1814. Indeed Waite and Eliza were related. Furthermore, Eliza's childhood home in Louth was on the corner of School House Lane[39] and her brother, John Fytche, appears among the list of scholars in 1798.[40] Among *his* contemporaries were John Franklin and Charles Tennyson, the Rector's brother. Eliza herself had been bridesmaid to Mary Waite at her wedding in 1804[41] and Waite acted as godfather to one of the Tennyson boys,[42] though he could not remember which and admitted that subsequently "little opportunity was afforded me of discharging my duty." That Waite was on good terms with Dr Tennyson is apparent in his observation "I have laughed and disputed, disputed and laughed with your talented father who was never so happy as when engaged in logomachy and whose good temper would never admit of acerbity ..."[43]

Loyalty to Waite, therefore, ensured that it was to Louth Grammar School that the boys were sent and not to the rival esablishment set up by the Reverend Andrew Burnaby in 1813.[44] Burnaby had been appointed assistant to the Headmaster at the Grammar School whither he had

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3. Louth Grammar School. Detail from a Panorama of Louth, 1844-1849, by William Brown. The school, with boys in the yard, is in the centre. (*Louth Town Council*).

come from Hyde Abbey School, Winchester, in 1812, but in the March of 1813 he was dismissed "having repeatedly acted in direct violation of the Rules and Ordinances."[45] In leaving the Grammar School, Burnaby took with him a large number of the pupils and founded nearby his own school whose studies were formulated on the Winchester rather than on the Eton principles which prevailed in the Grammar School. The Grammar School's academic regimen[46] was completely conservative and intense: on entering the establishment the young pupils committed to memory the *Accidence*, *Propria quae maribus*, *As in praesenti*, and some of the leading Rules of Syntax from their Eton Grammars. They then began to construe Valpy's *Delectus* and to render into Latin the Eton *Exempla Minora* which they had first parsed in English. Half way through the *Delectus*, they were introduced to the *Fables* of Phoedrus. They then commenced prosody with Caesar, the *Epistles and Metamorphoses* of Ovid, followed by Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, Cicero, Livy and Tacitus. The rules of prosody committed to memory, they attempted versification which was taught by first giving the scholars the words of some Latin poet, thrown into disorder, to reduce to verse, and then by forming Nonsense Verse from the words of Latin prose exercises. This was followed by the reducing of translations of Latin verse to metre and then by the imitating of English poets in heroic and elegiac verse. Finally they embarked on original composition and lyric verse in Latin.

To such a discipline was Charles - then only seven - introduced at Christmas 1815, joining his brother Frederick who had entered the School the previous year. Alfred was to follow them at Christmas 1816 and Frederick was to leave for Eton in 1818. Whatever the boys may have felt in later life about their schooldays - and both Alfred and Charles spoke of them ruefully[47] - it was at Louth that they first grappled with the toughness of linguistic discipline and developed a consciousness of classical metrical structure. Waite did not sugar the pill. "His voice," one pupil recalled,[48]"was sharp and penetrating. His temper was, partly by nature, partly on principle, of a highly inflammable kind. He cultivated irascibility with great care for many years ..." He followed the precept, enshrined in the school motto "Qui parcit virge odit filium"; Alfred later recalled that "old W[aite] thrashed a boy more unmercifully for a false quantity than a modern headmaster today would thrash a boy for the worst offence of which schoolboys could be guilty."[49]

His tempestuous nature notwithstanding, Waite appears to have been a very thorough instructor. Pupils confirmed that they owed much to him. One asserted that "the debt I owe him, the benefits which remain to this day cannot be forgotten, for it is from him that I derived that love of classical literature, especially of Latin poetry, which has been one of the most abiding pleasures of my life";[50]another avowed that "he was a

good master, ... just, considerate and interested in all his pupils ... he always tempered justice with mercy."[51]

The appointment of the Reverend Thomas Aquila Dale as Usher at the School in 1818 added perhaps a gentler touch to Charles's schooling. Alfred was to speak of him later as "mine ancient and trusty paidagogue, and morever a good man."[52] Dale thought well of Charles and declared his thoughts to the Rector:

> Your second son's retentive memory and great industry will make him, I hope, a very fair scholar. He has not the apprehension and quickness of the Etonian [Frederick]. But if it be true, and I am sometimes disposed to believe it is, that industry in a measure creates genius, he may even excel. Charles requires time ...[53]

What may have proved later to have been of occupational worth to Charles was the establishment's emphasis on elocution. Once a week the higher classes delivered, before the Headmaster, speeches "selected from the best English authors, with appropriate action",[54]and once a year the most able scholars were selected to deliver orations from Greek, Latin, French and English authors. At the 1820 Speech Day one of the Tennysons declaimed Memmius' address to the Roman People from Sallust. This may have been Charles, for only the surname is given in the advertisement[55]for the event, suggesting that the elder brother was the one intended.

LOUTH
GRAMMAR-SCHOOL.
SPEECH-DAY.

JUNE 20th, 1820.

Nolo exprimi literas putidiùs, nolo obscuràri negligentiùs: nolo verba exiliter examinata ire, nolo inflata et quasi anhelata gravitùs.

FLOWERS,	Samson,	
HARRISON,	Chorus,	
MITCHELL,	Manoah,	MILTON.
PYEMONT,	Officer,	
PHILLIPS,	Messenger,	
DAUBENY,	Achilles,	
OVERTON, ISLE,	Calchas,	
ROBINSON,	Agamemnon,	HOMER.
PARKINSON, WILLIAM,	Nestor,	
MARRIS,	Achilles,	
BARTHOLOMEW,	Calchas,	
WAITE,	Agamemnon,	POPE.
BLATHWAYT,	Nestor,	
ELMHIRST,	Anderson,	
MILNES,	Arvida,	
TAYLOR,	Gustavus,	PRIOR.
PELL,	Arnoldus,	
BELL,	The patriotic Barber,	DIBDIN.
TENNYSON,	Memmius to the Roman People,	SALLUST.
SWAN,	On Honour,	SHAKSPEARE.
PARKINSON, ROBERT,	Omar,	
OVERTON, EDWARD,	Tamerlane,	ROWE.
ALINGTON,	Bajazet,	
BELL,	Annibal,	
BEATY,	Scipio,	LIVY.
JACKSON,	Scipio,	
OVERTON, JOHN,	Masinissa,	THOMSON.
KENT,	Progress of Poetry,	GRAY.
JOHNSON,	A Speech delivered at Sligo, on an Address of Condolence to the King, upon the death of his late Majesty,	PHILLIPS.

An Ordinary will be ready at the Fleece Inn, at half-past three o'clock.

STEWARDS, {S. C. PETTYNGER, Esq., WARDEN.
{REV. JOHN EMERIS, B.D.

And there will be an Assembly at the Mansion-House; Tickets, 5s. each, (including charge for tea), to be had of Messrs. J. and J. JACKSON.—The Profits arising from the Ball will be distributed among the Beads-women.

STEWARDS, {S. C. PETTYNGER, Esq., WARDEN.
{J. FYTCHE, Esq., JUSTICE.
{T. B. PHILLIPS, Esq.

SONS of OXFORD and CAMBRIDGE.

The Sons of Oxford and Cambridge, who intend to dine at the Fleece Inn, on the day following the Speech-Day, are requested to leave their names at the Inn, as soon as convenient.—Dinner on the table at four o'clock.

STEWARDS, {REV. S. PRESTON, B.D. Linc. Coll., Oxon.
{REV. J. M. PHILLIPS, Cath. Hall, Camb.

The Vacation will commence on Thursday the 22nd of June, and will terminate on Monday the 31st of July, on which day every Scholar is expected to appear in School.

Terms of Board and Education may be known by applying to the Rev. J. WAITE, M.A. or to the Rev. T. A. DALE, R.A.

4. Speech-day Handbill 1820.
(*From Dr John Parkinson's Library*)

To speak of Charles's relationships with his fellow-pupils would be to embark upon fanciful speculation only, for virtually nothing is known. One of his contemporaries reported[56]- much later - that the Tennysons did not join in with games and were generally seen out of school with books in their hands, but this is at variance with the gregarious disposition Charles displayed in later life. Though he was a boarder at Mr Dale's house,[57]he continued to feel the ties of family affection at the home of his grandmother, Mrs Martha Fytche, who lived with her daughter, Mary Anne, very close to the school in what is now known as Westgate Place, then Hervey's Alley. Both boys would have been seen as very much part of the local familial structure, for besides the proximity of their relatives, they had to their advantage the elevation of their Uncle John Fytche, a member of the Corporation and a Magistrate, who became Warden of Louth in 1820 and the beginnings of the aggrandisement of their Uncle Charles Tennyson who became M.P. for Grimsby in 1818. None of that is likely to have impressed them: more exciting must have been the procession at the proclamation of George IV[58]and the ascent of the church spire, in May 1818, by a drunken cobbler who danced a hornpipe on the topstone and balanced on one foot on a pinnacle of the tower.[59]

Aged thirteen, Charles was removed from the school in the summer of 1821 to embark, with Alfred, on a rigorous course of instruction under the guidance of his father. With university entrance as their goal, the

boys were to be prepared in classical studies, particularly in Greek which they had barely studied at Louth,[60] and in mathematics, for the teaching of which latter subject the Rector employed a tutor.[61] Fortuitously, the library of Bennet Langton of nearby Langton Hall had come up for sale in June 1820 and from it the Rector acquired a number of volumes which, added to his existing collection, would serve well in his plans for his children. His library, preserved in part, if not wholly, in Lincoln,[62] reveals that Charles had at his disposal the classics, history both ancient and modern, biblical texts and commentaries, English literature particularly in the fields of drama and poetry, books on natural philosophy and on disparate aspects of geography and mathematics. This was the library of a scholar. It was also the library of a parish priest and seemingly an orthodox one at that. The presence of Gilbert Burnet's *History of the Reformation* and Fox's *Acts and Monuments of Martyrs* suggest that, as do analytical texts like Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* and Paley's *Principles of Moral Philosophy*. There are no works by the High Church Anglicans and of the Evangelists only Watts and Gisborne are represented. The Rector may have felt the pull of rationalistic theology, for he owned the Unitarian writings of Theophilus Lindsey, Joseph Priestley and Nathaniel Lardner. Many of his father's volumes were later to pass into Charles's hands, judging by the

inscriptions in them, to form a basis for his own library.[63]

Of the library owned by Charles, only two works can positively be identified as having been in his possession before his going to Cambridge: an 1820 edition of the works of Horace in two volumes, "E libris Charles Tennyson, Somersby, in agro Lincolniensi, 1822"[64]inscribed on the fly leaf of the first volume; an 1817 edition of Juvenal's sixteenth Satire, inscribed "C. Tennyson, Somersby, Lincolnsh. 1823". Also inscribed 'Somersby', but not dated, are Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and his *Choephoroe*, published in 1822 and 1824 respectively, together with Dalzel's *Sive collectanea Graeca majora*, Euripides' *Bacchae*, Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* and other plays, editions of 1822 to 1825, and Mavor's *Historical account of the most celebrated voyages, travels and discoveries from the time of Columbus to the present period*, an edition of 1796-1797. All these are likely to have been among his adolescent possessions.

Many of the Tennyson boys' classical texts are heavily annotated. Their practice was not only to transpose from Greek to Latin or vice versa or translate into English, but to subjoin commentaries by scholastic authorities. "My father", wrote Alfred in his copy of *The Iliad*[65]at a later date, "who taught us Greek made us - me and my brother Charles - write the substance of Heyne's notes on the margin to show that we had read them and we followed the same command of his, writing in

our Horaces, Virgils and Juvenals etc etc the criticisms of their several commentators." Indeed in his own copy of Horace,[66]Charles wrote "To have at hand a Compilation of Notes and comments from different authors will be found of no small utility and will undoubtedly throw great light on these Satires, without the trouble of referring to various books ... I have also interspersed some original ones, where some explanation is wanted, but only a very few, very few." The plaintive note which terminates that rubric becomes exasperation in his copy of the *Choephoroe*:[67]"This play is encompassed with so thick a fog of corruption overlaid with so deep a layer of rust, that neither the conjecturing powers of Schutz nor the exact and pertinent remarks of Blomfield have rendered it easy." Charles's translations and interpolations in his Horace are of considerable interest, for in these volumes appear some of his earliest attempts at verse. They are made accessible here for the first time.

Firstly a verse translation of the opening of Ode XXXVII, 'Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero ..." It appears on the blank leaf facing the Latin text.[68]

Now quaff the wine - with joyous sound
Let dance & revel shake the ground
Let
By Heav'ns recumbent God-heads prest
We could not wake such mirth before

'Mid Battle's wild, astouning roar:
When Egypt's queen in thought beheld
Great Rome's resistless legions quell'd
Our Capitol's stupendous wall
Before her murrain'd Eunuchs fall
Our fame & glory all oerthrown
And all our thousand realms her own
Drunk with success, with hope elate

With no erasures, this has the appearance of a fair copy, incomplete though it is. We cannot tell, of course, to what degree Charles's father had a hand in the composition, or whether indeed Frederick or Alfred might have contributed. With its echoes of Cibber, it is merely an exercise, the kind of composition attempted at Louth, but it is metrically vigorous and correct and looks forward to the polish of Charles's verse in *Poems by Two Brothers*.

The doggerel grotesqueness of what appears to be a translation from Ovid suggests that Dr Tennyson had no hand in the following:[69]

By names we soften and abate politely
Defects of Nature in a lady's ~~ferm~~ hue
If black, and frightful, call her dark and sprightly
If pig-ey'd, make her Venus, tho' you spew.
If sallow, let Minerva be her name.
If, worn & skinny, like a wrinkled dame
Be sure to make her graceful, shapely

then

And she will, tho' like Hecate, take it in

Charles's 'Eulogium on Horace', written in red ink on a blank page of Volume 2,[70] is possibly his first attempt at the sonnet form.

Great Bard! thy polish & lay has won my heart
Wild, yet exact & meet in ev'ry part.
Thy lyric numbers, fraught with fire and soul,
Rise into flights and reach Perfection's goal.
Oh! well may Latium ever vaunt of thee
And pore upon thy song with ecstasy
Warm'd with thy boldness, fancy, judgement, fire
And the rich music of thy lofty lyre!
The varied metres, which with pow'rful sway
~~Thy pen dispays, evince~~
Thy pen has wrought into thy skilful lay
Are not but metre: they are full of thought
And beauty, by the inspiring muses taught.
If Sappho can their tenth sweet sister be,
Thou art Apollo, greater still than she!

This diffuse and repetitive piece of verse may be compared with the 'Short Eulogium on Homer' attributed to Charles in *Poems by Two Brothers* - indeed it confirms the attribution - where there is a much greater mastery of 'polish' and terseness:

Immortal Bard! thy warlike lay
Demands the greenest, brightest bay
That ever wreath'd the brow
Of minstrel bending o'er his lyre,
With ardent hand and soul of fire,
Or then, or since, or now!

The fluidity and brevity of this suggests that Charles acquired from his reading of Horace more than the polish and the fire he so warmly eulogised in his sonnet. It is significant that of the sixteen quotations from Horace prefixed to the poems published in 1827, thirteen are appended to poems attributed to him.

In the following lines[71] we see the exploratory vision of a young poet more keenly, for it is a raw example of an image tentatively contemplated:

Oh! have ye seen, when wanes the year
And summer-flow'rets disappear
A rose beneath the tree bestrewn
Above, another left alone
As gazing on its comrades gone
And then
A prelude to his own decay
And warning, that he cannot stay
Oh! bitter sight for mortal eye
To view a brother dead yourself about to die
Bid
Such-was-I,-when,-myself hang upon the tree

And saw my-brother-gone-e'er-me

Why view my brother e'er me

The elegiac note of this fragment prefigures such poems in *Poems by Two Brothers* as 'My Brother' and 'A sister, sweet endearing name'. But what is more arresting about it is this: it is the first known expression of the sense of disquietude in the contemplation of loss that will be a recurring theme in much of Charles's later verse. For his recurrent re-working of images of vulnerability, particularly with reference to temporal flux, this unfulfilled fragment acts as a harbinger.

The delicacy of Charles's sensibilities was to become increasingly apparent, appreciated not only by Alfred, but also by the sister for whom he had the greatest affection, Mary. Two volumes of poems that were to enrich his poetic genius greatly were joint-owned by himself and by Mary: Cowper's *Poems*, a late eighteenth century edition they possessed; and Thomson's *The Seasons*,a copy inscribed - with little regard for punctuation - in his hand "Charles Tennyson & Mary the gift of my mother.[72] This book was first my grandfather Fytche's then my mother's at last my mother presented me with it which may I ever value, and treasure up in my mind the pious sentiments contain'd therein."

The sensibilities of a boy of thirteen must have been severely put to the test by the situation prevailing in the Rectory when he returned there in 1821, for just before that the Rector's proud and highly

sensitive nature had succumbed to pressures which had been in earlier years mere irritants, but irritants that rankled deeply. An inward-burning rage and resentment, brewing seemingly for many years, had found explosive expression in a letter sent by Dr Tennyson to his father in the previous year. It is a long letter, but its essence resides in these accusations: "... You make and have always made a false estimate of me in every respect. You look and have always looked upon me with a jaundiced eye ... Conscious also that I am thrown into a situation unworthy my abilities and unbecoming either your fortune or my just pretentions, and resisted in my every wish to promote my own interests or that of my family by removing to a more eligible situation, unaccountably kept in the dark with respect to their future prospects, with broken health and spirits, I find myself little disposed to encounter those unprovoked and sarcastic remarks in which you are so apt to indulge yourself at my expense, remarks, which though they may be outwardly borne, are inwardly resented, and prey upon the mind - the injustice, the inhumanity and the impropriety of which every one can see but yourself ..."[73] The father's response to this, "... I remain notwithstanding your unkind, and I can with truth say, unjustifiable letter to me ... as I have ever been, Yr. affte far. G. T.",[74]suggests in its mildness that he felt he had to deal delicately with his son. The medical and psychological problems which were becoming more overtly conspicuous in the Rector's behaviour in the third

decade of the century were probably perceived in his earlier years by no one else more painfully than by his own parents. These had manifested themselves since childhood in the form of convulsions (either cataleptic or epileptic) and a morbid irritability. As the elder of George Tennyson of Tealby's two boys, he would have been the one chosen to build on his father's design, and that was, in essence, the establishing of a county family which could hold its own with the Chaplins, the Pelhams, the Heneages, indeed all the genteel Lincolnshire stock then flourishing. George of Tealby was highly competitive by nature, extraordinarily skilful in his financial dealings, uncompromising in his wish that the Tennyson name should become established. That his elder son, though possessing admirable talents, should have betrayed signs of physical and psychological weakness, must have been the source of much grief to his father. That the boy showed little inclination to pursue the objects so dear to his own heart, was not at all motivated by concepts of social aggrandisement or acquisitive pride, was no doubt a profound disappointment to him. So it was that, in finding his own motivation reflected - indeed enhanced - in the nature of his second son, Charles, old George came to accept that his own life-work must be continued through the line of *that* boy; and so it was that the elder son was placed in a position which to a late eighteenth century family was considered a respectable solution: he entered the church.

This piece of the family's history has been much examined.[75] The important factor which must be perceived behind all the vicissitudes of the Rector's life in the 1820s was his father's continual and real concern for his elder son. For all the exasperation, anger, bitterness and pangs of hurt, the grandfather's solicitude for the Somersby family was no pretence. "Beware my dear friend," wrote his old friend William Gray to George of Tealby, "of an over-solicitude for any of your family on the score of worldly advantage. I cannot say I have perceived it, but yours is a peculiarly anxious mind, & may easily get entangled on that head."[76]

Increasingly through the 1820s, the demands of teaching his eldest boys and of sustaining the rest of his large family began to tell upon the Rector's health. "Phoenix like, I trust ... they will spring from my Ashes in consequence of the exertions I have bestowed upon them",[77]he wrote to his brother. He struggled against an innate lethargy (he was known to sleep until three in the afternoon) with an industry which became at times almost frenzied and, in order to resolve the tension, he increasingly resorted to alcohol. The intensity of his drinking bouts reached a crisis in 1822 when he consulted a physician in Cheltenham.[78] Later in the year he returned to that town with his son Charles so that the boy might benefit from the Spa waters. This appears to be the first time Charles travelled outside Lincolnshire and it bears a resonant parallel with his

last visit to Cheltenham at the end of his life. It is also the only reference to be found of his suffering an illness in his childhood: "Charles ... has escaped from Astma",[sic] reported his aunt at the end of his stay, "which I find he has constantly at home."[79] That he also suffered from loneliness, a state of being Charles was ever more to abhor, during his stay, is apparent in his wish that his cousin, George Hildeyard Tennyson, should join him as his companion and playmate.[80]

Dr Bousfield, the Somersby physician, grew increasingly concerned about the situation at the Rectory, for in 1825 the Rector succumbed to an epileptic fit which almost threatened his life, and Bousfield declared that so long as he would continue to teach his children, so long would he be disordered.[81] The Rector, however, rallied and at the end of June he took Charles and Alfred to Cambridge to enter Frederick at St. John's college. He also rallied in his sympathy for his father whose wife, Mary, died in the October. It was Mary Tennyson who declared that any poetic propensities which may have flourished in the family came from her.[82] She had been a softening influence in the Tealby household and her husband, who had loved her, was quite diminished by her death. The Tennyson children had also been fond of her: the poem 'On the Death of my Grandmother', published in *Poems by Two Brothers* and attributed to Charles, twice in its lines records her patience, suggesting that this quality had indeed been tested. "My dear father this world is

passing over us a shadow,"[83] wrote the Rector to his father in January 1826 and he had his own enfeebled state in mind too, for by now he was taking laudanum[84] to relieve the pains in his chest. By the middle of the year Alfred was ill too: Frederick approached his grandfather with a request for money to take him to Skegness.[85] The oppression of sickness in the house and the oppression of heat in the summer - "a longer run of dry and hot weather than was ever remembered"[86] - must have been wearing to the household and Charles added his own request to Frederick's note:

My dear Grandfather

I have no plausible pretext to qualify the blunt impudence of my request. The greater part of my organization is sound and healthy. I cannot ask your sympathy for the gout nor your pity for any other complaint, but a wish to accompany my brothers and a strong relish for the breakers persuade me to leave the rest to your imagination. My good state of health would, in this case, be a source of regret to me, since it would deprive me of a pleasant excursion to the coast, if my confidence in your generosity did not more than counterbalance any such fear.

I remain

Your very affectionate Grandson

Charles Tennyson[87]

This, the earliest of Charles's known letters, is that of a young man finding his own feet. Its piquant humour, typical of its author, probably met with a frosty response from his grandfather who was signally humourless. He would later call his grandsons 'chippy'.[88] It is not known if Charles's 'relish for the breakers' was satisfied that summer, but we do know that at hay-making time both Charles and Alfred were in Louth.[89] Whether they had gone there to view the new gas-lighting[90]or the newly-formed town Cricket Club[91]or to watch 'Mr Charles Green ascend in his balloon from Mr Hardy's coal-yard'[92]is not known either, but a fourth possibility must be considered.

By late 1826 the Tennysons had gathered quite a substantial body of their own poems. The pressure of their studies and the domestic strains notwithstanding, they had accumulated enough to make the contemplation of publication, audacious though it be, a reality. The actual circumstances of their approach to J. & J. Jackson, publishers, of Louth, are not known and the matter as yet has never been fully resolved.[93] Their presence in Louth may or may not have been with a view to approaching Jacksons themselves, but by the end of the year their poems had been accepted. That Jacksons did accept their work has surprised commentators. "There has never been a satisfactory explanation", writes Professor Martin, "of why a provincial bookseller should publish such a book, which could not be expected to cover its costs."[94] Professor Lounsbury was similarly

moved to say "What has been justly regarded as the most wonderful thing about the volume is that these young writers were able to find men who were willing not only to print and publish it at their own expense but to pay in addition twenty pounds for the copyright ..."[95] The reasons for the Tennysons' approaching Jacksons and for Jacksons' accepting their poems must be examined.

For the Somersby authors, there were indeed publishers nearer at hand in Horncastle - Weir and Sons - and there was one in Spilsby - R. Plant[96]- but the attractions of Jacksons were stronger. John Jackson had established a printing and bookselling business in Louth Market Place in, or about, 1797, his only serious competitor in the town then being Robert Sheardown. In 1807 the Sheardown business was taken over by Henry Hurton and in that same year Benjamin Fotheby, who had previously been in partnership with Hurton, established his own business. By the end of 1826, therefore, there were three presses in competition in the town. There were also several booksellers and bookbinders; indeed between 1768 and 1778 William Fytche, brother of the Reverend Stephen Fytche, had leased a shop for his own bookselling trade.[97]

Of the three presses the most prolific and the greatest in provincial importance was that of the Jacksons.[98] The Jacksons were disposed to publishing books by local authors touching on local issues, such as Church Rates, Town Council affairs and the Navigation System. As has been seen, they published broadsheets

and advertisements for the Grammmar School Speech Days. They also published sermons and lectures by local clerics and literary ventures by unestablished writers. From their press in 1799 came *True Patriotism; or Poverty Ennobled by Virtue, a Drama* by Thomas Robinson, a schoolmaster born at Bigby, near Grasby, and in 1823, for Simpkin and Marshall of London, *School Hours; or a Collection of Exercises and Prize Poems* "composed by the Young Gentlemen Under the Tuition of the Reverend A. Burnaby M.A." Burnaby was the Usher at the Grammar School who was dismissed in 1813 and had founded his own school, nearly half the Grammar School boys following him to the new establishment nearby.[99] Jacksons printed the advertisements for his Speech Days and many of the verses composed by the boys and delivered at Burnaby's Speech Days between 1815 and 1821 were gathered together for the 1823 publication. These verses, both in Latin and in English, are really school exercises, as the title of the book indicates; they are neatly turned and commendable but quite undistinguished. The volume's local interest is its greatest merit: two of the poems deal with the ascent of Louth Church Spire by Benjamin Smith in 1818 and one, "Iter a Luda ad Suttoniam", describes a school excursion to Sutton-on-Sea. The volume was dedicated to George IV and "amongst the presentations to his Majesty at the splendid levée on the 7th [April 1824] was the Rev. A. Burnaby M.A., on his succeeding to the family preferment; and to present his *School Hours* which was most graciously received."[100]

It was advertised in the *Literary Gazette*[101]and in the *Gentleman's Magazine*[102]; for a collection of verses by "schoolboys, hardly one of whom had exceeded his 16th year,"[103]it certainly obtained some notice.

Jacksons also published two long poems by the Reverend James Giffard, Vicar of Wootton, *Thornton Abbey in the Reign of Richard II* in 1823 and a continuation of it, *The Abbot of Thornton*, in 1825. Later, in 1829, they were to publish *The Christmas Bells*, some verses by William Wrangham, a Louth jeweller.[104]

It is quite possible that few of the Jacksons' publications actually covered their costs, which suggests that they may have been motivated by philanthropic principles in printing the works of the local literati. Indeed the anonymous *Notes of a Journey in the North of Ireland in the Summer of 1827*, published in 1828, was actually by Mrs Jackson, wife of John Jackson the elder. This gentleman had for some years played an active role in the first of the Louth Literary Societies, which had been instituted in 1785. In 1806 he succeeded Sheardown the younger as librarian of the Society, a task Jackson shared with his own son from 1815. The Society continued until 1821 when it was amalgamated with a new Literary Society, one of whose members was the Reverend John Waite. Jackson was also a member of the Anacreontic Society, a group of Louth gentlemen who had met regularly at the Fleece Inn since 1804.[105] These 'Sons of Anacreon', as they called themselves, were united in their devotion to lyric

poetry and seemingly to social pleasures too, for in Wrangham's *The Christmas Bells*, a poem addressed to the members of the Anacreontic Society, Jackson the elder appears thus:

> Next Jackson, leaning on his elbow chair,
> Sends forth a whiff from best Virginia drawn,
> Speaks of the humours of some Irish fair,
> Perhaps Donnybrook, where wonderous feats are shewn

Jackson's propensity for convivial literary society, and his holding benignly hedonistic principles to boot, may have been of a one with his business dealings, thus making acceptance of the Tennysons' verse all the easier. Furthermore, the Reverend John Waite's influence may not be discounted: as a relative of the Fytche family, as a godfather to one of the Tennyson children, as a former tutor to the aspiring authors and as a current tutor in 1826 to two of the younger brothers (Arthur and Horatio), his interest may have been decided. Equally influential may have been the magistrate John Fytche who was warden of Louth in 1820 and 1825. In 1827 he was a Deputy Lieutenant for the Alford Division of the County of Lincoln and a Commissioner of the Peace for the East Division of Lindsey[106] (as was Dr Tennyson). While no pressures at all may have been brought to bear upon the Jacksons by any party, the name of Tennyson would most certainly have been known to them if only through the above named

connections and this is to ignore the claims of George Tennyson of Tealby.

From the viewpoint of the authors, an attractive feature of the firm was its printing over a London publisher's imprint, thus bringing the work to the eyes of the world beyond Louth. *School Hours* had so appeared, as did Walkingham's *Arithmetic* in 1817 and the anonymous *Satan's Devices Exposed* in 1821: all over the imprint of Simpkin and Marshall. In this way advertisements for the work indeed found their way into the London press and the book was to be found in the lists of new publications.

Any commentator on *Poems by Two Brothers* is beset by two major problems: firstly, the matter of attribution; secondly, the question of the degree to which a *persona* might or might not have been assumed by the authors of the poems. The attribution question arises as a result of the refusal by Charles and Alfred to allow even their initials to appear anywhere in the text. Jackson did include them in the early proofs but was sharply admonished for so doing: "The C. and A.T. did not form part of the agreement," he was twice reminded.[107] "... C.A.T. in London would not be taken any more notice of than no signature at all." London was clearly very much in their minds. The manuscript[108] Jackson received from them certainly contained no attributions. It was an extraordinary document for any publisher to receive: though seemingly an attempt originally to offer fair copies of its poems, the

notebook bespeaks a great deal of last minute revision, with excisions often of a crude kind, corrections and additions above the deletions or sometimes at ninety degrees to the main text, one poem written upside down, another, 'Remorse', having all its ninety-one lines crowded onto one folio as well as six lines of the preceding poem, both sides of the paper utilised throughout. Some poems had no titles and it would appear that those titles inserted, in red ink, were by Jackson himself.[109]Further amendments and additions[110] were sent off to Louth while the volume was in the hands of the typesetter.

The hands are principally those of Charles and Alfred, but other hands are apparent: the last verse of 'Antony to Cleopatra', for example, is in an unknown mature hand.[111]As either brother, or indeed anyone else, could have written out fair copies of the poems on behalf of their authors, we cannot be absolutely confident in ascribing particular poems to the author in whose hand they appear. It is therefore not surprising that a number of attempts have been made to settle the matter and here we must look forward. Richard Herne Shepherd, to launch the whole question, made three attempts, twice in 1866 and once in 1879.[112] Hallam Tennyson, recalling perhaps - there is no evidence for this - his father's comments and noting the observations - which he indeed obtained - of his octagenarian uncle, Frederick Tennyson, tackled the complete volume with his 1893 republication of the work.[113]In this he appended

initials to each poem, assigning forty-two of the one hundred and three poems to Alfred - adding four more which appeared in the manuscript but not in the 1827 edition[114]- and forty-eight to Charles. Hallam also revealed that three of the poems were by Frederick, somewhat confusing matters by quoting Frederick's words in the Preface "The initials are right as appended to my four poems ..." Ten of the poems were left in doubt.[115]

In 1890 John Cuming Walters rightly said that "the *vexata quaestio* of individual authorship will ... never be set at rest, unless that wandering copy of the poems which belonged to Charles, and left the hands of a friend of mine seven years ago, should be discovered: the poems therein had been marked "C" and "A", most likely by Charles himself."[116] Discovered it was in 1911, when Sotheby's sold it.[117] All but seven of the poems in it have initials subjoined to them. In 1959 it passed into the possession of W. D. Paden who analysed its inscriptions and fully described his findings and deductions.[118]In his paper he compared his copy with yet another annotated one which had been in Henry W. Poor's library, until its sale in 1908. This was eventually acquired by Lord Brotherton and was ultimately bequeathed to the University of Leeds. Its fly-leaf inscription declares it to have belonged to the Tennysons' one-time family attorney, C. R. Haddelsey[119] of Caistor, to whom it was given by Alfred. All the poems are marked by a symbol, each representing the appropriate author. A third copy, given by Charles's

aunt, Elizabeth Russell to a Mrs Robinson in 1827, has also re-emerged.[120] It holds Mrs Russell's attributions only one of which is accompanied by a query.

There are divergencies in attributions between Charles's, Haddelsey's and Mrs Russell's copies and those given in Hallam's 1893 edition, suggesting that the sources have independent authority, but they are *very* few in number. Thus considerable credence must be given to Hallam's judgment, while allowing some few adjustments. As detailed comparisons may be found elsewhere,[121]only the attributions for a few poems pertinent to Charles's role in the volume need be considered here. The opening 'Stanzas' - C. T. in the 1893 edition - is ascribed to Frederick in Haddelsey's copy, with no attribution at all in Charles's. This may indeed be the fourth poem claimed by Frederick and it does betray some of the characteristics of Shelley of whom only the eldest brother had some knowledge at that time. All the marked copies grant Charles the poem 'Yes - there be some gay souls who never weep' (11), suggesting that Hallam need not have queried his attribution and the latter's uncertainty about 'The Deity' (109) is made redundant by the fact that all three copies attribute it to Charles and the same applies to 'The Dying Christian' (175) and 'Switzerland' (184). 'On the Moonlight shining upon a Friend's Grave' (173) is Charles's in all the copies and it does seem to be a re-working of Charles's fragment 'Oh! have ye seen, when wanes the year' written in his copy of Horace.

'Song' (209) is given to A. T. in 1893, but all copies give it to Charles.[122] Finally there is the matter of the poem 'Sunday Mobs' (197), which is ascribed to Charles in 1893. The poem contains a contradiction: the first thirty-three lines are a satirical caricature of vain coquetttes idly parading the Sunday streets; the last section, of sixteen lines, finds a charm which is overtly denied by all that preceded it. Not only is there a change of stance, but also a change of style. The earlier section is clumsy, grammatically loose and oddly, for a poem written in couplets, it begins with a triplet. The last section has a Popeian fluidity and betrays a more practised consciousness of the enclosed couplet measure. A solution to this problem may be found by noting that in Haddelsey's copy this poem is ascribed to 'M', the only appearance of this attribution. Matilda Tennyson was but ten years of age in late 1826; Mary, Charles's closest sister, was sixteen however, and therefore a possible claimant. She may be submitted as the possible author of the first section, Charles himself completing the poem. Though no other poems known to have been written by Mary in these early years have been found, a manuscript notebook[123] of hers, entitled interestingly 'Sonnets and Fugitive Pieces' and dated 19 July 1879, contains over a hundred of her poems. In the 1820s and 30s she was part of a somewhat blue-stocking coterie of sisters and friends, entitled 'The Husks', who indulged in writing. As we know that the title *Poems by Two Brothers* is not

strictly accurate, a further latitude may have to be granted to embrace her contribution too.

Whether the authors of 'Sunday Mobs' actually held the views expressed in the poem or were merely adopting a pose in compliance with versifying modes of the day is not an easy matter to resolve and leads to the question of the personal stance of the authors. To be sure, much that is conventional and derivative can be found in the volume and this will be examined; but we must also look for signs of an individual voice and this - with reference, of course, to Charles only - we must pursue.

The advertisement at the beginning of the volume indicates that the poems were written when the brothers were between the ages of fifteen and eighteen, that is, between 1823 and 1826. We do not know when, in the amassing of quite a considerable body of verse, the idea of publication came upon them; we do know, from Alfred's later testimony,[124] that much of his work - his most adventurous work - was held back as being too much out of the common for public taste. The few fragments inscribed in Charles's Horace - except for one piece of re-working - never attained publication and he may also have withheld other material, but it is unlikely to have matched the startling quality of such works as Alfred's *The Devil and the Lady*, written at the age of fourteen.[125] From their hours spent in the Somersby library, they were fully acquainted with the conventions of books of eighteenth century and early nineteenth century verse. This it was which prompted them to add

various trappings to their material: the title page's inscription, the *apologia* which prefaces the volume, the footnotes, the epigraphs taken from classical and modern authors. These pieces of extraneous material were mere bibliographical conventions, but they are used here to establish a tone, indicating to the reader that the authors were fully cognisant of literary modes. The title page inscription from Martial, ('Haec nos novimus esse nihil') slightly misquoted, finds its parallel in, for example, the early editions of Scott and few early editions of Cowper, Gray, Beattie or Mason lack epigraphs. The *apologia* had many a precedent. The Tennysons' is an abbreviated form of Byron's preface to his *Hours of Idleness* (1807) and they follow his example in acknowledging the difficulty of presenting novelty, in declaring the age of the authors and in proclaiming their having hereby "passed the Rubicon". The explicatory notes are actually quite modest in substance compared with, say, Scott's in his *Lay of the Last Minstrel*[126], where, as well as footnotes, 139 pages of notes are appended to 198 pages of poem; Mason, moreover, provides 66 pages of notes for a mere 28-page poem, 'The Art of Painting'.[127]

To look more closely at the epigraphs, we see that most of those from Horace are appended to poems by Charles as are those from Virgil. Only one more classical authority, Lucretius, is utilised for Charles's poems, that only once and a wrong attribution too.[128] It is, of course, not possible to be sure which

brother chose the epigraphs, but considering Charles's greater predilection for Horace,[129] the balance for at least this Latin author seems to weigh in Charles's favour. Charles cerainly knew the odes and satires of Horace well and the first six books of Virgil's *Aeneid* and the *Georgics* too. As for modern authors, Charles utilises a phrase supposedly from the works of Arnand Berquin, although careful scrutiny[130] of the texts has failed to produce it; all six epigraphs from Byron prefix Charles's poems as do one each from Young, Cowper, Gray, Beattie, More, Clare and Milton. Most of the tags from English poets chosen by Alfred are from the more romantic Ossian and Scott. Only two English prose works are utilised by Charles: Hume's *A History of England* and Coxe's *Switzerland;* while fourteen from other writers are utilised by Alfred.

All this does not mean that the brothers *knew* all the works they were plundering: they may indeed have merely lifted apposite epigraphs already used by other writers. One may concur with Professor Paden that the brothers' erudition was "no greater than that which we might expect of two healthy, intelligent schoolboys, who had access to their father's library and nothing much to occupy their time."[131] It was certainly schoolboy humour which allowed the footnote to stand below verse sixteen of a poem attributed to Alfred 'King Charles's Vision' (225)[132]: "Nothing indeed could exceed Charles's affection for his boots: he eat, drank and slept in

them: nay, he never went on a bootless errand." One may wonder which Charles Alfred had in mind.

Thematically, the substance of a great deal of Charles's contribution to the volume is encapsulated in his lines

> O man! relinquish Passion's baleful joys,
> And bend at Virtue's pure unsullied shrine"
>
> ('The dew with which ...')

(172) The distrust of Passion is more markedly reiterated in Charles's verse than it is in Alfred's, despite the fact that the poem entitled 'The Passions' (168) is ascribed to the latter. Indeed in no other poem does Alfred, or Frederick, raise the subject. We variously find Charles asking "Where shall hopeless passion find repose? ('The Slighted Lover', 189), or bewailing youth's condition "when passion glows / And, if uncheck'd to phrenzy glows" ('In early youth I lost my sire', 3), or asserting that "the passions, if freed from the precincts of reason, / Have noxious effects" ('On being asked for a simile ...' 140). 'Religion! tho' we seem to spurn' (18) and 'Boyhood' (56) echo the same sentiment, a truly Augustan sentiment which Charles could have imbibed from any number of authors,[133] but particularly from Pope's 'An Essay on Man' ("What Reason weaves, by Passion is undone"[134]), from Beattie's 'Epitaph intended for Himself' ("Yet for awhile 'gainst Passion's threatful blast / Let Steady Reason urge the

struggling oar") or from Burns's 'A Prayer in the Prospect of Death',

> Thou knowest that Thou hast formed me
> With passions wild and strong,
> And list'ning to their witching voice
> Has often led me wrong.

For all his studious habits, however, Charles was not entirely a weaver of other writers' threads at this time. As derivative as much of Charles's verse in *Poems by Two Brothers* is, the adolescent's immediate experience did find expression in these poems and indeed influenced the taste of his reading habits. Neither vanity nor ambition were ever to be dominant passions in his life; nor were Gray's 'fury Passions',[135] Anger, Fear, Shame, Envy, Despair, Scorn or Falsehood. There is every indication, however, that Charles's adolescence was, like so many adolescences, disturbed by their brother-passions, 'Pining Love' and its more robust partner 'Desire'. These passions could easily have been fanned by his reading: few Louth or Horncastle bookshops could have been without such verses as Thomas Russell's sonnet on Cynthia's noon-bathing[136] or the verses of Regency rakes like the anonymous author of *Lyrics on Love*.[137] What is noteworthy is the existence of an inscription in a copy of *Poems by Two Brothers* which suggests that one of the girls in a Horncastle family, Catherine Overton, was the object of his attention about

the time of publication.[138] This attention, it will be seen, soon turned to someone nearer at hand, his sisters' governess.[139] Both relationships were brief, the second potentially dangerous and beyond "the precincts of reason"; it is therefore quite likely that his nine love poems were not merely modish literary exercises in the manner of Tom Moore, for he was learning by experience in these years "the pangs that care-worn hearts endure" ('Boyhood'). His perception of the danger of unchecked passion lies behind the poem 'In early youth I lost my sire' in which the imaginary loss of his father is for him the loss of a restraining hand, a "fost'ring guide, which all require / But chief in youth when passion glows". The tears of 'Yes - there be some gay souls who never weep' (11) are not unbridled effusions but "an exquisite control" for "agonizing stings of grief" and are therefore to be desired.

Control for Charles, he himself suggests, was imperative, for Virtue was at stake. The moral precepts of the writers he admired were deeply digested; not lightly had he reflected in his copy of *The Seasons* "This book ... may I ever value, and treasure up in my mind the pious sentiments contain'd therein" and indeed the moral values of the Rectory were such as to sustain and reinforce that wish. In the life of his paternal grandmother who "trod the path of virtue from her birth" he saw its spiritual reward, she finding "in Heaven what she sought on earth" ('On the Death of my Grandmother', 98). His ideal is realised in the first of the two

poems entitled 'To -- ' (167) where the object of his love is "taintless, spotless ... The shrine of purity", but he is nevertheless held in thrall by the "bright black eye / With ray pernicious" of 'The Slighted Lover' and by "Medea's herbs" (Epigram, 174) and restraint is altogether abandoned in 'Oh! were this heart of hardest steel' (191):

> To gaze on thee is ecstasy,
> Is ecstasy - but pain:
> Such is thy lip, thy cheek, thine eye,
> I gaze, and gaze again:
> Oh! might those three bright features bear
> For me a kiss - a blush - a tear!

Although Charles has Virtue prevail over the charms of Venice in 'The Gondola' (41), providing a moral corrective to Byron's *Childe Harold* from which it derives its inspiration, it is quite apparent from his indulgence in linguistic luxuriance that "the voluptuous clime of love and song" has the greater attraction for him. There is, it is evident, a struggle here. In human terms it was for Charles the pull between the aspiring spirit and the earth-bound flesh. In literary terms it was the pull between the muscular moral strictures of Pope's *Essay on Man* and the peccant suggestions of Byron's *Hours of Idleness*.

The polarisations are reflected in the contradiction between his poetic creed, which finds

expression in his poem 'Imagination' (204):

Fervor chastis'd by judgment and by taste,
And language vivid, elegant and chaste -
These form the poet ...

and his fascination for the freer expression of natural impulse, expressed in 'Lines' (161), possibly addressed to Alfred:

Thy fancy, fresh - exuberant - boundless - wild,
Like the rich herbage of thy Plata's shore,
By song's resistless witchery beguil'd
Would then transport us, since it charm'd before!

The contradiction is inherent in his to-and-fro movement between the polished epigrammatic Augustan couplets of poems like ' 'Tis sweet to lead from stage to stage' (xi) or 'Phrenology' (200) and the looser lyricism of 'Oh, were this heart of hardest steel' or 'The Gondola' and the bouncing rhythms of 'Huntsman's Song' (61) and 'Greece' (81). Lyrics and songs, however, were never to become Charles's natural modes of expression: the very few he was later to produce bear witness to that. Although he was never again to essay the extended use of couplet-form, the cell-like structures of his sonnets are in essence a reflection of his early affinity with the eighteenth century taste for neatness, precision and symmetry. In 1827, however, he had not found his

natural mode and not a single sonnet appears in this volume. As a final statement on the conflicting influences at work on him at this stage of his life, it cannot but be noted that he was still inscribing his name in later editions of Byron in 1835 and 1836, indeed in *two* sets of *Works*, as well as in a complete *Don Juan*.[140] This bespeaks the man, rather than the poet, and it is significant.

The untroubled piety of poems like 'All joyous in the realms of day' (118) and 'In summer when all nature glows' (88), though Miltonic in tone, is entirely deistic; Christ the Redeemer finds no place in any of these poems and indeed, though Charles's grandmother lived with "Jesus on her tongue", he - apart from his making a reference to "the grand co-equal Three" - is silent here on even the most fundamental issues of Christian doctrine. There is thus no sign here that the author will later commit himself to orthodox Christian dogma. In this respect the poems differ from Cowper's Olney Hymns with which in style they have much in common. The sincerity of the faith expressed in 'The Dying Christian' (175) need not be doubted, though the poem is derivative, having Wesley's hymns on 'Death and Immortality' as its inspiration; but the optimism of the protagonist may be ascribed to any non-Christian believer in the after-life. Charles's view of death as a prelude to bliss certainly lifts a number of otherwise modish elegies to a more sacramental level, but not all of them. 'My Brother' (29), for example, is merely an

imaginary lachrymose utterance in a well-worn tradition of 'graveyard' verse. This poem takes as its rhythmic source Cowper's tender address to Mrs. Unwin, 'To Mary', though Charles is likely to have been aware of the two jocular pastiches of it, both entitled 'To Mr. Murray', by Byron, and Clare's 'My Mary' (1820).[141] Interment was, of course, part of his father's duties; the "nine low notes" of the knell and the resonance of "the chill damp mould that slid, / Dull-sounding on [the] coffin-lid" could have been heard quite distinctly from time to time across the road from the Rectory windows. Charles does not flinch from the unpleasant details of inhumation, going even further in 'A sister, sweet endearing name' (153) to imagine the worms crawling "O'er her sweet cheek's once lovely dye." These melancholy reflections on the transience of life, in a long line of *memento mori* tradition, were nurtured by Gray and, more recently for Charles, by Mrs Tighe in sonnets like 'Written in the Church-yard at Malvern':

> This seems a spot to pensive sorrow dear,
> Gloomy the shade which yields this ancient yew,
> Sacred the seat of Death! ...[142]

Almost any issue of the popular press of the time will offer verses like these from *The Mirror*,[143] on an infant:

> Last I beheld it stretch'd upon the bier,
> Like a fair flower untimely snatch'd away,

Calm, and unconscious of its mother's tear,
Which on its placid cheek unheeded lay ...

Graveyard reflections on the passing of life provided writers with a mold into which they could pour any number of equally melancholy reflections on the transience of life's pleasures or the vanity of human wishes and Charles's ruminations are characteristic of the genre.

Fortunately Charles is saved from mere plagiarism by his ability to look carefully with a fresh eye at an image drawn from the natural world,[144] thus anticipating his later verse. He describes his method, drawn largely from Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, in his prefatory poem in which he speaks of his concern

... the coy image into form to woo
Till all its charms to life and shape awake,
Wrought to the finest polish they can take.

Though the poet may draw on "all material Nature's Stores ... both beautiful and grand" ('Imagination', 204), the humblest may have equal worth, "even those whose abstract charms are few" - "nature's humbler train", as he calls them in 'In summer, when all Nature glows' (88). We thus find him drawing upon images of dew-drops, a bubble, thistle-down, water-reflection and even a diving-bell. The most successfully sustained of

these images is that of the thistle-down in 'Borne on light wings of buoyant down' (91):

> Borne on light wings of buoyant down,
> Mounts the hoar thistle-beard aloft;
> An air scarce felt can bear it on,
> A touch propel, tho'e'er so soft:
> Dislodg'd from yonder thistle's head,
> Upon the passing gale it fled.
>
> See! to each object on its way
> A faithless moment it adheres;
> But if one breeze upon it play,
> Breaks its slight bonds and disappears:
> Its silken sail each zephyr catches,
> A breath its airy hold detaches.

Here Charles's own poetic imagination is awakened and released, the linguistic effects supporting the sense. The assonance of the third line, the sibillance of the penultimate line and the apt delicacy of 'A faithless moment' all bear witness to Charles's dictum

> If all but language is supplied before,
> She quickly follows, and the task is o'er
>
> (Prefatory poem, xii)

He will use the image again, with great poignancy, in his sonnet 'The Ascent of Snowdon' (1870). The delicate

optical effects of shifting light were ever to be a constant source of interest to him and we find this already established in *Poems by Two Brothers*, notably in the poem 'Have ye not seen the buoyant orb' (15) with its image of the bubble blown from a child's pipe:

> ... o'er its surface rove the restless hues,
> And sun-born tints their gliding bloom diffuse

Even as late as 1876 the image and the expression carry echoes of this in 'The Sea-shell and the Sonneteer':

> I can not paint, as very truth requires,
> The gold-green gleam, that o'er thy surface rolls,
> Nor follow up with words thy flying fires,
> Where'er the startled rose-light wakes and moves

The dew-drops of 'Lines' (75) and 'To---' (209) will similarly re-appear in 'The Sparrow and the Dew-Drop' (1873). Although the circular rainbow of 'Those worldly goods that distant seem' (177) and the diving-bell of 'Religion! tho' we seem to spurn' (18) are derived from Charles's reading, not from direct observation, his imagination caught their qualities vicariously and with the image of the latter, drawn as it is from contemporary scientific sources, he infuses a startling metaphysical analogy into an otherwise derivative poem:

> Thus light's all-penetrating glow

Attends us to the deeps below,
With wav'ring, rosy gleam:
To the bold inmates of the bell
Faint rays of distant sun-light steal
And thro' the waters beam.

The phenomena of nature, as currently revealed by scientific discovery, would often play their part in the later workings of his imagination: his horror at the suppression of science is what prompts his fulminations against oppressive Turkish despotism in the poem 'Egypt' (67). Similarly he is appalled at what he considers ignorant quackery in 'Phrenology'[146](201), urging "Sons of Science and Invention" to rise and grapple with valid issues occupying scientific minds of the day: the then inexplicable radiance of Saturn, Mars and the Moon; the sun's black spots; the cause of the rainbow; the origins of water-spouts.[147] In this respect Charles, for whom physical science and religion were never to be seen as in conflict, was forward-thinking and more in accord with the temper of the times than the backward-looking poeticising of much of *Poems by Two Brothers* would indicate. The 1820s indeed saw the first iron ship, the creation of the Stockton to Darlington railway, Faraday's work on electro-magnetic rotation and the discovery of aluminium. In 1827 itself the botanist Robert Brown observed the movement of molecules in organic and inorganic bodies, establishing the theory of Brownian Motion,[148]the basis for Einstein's development

of atomic theory , and the list of new publications for May 1st 1827 in *The New Monthly Magazine* proclaimed not only the arrival of *Poems by Two Brothers*, but also Charles Babbage's *Table of Logarithms of the Natural Numbers from 1 to 108,000.*[149]

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1 In TRC.

2 GCT to CT[d'E], 15 August 1808. LAO T.d'E. H67/18. For the practice of holding two ceremonies see R. W. Ambler, 'Baptism and Christening: Custom and Practice in Nineteenth Century Lincolnshire' *Local Population Studies* 12 (Spring 1974), 25-27.

3 Stephen Fytche (d.1799) had actually resigned the living of Louth in 1780, a year before Eliza was born, to become the Rector of Withcall, a village near Louth.

4 It was burnt down on 7 November 1873. 'Tennyson's School Days: Recollections of Cadney's School at Somersby', *Pall Mall Gazette* 50 (19 June 1890), 3.

5 *Memoir* 1, p.18.

6 A minor scholarship solely for students from Holderness, Yorkshire, where his father owned land.

7 The financial affairs of the family are best summed up by Sir Francis Hill, 'The Disinheritance Tradition Reconsidered', *Tennyson Research Bulletin* 3 (November 1978), 41-54.

8 Charles Anderson Pelham, 1st Baron Yarborough of Brocklesby Hall.

9 Anne Thackeray Ritchie, *Records of Tennyson, Ruskin, Browning* (New York, 1892), p.4.

10 Based (without acknowledgment) on Ordnance Survey Maps, 25" to 1 mile, *Lincolnshire*, Sheets 74 (2) and 74 (6), 1st edition. Surveyed 1887, published 1888. Here reduced. The sale catalogue is in the British Library Map Library.

11 Charles's aunt, Mary, lived with her husband John Bourne, a very successful farmer, at Dalby. She was his second wife.

12 H. K. Atkinson to AT, [November] 1873. *Materials* 3, pp.244-245.

13 'Ode to Memory', 1830.

14 *Sonnets and Fugitive Pieces*, Sonnet 7.

15 James O. Hoge, ed., 'Emily Tennyson's Narrative for Her Sons', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* (Spring 1972), 94. It should be noted that Emily Sellwood, as she then was, did not visit the Rectory until 1830.

16 [Robert Roberts], 'Recollections of Tennyson', in *Literary Anecdotes of the 19th Century*, Vol. 2, eds. Nicoll W. Robertson and Thomas J. Wise (1896), p.423.

17 'On a Picture of Armida and Rinaldo, with the Decoy-Nymph'. *Small Tableaux*, 1868.

18 Sir Charles Tennyson, *Alfred Tennyson and Somersby* (Lincoln, 1974), p.[1].

19 Hamnett & Co., Auctioneers, [*Catalogue for the*] *Sale of the Somersby Estate* (18 August 1892), p.4.

20 *Memoir* 1, p.2.

21 Advertisement for the sale of household furniture etc. at Somersby, *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 12 and 19 May 1837.

22 *The Lincoln and Lincolnshire Cabinet and Calendar of Public Business*, 1827, 1828, 1829. He had also, in 1813, been appointed Chaplain to the High Sheriff, a role his son Charles was later to decline.

23 Handbill for the Horncastle Dispensary Meeting, 1817, where he is listed as Preacher.

24 Dr. Tennyson's Notebook. TRC.

25 In TRC.

26 Mary Tennyson to her sister, Elizabeth, 6 August 1805. TRC.

27 H. D. Rawnsley, *Memories of the Tennysons* (Glasgow, 1900), p.225.

28 Frederick Tennyson, 'To the Poet's Mother', *The Shorter Poems of Frederick Tennyson*, ed. Charles Tennyson (1913), p.208.

29 Charles Tennyson, 'To--'. 1830. Given the title 'My Mother' in 1880.

30 Fanny Tennyson to CT[d'E], 19 December 1822. LAO T.d'E. H144/158.

31 Frederick Tennyson to Mary Brotherton, n.d., *The Poets and the Poetry of the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 4, ed. Alfred H. Miles (1905), p.15.

32 GCT to CT[d'E], 19 August 1813. LAO T.d'E. H71/18.

33 Lewis Fytche to Henry Winn, 15 June 1885. LAO 2WINN/1.

34 Rawnsley, *Memories*, p.234.

35 *Memoir* 1, p.5.

36 William Allingham, *A Diary* (1907; reprint ed. Penguin, 1985), p.338.

37 *Memoir* 1, p.11.

38 *Pall Mall Gazette*, 19 June 1890. Supra, note 4.

39 R. W. Goulding, *Notes on Some Louth Houses and Their Former Occupants* (Louth, 1903), p.[3].

40 R. W. Goulding, *Louth Old Corporation Records* (Louth, 1891), p.132.

41 Revd John Waite to AT, 8 May 1866. *Materials* 3, p.42.

42 Ibid., pp.42-43.

43 Ibid., p.42.

44 See Christopher Sturman, 'Andrew Burnaby in Louth', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 23 (1988), 63-72.

45 Minutes of Louth Corporation Meeting, 25 March 1813. LAO LGS D/1.

46 Handbill, *Louth Grammar School Speech Day*, 24 June 1823 (Louth, [1823]) and Nicholas Carlisle, *A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales* Vol. 1, (1818), pp.822-834.

47 AT recorded in *Memoir* 1, p.7; CTT reported in Rawnsley, *Memories*, pp.228-229.

48 J[ohn] W[esley] Hales, 'Louth Grammar School', *The Gentleman's Magazine* 273 (1892), 564.

49 Raymond Blathwayt, *Through Life and Round the World* (1917), p.40.

50 Charles Frederick L'Oste. Quoted in R. W. Goulding, *Some Louth Grammar School Boys* Part 8 (Louth, 1933), p.199.

51 C[harles] D. P[ettinger], 'Reminiscences of Louth Grammar School 70 Years Ago', *The Ludensian* 76 (June 1919), 169.

52 AT to James Spedding, postmark 8 February 1833. TRC.

53 Revd Thomas Aquila Dale to GCT, 14 December 1818. LAO T.d'E. H144/132.

54 Carlisle, p.831.

55 See illustration, page 29. This bill, printed by J. and J. Jackson, was one of the items in the sale of Dr. John Parkinson's library in the early 1980s. Its present whereabouts are unknown. Parkinson was a pupil at Louth Grammar Schoool which he left in 1770. AT's attraction to Milton's *Samson Agonistes* (AT to Mary Anne Fytche, [October 1821?], - his earliest extant letter, *LALT*, 1, pp.1-2) may have been first prompted by his hearing the opening speeches.

56 Rawnsley, *Memories*, p.229.

57 Evidence for this is found in Dale's letter to Dr. Tennyson, 14 December 1818, (supra, note 53) where he refers to "a temporary charge of three guineas for the whole year" to defray the costs of meat, the price of which was currently high. This contradicts *LALT* 1, p.1n; Sir Charles Tennyson, *Alfred Tennyson*, makes no claim; Martin, p.30, suggests that AT lodged with his grandmother, with no mention of Charles.

58 18 February 1820.

59 *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 8 May 1818.

60 Greek was not studied until the pupils' fourth year in the school, and then only as a minor preparation for the fifth year. ('Course of Study pursued in each Class', handbill *Louth Grammar School Speech Day*, 1823). It should be noted that, in the school's terminology, the first class was the most senior.

61 One William Clarke (1807-1893), then a pupil at the village school and later a land surveyor at Tetford. C. T. J. Caswell, 'A Guide to the Life and Works of Alfred Lord Tennyson, Poet Laureate', unpublished MS, 1894. In TRC.

62 In TRC. The library is catalogued in Nancie Campbell, *Tennyson in Lincoln*, 1 (Lincoln, 1971). For an analysis of the library see George Moore, 'A Critical and Bibliographical Study of the Somersby Library of Dr. George Clayton Tennyson'. Typescript M.A. Thesis, Nottingham University, 1966.

63 Also in TRC. Catalogued in Campbell, I. On Charles's death, his library was passed to Alfred.

64 Campbell gives this as 1832.

65 Homer. *Ilias Graece et Latine*, ed. Samuel Clarke, (14th ed., 1806). Item 157 in Campbell 1.

66 Quintus Horatius Flaccus, *Opera* ... , 2 vols. (1820). Item 2485 in Campbell 1. Charles's note appears on p.352 of Vol. 2.

67 Aeschylus, *Choephoroe*. Ad fidem manuscriptorum emendavit notas et glossarium adjecit Carolus Jacobus Blomfield, (Cambridge, 1824). Item 2386 in Campbell 1. Charles's manuscript note is on page 108.

68 Horace, *Opera*, Vol. 1, p.94.

69 Horace, *Opera*, Vol. 2, p.380.

70 Horace, *Opera*, Vol. 2. Blank page facing p.346.

71 Horace, *Opera*, Vol. 1, end fly-leaf.

72 William Cowper, *Poems* [1786?]: item 2441 in Campbell 1. James Thomson, *The Seasons* (1776): item 2597 in Campbell 1. The MS inscriptions are on the inside front boards of both volumes.

73 GCT to GT, 14 August 1820. Martin, pp.33-34.

74 GT to GCT, 1 October 1820. Transcript. LAO T.d'E. H144/144.

75 See particularly (passim) Martin, Ricks, Sir Charles Tennyson.

76 William Gray to GT,6 October 1828. TRC.

77 GCT to CT[d'E], 1 February 1824. LAO T.d'E. H144/160.

78 GCT to his mother, Mary Tennyson, 15 April 1822. LAO T.d'E. H144/149.

79 Fanny Tennyson to CT[d'E], 23 December 1822. LAO 4T.d'E. H24.

80 Fanny Tennyson to GHT, 2 December 1822. LAO 4T.d'E. H25.

81 Mary Tennyson to CT[d'E], 5 March 1825. LAO 4T.d'E. H33.

82 The Tennysons no doubt inherited her looks too, for her portrait by John Russell (in the Usher Art Gallery, Lincoln) reveals a tall, dark woman with aquiline features. See Sir Charles Tennyson, *The Tennysons, Background to Genius* (1974), pp.28-31.

83 GCT to GT, 23 January 1826. LAO T.d'E. H97/26.

84 "... I take forty drops of Laudanum every Night.. " GCT to GT, 1 February 1826. LAO T.d'E. H97/27.

85 Frederick Tennyson to GT, n.d. [? July 1826]. *LALT*, 1, pp.7-8.

86 'Retrospect of Public Events and Occurrences for the year 1826', *Lincoln and Lincolnshire Cabinet* (1827), p.184.

87 On the reverse of Frederick's letter to his grandfather.

88 GCT to GT, 27 February 1829. LAO T.d'E. H86/20.

89 GCT to GT, 13 [?August 1826]. LAO T.d'E. H97/31.

90 First lit 6 April 1826. *Lincoln and Lincolnshire Cabinet* (1827), p.159.

91 Established 1822. Among the Honorary Members were John Fytche and Revd John Waite.

92 On 4 August 1826. *Lincoln and Lincolnshire Cabinet* (1827), p.165.

93 One persistent tradition, that the family's coachman played

some part in it, has been discounted in Edgar F. Shannon, 'The Coachman's Part in the Publication of "Poems by Two Brothers"', *Modern Language Notes* 64 (February 1949), 107-110.

94 Martin, p.44.

95 Thomas R. Lounsbury, *The Life and Times of Tennyson* (New York, 1962), p.45.

96 R. Plant published Mrs Hennett's *Miscellaneous Poems, on Various Subjects, Designed for the Instruction and Entertainment of Youth* in 1820.

97 See R. W. Goulding, *Notes on Louth Printers and Booksellers of the Eighteenth Century* (Louth, 1917).

98 John Jackson was joined by his son, also named John, in 1812 or 1813. Members of the Jackson family continued the business until 1874.

99 According to the Grammar School's Register, there were 45 boys in the school for the period from Christmas 1812 to Midsummer 1813. From Midsummer 1813 to Christmas 1813 there were 24.

100 *Lincoln, Stamford and Rutland Mercury*, 16 April 1824.

101 *Literary Gazette*, 350 (October 1823), 640.

102 *Gentleman's Magazine* 93 (October 1823), 350.

103 Burnaby's own words in the Preface to *School Hours*.

104 A list of the Jacksons' publications is given in R. W. Goulding, *Notes on Books and Pamphlets Printed at Louth 1801-1850* (Louth, 1920).

105 The Anacreontic Society continued to meet until 1857.

106 *The Lincoln and Lincolnshire Cabinet* (1827).

107 CTT and AT to J. Jackson, [March? 1827]. *LALT*, 1, p.13.

108 Now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Notebook 14).

109 Dr. Tennyson has also been suggested as the author of the titles. The hand does indeed look like his. The hands are thoroughly examined in John Charles Yearwood, 'A Catalogue of the Tennyson Manuscripts at Trinity College, Cambridge'. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1977.

110 Trinity College, Cambridge. Add. MSS a. 187.

111 Christopher Ricks and Aidan Day, eds., *The Tennyson Archive* Vol. 11 (New York and London, 1988), p.69. The editors attribute the hand to Charles with a query. It is not his hand.

112 [Richard Herne Shepherd], 'On the Early Poetry of Alfred Tennyson', *Notes and Queries* 10 February 1866, pp.111-113. He considers nine poems, attributing them all to Alfred, two incorrectly; one is doubtful. In his *Tennysoniana* (1866), pp.4-15, he assigns nine to Alfred, five correctly and in the second edition of that work, 1879, he assigns sixteen poems to Alfred, nine correctly; five to Charles, three correctly.

113 This edition was published in two forms. The first was a limited quarto edition of 300 copies published in April; the second a cheaper octavo edition, published in May with another issue in June. The 1827 edition was also issued in two sizes: duodecimo and octavo, both bound in grey boards with paper labels, priced 5s and 7s respectively.

114 Four pieces by Charles appearing in the manuscript but not in the 1827 volume had to wait longer for publication: Patrick Campbell, 'Four Unpublished Pieces from the Trinity Manuscript of "Poems by Two Brothers"', *Notes and Queries* March 1973, pp.87-90.

115 This was not Hallam Tennyson's last word on the issue. He gave assistance to W. J. Rolfe who selected fifty of the poems for inclusion in the appendix to his Students' Cambridge Edition of Tennyson's *Works* (Boston and New York, 1898). Hallam changed his mind with regard to a few of the attributions.

116 John Cuming Walters, *In Tennyson Land* (1890), p.43.

117 27 July 1911. Lot 128.

118 W. D. Paden, 'The Tennysons' *Poems by Two Brothers* (1827) Reconsidered', *The Library* 19 (1964), 148-161.

119 See page 178.

120 In the possession of Mr. Chilton Thomson. See Christopher Ricks, ed., *The Poems of Tennyson*, 3 vols. (1987), 1, xxii.

121 Patrick Anthony Campbell. 'A Critical Edition of *Poems by Two Brothers* by Alfred, Charles and Frederick Tennyson'. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1970. Also Paden; and Ricks 3, pp.641-646.

122 Trinity Notebook 14 has the poem in Alfred's hand, but MS.a.187.16. has it in Charles's hand.

123 In TRC.

124 *Memoir* 1, p.23.

125 Not published until 1930.

126 9th edition, 1808.

127 *The British Poets*, Vol. 78, (1822).

128 No such words appear in Lucretius, according to W. D. Paden.

129 Alfred did not care for Horace until after he was thirty. *Memoir* 2, p.386.

130 W. D. Paden, *Tennyson in Egypt: A Study of the Imagery in his Earlier Work* (New York, 1971), p.105.

131 Ibid., p.110.

132 Pagination, in all reference to *Poems by Two Brothers*, is that of the 1893 edition.

133 In Dr. Tennyson's library was Francis Hutchinson's *Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections* (1728).

134 Part 3, line 42.

135 Thomas Gray, 'Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College' (1747). Further 'fury Passions' appear in William Collins, 'The Passions. An Ode to Music' (1750).

136 *The British Poets* Vol. 73 (1822), p.145.

137 *Lyrics on Love, with Translations and Imitations from the French and Italian Languages* (1807).

138 George H. Frodsham, *A Bishop's Pleasaunce* (1915), p.69. Canon Frodsham had in his possession a copy of the first edition of *Poems by Two Brothers* containing an MS inscription "in a boyish hand". The date 19 June 1827 appears in the volume and the name 'Catherine Overton' is inserted in pencil at the head of the poem 'To- ' with 'Charles Tennyson' written underneath it. The Canon does not specify which of the two poems bearing this title this is, but both poems are amatory.

139 See page 80.

140 Campbell, 1, p.111.

141 P. A. C. Campbell, supra Note 121, takes only Byron and Clare as Charles's sources.

142 Mrs. Henry Tighe, *Psyche with Other Poems* (1811).

143 *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction* 53 (25 October 1823), 365.

144 He may have been led to this by his reading of Erasmus Darwin with whom he shares this characteristic.

145 For the circular rainbow see William Coxe, *Travels in*

Switzerland (1776); for the diving-bell see Erasmus Darwin, *Botanic Garden* 1, 4, ll.209-211 and Henry Kett, *Elements of General Knowledge, Introductory to Useful Books in the Principal Branches of Literature and Science* 2 vols. (8th ed., 1815), 2, p.106.

146 Presumably Charles was unaware of the fact that *The Phrenological Journal* was currently being published by Simpkin and Marshall. He may have known Hazlitt's attack on phrenology in *The Plain Speaker*, 1826. Cruikshank's series of satirical drawings 'Phrenology' was published in 1827.

147 These issues are raised in John Imison, *Elements of Science and Art* 2 vols. (1803). The copy in the Somersby library appears, by its inscription, to have belonged to Mrs. Tennyson.

148 Brown's findings were published in *A Brief Account of Microscopical Observations ... on the Particles Contained in the Pollen of Plants; and on the General Existence of Active Molecules in Organic and in Inorganic Bodies*, (Privately printed, 1828).

149 *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* 21 (1 May 1827), 212. *Poems by Two Brothers* also appeared in the lists of new publications in *Literary Gazette*, no. 538 (12 May 1827), p.301.

2

Cambridge and Sonnets

Lincolnshire, in April 1827, was witness not only to the Tennyson brothers' achievement but also to another feat, adolescent in its nature and portentous in its associations. The newly-formed boat-crew from Trinity College, Cambridge, passed its own Rubicon by manoeuvring a difficult passage from Cambridge to Lincoln. Trinity's vessel, according to a report,[1] descended the Cam and the Ouse, crossed the Wash to the mouth of the Witham and on 22 April - the day when the *Sunday Mercury* advertised the publication of *Poems by Two Brothers* as "a work which, under the most retiring title, contains many exquisite pieces of verse" - arrived in Brayford Pool. There the crew, "in full aquatic costume of straw hat, blue jacket, striped trousers, etc.", excited no small curiosity. The young men then attended divine service in the Cathedral where the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, Dr Kaye, installed only the day before, preached the annual sermon for the benefit of the National School. Quite coincidentally, within two weeks Charles had his name placed on the boards of Trinity and was thus admitted as a Pensioner.[2]

The appearance of a brief but favourable review of *Poems by Two Brothers* in the *Literary Chronicle*,[3] which found that "this little volume exhibits a pleasing union of kindred tastes, and contains several little pieces of considerable merit", must have added to Charles's sense of self-fulfilment, despite the fact that it mis-dated the publication and ironically chose to quote in full the opening 'Stanzas' likely to have been by Frederick. The *Gentleman's Magazine*[4] was also encouraging: "These poems are full of amiable feelings, expressed for the most part with elegance and correctness ... The volume is a graceful addition to our domestic poetry and does credit to the juvenile Adelphi."

Publication day itself seems to have made a lasting impression on Charles who towards the end of his life recounted to Hardwick Rawnsley the feelings of triumph both he and Alfred experienced. "We took a carriage to the sea-coast at Mablethorpe and shouted ourselves hoarse on the shore, first one and then the other of us reciting the poems with no other audience than deaf sand and sounding sea wave. And how we drove across the marsh in the late evening, as happy as if we were beings possessed."[5]

This is the elation of success, but it is also the elation of independence. Charles experienced on that wild shore, if only momentarily, a sense of liberation unbridled by the confining circumstances of a home where an oppressive weight was increasingly making itself felt, for Dr Tennyson's state of mind was on a perilous

edge. An aggressiveness common in inebriates came and went in proportion to the intake of his drinking. This can be seen within the little space of one letter which he wrote to his father on 22 January 1827:

> You some time ago were so good as to say that you would pay the Expenses of Frederick while at College. I have therefore sent over his bill to you, but I would not have done so were it at all in my power to discharge it myself ... I have been credibly informed that you make it your business to speak in the most disrespectful terms of me to every one and to one person you represented me as 'the greatest lyar that ever spoke'...[6]

We do not know whether the charge levelled in the latter part of this letter could have been at all substantiated. It is apparent from the letter, however, that Dr Tennyson moved between varying states of consciousness with shifting perceptions of reality. This state of being was thus early presented to the young Charles for whom, it will be seen, it was to become a recurrent experience.

Possibly to allow Charles and Alfred some breathing space, or perhaps as a reward for the boys' literary achievement, their mother took them away from the Rectory in the summer, staying with her cousin, Mr Wheeldon, in Market Street near St. Albans. The boys took the opportunity afforded to make their first visit

to London where they called on their Aunt Russell in Berkeley Square.[7] Charles's reaction to the metropolis is unfortunately not recorded.

Somersby nevertheless still had its charms, personified in Charles's eyes in the spirited form of his sisters' governess, Miss Watson, described by Dr Tennyson as "a kind-hearted and amiable woman".[8] A liaison developed but it was to be aborted by the advent of Michaelmas Term at Trinity. Charles together with Frederick, who had already spent a year at St. John's College and was now migrating to Trinity, set off for Cambridge in the second half of October.[9] This transition spared Charles not only a potentially disastrous involvement but also the full violence that erupted a few days later in the Rectory. In his distorted apprehensions, the Rector not only abused his wife but denied her any means of escape by refusing her the use of the family carriage unless she promised to stay away from the house for half a year.[10] She was fearful for the safety of her children and sent Alfred forthwith to his grandfather at Tealby. It was from Tealby that Alfred set off for Cambridge in early November and joined his elder brothers in their lodgings at number 12 Rose Crescent.

From this point George Tennyson of Tealby, with the help of his younger son Charles, took matters into his own hands, organising first of all the removal of the Rector from his house. Dr Tennyson was to embark on a tour in France, accompanied for part of the journey by

his brother and by Julia, his niece. To ease Eliza's burden, George then took in those of her children not yet in their teens, Septimus, Matilda and Cecilia. He attended to the Rector's bills and even checked his bank account. His thorough-going commonsense is reflected in his letter to his son Charles:

> If it meets with his [father's] approbation I mean to take Edward for about six months, let him Copy Deeds and Astracts and Rentals etc., in short to give him the best instruction I am able preparatory to his going Clerk to a solicitor. Arthur 13 years and 6 months old I could wish either to go as a Cadet or into the Navy, Septimus 12 years two Months and ten days, I propose shall go to Louth School with Horatio, unless his Father by you or other means could get him into the Navy or a Cadetship ... His is a fine family, and fervently do I hope they will prove blessings ...[11]

In the event very little of this was to come to pass.

George expressed particular concern in the same letter about his grandson Charles: "I am sorry to find Charles is attached to Miss Watson, and that she is in debt ... Miss Watson is a bad concern. I understand that she buys things on Credit at one shop and sends them to another to be sold for ready Money!!!" With such serious concerns occupying him, it may be reasonable to suggest that he received the following

letter from Charles in Cambridge, here given in full, with a far from sanguine state of mind:

My dear Grandfather

I hope your kind exertions have at last produced something of permanent benefit to our domestic happiness and my poor father's mental and bodily health, for I hear he is on his road to Paris, nay, has probably arrived there. The French metropolis will no doubt present to him numerous objects of curiosity and interest nor would he fail to keep alive those feelings, if he should prolong his journey to Rome. Travelling chafes the desponding mind and gives it resuscitating friction, if I may use the term and no doubt will produce that effect with my Father: how are you, Sir? have you had any Gout of late? I can fancy you taking your afternoon's nap, produced by your anti-Meridiem exercise on horse-back, inhaling comfort and complacency from an odorous Havannah. I should think you will feel a little interest about our expenditure etc. here, which we endeavour to reduce to as narrow bounds as possible by messing together, so that our commons are not required in such quantities as separate breakfasts and bitchings would necessarily require for very evident reasons: nor in other respects can we accuse ourselves of Extravagance. Two of my Sisters are with you I believe; are they not? It will be very pleasant for them and Miss Watson, who, I suppose accompanies them, and she is a lively

woman to boot and will amuse you during these drowsy, hazy, obnubilated, gloomy, wet, blue-devil-begetting, sunless, hopeless, joyless, days of November: that such are her powers and animation I well know,

I, your affectionate Grandson

Charles Tennyson

P.S. My spirits are much better than you may have heard they were some time ago and I trust the well-projected change of our Somersby affairs will bottom me firmly once more. The roar of a passing coach almost shakes my pen.[12]

This letter reveals much about the young Charles. Though he does express concern for the condition of his father, the prevailing tone of whimsical lightness of spirit - something Charles never fully lost - over-rides it.

This may have been an attempt to suppress a more sombre state of mind hinted at in his postscript, an attempt to gain a degree of equilibrium in a period of violent emotional upheaval. The banter here does suggest a well-established rapport with his grandfather and there are literary flights of fancy perhaps to be expected of the newly-fledged undergraduate, but the conscious play of irony must have jarred indeed on his grandfather when his eye fell on the glowing testimony to the charms of Miss Watson. George's reply was to the point:

I find Miss Watson has gained your affection, and that you are carrying on a correspondence with her. I must confess this distresses me and your family most seriously, and may if persisted in, prove the utter ruin of you and her. It would interrupt your studies and prevent your ever providing for yourself and a family of your own. Besides your persisting to a conclusion at present would instantly leave you penniless, for you could not expect any fortune from your uncle Turner, from your father, or myself ... Miss Watson was to have accompanied your two younger sisters here on next Friday, but from a letter I received from your Mother last night, I find she will not do so, giving as a reason that she had just received a letter calling her forthwith home on account of the illness of her father, surely there is no scheme between you and her. As you value her, us, and yourself, take no clandestine steps ... [13]

Frederick wrote to his grandfather in Charles's defence, saying that the relationship was innocent, that only a couple of letters had passed between the pair and that, in his opinion, Charles was "not of a very ardent temperament".[14] His fears unabated, George pressed the matter home:

In addition to my last letter, I have only to say

that Miss Watson was arrested at Somersby for a Debt of £24 but escaped in the Night and went to Louth, and thence took the Coach for Grimsby. I understand she is much in Debt and has been in the habit of making Purchases and selling for ready money, at another [shop]. I hope and trust you will not ruin yourself and partly your family, by any clandestine proceedings with her, let me hear from you forthwith for I am very unhappy about you.[15]

Unknown to Charles, further news about Miss Watson's flight, no less melodramatic in its tenor, reached Tealby. Joseph Daubney, an old friend of George Tennyson, discovered that a lady describing herself as one of Dr Tennyson's daughters had taken the steam packet from Grimsby to Hull where she had stayed overnight at an inn in a distracted and confused state of mind and then proceeded to Bawtry. Daubney lost no time in relaying this information to William Cooper, George's agent, dreading to address it to George himself, "knowing his tenderness in such a Part". Daubney gives no indication that he thought the lady anyone other than one of the Tennyson girls.[16] In her disguise, Miss Watson escaped the authorities and disappeared from Charles's life. His delayed reply of 12 December to his grandfather's entreaties, by its casual denial - "many of the suppositions of your first letter are 'creatures of air'"[17]- suggests that for him the matter was closed. Interestingly she re-appeared

briefly many years later at Alfred's home on the Isle of Wight.[18]

Crowded as the three brothers undoubtedly were in their rooms above the shop of a Mr Pleasance, a tobacconist, in Rose Crescent, they moved at the end of their first term nearer to Trinity College, occupying rooms on the first floor of 57 Corpus Buildings in Trumpington Street. Charles, however, was to prove peripatetic, for by the October of the next year he had taken, according to his cousin George Hildeyard Tennyson who had just entered Trinity, "a very miserable stinking place"[19]for 12 shillings a week in order to retrench and was moving into another in the following term for a guinea a week.

For Lincolnshire men, Cambridge and its surrounding landscape would not have proved, geographically, a markedly novel experience. The college, architecturally, however, must have been at first quite daunting. The magnificent library with its Grinling Gibbons carvings, the high dark wainscotted hall, the Roubiliac statue of their Lincolnshire compatriot, Newton, in the ante-Chapel, all would have impressed them deeply. They would be treading the boards known by Herbert and by Dryden, by Newton himself and, only twenty years before, by Byron. Trinity's admissions had almost doubled since Byron's day and Dr. Wordsworth,[20]the Master, to accommodate within the college walls this great increase of undergraduates, had had the neo-Gothic New Court built just before the Tennysons arrived.

Disciplinarian that he was, this was also a means whereby he could control the worst excesses of student behaviour.

He established a strict regime which, for one thing, allowed no relaxation of the long-established chapel system. This demanded the attendance at early morning chapel everyday from all undergraduates, although attendance at Eucharist was optional. Such an edict created truculence and indeed rebellion among their number and one was moved to put into print the widely-held sentiment that the imposition was pernicious: "It produces listlessness and indifference, and it stifles true piety."[21] This had support even among the fellows. Connop Thirlwall,[22]then an Assistant Tutor, responded to the argument that "the alternative was between compulsory religion or no religion at all" with some asperity. "The difference," he said, "is too subtle for my grasp."[23]

Chapel was "theoretically followed by lectures from eight till ten, reading from ten till two, relaxation ... before dinner at three o'clock, vespers, tea and work from eight till midnight,"[24]but the reality of the undergraduate day was often far removed from this ideal. The undergraduates at Trinity were assigned to the care of one of four tutors, John Philips Higman, George Peacock, Robert Wilson Evans or William Whewell.[25] Frederick was placed under Higman. Charles and Alfred were placed under Whewell, a man of considerable force of character and of great breadth of intellect. He was

the Moderator when the Tennysons entered the College. He had been ordained in 1826 and it is likely that one of Charles's first duties was to attend his sermon on the Commemoration of the University's benefactors.[26] In the following March he was to become Professor of Mineralogy and was to establish himself as the leading authority on scientific language,[27]Faraday himself deferring to him on the nomenclature of electricity. He was also to develop an interest, even a passion, for architecture, publishing the result of his studies in that field, regrettably - and characteristically - before his thoughts were fully ordered.[28] He also published verse,[29]an early example of which had been his 'Boadicea', the prize poem for the Chancellor's English Medal when he had been an undergraduate himself at Trinity. He was much admired, rather than loved, by his students: "a very consummate man ... and far from a mere geometer";[30]"generous, open-hearted, disinterested and noble-minded."[31] Though considered by many to be distant and too preoccupied with his own studies, Whewell made a point of giving himself as much as he could to his students: just as Charles and Frederick were preparing to go up to Cambridge, Whewell was writing to a friend "With the present week ... a marvellous collection of men possessing or desiring wisdom has come to occupy our time ...I am now obliged to make up my mind to belong to the persons and things that are crowding in upon me on every side."[32]

The respite provided by Charles's first vacation at Christmas 1827 was enhanced by the prevailing calm in the Rectory, for the Rector was still in France and some order had been created in the family's affairs by the continued intercession of the boys' grandfather. Eliza, however, was now growing concerned about a new problem and indeed she had cause: Edward, now nearly fifteen, was complaining of a giddiness in the head.[33] This was an early manifestation of a disorder which was to impair his mental faculties for the rest of his long life and by its nature suggests that his mental collapse had a physiological origin. Charles and Alfred stayed with their maternal grandmother in Louth for part of the vacation, their last visit to her in her lifetime, for she died in her eighty-second year on 24 March. Charles was to see her on her death-bed, an experience which prompted his sonnet 'On Seeing a Child Blush on his First View of a Corpse'.[34]

The opening of 1828 found him preparing for the examination for the Bell's Scholarship. This scholarship, worth £40 a year, was founded by the Revd. William Bell in 1810 to assist "those clergymen of the Church of England whose circumstances and situations are not altogether such as to enable them to bear the whole expense of sending their sons to this University."[35] The regulations decreed that every Scholar elected on this foundation should "promise in writing to take the degree of B.A. in the most regular way". Where personal merits were equal, preference was to be given to those most in

need of assistance. No brothers could be Scholars at the same time. Those awarded the Bell's were held in some esteem: "They are always counted on as sound classics, and expected to be high in the first class, as they have been, I believe, since the Tripos was instituted",[36] wrote a member of the College at the time.

No account of Charles's efforts in taking the examination have been found, but some impression of the mild rigours experienced by the candidates may be gleaned from Henry Alford's journal. He took the examination in the following year.

March 5 [1829] - went to the schools, Tatham examiner; Greek poetry, did pretty well; out at half past two ... read till twelve.

March 6 - Schools at nine. Goldcut examined ... Had Persius set. Fifth Satire ... Read mathematics very fiercely, being afraid of the paper tomorrow. Read till four o'clock, & then went to bed.

March 7 - Intended to be up for Chapel, but too late. Read mathematics till ten, & then went to the Schools. Did better than I expected; fifteen out of thirty questions. Out at two. Went to boat race ... [37]

Charles no doubt approached the mathematics paper with similar dread, but his facility in translation from Greek verse carried him through. Alfred many years

later could recall his brother's elegant translations from Latin verse, citing the latter's rendering of the twenty-ninth line of Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue*, "incultisque rubens pendebit sentibus uva":

> And the ruddy grape shall droop from the desert thorn.[38]

The sheer hard work of examination preparation, however, did not come easily to Charles whose disposition in these years tended towards indolence. Obstacles nevertheless he learned to face and, with patience, overcome. He is in effect addressing himself in these exhortatory lines:

> On - on - in firm progression - sure and slow -
> More scorning hindrance as ye meet it more;
> Surmounting what ye cannot thorough go,
> And forcing what ye fail in climbing o'er ...[39]

Successful he was in obtaining the Scholarship, thus establishing himself publicly in his first year. The University itself was less than successful in documenting his award, for the information given to its printer for the 1828 issue of *The Cambridge University Calendar* was incomplete: only C. R. Kennedy of Trinity and J. G. Webster of Clare College[40] were named as Bell's Scholars and then only in an addendum at the beginning of the publication, for the announcement of the award

came too late for inclusion in the main body of the text. That this was the University's error and not the printer's is confirmed by the re-appearance of the same mistake in the following year's issue, even though the names this time appear in the body of the text. In the 1830 issue a deplorably futile attempt to rectify this was made: *Alfred* Tennyson was named as a third Scholar, sharing the award with Webster. This error persisted in all the issues for the next ten years. Charles was not named as a Bell's Scholar until the publication of the 1841 issue.[41]

In the course of 1828 Frederick was also to make his mark when he became a Sir William Browne's Medallist for his Greek Ode to Egypt, written in the Doric dialect and, in accordance with the regulation, in imitation of Sappho.[42] Frederick's reputation was to take on a different kind of gloss when late in the year he was sent down for three terms for non-attendance at Chapel and for being impertinent - a charge he strongly denied[43]- when called before Dr. Wordsworth. Charles himself grew lax in attendance, a fact reported[44]by his cousin, George Hildeyard Tennyson who entered Trinity in October. George, however, was also able to report that the society his cousins kept "was by no means middling". Indeed by the end of their first academic year, the brothers were certainly becoming established in their own social sphere which was to provide possibly the richest strain in their Cambridge years. Carlyle was later to observe of the Trinity undergraduates of the

late 1820s "Their life seems to have been an ardently speculating and talking one; by no means excessively restrained within limits; and in the more adventurous heads ... decidedly tending towards the latitudinarian in most things."[45] Milnes later recalled the group:

> There was Trench, the present Archbishop of Dublin, and Alford, Dean of Canterbury, both profound Scriptural philologists who have not disdained the secular muse. There was Spedding, who has, by a philosophical affinity, devoted the whole of his valuable life to the rehabilitation of the character of Lord Bacon; and there was Merivale, who - I hope by some attraction of repulsion - has devoted so much learning to the vindication of the Caesars. There were Kemble and Kinglake, the historian of our earliest civilization and of our latest war ... There was Venables, whose admirable writings, unfortunately anonymous, we are reading every day, without knowing to whom to attribute them; and there was Blakesley, the "Hertfordshire Incumbent" of the *Times*. There were sons of families which seemed to have an hereditary right to, a sort of habit of, academic distinction, like the Heaths and the Lushingtons.[46]

A great deal of the 'speculating and talking' came from the activities of the Union Debating Society which then met every Tuesday evening in a low room at the back of the Red Lion Inn. In the May preceding the entry of

the Tennysons into Trinity the motion for debate had been 'Is the character and tendency of Lord Byron's Poetry deserving on the whole of our approbation?'[47] By a large majority the house voted against Byron, persuaded no doubt by the oratorical skills of John Sterling,[48]the proposer and opening speaker, but also indicating how much Byron's sway was then on the wane. The Byron mystique was losing its hold. For Charles and Alfred, their own publication still available for purchase in Louth and London bookshops, this came as a jolt when they arrived on the Cambridge scene and it is likely that they were not inclined to speak freely of their indebtedness to the poet now presented to them as démodé. What they would not have been prepared for at all was the growing ascendancy, among a certain set, of Wordsworth and Coleridge and a little later the sudden ascendancy of Shelley and Keats.

"Coleridge and Wordsworth were our principal divinities," recalled Charles Merivale in later years, "and Hare and Thirlwall" (respectively Greek and Latin Lecturers at Trinity) "were regarded as their prophets."[49] It may seem surprising that Wordsworth, by then a thoroughly respectable man of letters, should have been congenial to men of youthful, liberal ideas; but it was his moral fervor and it was Coleridge's metaphysical potency which took a hold on their thinking. Hare and Thirwall, both highly versed in current German metaphysics,[50] embraced Coleridge as the English medium for German philosophy. "We began to

think that we had a mission," Merivale continues, "to enlighten the world upon things intellectual and spiritual. We held established principles, especially in poetry and metaphysics." Their enthusiasm shines through their letters to each other: "I have become a lover of Wordsworth," declares Blakesley to Kemble. "Oh! that Shelley had combined Wordsworth's view of things with his own vigor and power. What a monster of beauty he would have been."[51] "I rejoice to hear you are studying Wordsworth," writes Trench to Milnes; "he brings the mind to a sound and healthy tone; do you not find him and Byron as the opposite ends of a balance [?]"[52]

In November 1828 the Union debated the motion 'Is Wordsworth or Lord Byron the greater poet?' The issue raised such a storm of passion that the debate ended in uproar. This intense discourse on poetry - a Union debate in the previous November had been 'Is Poetry beneficial to Mankind?' the house deciding in favour of the affirmative, 73 votes to 3 - was to become for both Alfred and Charles central in their Cambridge years. Not only was Charles in these years able to establish a poetic voice markedly his own, he was to receive, in the congeniality of friendship and converse, a sympathetic hearing and such encouragement as was required by his diffident nature.

Certainly by the time they reached their second Christmas vacation, all the brothers had developed, in the eyes of their grandfather, such a strident

individuality, it gave him cause for concern: "Charles and Alfred left me on Friday," he wrote. "They did not act disrespectably [sic] to me, but they are so untoward & disorderly & so unlike other people I don't know what will become of them or what can be done with or about them ... Those three boys so far from having improved in manner or manners are worse since they went to Cambridge."[53] He was not only disconcerted by them, particularly by Frederick who was rusticated at the time, but exasperated as he tried to impress upon them the practical necessity of preparing themselves for their future lives. Thanking his father for the good advice he had given Alfred and Charles, the Rector told him that they had "certainly been egregiously misled by Frederick ... who supposes himself authorized to prescribe laws for the management of my family ...he pays not the least respect to any authority ... "[54] The two younger brothers returned to Cambridge leaving Frederick so far advanced in truculence his father's anger broke beyond bounds: "He behaved so egregiously ill that I was obliged to send for the Constable to turn him out of my house ... I am resolved never to receive him into my house again."[55]

In fact a scene of frightening violence had shaken the family at Somersby. In uncontrollable rage and in the presence of his wife, the Rector had threatened to take Frederick's life with a knife and, with "such degrading epithets ... as a husband & a Father & above all a person of his sacred profession ought particularly

to avoid,"[56]terrified them all with a loaded gun. The result was that Frederick, after three days in the care of the Constable, moved to his Aunt Mary Anne Fytche's house in Louth. Eliza in fear for her own life and for the lives of her children, took them with her to the home of her brother, John Fytche, leaving the Rector "feeding upon himself, & most miserable,"[57]as his friend the Revd. T. H. Rawnsley described him, recommending that he should not join his family but go abroad. This the Rector indeed did in the middle of May, but not before first altering his will: lands at Grasby, which were his on devise and consequent upon the death of his own father, he had originally left to Frederick; now he revoked this bequest and transferred it wholly to Charles. Thus having disinherited his eldest son, he left the country and was away for over a year.[58]

One melancholy result of the Rector's self-absorption was his failure to perceive the increasingly pitiable plight of Edward whom he described to his father as "beginning to be what you call chippy and unmanageable ... & would fancy that he had a hundred complaints ... a very awkward & indolent fellow who fancies himself to be a superior genius."[59] The excessive zeal, aggravated by alcohol, with which the Rector hypercritically set about even his own wife and children can be seen as an attempt on his part to impose order on what was becoming for him a world of chaos. He did not see himself as the source of that chaos. We cannot know for certain, but it is possible that it was his brutal

treatment of his wife, a violation of his marriage vows, which prompted Charles's question

> How can the sweetness of a gentle mind
> Pall on thy Spirit? say, it is not so!
> Her eyes are mournful and her sorrows flow
> For that she fears her hands have fail'd to bind
> The tie of mutual wishes round thy heart ... [60]

With this frightening domestic disaster in the background, Charles continued his Cambridge studies. Though the worst of the violence took place after the commencement of the Easter term, he would have been fully apprised of the awfulness of the situation by Frederick who returned to Cambridge, though not yet resuming his studies, in the early June of 1829. Far though Charles's Cambridge life was from the current horror of his Lincolnshire home, it could not be dismissed and his need was to accommodate both worlds into his perceptions.

The reflective side of Charles's nature was increasingly satisfied by his contact with friends for whom the contemplation of poetry needed a vocal outlet. He was a member of one of the many private debating societies, Rochfort's,[61] which was much occupied with the issues of poetry. "Rochfort's is not very prosperous," wrote Arthur Henry Hallam,[62] who had come up to Trinity in the October of 1828, "but more sense is talked there than at the Union; and it contains a very

fair Florigelium of University talent. Several of the literary contributions are excellent. Among the questions we have discussed there are ... the characters of Milton, of Burke, & of Johnson [and] whether it is in Poetry,or in Science, that the exertions of Genius have been most beneficial."[63] Hallam was elected President of Rochfort's in February 1829.[64]

He was an Etonian and was thus known to Frederick, but between his leaving Eton and his appearance at Trinity he had spent the winter of 1827-1828 on the continent, mainly in Italy whose language and literature held a strong fascination for him. He had been known as the best poet at Eton in 1826 and, although he was later to abandon such notions, he entered Cambridge feeling that his destiny was that of a poet. Even at the end of his first academic year he was able to write to his friend Milnes "My poetical faculty has developed itself marvellously: it burns now in my heart: God grant me if I am to have a Poet's destiny, at least a Poet's power!"[65] That he lacked the "Poet's power" was a reality partly brought in upon him by his contact with Alfred who was a fellow-competitor for the Chancellor's Gold Medal for English verse.[66]

Apart from a graceful compliment in one of his sonnets,[67]Charles has left no eulogy to Hallam comparable with those left by other members of the Trinity circle; but the warmth of Hallam's nature and the "vivacity of his affections,"[68]his enthusiasm and his wide-ranging interests, appear to have captivated all the Tennyson

family. Milnes was later to speak for all the Trinity circle when he recalled Hallam as "... a beloved friend .. a delightful companion, ... a most wise and influential counsellor in all the serious concerns of existence ... an incomparable critic in all our literary efforts."[69] Certainly Hallam's relationship with Alfred, thoroughly documented as it has been, was of greater consequence to the latter, but some aspects of his friendship with Charles are worthy of consideration, for they may illuminate our picture of Charles's poetic development. For one thing, we must account for Charles's sudden appearance as a sonneteer when he published his first independent volume in 1830.

Precisely when they met cannot be established. Vail Motter deduces from the text of *In Memoriam A. H. H.* - somewhat riskily using the poem as a historical document - that Alfred first met Hallam in April 1829.[70] Charles met him earlier than this, in the rooms of Rochfort's Debating Society of which Hallam was already a member in the March of that year. They could have been introduced, a possibility seemingly not considered elsewhere, by John Frere who was an intimate friend of Hallam from Eton days, described by Hallam as his *only* true friend in his early months at Trinity.[71] Frere had already become a friend of he Tennysons by the previous October when they introduced him to their cousin, George Hildeyard.[72] What is certain is the fact that when they did meet, Charles was already established in his circle as a poet of some consequence, even though his Cambridge

poems were still only in manuscript. Merivale accords him the poet's status as early as April 1828: "I have got the third of the Tennysons in my room, who is an immense poet, *as indeed are all the tribe*".[73] [My italics].

In the spring of 1829 Hallam was already submitting poems for publication in the *Athenaeum*, a periodical which, between 1828 and 1830, was under the editorial control of F. D. Maurice and John Sterling. Of Hallam's four poems, two were Italian sonnets; the others were 'Two Sonnets Purporting to be Written in the Protestant Burial Ground at Rome by Moonlight', relating to the graves of Shelley and Keats.[74] Hallam's reading in Italian literature had naturally led him to the early sonnet form and particularly to the sonnets of Dante, whose *Vita Nuova* he was later to prepare for publication in translation.[75] Late in 1829 we find him addressing a number of sonnets to Charles's sister, Emily, and exchanging sonnets in his correspondence with Milnes: "Write a sonnet to me on the evening of the 20th Septr.; I will write one to you at the same time; between seven and eight, if possible".[76] We find other members of the Trinity circle using the form throughout 1829 and 1830: Trench, with his sonnets "I stood beside a pool, from whence ascended" and 'The Herring-Fishers of Loch Fyne', dated respectively 18 February 1829 and 15 March 1829; Alford, with his sonnet "O, when shall this frail tenement of clay", written in his journal on 22 August 1830 and reciting his sonnets at "a poetical society at

Tennant's" on 31 October 1830;[77] Kemble addressing Charles in an unpublished sonnet:

To Charles Tennyson

Who dared to breathe the dull inglorious lye
That all were dead to whom the indwelling might
Of beauty had revealed in sound and sight
Primaeval secrets from beyond the sky?
Oh never wilt thou fail, deep Poesy;
While man survives and nature, still wilt thou
Serenely guide, with thy unclouded brow
The world bewildered lost humanity!
There is, there is a God amongst us yet,
Strong to inspire, most mighty to uphold
The strength he hath inspired! Is not his seal
Stamped, friend, on thee! Then onward, nor forget
That far beyond the earth are thrones of gold
Built firm, without the revenge of Fortune's wheel.[78]

Hallam was to address three sonnets to Charles: "Yes, Charles, a chain was forged in perfect gold", containing the warm tribute "True hearted man and friend"; "I had a thought in which I loved to be"; and "When gentle fingers cease to touch the string", dated 1831 and containing the apology

Then trust me, Charles, nor let it cause thee smart
That seldom in my songs thy name is seen,

When most I loved, I most have silent been.[79]

What is apparent here is that the sonnet was very much in vogue in the Trinity circle, all of whom of course were well acquainted with the sonnets of Coleridge and, more especially, of Wordsworth. What cannot be deduced from this small survey is Hallam's predominating influence. Charles was never to indicate that Hallam had an influence on him in this matter and although two of the sonnets in *Sonnets and Fugitive Pieces* are addressed to Hallam, one of them referring to his great qualities, nowhere in them does he suggest that the poetic medium of his choice was in any way promoted by Hallam's attraction to the form. What may be suggested, however, is that Hallam, whose own volume of poems was to follow shortly on Charles's,[80] was very close to the fulcrum of the group's social ethos and that his tastes and stimulus cannot be entirely dismissed. Twenty-five of the poems in his collection were, after all, sonnets, as were over half of those appearing in his poetic Remains.

It is equally difficult to take a pragmatic view in the suggestion that he was a major influence on Charles's poetic thinking, but it cannot but be noted that Shelleyan and Keatsian influences were to be manifest in Charles's sonnets and Hallam may have played some part in this. Hallam it certainly was who gathered forces to bring out the first English edition of Shelley's 'Adonais', printed first in Pisa. He was said

to have brought the Italian edition with him when he entered Trinity. Hallam, however, was then by no means a convinced follower of Shelley: "I cannot bring myself to think Percy Bysshe a fine poet", he confessed to Gladstone three weeks after taking up residence.[81] Three years later, his stance is quite different: "I have not ceased, & shall not, to regard [Shelley] as one of the most remarkable men, & greatest poets whom this country ... has produced."[82]

In the course of his Trinity years Hallam was much caught up in the process of raising the name of Shelley from obscurity and indeed from infamy. Both Keats and Shelley had been poets of youth who had been spurned by the literary world and their appeal owed not a little to this fact. With missionary zeal, Hallam, in December 1829, set off for Oxford with Milnes to promote Shelley's claim to higher poetic merit against Byron's in an Oxford Union Debate. But the proselytizing on Shelley's behalf was by no means confined to Hallam and Milnes: Blakesley, in a letter to Kemble,[83] describes the latter as "the greatest Apostle of the Gentiles sent to preach Shelley & Coleridge" and in the same letter recounts how Trench - who visited the graves in Rome in February 1830 - was "engaged in the same great work among the ladies of Seville", while Donne was "very anxious for the publication of the whole of Shelley" and he, Blakesley, was projecting a volume to be entitled 'Beauties of Shelley'. Milnes, close enough friend of Charles to invite him to accompany him to France in the

Summer of 1829,[84] was, of course, to become the first official biographer of Keats. Charles, whom Francis Doyle described as "by no means one of the set",[85] expresses no particular predilection for either poet in any of his Cambridge letters, though, as late as 1860, a Lincolnshire neighbour, Edward Peacock, discovered that Charles admired Shelley.[86]

Sonnets and Fugitive Pieces contains fifty sonnets and fifteen lyrics. In structure the sonnets are remarkable for their variety: twenty-eight of them have a rhyme-scheme not repeated in any other and the rhyme-scheme of seven sonnets is repeated only once. The most commonly-repeated form is that of a run of alternating rhymes from beginning to end: it is employed in six sonnets. They are far from being Italianate; indeed in only one sonnet - 'Greece' [entitled 'Greece: An Aspiration' in *Collected Sonnets Old and New*, 1880][87] - does he employ a repeated quatrain in the octave and his observance of the break between the octave and the sestet is capricious. Fourteen of them betray an attraction towards Shakespeare's use of the final rhyming couplet. Whatever Charles might have imbibed from Hallam's Italianate tastes, it is not to be found in the form of these sonnets or in any subsequent ones. As a poet who was very conscious of his role as a "maker" of poems, he was obviously fully conversant with traditional sonnet forms, so that his non-adherence to strictly orthodox forms cannot be seen as the outcome of

literary ignorance; what he needed was flexibility of form to match the wide variety of his subject matter.

As for the voice which finds utterance in these poems, we see, in comparing most of them with those published in 1827, a marked change of manner, for here the voice is, in the main, what M. H. Abrams would call "expressive".[88] In the earlier volume it is not always possible to separate the poems of posture, wherein the poet adopts a *persona* for the expression of what he considers traditional 'poetic' sentiments, from the poems of purely self-expressive utterance. In *Sonnets and Fugitive Pieces* there is, to a great degree, an abandonment of mask or pose, so that the voice of a large number of these poems may be heard to express the sentiments of their author directly, the primary sources and subject matter being "the attributes and actions of the poet's own mind; or if aspects of the external world, then these only as they are converted from fact to poetry by the feelings and operations of the poet's mind."[89] Such a representation of poetry's function was of course promulgated by Wordsworth and it is evident from this volume that Charles had imbibed much of Wordsworth's thinking on this matter.

One literary commentator has observed that "religion and nature description were the principal subjects for sonneteers from 1828 to 1850",[90]but this is not the impression to be gained from a perusal of this volume. It does indeed contain poems of Christian sentiment and poems dealing with landscape and sentient

nature, but in greater abundance we find love poems, reflections on death and sorrow, exhortatory addresses, poems on oppression and war, observations on marriage, on creeds and on the creation of poetry itself. Only three sonnets and two lyrics give expression to religious sentiment: one lyric, 'We all must die ...', with its avowal of faith in the after-life for the good and deserving, looks back to similar poems in the 1827 volume and the other, 'And art thou gone unto the skies' is a reworking of the same theme. [Neither lyric was ever re-published]. The former has an Augustan deistic fervour:

> Might I with nearer view inspect
> The dread Unknown, the King of Kings,
> And grasp with angel-intellect
> Thy nature, O thou Life of things!

As for the sonnets, one, Sonnet XXXIV ['An English Church', 1880], declares Charles's love of the "English church, the Home of prayer", but goes no further than this, while another, Sonnet XXX, 'O God impart Thy blessing to my cries', is a positive statement of love for Christ but betrays a weakness of commitment:

> Tho' I trust deeply, yet I daily err;
> The waters of my heart are oft astir,
> An Angel's there! and yet I cannot rise!

The third, Sonnet XX ['Collision of the "Ayr" and "Comet" Steamboats', 1880],[91] somewhat simplistically regrets that Christ is not alive to revive the victims of a fearful accident.

In these few poems, a small number from a poet shortly to take the cloth, the Christian viewpoint is variable and unsteady. From the lyric 'We all must die ...' one might judge only that he was bottomed in the faith he inherited from his father.[92] Certainly the poems addressed to the subject of death, 'On Seeing a Child Blush on His First View of a Corpse', Sonnet XXIX ['Death and its Antidote', 1880] and 'A Father to His Sleeping Child', express little more than a sense of fear at the thought of physical annihilation.

Presented with such small evidence of Christian commitment, we may ask what commitment Charles was at this time prepared to make. The answer lies most distinctly in his sonnet 'Evening' ['A Calm Evening', 1880] with its fulsome response to the physical world:

> See'st thou how clear and sharp the shadows are
> Amongst the cattle on yon ridgy field,
> So softly glooming amid light so fair;-
> Yon mighty trees no blast may dare to wield;
> The things that own most motion and most sound
> Are tranc'd and silent in a golden swound:
> Where is the wind? not in yon glassy sky -
> Not in the trees - what deep tranquillity
> Has hushed his voice? methinks so calm should fall

The Eve before the great millennial morn,
Before the first of those high days is born
Whose placid tenor shall be peace to all:
Sink deeply in my thought, surpassing scene!
And be thy memory clear, for I would live therein!

This is the physical world of a particular order. It is not the world of stress, of mighty forms, of sublime power or dizzying prospect. Put plainly, it is a domestic scene of cows in a field on a still evening. There is a faintness of light, a sharpness of shadow, an intensity of silence and Charles's response is not one of rapture, but of raptness. The poem is Wordsworthian in its representation of the "eye made quiet by the power / Of harmony",[93] but it does not go so far as to adopt Wordsworth's moral stand: it merely presents a mind wishing to become as one with the harmony, untroubled by the expectation of instruction from the experience. Nature here may indeed be the anchor of Charles's purest thoughts and the guardian of his heart, but there is no suggestion that it would be the soul of all his moral being. What he is seeking here is a haven of comfort and security far from troubled thought and distressful circumstance: this he would fain cling to. The same need is expressed in Sonnet XLVI ['A Forest Lake', 1880], wherein, presenting scenes of gentle, pastoral delight ("breathing morn", "clearing twilight", "cool eve" - all muted aspects of the day's charms), he pleads "may I be there". What he desires is not merely

the treasured pleasure of the moment, but a state of equilibrium: he would have the scene sink deeply in his *thought*. What he shrinks from is threat, disturbance, disorder, that state of dis-harmony to be found in his brother Edward's sonnet 'Why do I weep when gazing on that field?'

The difficulty of attainment, of securely holding the desired object, is nevertheless evident to him and, in one of his most poignant sonnets, Sonnet XVIII [Never re-published in his lifetime], he expresses what will be a recurrent theme in his work, at the centre of his artistic perception, the evasiveness of that which is sought:

We cannot keep delight - we cannot tell
One tale of steady bliss, unwarp'd, uncrost,
The timid guest anticipates farewell,
And will not stay to hear it from his host!
I saw a child upon a Summer's day,
A child upon the margin of a pond,
Catch at the boughs that came within his way,
From a fair fruit-tree on the bank beyond;
The gale that sway'd them from him aye arose,
And seldom sank into such kindly calm
As gave his hand upon the bunch to close,
Which then but left its fragrance on his palm;
For the wind woke anew from its repose,
And bore the fruit away, but wafted all its balm.

The image employed here, potently memorable, will be recalled in a late sonnet, 'It was her first sweet child, her heart's delight',[94] in which the mother of a mortally ill child

> toss'd him fondly with an upward eye:
> She seem'd as buoyant as a summer spray
> That dances with a blossom on its breast,
> Nor knows how soon it will be borne away.

The desired object of 'We cannot keep delight ...' is not wholly attainable, but it has been cursorily experienced and the beauty of the experience is impressed on the child's consciousness. This may be a re-assurance, but equally it could be but a cruel reminder of the transience of delight, recalling Keats's "Joy, whose hand is ever at his lips / Bidding adieu". The fragrance left on the child's palm is nevertheless the stuff of poetry and there can be little doubt that Charles identifies with the child's experience in what is a metaphor of the workings of the poetic imagination. In this poem he moves somewhat nearer Wordsworth's view of the remembered worth of the experienced moment.

Charles's poetic creativity is of a kind which normally works from a perception of flux *within* the experience. This is not yet fully developed in 1830, but his response to temporal movement is as keenly manifest here as his response to spatial experience. Hence we find, in these few sonnets addressed to the

workings of the natural world, a pre-occupation with moments of change in diurnal, seasonal or climatic conditions: the soft "glooming" of day moving towards night in 'Evening'; twilight in 'O Lake of sylvan shore'; the "shifting sunsets" of Sonnet VII ['Love of Home. A Rejoinder', 1880]; the "paling light" and "dank twilight" of Sonnet XI ['A Summer Twilight', 1880]; the whole image of 'Autumn' with its exquisite vision of

> a latter-flow'ring rose,
> Child of the summer hours, but blooming here,
> Far down the vista of the fading year.

Fadings and returns of light and patterns of shade moving over natural forms: these will ever be sources of intense fascination to him, for it is the delicate rather than the robust which captures his imagination.

> It is a Summer's gloaming, faint and sweet,
> A gloaming brighten'd by an infant moon
> Fraught with the fairest light of middle June;
> The garden path rings hard beneath my feet,
> And hark, O hear I not the gentle dews
> Fretting the silent forest in his sleep?
> Or does the stir of housing insects creep
> Thus faintly on mine ear? day's many hues
> Wan'd with the paling light and are no more,
> And none but drowsy pinions beat the air--
> The bat is circling softly by my door,

And silent as the snow-flake leaves his lair,
In the dank twilight flitting here and there,
Wheeling the self-same circuit o'er and o'er.

['A Summer Twilight', 1880]

So it is that the creatures which inhabit his landscapes are the gentle or the frail. The robin ('To a Redbreast'), the cicala ('Cicala, we pronounce thee blest'), the pigeons, the lark, the nightingale, all are the subjects of his fancy in these poems. Delicate they are, but some are here invested in his imagination with transcendent qualities of potent significance, as they are in the imagination of Shelley: here the pigeons are "blest", a "happy, happy race" whose joy contrasts sharply with man's "anxious inquest". Their lives, like the lark's, are expressive of harmony:

Peace dwells with thee for ever, not the peace
Of cool reflection, but redundant glee,
And with such tokens of wild ease
Thou dost reveal thy proud immunity
From mortal care ...

('To the Lark')

It is significant that Charles here utilises the phraseology and linguistic effects of Shelley and of Keats too, plainly finding in their sympathies a reflection of his own. The Keatsian quality of 'Autumn' cannot but be noticed:

... about him stray
The volant sweets o' the trailing mignonette
And odours vague that haunt the year's decay:
The crush of leaves is heard beneath his feet

- a quality acquired by Alfred too in his song 'A spirit haunts the year's last hours'. The imaginative sympathies, however, will not be consistently sustained beyond this volume, for the creatures of his later poetry, though still delicate, are like the robin in this volume, the quintessence of vulnerability; his thinking, in his very last works, however, will return in this direction.

Though Charles's indebtedness to both Wordsworth and to poets of the next generation has been observed here, it is equally apparent that he takes his impulse in these delicate pastorals from earlier poets, from Cowper, Thomson and indeed from Virgil. His declared poetic manifesto is nevertheless Shelleyan, for the poet to him is a man endowed with special powers:

No trace is left upon the vulgar mind
By shapes which form upon the poet's thought
In instant symmetry: all eyes are blind
Save his ...

Also in his representation of the sources of artistic creation he appears to be quite clearly in accord with Romantic principles:

> How did his soul, 'mid poverty and ill,
> Find leisure to endow itself so well?
> Methinks, one summer's eve, he first did hear
> The rise and fall of music in his heart,
> Wild notes, a-dropping downward without art ...
>
> 'On a Genius of Lowly Estate'

Such a concept, vague in its terms of reference, is not, however, natural to him and one feels that here he is merely being swept along with Cambridge enthusiasms he could not in all truth share. His polished diction, his craftsmanship, his collected manner, all reveal a poet of sturdier sensibilities.

Fourteen of the poems are addressed to women or to the subject of love. The closing couplet of 'To --' carries a distinct echo of the penetrating asperity of Pope:

> E'en thus thy cheek hast lost its vital glow,
> Because there is no source of kindly warmth below!

while the plaintive love-lorn qualities of the Elizabethan lyric may be found in 'To a Lady Playing Her Own Music on the Harp' ['A Mourning Lover', 1880].

'Dixit et Advertens etc' [Not published in 1880] has the earthy quality of Restoration verse:

..

When downward flowed her gather'd vest,
And godhead o'er the huntress stole,
How lovely must the change have been!
How beautiful the shining mien!

I would I had been there to see
That burst of nobler charms ...

Such love poems reveal, in their wayward variety, a poeticising manner and thereby suggest that, though the impulse was real enough to him, the expression gave him considerable difficulty. There is in them a posturing, a loss of that "expressive" quality so markedly in evidence elsewhere in the volume, a failure of nerve. One wonders what the role of women will be to him in future years, for in these early poems womankind barely emerges as an entity of the living world, remaining in a twilight of 'poetical' conception. It is notable that he addresses even his own sister, Mary, as if he were a troubadour:

I would I were a bard of mightier fame,
Then would this tribute of more price have been
And thou hadst worn a costlier pledge, in sign
Of my deep love ...

Much more manageable to him is the subject of war in the sonnet of that title, with its terse syntax and its Byronic ring:

> Carnage he means, when he cries 'Victory'

and in the pell-mell one-sentence movement of 'Martial Ardour in Age'. There is no questioning the sincerity of his tribute to Greece and its heritage, for the language of the pastoral tradition employed in the poem is a tribute in itself:

> And ye are free, Arcadian nightingales,
> To lavish on the air your tuneful woes,
> That sweetly rise and with all sweetness close
> Where high Lycaeus breathes of rural tales
> And Pan, and jealous Lucretil surpast ...
>
> ['Greece: An Aspiration', 1880. Much altered]

In this poem he indicates, in the clearest terms, how indebted he feels himself to that inheritance:

> The fanes upon each ruin-cover'd Wold,
> They too are free to crumble undefac'd,
> For Britain's future poets to behold,
> That they may hold that sum of memories fast
> Which is their dowry from the days of old.

There was much in this volume to delight his Cambridge friends, for here they could see, imaginatively reflected, the literary principles of the poets they read and talked about, a delicacy of observation and technique they aspired to and a tone of classical restraint their studies bred in them. Though an originality is apparent in many of the poems, they are not on the whole exploratory or startlingly innovative and thus do not disturb or over-heatedly excite, but they posed less of a risk to the 1830 mind than the poems of Alfred, who was in his collection to push venturesomely into unknown territory.

Sonnets and Fugitive Pieces was published on 14 March 1830 by the Cambridge publisher B. Bridges. It was a small octavo volume in drab paper boards and with a paper label, so slim Alfred described it as "about the smallest book in the nineteenth century".[95] It sold well, for it went into a second issue, this time over the imprint of both Bridges and his London agent, John Richardson of the Royal Exchange.[96] Copies were quickly acquired by Charles's friends Brookfield[97]and Tennant,[98]by Hallam who gave one to James Milnes Gaskell,[99]and by Spedding who gave one to his brother Edward.[100] Donne described the volume to Trench as "a little volume of sonnets of great beauty. [The author's] imagination is of the right mould - a strong graft on Wordsworth, and a fine outgrowth of healthy feelings; but he wants your fine moral sensibility to the force and integrity of single words, the hewn stones of the

arch, each supporting each, and all leaning on the keystone, the prime idea of the poem".[101] Trench, whom Hallam described as "a most excellent creature and right poetical"[102],was well-disposed towards the volume, finding at least one of the poems, 'On Startling some Pigeons', "perfect". He disagreed with Donne on the matter of lineage: "I would rather liken the sonnets to Keats than to Wordsworth. He sufficiently modifies the objects of eye and ear by the shaping imagination".[103] The volume even caught the attention of the Master of Trinity, Dr Wordsworth, who praised Charles to his face. Spedding described the scene: "The Master sent for him the other day and complimented him till he could hardly stand, and did actually drop his glove - upon which the Master stooped and picked it up for him - an honour which affected the poet beyond all the compliments which went before ..."[104]The modest Charles would have been equally pleased to learn that a copy had made its way to the Mechanics' Institution in Louth.[105]

The young poet could return to Lincolnshire at the end of the Easter term with no small satisfaction. Eliza was at home to beam upon him with maternal pride and Mary, his dedicatee, with sisterly gratitude. The Rectory was for the time free of the oppressive spirit of his father, who was still abroad, and Alfred brought Hallam to Somersby so that they could work on a joint publication of poems. This brief interlude was idyllic. Hallam was moved to declare "If I die I hope to be buried here: for never in my life, I think, have I loved

a place more ... I have floated along a delicious dream of music and poetry and riding and dancing and greenwood dinners and ladies' conversation".[106] He was falling in love with Charles's sister Emily who became deeply associated in his imagination not only with the peaceful loveliness of the Rectory in the Spring, but with the embracing aura of security and shared pleasures it afforded. The sense of place potently enters the verses he was later to address to her:

Those Gothic windows are before me now,
Which long have shone dim-lighted in my mind;
That slope of softest green, the brook below,
Old musty stalls, and tedded hay behind[107]

and again:

Elms full with voice of stately winged rooks
Slim cherry trees wall propped for lack of power,
And you ye blackthorns with your jubilant flower
Silvering for her the green of quiet nooks[108]

The daughters of Dr Tennyson's attorney friend, Henry Sellwood, came over from Horncastle during this vacation. Emily was nearly seventeen, Anne was fifteen and Louisa fourteen. Their schooling had taken them away from Lincolnshire much of the year and they must have altered considerably since they were first known to the Tennysons.[109] It was during a walk in Holywell Wood

that Spring that Alfred saw Emily, according to her later testimony,[110] with fresh and surprised eyes, but the delights of this period notwithstanding, the Tennysons were fully aware of the darkness of the plight of their father far off in Switzerland and that of their brother Edward whose lassitude and despondency were by no means alleviated. The sombre realities beyond the 'dancing and greenwood-dinners' were not easily dismissed.

With the resumption of their studies in Cambridge, Alfred and Hallam faced the collapse of their planned venture of poems published co-jointly, for Hallam's father forbade it. Alfred proceeded with publication alone and *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical* appeared in June. On its appearance, friends rallied to bring the work of the two brothers to a wider audience. Tennant told Donne that the poets needed "some helping hand in the reviews & other authorised guides of the public taste: if you have any snug corner in any of the said poetometers I recommend you to write a notice if not a full & critical review."[111] He solicited Alford's opinion which the latter in fact noted in his journal: "Looked over both the Tennysons' poems at night: exquisite fellows. I know no two books of poetry which have given me so much pleasure as their works."[112] Spedding sent a copy of Charles's poems to Southey,[113] whose estimate of them is not known; Spedding may also have been instrumental in Wordsworth's acquiring a copy too. Wordsworth had certainly become acquainted with both volumes on, if not before, his visit to Cambridge in November: "We have

also a respectable show of blossom in poetry,"he wrote, "- two brothers of the name of Tennyson, one in particular not a little promising".[114] This tantalisingly vague eulogy has led to the assumption that it was Alfed whom Wordsworth preferred.[115] In 1830 this was not so; Charles, in his opinion, was the more promising. He was, however, to change his mind, as Emerson was to reveal: "At Ambleside, in March, 1848, I was for a couple of days the guest of Miss Martineau ... On Sunday afternoon, I accompanied her to Rydal Mount ... We found Mr Wordsworth asleep on the sofa .. Tennyson he thinks a right poetic genius, though with some affectation. He had thought an elder brother of Tennyson at first the better poet, but must now reckon Alfred the true one ... "[116]

Charles's volume had also been put into the hands of Coleridge, quite possibly by Tennant. Tennant was Senior Grecian at Christ's Hospital School in the City of London, as much earlier had been Coleridge. He knew Coleridge personally and indeed "sat for months at the feet of Coleridge, and impowered his own mind with some of those tones, from the world of mystery", as Hallam expressed it.[117] It was an enterprising gesture to send the volume to Coleridge who had established his own reputation as a sonneteer with his first volume *Poems on Various Subjects* in 1795. Half of its contents were sonnets and, like Charles's, it was a very slim volume indeed. He had also championed the work of other sonneteers, such as Bowles, in his little untitled

pamphlet now known as *Sonnets from Various Authors* in 1796. The mild preface to this slight collection outlines the historical development of the sonnet and recommends this poetic form:

> Such compositions generate a habit of thought highly favourable to delicacy of character. They create a sweet and indissoluble union between the intellectual and the material world.

More importantly, in the choice of contents Coleridge was revealed as a champion of the loose English sonnet form and stood firmly against the regular Italian (Petrarchan or Miltonic) form. Indeed in his preface he had denounced William Preston's rules for the sonnet as laid down by Boileau, which in turn had been based on Petrarch's practice. Coleridge's own sonnet contributions to the pamphlet manifest this contempt, for they are highly irregular. Coleridge then would be expected to view the enormous variety and freedom of form in Charles's sonnets with equanimity; in this matter at least he was a safe choice as a critic.[118] His willingness to give critical appraisals of new works gratis was well-known and he received many volumes from supplicant authors. Charles Lamb observed that when a book is lent "let it be to such a one as S. T. C. - he will return them ... with usury; enriched with annotations, tripling their value. I have had

experience ... I counsel thee, shut not thy heart, nor thy library, against S.T.C ."[119]

Charles's volume was in Coleridge's hands by 18 April, when he recorded his reaction to the poems: "Tennyson's sonnets, such as I have seen, have many of the characteristic excellences of those of Wordsworth and Southey".[120] This, to be sure, is qualified by his assertion that "in the present age, it is next to impossible to predict from specimens, however favourable, that a young man will turn out a great poet, or rather a poet at all." The volume was back in the Tennysons' hands by 27 July[121]and it was indeed returned with a fair body of pencilled comment from Coleridge in it.[122]

An examination of the volume reveals not only pencilled observations, but also pencilled marginal markings by certain fragments of the poems. The markings without comment and the markings with comment are consistently made and so the former may be attributed to Coleridge too. The last of the markings apears on page 79 of the 83-page volume, indicating that Coleridge at least perused most of the work. His comments appear in the margins of fifteen of the sixty-five poems, beginning with Sonnet V ('To the Lark') and ending with Sonnet XXII ('See'st thou her blushes ...'). Twice he accuses Charles of imprecision in the use of particular words: the word 'sightless' in the lines

Strong as the centre of the deep Maelstroom

When flung with the calm of sightless speed

(Sonnet IX: 'Vexation waits ... ')

may mean 'unseeing' or 'unseeable'; the equivocal meaning may, he asserts, be attributed to Shakespeare who "has something to answer for". Also he finds a "listless ... key" incomprehensible:

Lifeless and listless, like a treasure's key

(Sonnet X: 'I have a circlet ... ')

and he objects to the factual imprecision of Sonnet XVIII ('We cannot keep delight ... ') with its seeming (for Coleridge appears to have mis-read the poem) reference to a tree's bearing both blooms and fruit concurrently.

Charles was to take note of these criticisms: the first two of these sonnets were to be completely re-worked for their re-publication in 1873 and the third was never to be republished at all.

Coleridge is equally fastidious on the matter of homogeneity of tone. Sonnet XIX ('Evening') troubles him with its lines

The things that own most motion and most sound
Are tranc'd and silent in a golden swound

"Swound? 'od's wounds!" he writes. "Such Gypsy Jargon suits my 'Ancient Mariner'; but surely not this highly polished & classical Diction." The word 'scene' ('Sink deeply in my thought, surpassing scene'), in the same sonnet, he calls a "Cov. Gard. & Drury Lane Word", an example of the "villainous slang fineries of the last century", and he goes so far as to suggest alternative lines of this own composition[123] in place of three in Sonnet VI ('The ocean at the bidding of the moon'). 'Swound' disappears in the 1868 republication of Sonnet XIX, though 'scene' remains. Charles was to retain his own lines in Sonnet VI.

The prevailing response of Coleridge is, however, very positive. He finds Sonnet VI, though requiring improvement, a "noble sonnet", Sonnet XXI ('On Startling some Pigeons') "a sweet sonnet" and almost "faultless". Sonnets XVI (O'erladen with sad musings ... ') and XVII ('The bliss of heaven ... ') are "good" and to Sonnet XI ('It is a summer gloaming .. ') he accords fulsome praise - recorded in part in his *Table Talk* - "This (and indeed a large proportion of these Sonnets) stands between Wordsworth's and Southey's and partakes of the excellencies of both." Sonnet V ('To the Lark') he finds "among the best sonnets in the language" and his overall estimation, written above, but not particularly relating to, Sonnet XII, is his most generous gloss: "That Tennyson possesses poetic taste with both the

feeling and the plastic power of a Poet (the poetic Bildungstrieb) is to me evident."[124]

Charles's acceptance of the criticisms contained in these notes was typical of him. His practice of re-working sonnets itself bespeaks the acknowledgement of defect or the possibility of refinement in his own work. He was never to be as highly sensitive to criticism as was his younger brother; his modesty precluded this. Nor was he elevated to pride by Coleridge's tributes, which are never referred to in any of his extant papers. What seems to have struck Charles most on reading Coleridge's marginalia was the grievous despondency manifested in such observations as that appended to Sonnet XVI:

> It were morose not to approve these Lines. But alas! I am too old, weak and suffering, to have any taste for this filagree religion: or for any other ground of the hope of a resurrection to life but that which I breathe forth in the prayer - Almighty Father! of thy free, unmerited, yea, demerited Love & Goodness have mercy on me, thy poor, infirm, sinful and most miserable Creature, for Christ's sake! S. T. C.

To this Charles's response was "I hope Coleridge is better than he was. There was a dash of melancholy in one or two of his notes, as if illness had broken him down."[125] Solicitude speaks here. He had nothing more to say on the matter.

The brothers returned to Somersby for the summer vacation just as Alfred's *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical* was on the point of publication. They took Tennant home with them for a fortnight's stay and he was as captivated by the experience as Hallam had been in the Spring. "I think I was scarcely ever so happy," he wrote to Kemble; "they are a most enchanting family."[126] Again it was probably Tennant who ensured that a copy of Alfred's poems reached Coleridge, for it was a Somersby copy that Coleridge saw, inscribed by Alfred on a fly-leaf "Jane Tonge, from her unworthy friend the Author." Miss Tonge was the Tennyson sisters' music mistress. This Coleridge venture was, however, to say the very least, unfortunate, for the only observation Coleridge was to make was the one appended to the donor's inscription. It reads

> No imputation is here cast on the judgment of the said Jane Tonge in the choice of a friend: nor is there any lurking allusion to the well known adage, 'Great minds will descend'. Condescension is not descension -'the blue heaven bends over all'. S.T.C."

No record of this episode has been left by Alfred, by his family or by his friends: prudence possibly demanded silence. Certainly no biographer of Alfred has noticed it.

"Charles, though he burns and shines, is a lesser light than Alfred"[127]was Hallam's judgment and though

Kemble allowed that Charles's was "a small volume of superb sonnets", he could perceptively see that "in Alfred's mind the materials of the very greatest works" were "heaped in an abundance which is almost confusion."[128] While it was acknowledged that Charles had accomplished what his circle expected from him, Alfred's volume was more noted for its show of future promise and this view was to be sanctioned by the judgment of Leigh Hunt.

It was to Leigh Hunt that Hallam sent both the Tennyson volumes and it was understandable that he should do so, for Hunt had been the powerful, and lone, advocate of the qualities of Shelley and Keats when he introduced them to the public in *The Examiner* in 1816. In 1830 he became editor of *The Tatler*, maintaining his reputation for refining the literary tastes of his readers. Hallam, in his letter of introduction,[129] does try to influence Hunt's response to the volumes, vaunting Alfred, it must be said, at the expense of Charles: Alfred he presents as the true heir to Keats, "the last lineal descendant of Apollo"; Charles's verse he describes as "inferior in depth and range of powers", though "sterling" and "shewing a mind capable of noble thoughts." Hunt was not to be quite so partial, however; at least not to start with.

His lengthy review of the Tennysons' volumes - it spans two pages in each of four issues of his periodical[130] - begins with a generous tribute to both poets who, he says, "may take their stand at once among

the first poets of the day". He cannot at first formulate a preference, for on passing from one volume to the other he found that

> Alfred Tennyson seemed to have the more exuberant fancy; but then Charles might have been better able to master his; so that his fancy would be no less, but his judgment greater. On the other hand, Alfred possessed full as much imagination as Charles, and seemed to have undergone a greater range of feeling ... [W]e look upon Alfred Tennyson as knowing more at present than Charles; perhaps on that account feeling more; while on the other hand, Charles we might think able to turn his knowledge and sensibility (which are both very great) to more consistent and ample account ... Mr Alfred Tennyson ... has poems in his volume ... superior to any in Charles's. And yet, notwithstanding this, we cannot read the best productions of Charles, and not think his natural capacity as great as his brother's.

Then, after closer examination of some individual poems, by Alfred, Hunt proceeds to note the irregularities, which he considers "not of much consequence", of Charles's sonnet-form and in answer to Charles's address to his critics "if ye sternly say I cannot sing,/My sister's name is on a shamed thing!" Hunt asserts that "the name is upon a volume fit to be

bound like a casket", and he pinpoints felicities in Charles's poems.

If there are vacillations in the early part of the review, Hunt's final pronouncement is nevertheless quite unequivocal:

> We are bound to state, that the more closely we have become acquainted with Alfred Tennyson's poems, the more the author has risen upon our admiration. Perhaps we feel ourselves the more inclined to prefer him to Charles, because he seems less disposed to tie himself down to conventional notions,- less willing to blink any great questions or feeling, and to put up with a consciousness of doing so. It may itself be a mere conventional mode of talking in Charles and an assumption of the knowing: but when we see in a sonnet addressed to a friend an announcement of his intention to take orders ... we feel something come over us, which perhaps tends to make us think less of his genius than we ought.[131]

As far as Charles was concerned, the many barren years ahead were to present a seeming vindication of Hunt's final prognosis: "The one seems to be exercising his powers, the other to have arrived at the end of them."

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1 Retrospect for 1827 in *The Lincoln and Lincolnshire Cabinet for 1828* (Lincoln, 1828), p.205.

2 On 4 May 1827. *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Part 2, Vol. 6, p.141.

3 *The Literary Chronicle and Weekly Review*, 19 May 1827, p.308. It oddly gives 1820 as the date of publication.

4 Vol. 97 n.s.20: Supplement to Part I (1827), p.609.

5 Rawnsley, *Memories*, p.229. This episode presents some problems. Alfred, according to Rawnsley (p.230), later said that the Mablethorpe visit was apocryphal, but Rawnsley was inclined to accept Charles's account. For Charles, whose momentary successes in life were markedly sparser than those experienced by Alfred, this moment of triumph is likely to have remained very special in his recollections. It should be noted, however, that Rawnsley in 1900 was reproducing Charles's words twenty-four years after they were supposedly spoken and he may have coloured them. Rawnsley's sonnet 'At Mablethorpe: An Episode in the Publication of "Poems by Two Brothers"', a versified equivalent of Charles's prose account, was first published in *Sonnets Round the Coast* (1887) and a footnote on this poem's re-publication in *Valete, Tennyson, and Other Memorial Poems* (Glasgow, 1893) indicates that it was written "with [Charles's] narrative fresh in the writer's ears." Unfortunately, Rawnsley thought, according to footnotes in both volumes, that the Tennysons were still at school in Louth when their poems were published. This unreliability means that his account must be accepted with some circumspection, though by no means wholly dismissed.

6 *LALT* I, p.11.

7 Elizabeth Russell to GT, 4 June 1827. *LALT* I, p.14.

8 GCT to GT, 21 November 1827. LAO T.d'E. H148/12.

9 The chronology of events for October and November is examined by Edgar F. Shannon Jnr. in his 'Alfred Tennyson's Admission to Cambridge', *Times Literary Supplement*, 6 March 1959, p.136.

10 Eliza Tennyson to GT, 30 October 1827. *LALT* I, p.14.

11 GT to CT[d'E], 20 November 1827. *LALT* I, pp.15-16.

12 CTT to GT, 20 November 1827. *LALT* I, p.15

13 GT to CTT, 26 November 1827. *LALT* I, p.18. The letter also carries a message to Frederick urging him to appeal to his brother's common sense. LAO T.d'E. H148/13: not in *LALT*.

14 28 November 1827. LAO T.d'E. H148/15. It is not possible to judge the accuracy of Frederick's reply, for we do not know how steadfast Charles was in pressing his suit. The sensual warmth of sonnets like 'When lovers' lips from kissing disunite' (1830) should be noted, however.

15 GT to CTT, 29 November [1827], *LALT*, I, 19.

16 The information about Miss Watson appeared first in a letter from Charles Babb, the Grimsby Town Clerk, to his sister in that town, for he met the lady on board the vessel. Babb's sister showed the letter to Daubney who transcribed the relevant part to be sent to Tealby. Daubney's letter to William Cooper is dated 29 November 1827. LAO 2T.d'E. H14A/4. The letter bears on its address panel the inscriptions "respecting Miss Watson" and "Letter ab^{t} Miss Watson", both in a contemporary hand. These are overlooked by Martin who asserts (p.58) that the lady was indeed one of the Tennyson girls and "was probably Mary". He also mis-dates the incident.

Joseph Daubney (d.1837) had a legal practice in Grimsby. He had obtained his articles under Messrs. Tennyson and Main in Market Rasen.

17 CTT to GT, 12 December 1827. LAO T.d'E. H148/21.

18 "10 January 1861. Miss Watson, the old Somersby Governess, comes." Richard J. Hutchings and Brian Hinton, eds., *The Farringford Journal of Emily Tennyson 1853-1864* (Newport, I.O.W., 1986), p.96.

19 GHT to CT[d'E], 4 December 1828. LAO T.d'E. H85/23. George (1809-1871) was the eldest son of Charles's Uncle Charles. Matriculated at Trinity 1828. Left without taking his degree. Admitted to the Inner Temple 1830. Served in the Ionian Islands Civil Service. Died unmarried.

20 Christopher Wordsworth (1784-1846), brother of William. Master of Trinity 1820-41.

21 *Letters from Cambridge* (1828), pp.102-103. The author was, understandably, anonymous.

22 Connop Thirlwall (1797-1875) was later to be dismissed from Trinity for his opposition to the Chapel system.

23 Quoted in G. M. Trevelyan, *Trinity College* (Cambridge, 1943), p.95.

24 James Pope-Hennessy, *Monckton Milnes: The Years of Promise* (1949), p.11

25 John Philips Higman (1793-1855) was a Trinity Tutor 1822-1834.
George Peacock (1791-1858) became Lecturer in Mathematics at Trinity in 1815 and was Tutor 1823-1839.
Robert Wilson Evans (1789-1866) tutor at Trinity 1814-1836.

26 28 October 1827.

27 With his *Essay on Mineralogical Classification and Nomenclature* (1828).

28 *Architectural Notes on German Churches, with Remarks on the Origin of Gothic Architecture* (1830). Published anonymously. Enlarged 1835 and 1842.

29 *Herman and Dorothea, translated from the Hexameters of Göthe* (1837). *Verse Translations from the German* (1847).

30 AHH to W. E. Gladstone, 8 November [1828]. *LAHH*, p.244.

31 Kenelm Digby, n.d. Quoted in J. Willis Clark, *Old Friends at Cambridge and Elsewhere* (1900), p.24.

32 William Whewell to Lady Malcolm, 11 October 1827.
Mrs Stair Douglas, *The Life and Selections from the Correspondence of William Whewell D.D.* (1882), pp.110-111.

33 Eliza Tennyson to GT, 16 December 1827. LAO T.d'E. H148/24. Incorrectly dated 10 December 1827 in *LALT* I, p.21.

34 According to his brother Arthur, Charles saw his grandmother's corpse in the presence of his cousin, Albert Fytche, who was then eight years old. Arthur's account of this, not fully accurate in its dating of events, is given in V. C. Scott O'Connor, 'Tennyson and his Friends at Freshwater', *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, December 1897, pp.240-268. Charles's sonnet was first published in 1830 and republished in 1868.

35 *The Cambridge University Calendar for the Year 1829*

(Cambridge, [1829]), p.70.

36 *Letters from Cambridge*, p.101.

37 [Fanny Alford ed.], *Life, Journals and Letters of Henry Alford D.D.* (London, Oxford and Cambridge, 1873), p.42.

38 *Memoir*, I, p.48. Hallam Tennyson wrongly gives the date 1829 for Charles's success in obtaining the Bell's Scholarship.

39 Published 1830. Republished, under the title 'Perseverance', 1868.

40 Charles Rann Kennedy (1808-1867) went on to win the Porson Prize in 1829 and in 1830 and was the Sir William Browne's Medallist for a Greek Ode in 1829. President of the Union, 1832. He was not one of the Tennysons' circle. Josiah Gardiner Webster (1808-1880) transferred to Exeter College, Oxford, in 1829.

41 The lack of accuracy in the listings of the 1828 *Calendar* can be seen also in the naming of the Trinity Pensioners: Alfred is named; Charles is named twice; Frederick not at all.

42 Published in *Proclusiones Academicae* (Cambridge, 1828). Frederick was thus the first of the three brothers to appear in print while at Cambridge.

43 In a letter to GT, 7 June 1829. LAO T.d'E. H86/48.

44 GHT to CT[d'E], 25 October 1828. LAO T.d'E. H85/22.

45 Thomas Carlyle, *Life of John Sterling* (1851), p.46.

46 Lord Houghton (Richard Monckton Milnes), Speech on the opening of the new rooms of the Union Society, 1866. Quoted in J. Wemyss Reid, *The Life, Letters and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes, First Lord Houghton* 2 vols. (1890), 2, 161.

47 *Laws and Transactions of the Union Society* (Cambridge, 1829).

48 President of the Union in 1827. Sterling's eloquence, according to Barclay Fox, "was like a clear cascade."

49 Judith Anne Merivale ed., *Autobiography and Letters of Charles Merivale, Dean of Ely* (Oxford, 1898), p.98.

50 They collaborated in their translation of Niebuhr's *History of Rome*, 2 vols., 1828-32.

51 J. W. Blakesley to J. M. Kemble, 3 August 1829. Dunedin Public Library, New Zealand.

52 R. C. Trench to R. M. Milnes, July 1828. Quoted in Pope-Hennessy, *Monckton Milnes*, p.22.

53 GT to CT[d'E], 26 January 1829. *LALT* I, p.25.

54 GCT to GT, 4 February 1829. *LALT* I, p.25.

55 GCT to GT, [February 1829]. LAO T.d'E. H96/16.

56 Eliza Tennyson to GT, 27 February 1829. LAO T.d'E. H86/19.

57 Revd T. H. Rawnsley to GT, 12 March 1829. LAO T.d'E. H86/22. Thomas Hardwick Rawnsley (1790-1861) was Rector of Halton Holgate 1825-61.

58 The codicil to his will (LAO) is dated 12 May 1829. One of the witnesses is "Edward Wynne, Servant, 4 Park Street Westminster", the London address of GCT's brother Charles.

59 GCT to GT, 27 February 1829. LAO T.d'E. H86/20.

60 Published 1830. Republished in 1873 under the title 'To --'.

61 Formed by Horatio William Noel Rochfort (1809-1891). Of a landed Irish family, he became High Sheriff for Co. Carlow in 1840 and for Queen's County in 1845.

62 Arthur Henry Hallam (1811-1833). Admitted Pensioner, Trinity, 1827 but did not begin his studies until 1828. Son of the historian Henry Hallam. Friend of W. E. Gladstone at Eton.

63 AHH to Henry Hallam, [23 March 1829]. *LAHH*, p.288.

64 E. H. Pickering to W. E. Gladstone, 18 February 1829. British Library. Add. MS. 44352 f.106.

65 15 August [1829]. *LAHH*, p.304.

66 Alfred was declared the winner of the Chancellor's Medal for his poem 'Timbuctoo' on 6 June. He said that Hallam should have won it.

67 'To --' ('Thought travels past thee with intenser glow'), 1830. Republished 1868. The evidence for this sonnet's being addressed to Hallam is a marked copy in Lady Lennard's library (T. H. Vail Motter ed. *The Writings of Arthur Hallam* (1943), p.100.)

68 The phrase is Betty Miller's in her 'Camelot at Cambridge', *Twentieth Century* 163 (February 1958), 140.

69 Richard Monckton Milnes, *Memorials of a Tour in Some Parts of Greece* (1834), p.iv. The words are taken from the dedicatory address to Henry Hallam. The preface to this book, incidentally, contains a quotation from Charles's sonnet

'Greece. Written on Hearing the Rumour of Prince Leopold's Expedition' and the author is named.

70 T. H. Vail Motter, 'When did Tennyson Meet Hallam?' *Modern Language Notes* 57 (March 1942), 209-210.

71 AHH to W. E. Gladstone, [28 February 1829]. *LAHH*, pp.276-277.

72 GHT to CT[d'E], 25 Ocober 1828. LAO T.d'E. H85/22.

73 Charles Merivale to his father, April 1828. Judith Anne Merivale ed., *Autobiography and Letters of Charles Merivale Dean of Ely* (Oxford, 1898), p.136.

74 *Athenaeum*, 25 March 1829. Hallam's sonnets are printed over the name 'Julian'. The two Italian sonnets are 'Ahi vera donna!' and 'Pietà! Pietà!' All four sonnets were republished in his privately printed *Poems*, 1830.

75 Not published as a sequence until 1943, by Vail Motter, whose text was J. M. Heath's Commonplace Book, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. This ms notebook is described in Charles Tennyson, 'Tennyson Papers 2: J. M. Heath's Commonplace Book', *Cornhill Magazine* 153 (1936), 426-449.
Hallam's copy of the *Canzone e Sonnetti di Dante Alighieri* ..., (1809), containing his autograph and the date 1828, is in TRC.

76 AHH to R. M. Milnes, 1 September [1829]. *LAHH*, p.314.

77 *Life ..of Henry Alford* (see note 37), pp.57 and 61.

78 The sonnet is inscribed in Kemble's hand and over his signature on the blank page facing the half-title in a copy of Charles's *Sonnets and Fugitive Pieces*. The volume is in the Harry Ransome Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin. The 'God amongst us yet' could refer either to Wordsworth or to Coleridge.

79 'Yes, Charles, a chain was forged in perfect gold' was first published in Sir Charles Tennyson and F. T. Baker eds., 'Some Unpublished Poems by Arthur Henry Hallam', *Victorian Poetry* 3 (Summer 1965), Supplement. (Publications of the Tennyson Society, No. 3), p.8. The text is taken from a MS notebook, inscribed 'Emily Tennyson Feby. 16th 1836', now in TRC.
'I had a thought in which I loved to be' was also first published in the above, p.14. The text is taken from a MS transcription, in the hand of the Revd E. Tennyson Jesse, in a

copy of Hallam's *Poems*, in TRC. A note by Jesse says that it was taken from the original in the author's handwriting. Jesse gives it the title 'To Charles Turner' which could not have been its original title.

'When gentle fingers cease to touch the string' was first published in Henry Hallam ed., *Remains in Verse and Prose of Arthur Henry Hallam* (1834), p.81, where it is dated 1831.

80 Hallam's *Poems* was published in May 1830.

81 AHH to W. E. Gladstone, 8 November [1828]. *LAHH*, p.243.

82 AHH to Leigh Hunt, 13 November [1832]. *LAHH*, p.683.

83 J. W. Blakesley to J. M. Kemble (inter alia), 8 September 1829. Dunedin Public Library, New Zealand.

84 J. Wemyss Reid, *The Life, Letters and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes, First Lord Houghton*, 2 vols. (1890), 1, 65. The planned visit did not take place.

85 Quoted in Martin, p.99.

86 Edward Peacock, MS Diary 6 August 1860. John Rylands Library, Manchester. English MS 125/1.

87 The 1880 titles are given in square brackets for ease of reference.

88 See M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp* (Oxford, 1953), pp.21-26.

89 Abrams, p.22

90 George Sanderlin, 'The Influence of Milton and Wordsworth on the Early Victorian Sonnet'. *English Literary History* 5 (September 1938), 228-229.

91 The accident happened on 21 October 1825 when about seventy people were drowned. This sonnet may have been developed from a poem written at the time.

92 Hoxie Neale Fairchild tries to force CTT into an evangelical mould, though he acknowledges the difficulty of doing this. *Religious Trends in English Poetry* 5 vols. (New York, 1957) 4, p.21. He misinterprets (p.28) the point (an anti-Straussian one) of CTT's poem 'The Palm-Willow' (1873).

93 'Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey'.

94 Published posthumously, 1880.

95 AT to Thomas Pringle, 11 November [1832]. *LALT*, I, p.83.

96 T. J. Wise (*Ashley Library* X - 211; VII - 166)

takes the Cambridge/London imprint to be the first issue, that bearing the Cambridge imprint alone the second. A case for the reversal of this order is convincingly made by Charles Cox *[Sale Catalogue] Nineteenth Century Literature* No. 30 (Winter 1985-6), item 275.

97 William Henry Brookfield (1809 - 1874). His copy of Charles's poems was presented to him by the author: Christie's *Catalogue of Printed Books from the Library of ... John Sparrow* (21 October 1992), item 275.

98 Robert John Tennant (1809-1842). Tennant's autographed copy is in Princeton University Library.

99 Gaskell's copy, inscribed by Hallam, is dated 22 March 1830: *Catalogue of the 26th Antiquarian Book Fair, [London]* (25-27 June 1985), item 30.

100 Edward Spedding died, aged twenty-one, in 1832. His autographed copy contains some of his criticisms: Sotheby's Sales Catalogue, *Valuable Autograph Letters ...*, (17 December 1981), item 278. There are four copies of *Sonnets and Fugitive Pieces* in the TRC: Emily Tennyson Jesse's copy, given to her, finely bound, on her wedding day in 1842; a copy given by Matilda Tennyson to a friend; Emily Sellwood's copy; and Charles's own copy. The residue of Bridges' stock was subsequently purchased by Moxon. Matilda's copy is in the Moxon green binding and carries Moxon's list of books dated 1 March 1847. A copy in the Brotherton Library, Leeds, carries Moxon's list of books dated 1 August 1845.

101 W. B. Donne to R. C. Trench, 29 April 1830. Quoted in [M. Trench ed.], *Richard Chenevix Trench, Letters and Memorials*, 2 vols. (1888), I, 61.

102 AHH to Robert Robertson, 14 March 1830. *LAHH*, p.355.

103 R. C. Trench to W. B. Donne, 23 June 1830. *Richard Chenevix Trench ...* (supra), pp.73-4.

104 James Spedding to Edward Spedding, 6 May 1830. Martin, p.105.

105 *A Catalogue of the Library of the Louth Branch Mechanics' Institution* (Louth: J. & J. Jackson, 1837), p.41. Neither the 1830 nor the 1832 volumes of Alfred appear in this catalogue.

106 AHH to J. W. Blakesley, [13 April 1830]. *LAHH*, p.360.

107 'To Alfred Tennyson (at Somersby)'. First published in *Memoir* I, p.66.

108 From his sonnet 'Dear village home of her who is to be'. First published in Sir Charles Tennyson and F. T. Baker eds., 'Some Unpublished Poems by Arthur Henry Hallam', *Victorian Poetry* 3 (Summer 1965), Supplement, p.6.

109 Emily Sellwood Tennyson recalled having first seen at least Alfred when she was eight years old. Dr. Tennyson had brought him over in the carriage to Horncastle. Emily to Alexander Macmillan, 15 May 1884. *LALT* 3, p.290.

110 James O. Hoge ed., 'Emily Tennyson's Narrative for Her Sons'. *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 14 (Spring 1972), p.96.

111 R. J. Tennant to W. B. Donne, 9 May 1830. Quoted in *LAHH*, p.367.

112 Frances Alford ed., *Life, Journals and Letters of Henry Alford D.D., late Dean of Canterbury* (1873), p.60.

113 CTT thanks Spedding in a letter postmarked 14 September 1830. TRC.

114 William Wordsworth to William Rowan Hamilton, 26 November 1830. William Knight ed., *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, 3 vols. (1907), 2, 441.

115 See Martin, pp.125-127. Wordsworth's preference is not directly stated, but Martin does suggest it by saying that "[Alfred] Tennyson was probably the single undergraduate whom Wordsworth would most have liked meeting." That "Tennyson was reluctant to meet Wordsworth" may not be surprising if he knew that Charles was the favoured brother.

116 Ralph Waldo Emerson, *English Traits* (Dent, 1908), p.146. This was first published in 1856.

117 AHH to Robert Robertson, [?12] December, 1829. *LAHH*, p.343.

118 Actually by 1832, Coleridge, then an old man, had grown less tolerant and was quite acerbic about the liberties taken by sonneteers, though he still denounced Petrarch. S. T. Coleridge, 'What is an English Sonnet?' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 31 (June 1832), 956.

119 *Two Races of Men*.

120 *Table Talk*.

121 CTT to John Frere, 27 July 1830. Beinecke Library, Yale.

122 Charles's volume, the only one containing Coleridge's autograph notes, passed into Alfred's possession on Charles's death in 1879 and is now in TRC. Coleridge's marginalia were transcribed - by whom is unknown - into another copy which once belonged to Joseph Henry Green and is now in the British Library. The Library acquired it from the Sotheby sale of Green's books on 29 July 1880, the Sotheby catalogue erroneously claiming that the marginal criticisms were "in the autograph of S. T. Coleridge". The transcription in this copy is not entirely accurate. There is another copy containing transcribed notes at Duke University and yet another in the Robert H. Taylor Collection, Princeton University Library. This last one was R. J. Tennant's copy and bears his name in autograph.

I am grateful to Heather Jackson of Trinity College, Toronto, for information on the copies held in the United States.

123 Tampering with the texts of other poets was an old habit of Coleridge's. See Paul M. Zall, 'Coleridge and *Sonnets from Various Authors*', *Cornell Library Journal* 2 (Spring, 1967), 49-62.

124 Some of Coleridge's marginalia in Charles's copy of *Sonnets and Fugitive Pieces* were first published by David Main, *A Treasury of English Sonnets* (1880), pp.436-440. The marginalia were *later* that year printed as footnotes to the 1830 sonnets in Charles Tennyson Turner, *Collected Sonnets Old and New* (1880). They were transcribed in full from the (then) British Museum copy by Thomas Middleton Raysor in his *Coleridge's Miscellaneous Criticism* (1936), pp.345-351, introduced unfortunately by a series of completely erroneous assumptions on the part of Raysor, the most fundamental being his belief that the notes in the British Museum copy were in Coleridge's own hand.

Some of the Coleridge notes, transcribed from *Collected Sonnets Old and New*, appeared as footnotes in John Betjeman and Sir Charles Tennyson (eds.) *A Hundred Sonnets [by] Charles Tennyson Turner* (1960). They repeat (p.8) Raysor's fundamental error. For comment on some of the notes see Lewis Patton, 'Coleridge Marginalia in the Duke Library: Charles

Tennyson Turner's Sonnets', *Library Notes* 15 (December 1945), 4-6.

125 CTT to John Frere, 27 July 1830. Supra, n.112.

126 R. J. Tennant to J. M. Kemble, 10 July 1830. Dunedin Public Library, New Zealand.

127 AHH to W. B. Donne, [31 May 1830]. *LAHH*, p.363.

128 John Kemble to R. Chenevix Trench, 1 April 1830. Richard Chenevix Trench, *Letters and Memorials* (1888), I, 59.

129 AHH to Leigh Hunt, 18 January [1831]. *LAHH*, p.396.

130 *The Tatler*, 149, 24 February 1831, pp.593-4; 151, 26 February 1831, pp.601-2; 153, 1 March 1831, pp.609-10; 155, 3 March 1831, pp.617-8.

131 Martin (p.141) says that Hunt's "scales tipped in the favour of Charles", but the extracts given here indicate otherwise.

3

A Fortune, A Living and Marriage

"May God (as he has mercifully done hitherto) protect my family", wrote Eliza Tennyson[1] when she heard that her husband was returning from his extended continental tour in the Summer of 1830. When Dr. Tennyson reached Somersby towards the end of July, Frederick was fortuitously in France. Alfred and Hallam were there too, proceeding down to the Spanish border on a wildly impractical mission to pass secret messages to the revolutionaries. Charles had played no part in this and had had to be content with a sea-side holiday at Mablethorpe,[2] but he was at home when his father appeared and indeed remained at home throughout the following term. His account of his father's experiences abroad is worthy of consideration. It comes in the latter part of a letter to his friend Frere.

> I am much surprised to see him so well after the neckbreak adventures he has encountered. On one occasion, proceeding along in a small carriage over the mountains, he was hurled down a precipice and stunned but saved himself from certain death by convulsively grasping a pine that grew out of a ledge;

while the driver, carriage and horse were dashed to atoms thousands of feet below him. Again, at the Carnival in Rome, a man was stilettoed in his arms, drawing first, suspicion and then violence on his person: the excess of wh. he prevented by exclaiming that he was an Englishman and had not done the deed. Again he was suddenly seized with giddiness on the verge of a precipice and only preserved by the presence of mind of a person near him. At another time, he was near being buried alive ... [Charles's points] Having nothing more to say in the way of news wherewith to fill up the remaining blank, I despise all idea of it

and remain

My dear Frere

Yrs ever most heartily

Charles Tennyson

P.S. On looking over my letter I find I am guilty of many slovenly contractions also of divers carets; perhaps also, of indifference to the interrogations of your last letter, which is (to my shame) twelve miles off.[3]

For the commentator this fragment from Charles's letter quite boldly raises the question: Did Dr Tennyson really recount such horrors? The tale has been taken by some[4] as a confection from his own lips; but it could equally be taken as a confection from Charles's own pen, for this grotesquely Gothick tale, which appears

nowhere else in the family correspondence, betrays just the kind of piquant whimsicality for which he was known and loved. This whimsical humour is often his bastion against the alarms of the world: he resorts to it when intensely unpleasant pressures from his immediate world become too much for him to contemplate. It is a wilful displacement of reality and can be seen in some of his verse.[5]

Removed from the stimulus of Cambridge, Charles lapsed into a state of lethargy, almost of torpor. "I have done nothing this Vacation", he told Frere. Nothing was written. "I must own Nature has preferred ever and anon very powerful claims but I did not yield: I was hard-set with the sound of the sea one evening - several sunsets have looked winning - I was nearly yielding to a wild hill but escaped in all instances miraculously".[6] He was dilatory in his correspondence - "the most unsatisfactory and provoking correspondent I ever had to deal with", wrote Hallam[7]- and admitted to Spedding that although he did much walking he did little studying and was sure to fail his degree.[8] He did attend the September ball in aid of the Horncastle Public Dispensary which gave him the opportunity to converse, as was his wont, with the opposite sex. His father, his mother and two of his sisters attended it also,[9]which suggests that a degree of harmony had been restored in the Rectory. Indeed Mrs Tennyson's worst fears were proving to have been unnecessary.

The autumn months, however, produced their own disturbances, not in the domestic hearth, but in the world outside, for the distresses of poverty among the agricultural labourers, growing since the end of the Napoleonic Wars, were reaching a crisis: farmers were cutting their permanent labour force and recruiting temporary workers, such as the Irish harvesters. The winter of 1829-30 had been particularly harsh and the harvest weather of 1830 inclement. The use of threshing-machines and mole ploughs for draining the land had contributed to the reducing of the labour-force and although the labourers' anger against the threshing-machine was not as pronounced in Lincolnshire as it was elsewhere, the machine did come to represent "the impersonal power of the farmer over his labourers"[10] and older men in particular feared its dangerous speed. Resentment was fanned by demands for political reform and William Cobbett was illuminating the plight of the poor in his articles and lectures. All this culminated in riots, arson and the smashing of machines, most severely in the Southern counties, but Lincolnshire too had its share. William Wrangham, who had been the churchwarden for Louth, recorded events nearby:

> On Saturday night November 27 1830 nine cornstacks on the premises of Mr Mawer of South Keston were destroyed by Fire, the act of an incendiary; and on the night following Mr Kemp of Swaby had a large wheat stack destroyed in the

same manner. A person named Graves at Saltfleetby had 4 stacks destroyed on the 2nd Decr. On the 6th an attempt was made to fire Jno Clark's stacks at Market Rasen; and on the 10th a similar attempt was made on Mr Peter Hand's stacks at Burwell.[11]

Charles was to see the discontent of the 1830s return with the agricultural depression of the 1870s, but nowhere in his verse will these troubles overtly find a voice. His two noted sonnets on the subject of the threshing-machine will carry no suggestion of socio-political comment of an adverse kind, but the poor and the rejected are invested with dignity and worth in his verse. His innate compassion, sustained by the charity of his Christian mission, ensured that.

Agitation for reform on a wide basis was keenly felt at Tealby, for George Tennyson's second son, Charles, who espoused the Whig cause, was currently M.P. for Bletchingly[12]and much involved in the process of the Reform bill through Parliament. His reputation as a zealous reformer had been first noted in 1827 when, by his exertions, the elective franchise was transferred from the rotten borough of East Retford to the large and by then teeming town of Birmingham. "His exertions in the cause of Reform," observed one commentator, "have, in one shape or other, subjected him to a very serious expenditure out of his private fortune. Few men are more attached to their principles than Mr. Tennyson.

They are, in one sense, a part of his being. He is ready to make any sacrifice for them".[13] He had, throughout his political career, been acutely ambitious of acquiring public office and was to some degree rewarded for his industry by being offered the Clerkship of the Ordnance in December 1830. In 1832 he was to be given a seat in the Privy Council.

The late months of 1830 and the early months of 1831, when the Reform Bill was being debated at Westminster and an election was nearing, were therefore highly important to him and he was held down at his Park Street house in London for most of this period, his days consumed with affairs of state far removed from the affairs of Somersby. Somersby, however, was to burst in upon him most unexpectedly, for in February his brother, the Rector, fell seriously and, as it was to prove, mortally ill.

Alfred and Frederick were summoned from Cambridge. Their brother Charles was still at home. Dr Tennyson's illness was alarming, for typhus was diagnosed by his physician and his family were forbidden even to enter his sick-room. His sister, Mary Bourne, solicitously and regularly visited as did George Hildeyard Tennyson, the Rector's nephew, whose role was to keep his father in London apprised of developments by letter. In fact a flurry of letters passed between Lincolnshire and London. A perusal of those surviving[14]reveals a family in a state of intense agitation where the conflicting

demands of family loyalty and personal advancement can plainly be seen.

The Rector's decline was swift. Towards the end, his disease not being considered infectious, all the Somersby family, except for Frederick who had for an unknown reason left for London,[15] gathered about him and were with him when he died on 16 March. Throughout this harrowing experience, Charles's letters, keeping other members of the family abreast of developments, are short, controlled, practical and realistic. It was Frederick, that most difficult son, who, having been called home, spoke the most feelingly about his father's death: "My poor father, all his life a man of sorrow and acquainted with grief, has gone to 'that bourne from whence no traveller returns'... He suffered little, and after death his countenance, which was strikingly lofty and peaceful, was I trust an image of the condition of his soul, which on earth was daily racked by bitter fancies, and tossed about by strong troubles."[16] Eliza Tennyson and her children were thus left in a house they could no longer consider their own, for it was, of course, in the gift of the patron of Somersby church and must pass to the next incumbent.

Throughout the Rector's illness, his father expressed genuine paternal anxiety for his son, but once death had taken him away from him, he was seized with a fretful concern for the welfare of his second son, Charles, whose advancement was dear to his heart. The burial of Dr Tennyson's mortal remains became an issue

of deep concern and he determinedly spoke against their interment in the family tomb at Tealby.[17] He was equally strenuous in dissuading his surviving son from attending the funeral at Somersby[18]and in the event he did not attend it. George Hildeyard, however, was present, representing his father, and was indeed the sole representative of the Tealby family. Old George Tennyson's motives, veiled though they are in his letters, clearly sprang from his fear that the reputation of his surviving son, who was currently involved in sensitive affairs of state, should in any way be harmed by an association - which would inevitably be made public - with a brother whose behaviour had been a considerable embarrassment to the Tealby family. The reputation of the Rector in the surrounding countryside had become sufficiently darkened to prompt this reaction. His intemperate drinking, his violence and his abusive language had all become known in the immediate area. Mrs Eliza Massingberd had baulked at the idea of living in Bag Enderby, "for I shou'd not like to spend my latter days in a place where the Clergeman is so strange a man as Dr Tennison, & having his strange family our readiest neighbours wou'd be a great objection!"[19] There is not a little of Trollope's Mrs Stantiloup in this, as there is in her daughter's retort "I hope you did not go to see Dr Tennyson before he died & I think it was very wrong that any gentleman should attend the funeral."[20] There was something pointed, however, about the willingness of the

neighbouring clergymen to act as pall-bearers, signifying their stand against malicious gossip. Finally it should be noted that, for all George Tennyson's concern that his son Charles should be dissociated from his late brother, he himself was at pains to stress his own relationship with his first-born son in the wording on the memorial stone he himself provided.

As has been indicated, the Rector's will[21] was to reveal that his property at Grasby was left to his son Charles, but only consequent upon the death of George Tennyson of Tealby. From the revenue of this property Eliza was to have an annuity of £300 in addition to what was already hers by her marriage settlement. Dr Tennyson also bequeathed his wife three hundred volumes of her choice from his library; the rest of the library was to be split into three portions, one portion each to Frederick, Charles and Alfred, the books being selected by the drawing of lots. His plate he left in trust to Eliza to be passed, on her death, to Frederick and his pictures he left to Charles. He finally entrusted his children to the guardianship of his wife, his friend the Reverend T. H. Rawnsley and his brother Charles. Rawnsley was to take upon himself this responsibility instantly, for we find him assuring George Tennyson that he did not cease "to urge the young men at Somersby ... to put their great Talents into exercise, and to exert them for their own Maintenance and Respectability. This they have listened to."[22]

Their uncle Charles promptly took charge of the boys' Cambridge debts which in all amounted to an amazing £700. He also talked at length to each of his wards, eliciting from Alfred the decision that he would go into the church, although his uncle felt that his mind was really "fixed on the idea of deriving his great distinction and greatest means from the exercise of his poetic talents."[23] The Tealby living was intended for him. Frederick was also said to have the same intention. There was nothing to urge for Charles whose future in the church had been settled long before. For Arthur ("a nice looking sprightly fellow"), who was sixteen, he entertained thoughts of a post in his own department at the Ordnance; for Septimus ("a clever sharp fellow") he envisaged a career in law; and for Horatio ("a nice little fellow") the Navy. A great deal of his attention was given to Edward for whom he felt considerable sympathy. ("I ... will endeavour as far as I can to soften his existence to him, but that existence never, I fear, can be a happy one").

George Tennyson, with more purpose and with less sentimentality, made ample provision for his daughter-in-law and for all of his Somersby grandchildren, but his intensely scrupulous control of their purses was to provoke considerable bitterness on their part, so that Lear-like, he came to see them as a family of ingrates.

Charles resumed his studies at Cambridge late in April, for his degree examination was almost upon him.

Alfred did not return. Unsurprisingly, after the prolonged hiatus in his studies, Charles failed his examination and had to take it again in October. He was coached by his friend James Spedding who had graduated in 1831 and whom he was variously to refer to in later life as "my dear old Pedagogue" or "my ever dear Tutor". It was not to be Spedding's last kind gesture on Charles's behalf. Charles worked, as assiduously as his minimal interest would allow him, on mathematics, describing himself by October as "more habitually & pleasurably algebraic";[24] and after some delay, explained by Charles as resulting from "a difficulty about the number of terms we have kept,"[25] he and Frederick graduated in late January 1832. He expressed no unwillingness to embark on preparation for ordination, as is clear in a letter of his to Frere who had been ordained deacon in the preceding December: "I suppose you must have acquired a strong attachment to theological study by this time; nor do I think I shall be insensible or uninterested when I enter on my divinity pursuits wh. must happen shortly."[26] Divinity itself was not a problem to Charles, but he had some reservations about the Church of England. "I myself ... think that a reform is wanted in our Church system. Mitres shd. not express so much cash. Clergymen shd. not be as Cowper says 'cassocked huntsmen' and 'fiddling Pivits'".[27]

This was the end of Charles's Cambridge career, though it was not the end of his Cambridge friendships.

He was not sad to leave, for the place had begun to pall on him; "this sordid stinking University"[28]was his farewell judgment. Back home in Somersby he settled into his old ways of indolence, taking no example from Alfred who was beginning to plan his second volume, *Poems*, to be published at the end of the year. He responded not at all to Brookfield's pleas for poems for the *Yorkshire Literary Annual*, though Alfred submitted a sonnet, as did Edward. Edward's contribution, the sonnet 'Why do I weep when gazing on that field',[29]has a delicate pastoral quality akin to Charles's, but it is from Alfred that he has caught, in its last eight lines, that rare quality of controlling the long sentence and, moreover, of giving it a flowing melodic line.

In April Charles was informed that the curacy at Tealby was to fall vacant and that his grandfather, patron of the church, had offered it to him, Alfred having renounced any intention of entering the church. Charles accepted the offer[30]and forthwith prepared himself for orders, as seemingly did Frederick too. "Charles and Frederick Tennyson are beginning to take positive steps towards entering the church: they toil not however; neither do they spin (sonnets); very fat prelatical lilies they are like to make", Hallam told Milnes.[31] Charles's indolence had indeed been responsible for his increasing corpulence at this time; in contemplating Charles and the thin, sallow Frere, Hallam laughingly said "I think when Charles gets into orders, there should be a caricature of them side by side as the

Fat & the Lean."[32] Frederick abandoned the idea of taking orders, but Charles tackled his studies with ease and presented himself to be examined for ordination before the Bishop of Lincoln, Dr Kaye, at his palace at Buckden on 14 June.[33] On 16 June he was admitted deacon[34]and took his first duty for the Rector of Somersby and Bag Enderby, the Reverend G. A. Robinson, at Bag Enderby church on 1 July, occupying the pulpit used by his own father. He then moved into Tealby and in the eyes of his friends was thus lost to the world. "I suppose there is nothing very affecting in a man's casing himself in a pompous cassock", wrote Brookfield, "but I love the wretch better than blackberries - and if he were married instead of ordained there is that about him which would make me more sad than merry at the news."[35] More significantly, it was felt by his friends that he was lost to the world of poetry: "The author of the Sonnets", wrote Hallam, "has entered the Church, and is, I fear, lost to the Muses."[36]

That Charles was not at all settled at Tealby is made clear by the frequency of his returns to the Somersby household. It was not merely the solitariness of his situation which prompted this, for his family were in a state of consternation about the condition of Edward who, according to his mother, wept bitterly sometimes saying that "his mind is so unnotched he is scarcely able to endure his existence".[37] The Horncastle surgeon considered that his state would terminate in hopeless insanity and recommended that he be removed to

the asylum in Lincoln, a suggestion found unacceptable by his Uncle Charles who wished for treatment "in some form disguised not only from his own observation but from that of others".[38] A small and comfortable private lunatic asylum, Acomb House, at York was chosen and he was sent there on the understanding that "he should suppose and also that others should suppose that he goes ... as a Pupil for the purpose of initiating him in the medical profession".[39] Edward was admitted on 1 December, the certificate being signed by John Fytche, and, failing to improve, he stayed there. Between 1851 and 1861 he was moved to Lime Tree Asylum, also in Acomb, a district in York. He died in May 1890 after fify-eight years of confinement.[40] It is apparent that his certification was an embarrassment to the Tealby family, for any suggestion of lunacy in their number was to be suppressed; Charles Tennyson of Tealby would indeed assist the Somersby family, but he was by no means prepared to put his own name or position in jeopardy. This accounts for the fact that the certificate was signed by John Fytche who, as we have seen, was not one of the guardians. No further mention of Edward appears in the correspondence of the Tealby family or indeed of the Somersby family, but this is not to suggest that they all totally distanced themselves from his plight. Pertinent material may have been destroyed, to conceal the facts, in later years.[41] It should be observed, however, that on 15 March 1866 Charles noted in his

Memorandum Book that he "wrote ... to poor Edward at Acomb."[42]

Charles was thus again presented with the distress of mental instability in his family circle. He was to see further manifestations of it in the condition of his brother Septimus and the equilibrium of his own mind at this time was disturbed by increasing irritations associated with his role as Curate of Tealby and by a further involvement of the heart. Details concerning the latter are sparse in the extreme and little can be elucidated from references to it in the family correspondence. One such reference is to be found in a vexingly mutilated letter of Hallam's: "[ ] have never said any [ ] the Burton engagement. I should [ ] more about it - how he takes the thing - what more is likely to come of it, & so on ... "[43] Another reference appears in a further letter of Hallam's: "I have little room left to explain what I meant about Charles: but from what he told me of the terms on which he last met Miss Burton, & of the letter which he afterwards wrote, I thought him decidedly to blame, but perhaps I do not know all."[44] Lastly we have a letter of Charles's cousin, Julia Tennyson, containing the report "Charles is very nervous in the church & does not make a very active country Parson. His engagement with Miss Burton is off."[45] That is the sum of the documentary evidence indicating that there was indeed such a liaison. The dates of the liaison are unclear, but Hallam's letter of February 1833 suggests that it had

come to an end about that time. Nor can Miss Burton be positively identified, although there is a likelihood that she was one of the three sisters - Katherine, Maria and Sarah Anne - of Langhorne Burton Burton[46] who was a contemporary of Charles's at Trinity and was to become incumbent of Somersby in 1835. If the relationship had reached the point where the two parties became committed to an engagement, it must surely be likely that a marriage settlement had been at least entertained if not fully established, but no reference to such a settlement can be found in the Tennyson archive which is otherwise rich in documentation for this period. It is possible that erroneous information gained credence at this time and until further relevant material is discovered, this episode in Charles's life must remain obscure and judgment upon it cautious.

A second, and more important, matter arises in Charles's life in 1833: it is the matter of his resorting to the taking of opium. Charles's father had, as we have seen, taken laudanum, a solution containing opium, for the alleviation of pain and Charles had come into contact with at least two opium-eaters at Cambridge: Brookfield and Kemble. Brookfield brought upon himself the disapproval of Hallam: "I trust you are not seeking relief in dissipation: remember you promised to take no more opium".[47] Alfred was equally sharp about it: "I prythee take no opium - it were better that a millstone were hung about thy neck and that thou wert thrown in the Cam."[48] Blakesley was also condemnatory

about Kemble's practice: "I heard before you left England that you had become an inveterate taker of laudanum ... Go and sin no more. A habit of taking opium is as great an encumbrance as a wife ..."[49] It appears that both of these friends merely trifled with the narcotic, for neither became in any sense an addict. Charles may have sampled opium at Cambridge where it was easily bought on market days,[50] particularly in the presence of Brookfield with whom he had an amiable relationship. His propensity to somnolence, a state of being induced by an indulgence in the drug, was certainly noticed in early 1832 by Hallam who observed that "Charles sleeps much less than he did."[51]

The matter requires careful examination, for Charles's posthumous reputation has been coloured, if not encumbered, by his association with opiates. We must ask if the colouring is thoroughly justified and more importantly of course at a later point we must consider if his later poetry carries any impetus from the narcotic experience.

The first commentator to bring Charles's use of opium to public attention was Alfred's grandson, Charles (later Sir Charles) Tennyson, in his biography of his grandfather, published in 1949. His words are as follows:

> Now, since leaving Cambridge, he, too, had become a prey to some nervous disorder, involving a good deal of neuralgic pain. As a result, he had gradually sunk

into a kind of listlessness, ceasing to write or even to read ... A doctor whom he consulted recommended the use of opium. Before long poor Charles had become a victim of this perilous habit, and there were the gravest fears about its probable effect on him.[52]

Sir Charles had recourse to a vast number of the family letters of this period, but unfortunately he does not cite his sources for the information given here. Five sources supplying information about Charles's practice have been found. Firstly, in a letter, postmarked 8 February 1833, from Alfred to James Spedding we find "You inquire after Charles - we see little of him - I believe his spirits are pretty good, tho' he sometimes takes some drops of laudanum by way of stimulus. Is Brooks at Cambridge?"[53] Then a letter of 4 March 1833 from Spedding to W. H. Thompson which Sir Charles may not have seen: "... He is much as he was - looks well - and denies laudanum, except in asthmatical intervals."[54] Thirdly, a letter from Frederick to John Frere, dated 10 February 1834: ".... a mournful thing, that a man whose works (the Sonnets) Wordsworth, 'The Prince of the Bards of the Time', confessed he never recurred to without increasing admiration, should be a slave to the 'Tyranny of Dreams' & make no use either of Body or Soul."[55] Fourthly, a letter dated 27 April 1834 from Charles's cousin Clara Tennyson to her brother George Hildeyard Tennyson: "I pity poor Charles who is almost killing himself with laudanum."[56] Lastly, a letter

of 14 March 1835 from Clara's brother Eustace to George Hildeyard: "I cannot help pitying him, poor fellow, for he is the most good-natured fellow in the world, and I think he will kill himself soon."[57]

The references to laudanum in both Alfred's and Frederick's letters have been heavily inked over at a later date by Alfred's son Hallam when, according to Philip L. Elliott, he was preparing the memoir of his father.[58] Sir Charles may have deciphered the erased words, but as he does not cite them, we cannot be sure of this. Alfred's words were not printed until Elliott's useful study of the memoir raised them from oblivion in 1978. Sir Charles's assertion that "some nervous disorder, involving a good deal of neuralgic pain" was what provoked Charles's listlessness is difficult to confirm, as no statement in contemporary material has been found to substantiate it.[59] Sir Charles may have brought forward a later development in Charles's health to account for his condition in 1833; nor can a reference to a doctor's prescribing opium be found. Alfred's comment comes at the end of a long, florid and playful letter and its tone does not suggest that he was deeply troubled by Charles's practice. Frederick's reference to Charles's being "a slave to 'The Tyranny of Dreams'" is ambiguous and, as an emotive utterance, does little to clarify the situation. Even though the Tealby family was largely sympathetic towards Charles, comments from them concerning the Somersby family must always be regarded with circumspection.

That family was not privy to Charles's habits and they were warned by their aunt, Elizabeth Russell, "Don't give credit to all you may be told respecting individuals of the Somersby family."[60]

In all, the few fragmentary observations that have been found do not go very far in establishing the true nature of Charles's opium use and their very slightness, their failure to suggest a sense of desperation or urgency in this matter, may speak for itself. At no point, it should be noted, is Charles's grandfather brought into the picture and if the situation had been overwhelmingly serious, George Tennyson would most certainly have been apprised of the fact by his son. What we can say is that between 1833 and 1835 Charles did resort to opium, but this is far from suggesting that he became addicted to it and although there is evidence that he resorted to it in later years, we cannot go so far as some commentators who, finding a myth, allow it to feed on itself and grow big thereby. The dangers of this are apparent in such observations as these:

"By 1834 Charles had become a hopeless victim of the drug ... "[61]

"Charles became a hopeless addict ... "[62]

"By the next year [1833], however, he had become seriously addicted to opium, a problem which haunted him for years to come."[63]

It becomes a much more serious matter where we find a modern reviewer equating Charles's writing with his opium-taking,[64] speaking, under the inauspicious title 'The Fourteen-Line Fix', of his 'addiction to the sonnet-drug' and basing this on the premise that "for several of the talented Tennysons life was, in Johnson's phrase, a pill too bitter to take without gilding, and alcohol, opiates and verse composition played alternate roles in their several attempts to brave the struggle of life."

Charles's practice must also be placed in its historical context. The Reverend Robert Ousby, Curate of Kirton-in-Lindsey, some fourteen miles north-west of Tealby, considered in 1834 that opium-taking had "become very common", but that he had "not heard of it till within these two or three years."[65] His knowledge was somewhat circumscribed, however, for as early as 1816 a lady travelling through Lincolnshire was able to note the local predilection for the narcotic: "Through the whole of this excursion I was particularly attracted by the almost general cultivation of the white poppy, with which every cottage garden is adorned ... I was not a little surprised to find that this stately flower was raised for the purpose of distillation; that the villagers had frequent recourse to its Lethean juices, as an inducer to stupefaction ... "[66] What the lady did not note was the reason for its use, be it a stimulant or a medicament. Opium, combined with ipecacuanha in

'Dovers Powders', had indeed played a part in eighteenth century medical practice, but in the nineteenth century it assumed an important therapeutic role in self-medication as a sedative, as a febrifuge - Dr Tennyson had been prescribed it for this purpose -, as an analgesic and particularly for gastrointestinal problems. The drug was not only home-produced in the form of Poppy-head tea, but was easily available from druggists in such forms as 'Godfrey's Cordial' and 'Mother's Friend', both of which relieved the colic in babies and induced sleep.[67]

The Fenland area of Lincolnshire, where the ague, rheumatism and, very importantly, poverty were markedly prevalent, was well-known for its extremely high consumption of opium as a prophylactic in the first half of the century, a state of affairs noted with alarm as early as 1840.[68] There it was culturally and socially acceptable and it was sold over the counter with no attempt at subterfuge.

With this view of opium-use in Lincolnshire in the 1830s in mind, we must not suppose that the opprobrium attached to it at the time was in any way similar to that attached to it in the 1890s when Hallam Tennyson inked over the references to it in the family letters. Not until Britain became in the 1870s the centre of an international traffic in opium did the drug carry the sinister and indeed evil overtones that were to be associated with the East End of London in Wilde's day. It had been used by Byron, Keats, Shelley, Southey,

Elizabeth Barrett Browning (nightly, for years) and by Jane Carlyle and, to name the pre-eminently respectable, Jane Austen's mother, Gladstone's sister and Florence Nightingale herself.

In February 1833 Charles was in London where he met Hallam and Spedding. He stayed, as Alfred sometimes did, at the Old Hummums, a Turkish Bath establishment with overnight accommodation, in Covent Garden. Spedding considered that he was not in London for immoral purposes, for Charles had told him "how pure and good he had grown since he took orders - for he had seen in several shops books with indecent titles and indecent pictures, and he had passed by them quick."[69] Such a report from a close friend of Charles of course raises speculation. Is it suggesting that Charles had earlier succumbed to the lure of sexual enticement?

The visit restored to Charles the pleasures of companionship, for Hallam took him riding round the countryside of Norwood,[70] but it was to be the last time the friends met. In August Hallam was to make his fateful visit to Vienna. There he suddenly died of an aneurism of the brain, on 15 September. He was twenty-two.

Charles no doubt shared with his family and friends the intense shock and grief at the loss but he was to speak of it barely at all. There are no indications that he ever attempted a memorial poem and he certainly never published one. He must have looked back on his

own words in the sonnet 'To A. H. H.' with bitter regret:

When youth is passing from my hoary head,
And life's decline steals brightness from thine eye -
But *that* it cannot soon, nor quench the red
Upon thy cheek that hath so rich a dye -

Though most of the 1830 sonnets were republished in later volumes, this one never appeared again. At the instigation of some of his son's Oxford and Cambridge friends, Henry Hallam gathered some of his verse and prose-writings and the privately published *Remains in Verse and Prose of Arthur Henry Hallam*, a mere one hundred copies, was distributed among Hallam's circle in the following year. It contains one sonnet addressed to Charles:

When gentle fingers cease to touch the string,
Dear Charles, no music lingers on the lyre;
But the sea-shells from everlasting ring
With the deep murmurs of their home desire:
Lean o'er the shell, and 'twill be heard to plain,
Now low, now high, till all thy sense is gone
Into the sweetness; then depart again,
Still tho' unheard flows on that inner moan;
Full oft like one of these our human heart
Secretly murmurs on a loving lay,
Tho' not a tone finds any outward way.

Then trust me, Charles, nor let it cause thee smart
That seldom in my songs thy name is seen,
When most I loved, I most have silent been.

On 2 June 1833, Trinity Sunday, Charles had been fully ordained priest[71] and in December he was offered the curacy of Rothwell by his great uncle, the Reverend Samuel Turner, who was Rector of that parish.[72] He thus added £50 a year to his income, but, staying in Tealby, his solitariness and consequent state of despondency continued. He invariably had a brother or sister staying with him and asked his grandfather for the tenancy of a larger house so that his sister Mary could live with him. The house was granted; he moved into part of the Grove House much to the consternation of some of the Tealby family: "It would be very disagreeable in many respects to have a tribe of Somersby people so near us", wrote Clara Tennyson, "as of course Mary wd. expect to go everywhere we did."[73] On Lady Day his grandfather stopped his allowance of £70 and put a family of the name of Hockney into the unused parts of the Grove House, so depriving Charles of servants' quarters. Charles's despondency gave way to exasperation and he sent a letter to his grandfather, who had moved into a house in Usselby, a few miles away, expressing his sense of hurt and sounding remarkably like his own father:

You make me dependent on Hockney for room for my

coals and kindling, by making him the tenant of the outhouses in the north side of the house; you compel me to purchase vegetables for my table, by giving Hockney the unconditional use of the garden ... The advantage I derive from your professed allowance of seventy pounds, is, therefore, very obscure and equivocal and I wd. sooner give it up altogether to revert to my mother, than be so little a gainer by it in my own person ... I find it impossible to submit to my present trammels.[74]

The letter betrays a complete collapse of Charles's hitherto acquiescent and equable temperament, but, lacking all blots and emendations, which are characteristic of his letters, it does indeed look like a fair copy and one may wonder if he himself produced the first draft or whether it was composed by one of his more volatile siblings, such as Frederick. To it his grandfather agreed that he *had* reduced his allowance: he now had the Rothwell income and did not need it; and he would not change the arrangements with the other tenants.[75]

This deplorable and miserable state of affairs looked as if it would be the established pattern for the years to come: Charles pursuing a lonely occupation for which, at the time, he felt little enthusiasm; his domestic situation cramped and restricted; his relationship with his grandfather at a perilously low ebb; his liaison with Miss Burton having come to

nothing; his lethargic state of being reducing him to a withdrawn nonentity.

Events, however, were to prove otherwise. They began, appropriately, with the Christmas season and with the kind of conviviality for which Charles yearned. On 18 December he took Septimus with him to the forty-fifth anniversary ball in Horncastle, held in aid of the Public Dispensary. The occasion brought together many of the families known to the Tennysons and "dancing was kept up with great spirit till a late hour."[76] Among the company, according to the press report, were "Mr Sellwood, Miss, Miss A. and Miss L. Sellwood." It was now some four and a half years since the Sellwood girls had gone over to Somersby during Hallam's Easter visit and they were now young ladies; Emily was twenty-one, Anne nineteen and Louisa eighteen. Louisa, described later as "a pretty and cheerful little delicate-looking person, with plenty to say",[77]caught Charles's attention and his heart. His state of mind was to be recalled vividly in the very late sonnet 'A Country Dance', where he presents the long lines of the participants in the Sir Roger de Coverley:

> With jealous heed her lessening voice he hears
> Down that long vista, where she seems to move
> Among fond faces and relays of love,
> And sweet occasion, full of tender fears:
> Down those long lines he watches from above,
> Till with the refluent dance she re-appears.[78]

The Sellwood family was well-known in Horncastle where they lived in a handsome double-fronted house[79] looking onto the market square, near the Church. Henry Sellwood was a lawyer who came from a Berkshire family which had had for some generations an estate called Pibworth near Aldworth in that county. In 1812 he had married Sarah Franklin, one of the daughters of a retired Spilsby banker, Willingham Franklin, three of whose sons distinguished themselves: James, who made the first Ordnance Survey of India; John, knighted in 1829 for his fine naval service, later Governor of Van Dieman's Land and finally the superlatively brave but doomed discoverer of the North West Passage; and Willingham, also knighted, Judge of the Supreme Court of Madras, whose daughter Catherine married the Reverend T. H. Rawnsley's son, Drummond. Soon after the birth of Louisa, Sellwood's last daughter, his wife had died[80] and the three young infants were cared for by a dutiful but severe aunt who lived with them. They were later sent to schools in London and in Brighton, spending their holidays in Berkshire and in Horncastle.

Their father was a man of great integrity, highly competent in his legal work and extremely prudent in his domestic affairs. They both respected and loved him. A vignette of the family is given by a Horncastle resident: "I well remember Lawyer Sellwood ... He was a tall, thin, gentlemanly man, with a pleasant expression and quiet manners, always dressed in a black frock coat.

Almost every day, about three o'clock, it was his custom to take a country walk past our house, which was in the outskirts of Horncastle, and he always had a daughter on each arm. The daughters were rather small, shy, sensitive-looking girls: and as their father was tall, and walked with a long springy step ... they had great difficulty in keeping up with him. His devotion to his motherless girls and their affection for him were subjects of general remark."[81]

Emily later recalled their father's reading to them Scott's novels, Gibbon, and Macaulay's essays before the evening family prayers.[82] Solicitous attention appears to have been given to their moral and religious upbringing, judging by the books that are known to have been in their household.[83] These include Thomas Gisborne's *A Familiar Survey of the Christian Religion for the Use of Young Persons* ... (5th ed., 1810); the Marchioness de Sillery's *Les Veillées du Château; ou Cours de Moral à l'Usage des Enfans* (1796); and Diana Bayley's *Employment the True Source of Happiness* ... (1825). Louisa's name and the date 1828 appear in copies of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* and Dante's *La Divina Commedia* and she was given books covering a wide range of instruction by her family, such as Jeremiah Joyce's *Dialogues in Chemistry*, a gift from her uncle, Sir John Franklin. All three girls were given tuition in drawing and in playing the pianoforte, skills they excelled in throughout their lives.

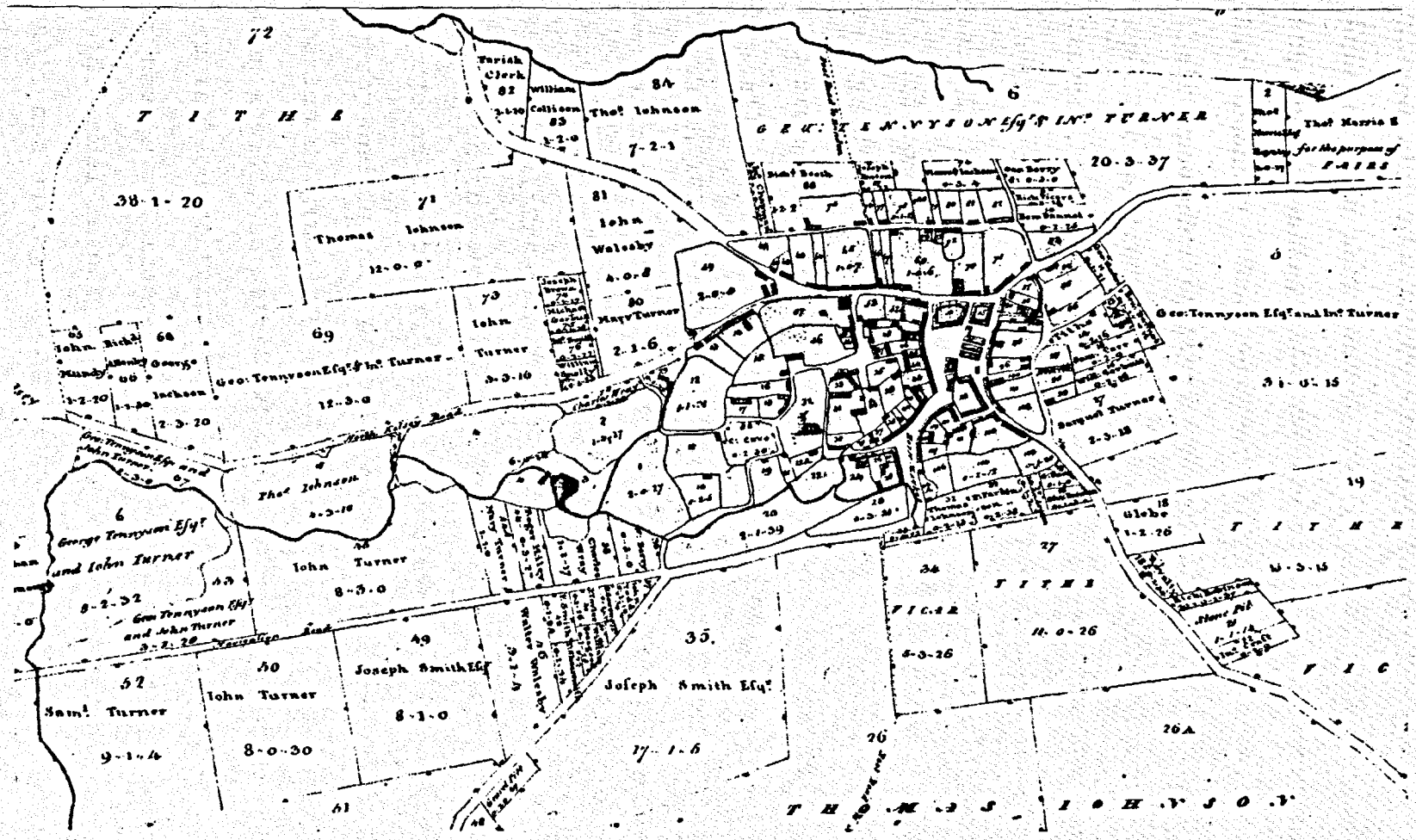
Horncastle itself was no dull backwater. In the 1830s, described as "very neat and well-built",[84] it was then at the height of its prosperity. Since the opening of the canal connecting it to the River Bane in 1802, it had become an important centre for the distribution of wheat and wool. It had its own theatre where travelling companies performed and it was home each August to an internationally famous Horse Fair. It had had a literary society since 1790 and a subscription library kept in the Dispensary which itself, being founded in 1789 under the presidency of Sir Joseph Banks, was a pioneering institution.

Charles's confidence in pressing his suit was increased by his awareness of impending changes in his circumstances, for in late October it had become apparent that his great-uncle, the Reverend Samuel Turner, upon whom his financial future depended, was very rapidly declining. He died in his eightieth year on 9 March 1835. It must be understood that for many years Charles had known how dependent he was to become on this relative's favour. During the Miss Watson affair back in 1827, his grandfather had alarmed Charles by reference to this matter: "Your persisting to a conclusion at present would leave you penniless, for you could not expect any fortune from your uncle Turner, from your father, or myself."[85] The abrupt termination of Charles's pursuit of that spirited lady should be considered in the light of this, just as Charles's pursuit of an equally spirited one, Louisa Sellwood,

should be considered in the shadow of his great-uncle's demise. Apart from the apparent deference Charles made to his grandfather's wishes and threat, there is no indication that he ever ingratiated himself upon Samuel Turner: indeed it was noted by one relative in 1832 that he had "never since he was in orders been to call upon his uncle Turner".[86] The relationship between the two of them seems to have been quite formal.

It is important to establish the facts concerning the Turner family, not only to expunge inaccuracies that have arisen in commentaries on Alfred Tennyson's life, but to bring to light some issues not hitherto observed. As we are concerned with the mark the Turners made upon the financial fortunes of Charles's life, some emphasis must be placed upon the hereditary entitlements passed on to him.

This particular branch of the Turner family had established itself at Caistor by the end of the seventeenth century, but it is in the second half of the eighteenth century that they came to prominence. John Turner, who died in 1784, and his wife Mary (formerly Stovin) had three children surviving infancy: John (1749-1812), who continued his father's legal business; Mary (1753-1825), who married George Tennyson, then resident in Market Rasen, some ten miles from Caistor; and Samuel (1755-1835), who went into the Church. John, the younger, was Clerk to the Caistor Enclosure Commissioners, being extremely proficient in matters relating to the Enclosure of Land Acts, a skill he



Map 2. Caistor Properties. Detail from *Caistor, in the County of Lincoln, as Divided 1796*, by A. Bower. (*Public Record Office*).

shared with his brother-in-law, George Tennyson. Between them they were by far the most experienced attorneys dealing with the law of estate in northern Lincolnshire. They were equally skilled at turning their knowledge to their own advantage and after 1792, when George inherited the estates of Christopher Clayton, his maternal uncle, thereby increasing his fortune considerably, they acquired between them much land in the Nettleton and Grasby areas and particularly in Caistor. The Caistor properties are clearly shown on the 1796 plan of the town (page 174). John's mother, who brought property herself to her marriage, had left him all her real estate[87]and John, being unmarried on his death in 1812, left his "Lands Tenements and Hereditaments situate lying and being at Caistor Grasby North Kelsey South Kelsey Laceby and elsewhere ... and all my Real Estate" to be divided between his brother Samuel on the one hand and his sister and her husband George on the other.[88] It is thus seen that much of the Grasby and Caistor properties ultimately to pass to Charles originally came from his great-uncle John. John's will, as befitting an attorney, is intricate and precise and contains a charge which, though minor, was to have significance in later years: "I declare that the said Samuel Turner George Tennyson and Mary his Wife shall not during their Lives neither shall the survivor of them during his or her Life fell cut down or destroy any Wood Tree or Trees whatsoever standing or being in or upon any part of the said several Hereditaments

without the consent in writing of the said George Clayton Tennyson and Charles Tennyson or the survivor of them." By a codicil, an annuity of £30 per annum to be paid to John Turner's housekeeper was entailed upon the Grasby property as was the discharge of a bequest of £3000 from its income for the benefit of his niece, Mary Bourne. Details of parts of his estate can be gathered from an indenture[89]drawn up between Samuel Turner and George Tennyson in 1819: they include shares in a ship employed in the Greenland Whale Fishery and income from the tolls of the River Ancholme Drainage.

As for Samuel, we can establish from the family archive[90]that his schooling was in Brigg. He entered Queen's College, Cambridge, in 1773 and graduated in 1778. He was ordained in the same year and was installed as Curate of Witcham in the Isle of Ely, a parish whose Calvinistic notions of Repentance repelled him.[91] He subsequently held curacies at Swallow and Barnoldby le Beck and in 1783 became Rector of Rothwell. Thereafter he acquired a veritable ecclesiastical empire, holding benefices concurrently at West Torrington and Tealby in Lincolnshire and at Attenborough with Bramcote in Nottinghamshire. He was also Curate of Caistor and chaplain to the Earl of Scarborough. He acquired land in and around Caistor and, most importantly, acquired the Lordship of the Manor of Grasby and was thus patron of Grasby church. Although known for his indulgence in the worldly pleasures of card-playing and heavy drinking, he was

also active in local affairs of a philanthropical nature: he was a vice-president of the Lincolnshire Medical Benevolent Society,[92] a vice-president of the Lincoln Clerical Fund and a Steward of the Grimsby Deanery.[93] He was the first president of the Caistor Society of Industry,[94] having chaired the meeting at the George Inn in 1800 which saw its inception. Among its members were his brother John, George Tennyson and the Reverend William Wilkinson, the Vicar of Grasby. The Society existed to promote "industry, economy and morality amongst the labouring Poor" and a House of Industry, known as the Poor House, was built on land belonging to Samuel Turner on Caistor Moor, deriving its income from a wool manufactory and from farming. He was assiduous in attending to his duties and was still heading the Committee certainly as late as 1816. Because of considerable expenditure on extra buildings for the sick and refinements such as "garden furniture", the establishment ran at a loss for its first sixteen years, its continuance sustained by money advanced by, among others, Turner himself. The picture of a somewhat brutish bon-viveur, "a gambler, a furious drinker and a banger of rum glasses on the table", according to a recent commentator,[95] must perforce be modified in the light of these facts.

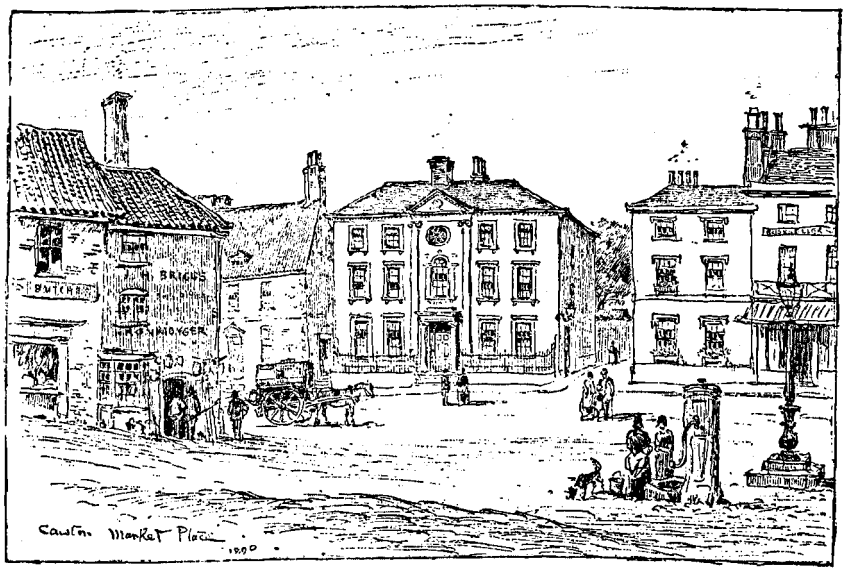
Having reached sixty-three years of age in 1808, Turner seemed likely to die, like his brother, a bachelor, but to general amazement he suddenly married. He took as his wife the landlady of the George Inn,

Barbara Haddelsey, formerly Barbara Bullock of Goxhill, once a renowned local beauty, now a forty-four year old widow. Some local doggerel had it that

When her husband died she put on honour
And went and married Parson Turner.[96]

Her first husband was the landlord of the George, Robert Haddelsey, who had died in 1797. Upon her re-marriage, she undoubtedly elevated her station, for she not only acquired wealth but also the most comfortable and distinguished house in Caistor market-place, once occupied by Turner's mother. Barbara brought to the marriage one child by her previous husband, Charles Robert Haddelsey, who had been born in 1791. He thus became Samuel Turner's step-son. She also brought happiness into her new husband's life which he fully recompensed by promoting the interests of his step-son, establishing him in legal practice. The marriage, however, was not a long one, for Barbara Turner died in 1827 and the remaining years of the widower's life seem to have been darkened by his grief.

By March 1835, when his step-father died, Charles Robert, then forty-two years of age and married, was well-established as the leading Caistor solicitor and was already acting as attorney for the Tennysons and for Samuel Turner himself. It may have been expected that he would benefit comfortably from his step-father's will. If he had entertained such hopes, they were to be dashed, for although he was a beneficiary, his bequest was small indeed compared with that of Charles Tennyson



5. Caistor House, the Revd Samuel Turner's home. Reproduced from Alfred J. Church, *The Laureate's Country*. (*British Library*)

who was duly present at the funeral on 13 March. By the terms of the will,[97] drawn up 24 August 1831, Haddelsey was merely left the Caistor house he had hitherto occupied as a tenant. Charles, on the other hand, was left "all my Advowson donation and right of Patronage of in and to the Vicarage and Parish Church of Grasby ... and all the rest of my Messuages Cottages Closes Lands Tenements and Hereditaments ... situate lying and being at Caistor Nettleton Grasby and Cabourne." The seventeen-page document decreed that on the death of Charles the estates should be passed to Charles's male heirs and, in default of such issue, to Edwin, the second son of Charles Tennyson M.P and his heirs; in default of such issue from Edwin, they should be passed to Alfred Tennyson and his male heirs, and so on, alternately moving down the lines of primogeniture in both branches of the Tennyson family.

A major condition of the will was that whoever should inherit Samuel Turner's estate should "assume and take upon themselves respectively the surname of 'Turner' and by the said surname of Turner only and no other thenceforth for ever thereafter to name style and write and subscribe themselves respectively in all Deeds Instruments and Writings and use their utmost endeavours for procuring and obtaining his Majesty's Royal license and authority for their taking and assuming the said surname of Turner only". Samuel Turner also ordered that his investments, such as those in the Brigg Turnpike and Ancholme Drainage, be utilised for

furthering the value of the estate. This was to be the duty of the Trustees and joint-executors, Charles Robert Haddelsey and Charles Tennyson M.P., who could act independently. Ominously, Haddelsey was also entitled by the terms of the will to re-imburse himself out of the funds of the Trust for expenditure sustained in the course of the execution of his duties as Trustee.

The living Samuel Turner held at Tealby fell vacant on his death and Charles was offered it by his grandfather. This, in the circumstances, may seem surprising, but George Tennnyson always stood by his word. Despite his being presented with numerous requests for a response to this offer, Charles procrastinated until the matter was resolved by the fortuitous death on 20 May of the Vicar of Grasby, the Reverend William Hemsworth Wilkinson, who had been the incumbent since 1812. Charles was thus able to institute himself into the living of Grasby which was, of course, in his own gift; it gave him no small satisfaction to tell his grandfather that "the death of Mr Wilkinson ... has made Tealby a secondary consideration."[98]

The changes wrought by family circumstance grew as 1835 wore on, for on 4 July, Charles's twenty-seventh birthday, his grandfather died at his house in Usselby where he had lived during the last few years of his life. His remains were conveyed in the night to Bayons Manor, the old family home in Tealby. A description of this in a local newspaper[99]may show in what esteem he was

held in the neighbourhood and act to some degree as a corrective to those presentations of him as a foolish old man with no redeeming virtues:

> As the mournful procession passed through Market Rasen, notwithstanding the untimely hour of midnight, and the intentions of the family that the removal of the body should be quite private, every mark of respect was shown by the inhabitants to their late valued and venerable neighbour. Sixty individuals from the town and vicinity followed his remains on horseback. On Monday also, the inhabitants of Rasen closed their windows for great part of the day. The number of persons who assembled to obtain a sight of the last receptacle of their kind departed landlord and friend showed the affection with which his memory was regarded .... [O]f the vast multitude (estimated at two thousand) who assembled in the grounds of Bayons Manor and at the Church, great numbers were in mourning ... To the poor he was always kind and considerate; his tenantry ever found him an indulgent and liberal landlord; as a magistrate he was cautious, just and merciful; in friendship his constancy was proverbial ...

An odd piece of local lore had it that on the evening of the day of his burial, the nightingale was heard to sing for the first time in that part of Lincolnshire.[100] The legend entered the verse of

Charles's very last years in the sonnet 'Nightingales in Lincolnshire'.[101] In it he makes no reference to his grandfather, but the image was made the more potent in his imagination by its associations:

> Well I remember how the nightingale
> That linger'd in the genial South so long,
> Made his sweet trespass, broke his ancient pale,
> And brought into the North his wondrous song.

Charles did not attend the funeral, as he was ill, nursed by his mother, in Caistor.[102] Frederick was in Corfu. In their absence Alfred, who was at Somersby, might have been expected to represent the family, as George Hildeyard had represented the Tealby family at the funeral of Dr Tennyson. This he did not; none of the Somersby family was there, so giving rise to much bitterness of feeling at Tealby, particularly as - excepting Charles - they had been very comfortably provided for in their grandfather's will. George Tennyson in fact bequeathed them the whole of his inherited wealth, so enabling his Somersby grandchildren to pass, with good management, the remainder of their lives without financial hardship. George's *accrued* wealth passed to his son Charles, who not only added 'd' Eyncourt' to the family name in accordance with the terms of his father's will but embarked on the aggrandisement of the family home, Bayons Manor, creating an extraordinary Gothick mansion described by

Pevsner as "an immensely successful essay in the Castle mode" whose battlements looked out over a beautifully landscaped deer park.[103]

For his part, the younger Charles, in compliance with the will of his great-uncle Samuel, sought permission to change his name and on 1 September the King was "pleased to grant unto Charles Tennyson, of Caistor, in the County of Lincoln, Clerk, His royal licence and authority, that he and his issue may ... henceforth take and use the surname of Turner only."[104] From this date Charles always signed himself 'Charles Turner' and in no other way; all his later volumes of poetry were to be published over this name. He was, however to be known to some as 'Charles Tennyson Turner' (no hyphen ever being used) and this he allowed. Indeed this traditional form of his name became well enough established in his lifetime to justify its attachment to the posthumous collection of his poems, sanctioned by Alfred. It has been maintained by posterity, although it can be seen from the bibliography of his works that some editors have been quite undecided about the form they should use. Despite the legal imposition which denied his personally adopting the name, the form 'Charles Tennyson Turner' may stand. There are no grounds for accepting the form 'Charles (Tennyson) Turner'.

In the course of six months Charles's life had been transformed. He had moved from humbling dependency into a state of comfortable independence; he was now master

of his own house, master of his own finances. He also appeared before the world in a new guise: Charles Tennyson, Curate of Tealby, begrudgingly allowed the summer-keep of his horse in the meadow, was now Charles Turner, Lord of the Manor of Grasby, Patron and incumbent of the church. With such a manifestation of *peripateia* it seemed as if, in the words of his sonnet 'No Nightingales, or Compensation', he had found "tuneless night exchanged for choral morn".

He had much to be thankful for. He was intelligent, he was striking in appearance, he was amiable and loved. He was, in fact, a highly eligible bachelor and in September Louisa Sellwood accepted his proposal of marriage,[105] her father giving his consent. "I never remember to have seen him in better spirits", reported his sister Emily in the following March.[106] To sustain these spirits he pressed his mother and his sister Matilda to stay with him in Caistor in April and May. With typically absurd humour he introduced Matilda to his housekeeper as 'Mrs Turner', only to be overheard by bystanders in the market square. "Very soon after", he reported to Louisa - by then "dearest Looloo" - "the church-bells began to chime very nuptial-wise". The letter containing that report continues "Dearest, how does thy miniature proceed? ... Be sure to let the paintress have the full advantage of every sweet light and shade of thy countenance, so that I may in absence look on some memorializer ... of thy mysteriously-shaped head & thy kind affectionate features".[107] The miniature,



6. Louisa Sellwood 1836. Miniature by Anne Sellwood. Reproduced from Agnes Grace Weld, *Glimpses of Tennyson ...* (*British Library*).

painted by Louisa's sister, Anne, was to be reproduced over fifty years later in a book by Anne's daughter, Agnes. (Figure 6)

On 24 May, the Princess Victoria's birthday, Charles and Louisa were married in St. Mary's Church, Horncastle.[108] Louisa's sister, Emily, recalled that the Vicar of Horncastle said "she was the loveliest bride he had ever married. She had a delicate aquiline nose, dark brown hair and dark eyes, with a beautiful complexion and a pretty shy manner".[109] Frederick was the best man ; Mary Tennyson and Louisa's sisters, Emily and Anne, were bridesmaids. As his wedding gift, Louisa's father gave her the *Book of Common Prayer*.[110] Sir John Franklin, who was there, wrote to his wife with the news that "The Wedding seems to have made quite a stir in the town, from the number of people who attended it. Every account describes the Bride as looking beautifully interesting ... Mr Turner is described to me as being very good in temper and disposition".[111] The wedding breakfast was held in Mr Sellwood's house, barely thirty yards from the church door, and Charles oddly recorded the whole occasion - referring to Louisa as "my good dear wifie" - on the half title of his copy of Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges' autobiography (vol. 2).[112] It was one of the happier events in the lives of the Somersby family and Alfred had good cause to remember the day's joys, for he accompanied Emily Sellwood into the church and established the relationship that was to lead to his own marriage:

O happy bridesmaid, make a happy bride.[113]

The Turners then left, borne away in the family coach with four horses and white favours,[114] for their honeymoon on the Rhine, their well-worn copy of George Downes's *Guide Through Switzerland and Savoy* being "their guide, guardian and friend" throughout.[115] They were abroad for over a month.

The Reverend Dr Clement Madeley, who had officiated at the wedding, had prayed that the Lord should look "mercifully upon them from heaven and bless them ... that they, obeying thy will, and alway being safely under thy protection, may abide in thy love unto their lives' end".[116] It seemed that at last Charles, like the child in his sonnet, standing on the margin of a pond, had managed to

> Catch at the boughs that came within his way,
> From a fair fruit-tree on the bank beyond.

1 Eliza Tennyson to CT[d'E], 5 July 1830. *LALT* 1, p.45.

2 Ibid.

3 CTT to John Frere, 27 July 1830. Beinecke Library, Yale.

4 Sir Charles Tennyson, *Alfred Tennyson* (1968 ed.), pp.97-98. Sir Charles colours the account even more by having a dog spring out, so sending the horses [sic] to their headlong deaths. Philip Henderson, *Tennyson: Poet and Prophet* (1978), p.11, newly presents a crowd turning on Dr Tennyson in Rome. See also Martin, pp.114-115. *Memoir* merely presents Charles's account with no comment, 1, p.52.

5 'To a Scarecrow, or Malkin, Left Long after Harvest', (1873); 'The Posted Swan' (1880); 'Calvus to a Fly' (1879).

6 CTT to John Frere, 27 July 1830. See Note 3.

7 AHH to CTT, [12 September 1830]. *LAHH*, p.374.

8 CTT to James Spedding, 14 September 1830. *Materials*, 1, p.65.

9 *Lincoln, Stamford and Rutland Mercury*, 24 September 1830.

10 Pamela Horn, *The Rural World 1780-1850* (1980), p.88.

11 William Wrangham, note to his poem 'The Incendiary', dated 14 December 1830, in a MS volume of his poems. The Goulding Collection, Louth Central Library.

12 He was M.P. for Grimsby 1818-1826; for Bletchingly 1826-1831; for Stamford 1831-1832; for Lambeth 1832-1852.

13 [James Grant], *Random Recollections of the House of Commons from the Year 1830 to the Close of 1835* (1836), p.261.

14 LAO, 2T.d'E. H90/4-H90/7 and 2T.d'E. H91/2-H91/49.

15 GHT to CT[d'E], 16 March 1831. LAO, 2T.d'E. H91/30.

16 Frederick Tennyson to John Frere, 23 March 1831. *Memoir* 1, p.73.

17 GT to CT[d'E], 17 March 1831. LAO 2T.d'E. H91/22.

18 GHT to CT[d'E], 19 March 1831. LAO, 2T.d'E. H91/41.

19 Mrs. Eliza Massingberd to her son, Frank, 7 February 1831. Ralph Wilson Rader, 'Tennyson's "Strange" father: the Comments of a Lincolnshire Neighbour', *Notes and Queries* (December 1963), pp.447-448.

20 To an unnamed correspondent, 28 March 1831. Ibid., p.448.

21 Dr Tennyson's will (LAO), dated 29 December 1825, was, judging

by the presence of Tealby witnesses, drawn up at the home of his father. In it his brother-in-law, John Fytche, was named as one of the guardians; he was replaced by Rawnsley in the Codicil dated 12 May 1829. The will was proved 14 July 1831.

22 Revd T. H. Rawnsley to GT, 4 April 1831. *LALT* 1, p.58.

23 CT[d'E] to GT, 18 May 1831. *LALT* 1, pp.59-61.

24 CTT to James Spedding, 4 October [1831]. TRC.

25 CTT to John Frere, 2 December 1831. Maggs Bros., *Autograph Letters and Historical Documents*, Sale Catalogue no. 510 (Autumn 1928), p.303.

26 Ibid.

27 CTT to John Frere, 27 June 1831. Ibid.

28 CTT to John Frere, 2 December 1831. Ibid.

29 Full text in Peter Levi, *Tennyson* (1993), p.85.

30 CTT to GT, 19 April [1832]. LAO T.d'E. H110/3.

31 AHH to R. M. Milnes, 8 May [1832]. *LAHH*, p.572.

32 AHH to AT, [early May 1832]. *LAHH*, p.562.

33 Eliza Tennyson to GT, 31 May 1832. LAO T.d'E. H110/5.

34 CTT to GT, 25 June [1832]. LAO T.d'E. H110/11. Also Ordination Register 1 f.48 and Ordination Papers 1832/40.

35 W. H. Brookfield to AT, 15 August 1832. *LALT* 1, p.71.

36 AHH to Leigh Hunt, 13 November [1832]. *LAHH* p.684.

37 Eliza Tennyson to CT[d'E], 8 November 1832. LAO T.d'E. H110/28.

38 CT[d'E] to Thomas Probart, 2 November 1832. LAO T.d'E. H110/27.

39 CT[d'E] to Horace Brydges Hodgson, 13 November 1832. LAO T.d'E. H110/34.

40 The records of Edward Tennyson's admission and subsequent history are in the York City Archives. They are fully described in Christopher Daniell, 'Edward Tennyson in York 1832-1833', *Notes and Queries* (March 1987), pp.32-35 and 'Edward Tennyson in York 1833-1890', *Notes and Queries* (September 1988), pp.315-317.

41 Beyond his appearance in the family tree, Edward is not mentioned anywhere in *Memoir*.

42 CTT's Memorandum Book for 1866 is in TRC.

43 AHH to Emily Tennyson, [20-27 February 1833]. *LAHH* p.728.

44 AHH to Emily Tennyson, 15 March [1833]. *LAHH*, p.735.

45 Julia Tennyson jointly with Clara Tennyson to GHT, 26 August 1833. LAO T.d'E. H113/31.

46 Burke's *Landed Gentry*. *LAHH* (p.729) suggests a Charlotte Burton, but no such name can be found among the Somersby Burtons, other than Charlotte Hale who married Langhorne Burton Burton in 1837.

47 AHH to W. H. Brookfield, 13 February [1832]. *LAHH*, p.525.

48 AT to W. H. Brookfield, [Mid-March 1832]. *LALT* 1, p.70.

49 J. W. Blakesley to J. M. Kemble, 3 August 1829. Dunedin Public Library, New Zealand.

50 See Charles Kingsley, *Alton Locke* 1850 (Everyman ed., 1970), p.130.

51 AHH to W. H. Brookfield, 4 March [1832]. *LAHH*, p.527.

52 Page 128. There are no further details in the altered 1968 edition of this work.

53 *LALT* 1, p.87. The letter is in TRC.

54 *LAHH*, p.733.

55 Duke University. It is transcribed, with a heavy erasure, in Hallam Tennyson's Manuscript 'Materials for a Life of AT', TRC.

56 LAO T.d'E. H116/22.

57 LAO T.d'E. H117/54.

58 Philip L. Elliott, *The Making of the Memoir* (Greenville, South Carolina, 1978), p.24.

59 Martin (p.124) speaks of it as "a family tradition".

60 Elizabeth Russell to CT[d'E], 3 September 1835. *LALT* 1, p.141.

61 Martin, p.124.

62 Hester Davenport, 'Rural Rhymes of the Other Tennyson', *The Countryman* 93 (Autumn 1988), 66.

63 Rowland L. Collins, 'Charles (Tennyson) Turner', *Dictionary of Literary Biography* Vol. 32 (Detroit, 1984), p.301.

64 *Times Literary Supplement* (2-8 December 1988), p.1334.

65 Quoted in Virginia Berridge, 'Fenland Opium Eating in the Nineteenth Century', *British Journal of Addiction* 72 (1977), 275. Opium may have come to Ousby's notice because of its use in the 1831-2 cholera epidemic.

66 Miss Hatfield, *The Terra Incognita of Lincolnshire* (1816), pp.97-98.

67 For a full examination of the role of opium in British society 1820-1930, see Terry M. Parssinen, *Secret Passions, Secret Remedies* (Manchester, 1983).

68 'Observations on the Improper Use of Opium in England' [Colloquium on a paper presented by Julius Jeffreys], *Lancet* 1 (1840), 382.

69 James Spedding to W. H. Thompson, 4 March 1833. *LAHH*, p.733.

70 *Memoir* 1, p.102.

71 At Buckden. LAO Ordination Register 1 f.52 and Ordination Papers 1833/45.

72 Curates Nominations and Licences 1827-1959. LAO 312/49 CL(2).

73 Clara Tennyson to GHT, 27 April 1834. LAO T.d'E. H116/22.

74 CTT to GT, 1 May 1834. LAO T.d'E. H116/25.

75 GT to his agent, William Cooper, 3 May 1834. LAO T.d'E. H115/75. As Cooper was away, the letter was sent direct to Charles.

76 *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 26 December 1834, p.3.

77 Fanny Tennyson d'Eyncourt to GHT, 29 November 1837. LAO T.d'E. H121/79.

78 Published 1880. Charles told Rawnsley about the Horncastle background to this sonnet. Rawnsley, *Memories*, p.243.

79 The house was demolished in the 1960s. A Woolworth Store now occupies the site.

80 A memorial slab in the floor of the south aisle of St Mary's church indicates that she died 30 September 1816.

81 Robert Roberts, 'Recollections of Tennyson' in W. Robertson Nicoll and Thomas J. Wise eds., *Literary Anecdotes of the 19th Century* Vol. 2 (1896), pp.423-424.

82 Emily Lady Tennyson, 'Recollections of My Early Life' in Hallam Lord Tennyson ed., *Tennyson and his Friends* (1911), p.6.

83 Now in TRC.

84 *Lincolnshire in 1836* (Lincoln, 1836), p.147.

85 GT to CTT, 26 November 1827. LALT 1, p.18.

86 John Bourne to his wife, Mary, 19 September 1832. LAO T.d'E. H42.

87 The will of Mary Turner is dated 30 May 1799. Codicil dated 1 March 1802. Proved 24 May 1804. LAO Caistor Wills 157.

88 The will of John Turner is dated 12 August 1811. Codicil

dated the same. Second Codicil dated 9 September 1812. Proved 15 May 1813. LAO Caistor Wills 236.

89 Indenture, releasing George Tennyson from his duties as executor of John Turner, dated 4 November 1819. Author's collection.

90 Deposited in LAO by Sir Charles Tennyson in 1960.

91 LAO Tenn. 2/7/5.

92 *Lincoln and Lincolnshire Cabinet for 1827* (Lincoln, 1827).

93 *Lincoln and Lincolnshire Cabinet for 1829* (Lincoln, 1829).

94 *Reports of the Several Institutions of the Society of Industry Established at Caistor* ... 3 vols. (Caistor, 1821).

95 Peter Levi, *Tennyson* (1993), p.16.

96 Peter B. G. Binnall ed., 'Notes on the Tennyson Family Written Circa 1892 by the Late Henry Evan Smith', *Goulding's Illustrated Household Almanack* (Louth, 1941). Unpaginated.

97 Will of the Reverend Samuel Turner, dated 24 August 1831. Codicil dated 18 August 1834. Proved 8 December 1835. LAO LCC Wills 1835/335.

98 CTT to GT, [May] 1835. LAO 2T.d'E. H32/19.

99 *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 17 July 1835.

100 A paper read by Joseph Mawer at a meeting of the Louth Antiquarian and Naturalists' Society, 7 December 1892. *Louth and North Lincolnshire Advertiser* (24 December 1892), p.3.

101 Published 1880.

102 Fanny Tennyson d'Eyncourt to GHT, 29 August 1835. LAO T.d'E. H116a/33.

103 The picturesque ruins of the abandoned house were demolished in 1964.

104 *London Gazette* no. 19303 (4 September 1835), p.1677.

105 Edwin Tennyson d'Eyncourt to GHT, 28 September 1835. LAO H116a/35.

106 Emily Tennyson to Ellen Hallam, 24 March 1836. [Aidan Day ed.,], 'Letters from Emily Tennyson Jesse to Ellen Hallam ...', *Tennyson Research Bulletin* 4 (November 1982), p.30.

107 CTT to Louisa Sellwood, [April 1836]. TRC.

108 Horncastle Church Register.

109 James O. Hoge, 'Emily Tennyson's Narrative for Her Sons',

Texas Studies in Literature and Language 14 (Spring 1972), p.98.

110 TRC.

111 Sir John Franklin to Lady Jane Franklin, 11 June 1836 (Transcript). Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge, 248/318/6.

112 TRC.

113 AT's 'The Bridesmaid', 1872.

114 Hoge, 'Emily Tennyson's Narrative ...', p.98. Emily erroneously states that Eliza Tennyson was not at the wedding. Eliza appears as one of the witnesses in the Parish Register in St. Mary's Church, Horncastle.

115 TRC. Their departure for the Rhine is alluded to in AT's *In Memoriam*, Section 98.

116 Prayer at the Solemnization of Matrimony, *Book of Common Prayer*.

4

Loss and Restoration

Before leaving Lincolnshire for Switzerland, Charles had produced at least one poem which has survived. Somewhat inaccessible, for it does not appear in his collected works, it is given here in full:

Farewell! it is my parting hour:
Thy sister wends her way with me,
To spend far off, by land and sea,
Those first fair moons of peace and glee
That shine upon the orange flow'r:

Fair moons that guard those petals fair!
Full sweetly may ye downward shine!
Oh light us o'er the Ocean-brine
And wane not, on the winding Rhine,
Or where the Switzer's mountains are!

Entitled 'To a Lady' on its publication in 1837,[1] it may be taken as addressed to Emily or Anne Sellwood. It is notable principally for its metrical form, for removal of the second line of both stanzas produces the stanzaic and metrical form of the elegies currently being written

by Alfred and destined to appear under the title 'In Memoriam A. H. H.'

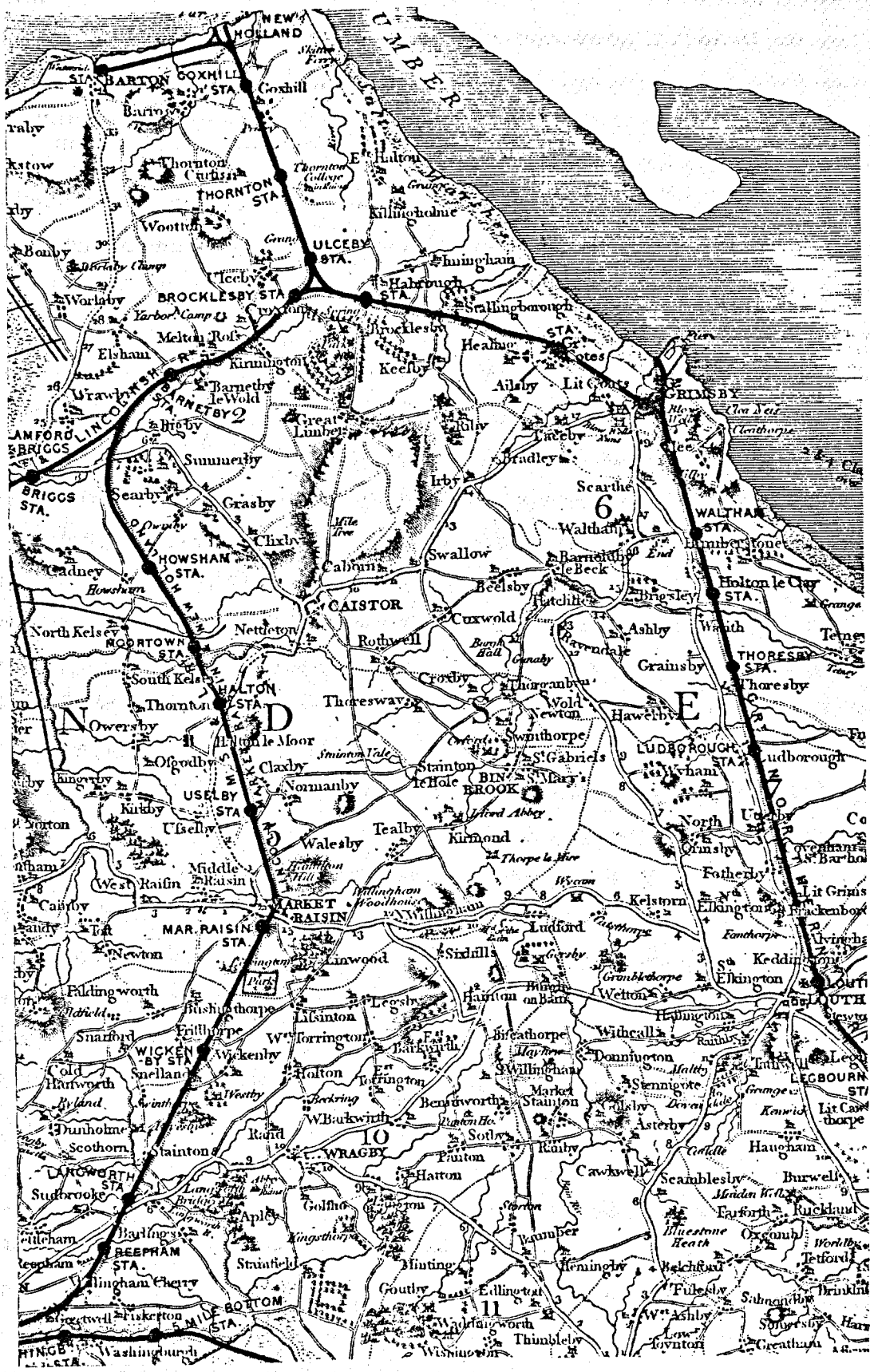
Charles's is not a poem of any quality, but its appearance suggested that he might resume his writing and he was, a few months after his return, to be encouraged in this endeavour by Alfred's applying to him for poems to be submitted to a publication called *The Tribute*.[2] Lord Northampton was the volume's nominal editor, but the working editors were Bernard Barton and Richard Monckton Milnes. Milnes procured one poem from Alfred - 'Oh that 'twere possible' - as well as poems from Trench, Frere, Alford and even Whewell. Charles submitted two: 'To a Lady' and the equally undistinguished 'Sonnet, on Seeing a Bevy of Humming-birds in a Glass Case'[3]whose melancholy reflection upon the ravages of the tomb looks back to the poems of 1827.

Neither poem reveals that the poetic impulse had returned to Charles and some twenty-six lines of nonsense verse in couplets, addressed in a letter to the daughter of C. R. Haddelsey, his attorney, in early 1837, reveal the arid area into which his poetic imagination had collapsed.[4] Equally a poem dated 9 March 1839, in exactly the same metre as that employed in 'To a Lady', shows no sign that his former abilities were restored. It is cumbersomely entitled 'On the Departure of Albert Fytche for India by the Ship "Marquis Camden" - Addressed to His Mother' and concerns the painting of his cousin Albert's portrait. It completely lacks spontaneity and originality of

expression and he himself never published it, though Albert did.[5]

It was to be hoped that Charles's newly-married state and newly-acquired sense of purpose would contribute to the revival of his poetic faculty. This, however, was not to prove the case, for, far from being settled in his domestic life, he was beset for some time with indecision about his continued residence in the area. For Caistor he felt little affection, speaking of "the remoteness of the place & the scarcity of respectable neighbourhood".[6] Alfred bluntly described Caistor as "a wretched market town which looks more like the limit of the civilized world than Johnny Groat's house ... The country about him is dreadful - barren rolling chalk-wolds without a tree".[7]

Grasby, some three miles north-west of Caistor, is, to be sure, even more remote, but though exposed to blustering winds, it nestles in its hillside declevity and has an undoubted charm. It is a small village in the wapentake and deanery of Yarborough and lies on the western slope of the Lincolnshire Wolds. At their foot a vast flat landscape stretches to the distant horizon where, on a clear day, Lincoln Cathedral can be seen from the church door. The church Charles found on assuming his incumbency was a squat, undistinguished building founded in 1250 and in considerable need of repair. The tower, housing two bells, one of which dated from 1500, had been rebuilt in 1786, retaining its original west door, but the north aisle had fallen into



Map 3. Northern Lincolnshire, from *Cruchley's Railway Map of Lincolnshire* [1857?] (*British Library*).

a ruinous state and its arcade had been bricked up, reducing the structure in size so that it merely comprised a nave and chancel.

It had an east window with good diaper glass protected by an outside shutter and still had - as it does today - its fourteenth century font.[8] Two of its eighteenth century vicars, both named Christopher Hildyard, father and son, lay under memorial slabs in the chancel.[9] They were both spiritual and corporeal forebears of Charles whose great great grandmother was a Yorkshire Hildeyard. It appears that during the incumbency of Charles's immediate predecessor, the Reverend William Hemsworth Wilkinson (Vicar of Grasby 1812-1835), whose heavy drinking had been brought to the notice of the bishop,[10] the fabric of the church had been allowed to decay and little regard was paid to its contents. A report of its condition, dated April 1836, reveals the following:

> Altar noisy bad table. No cloth for table of any sort. No napkin. Common plate. 1 small silver cup & cover & pewter flaggon and ditto plate ... Old mat for the altar rails. Font. No basin.[11]

This state of affairs could be matched in many another Lincolnshire church at the time; the interior of Lincoln Cathedral itself was described in 1838 as "scandalously neglected, being enveloped in coats of dust ... a freezing horror pervades you as you survey the whole

interior. It is of a jaundice tint, begrimed with dirt ... Here is one of the finest sacred edifices in Europe; but nothing seems stirring about it. It is as a body without a soul."[12]

The village contained, according to an 1842 directory, some two hundred and eighty-seven souls and had been in the throes of enclosure since 1815, the final award not being signed until 1844.[13] It was an 'open' village, there being no dominating landowner, and the villagers, who were in the main of an ingrained independent stock, owed their allegiance to no-one. To some degree some of them could not even be described as Christian, for pagan superstition was still strong in their number. The powers of witchcraft were still very real to them and they enacted such ancient rites as cutting a stolen sheep in half and walking between the divided parts to free themselves from bewitchment.[14]

In the months immediately prior to his marriage Charles expressed no wish to reside in Grasby where the parsonage-house was in a very poor state of repair, though he felt constrained to move into his parish in compliance with Bishop Kaye's Charge of 1834, an episcopal denunciation of non-residence, and equally in anticipation of the 1838 Plurality Act which, with its coeval reform of Gilbert's Act relating to residence had begun its progress through the House of Commons in March 1837.[15] He even contemplated exchanging his living for one in the South of England, a thought stimulated by the impending departure of his mother from Somersby where

the new rector, just married, wished to take up residence in their old home. He went so far as to put his Grasby property and his manorial rights up for auction,[16] the sale, however, being aborted. "I am not sure whether I shall meet with a living to suit me better than Grassby [*sic*]", he told one correspondent.[17] The sale of the contents of Somersby Rectory nevertheless took place and the dear objects of Charles's childhood - "sofas and couches; turkey, brussels, and other carpets; about 20 paintings ..."[18] - went under the hammer. Eliza Tennyson, who had lived in the house for nearly thirty years, was to move with her resident offspring to Beech Hill, near Epping, in the late Summer of 1837, and Charles was to drive Alfred, Mary and Cecilia in his phaeton over to Dalby so that they could bid farewell to their Aunt Bourne for whom they felt particular affection.[19]

Charles, no doubt feeling that the current construction of the railways would make his mother's move to Essex not so great a severance, stayed on and he had the old Grasby parsonage made habitable for his and Louisa's use while a new one was being built. The new vicarage, however, was not to be built for some years. A small piece of memorabilia from their last months in the Caistor house is a notebook,[20] formerly the Reverend Samuel Turner's, containing their joint Italian exercises, studies they were never to put to joint use. Leasing Caistor House to the new headmaster of the Grammar School, William Ellis,[21] they moved into Grasby

in December, Charles's sister Cecilia commenting "I am glad for one thing, Louisa will not have that long walk to take on Sunday which I think did her serious harm so weak as she is ..."[22] A measure of the Grasby vicarage's somewhat over-indulged comforts can be gleaned from the list of its contents drawn up in 1842:[23]in it we find that the Sitting Room alone contained, among other things, seven mahogany chairs, an easy chair, a sofa, a mahogany chiffonier, a table and bookcase in the same wood, a cottage piano, bookshelves, two footstools, a musical clock, nine oil paintings and three engravings. The bedrooms held three four-poster beds with hangings and one French bed with a canopy. The hall, kitchen and pantry were equally replete with domestic furnishings and accessories. For all this excess, the hand of Louisa can clearly be seen in the tight control of domestic finances: "I have in former days suffered so much from want of [economy]", wrote Charles in the Spring of 1839, "that I am pursuing quite another course ... I am afraid I shall get stingey but in this way I have adopted of noting my weekly expenses I can alone be an honest man".[24] All Louisa's extant memorandum books[25] contain consistently careful itemised lists of expenditure and it is apparent from them that she took control of domestic economy. What is not apparent from them is that she was consistently frugal: there was a tension between her will and her conscience on this matter and this was but one manifestation of a wider tension in her nature, as will be seen.

In the Spring of 1838 Louisa's health was giving cause for concern: "Tell me, Susan," wrote Cecilia Tennyson to her friend Susan Haddelsey, "when you write, and let it be soon, how Louisa is. I fear from what I have heard that she has not been at all well".[26] The visits of Cecilia and Matilda in the course of the year may have helped relieve the Turners' spirits, but Charles showed but little improvement on his former lethargic self; Cecilia's picture of him in March 1838 as "enjoying himself on the sofa - with his books - listening to sweet airs and songs"[27] is significant. He did not neglect the offices of the church however: of fourteen baptisms in 1839 eleven were conducted by Charles, six out of nine burials were conducted by him and all three marriage ceremonies.[28] The Reverend Charles Cotterill, the Brigg schoolmaster, stood in for him when he was absent, for there was no Grasby curate.

Louisa's health, in the summer of 1839, collapsed completely. Her malady was of the mind, described later by Charles as of a kind "which, from its mild tho' unchangeable character of monomania, offers but little hope of amelioration."[29] She became deeply introverted, spiritually and morally self-destructive and filled with the bitter anguish of guilt and self-recrimination. Though the Divine Presence was real to her, she laboured under the conviction that her sins, grown disproportionately heinous in her mind, shut her off from God's grace, that she was beyond hope of salvation by the redeeming power of Christ and that her soul was

in a state of abandonment, to be lost forever in a vacuum of isolation. This frightening and indeed agonising condition is revealed in those of her diaries and notes that have survived and one must look ahead to later years in her life to find its expression in full:

> 6 August 1856: Not very good prayers. Think go wedding. Feel nothing. Make much of discontent. Do not speak [Bishop?] Nobody take notice of or care for me. Very angry that pa come home. Grief. [Bishop?] say 20 years happiness. Feel C. take least notice or care of me. Feel grief. Care so much for love - praise.
>
> 7 August 1856: Discontent. Try bite C ... Feel care so much earthly forms, no earthly love. Try turn love Christ ... Sorrow all day ... covet ....[30]

From an undated loose folio[31] used in place of a diary comes the following:

> 11th Rose early without trust in Christ. Thought that as Christ had died for my sins ... my good deeds needed His death to make them acceptable: it did not signify if I sinned. Want of faith in Christ, Godhead & the Holy Ghost ... Read Bible. *Boasted.* Was late. Angry with F. for not bringing water ... I remembered my husband's sins & not

Christ's death ... Complain of cold. Anger against servants. Have been falsely accusing M. Saunders ...

12th Rose late ... Did not join well in family prayer. In one point helped myself ... Often murmured at cold ... my own impatience ... Did not come up to pray before lunch for fear of keeping E. waiting. She kept me waiting a long time ... Constant judging & despising E. Perpetual murmuring at cold & accusing E. ...

From another undated sheet[32] come the following fragments which may establish the identity of 'E' as her sister Emily:

I have not considered the awful violation of my baptismal vow ... I have profaned the holy feast of Sunday ... most impatient & wicked conduct and I did not recover the next day till night ... I have been harsh and cruel. I do distrust & blaspheme my sister in flesh & spirit always seeking counsel against her ... I am guilty of secret murder ... I bore malice, revenge in heart ... I have not laboured to subdue my body but pampered it .. I have railed at C secretly for injuries & I have been desirous to seem better than I am ... I do not worship God with reverence. I have been too late for prayers thro' murmuring & complaining & shewing off my burdens ...

The self-loathing and its transference into searing vituperations against others, which in turn bring self-condemnation, proceed through all her diaries: there was never to be a release from this anguish. Extended prognosis of her clinical and psychological condition is beyond the scope of this study, but in viewing her case we may consider two factors. The first is the loss of her mother when she was but four months old, a trauma which may have contributed to the destabilisation of her psyche; the second is the timing of its most overtly violent expression: within the first three years of her marriage. Speculation it must most severely remain, but consideration should be given to the suggestion that her movement into the world of Charles's Christian ministry sharpened her profound sense of unease; her feelings of inadequacy, of unworthiness in playing out the role brought upon her by her marriage, particularly to a man whose faith in comparison was untroubled and resolute, disturbed the equilibrium of her mind. This of course ignores other considerations, such as her sexuality and her maternal needs, which stretch speculation even further, for nothing is known of them. Lacking the functional help of modern psychiatry, her condition was to remain unchanged throughout the rest of her life. In her plight Charles found the culmination of much that he had experienced in the psychological imbalance of his father and in that of his brother Edward: the extremes of violent emotion and of melancholia inherent in their natures met in hers. It will be seen that Charles's

life was eventually to be spent in an attempt to accommodate this darkly unhappy experience into his own world. More importantly we shall see that the experience was to be accommodated into his poetic vision. In 1839, however, he was unable to bring to the situation any kind of moral strength and lapses into the habit of taking laudanum, which had probably been growing for some time, returned with some severity. This merely compounded their problems.

By the end of August Louisa had left Grasby and was down in Berkshire accompanied by Emily Sellwood[33]; by the end of November their father had brought them back home to Horncastle, having been obliged, as he said, "to go to London & fetch them on account of the extraordinary conduct of Mr Turner. He is in fact quite demented by his opium and yet poor Louisa insists upon rejoining him unless he were absolutely to say that he would not take her in."[34] Henry Sellwood applied to Charles's attorney, C. R. Haddelsey, to try to arrange a separation,[35]but Louisa returned to her husband on New Year's Day, 1840. Her father commented "She has not raised her expectation of domestic comfort very high & has promised if she should find matters worse than she expects [to] return to us again or to go and res[ide] with the Cotterills at Brigg. ... Mr Turner would never say that he would consent to a separation & in fact I think he feels his utter inability to take care of himself. I really think he has no evil dispositions except his great vice which nullifies most of his inherent good qualities ... It is

fully understood that Louisa is not to reside permanently at Grasby."[36] Sellwood's view of the situation must be viewed with caution, for, of course, as a distraught father with an understandable sense of loyalty to his own daughter, he judged it on the basis of the accounts she gave of it. Neither here nor in any of his other comments on the collapse of the marriage does Sellwood suggest that Charles's "great vice" was the *cause* of Louisa's loss of mental stability, but assertions have subsequently been made in favour of this judgment, the most seminal being Sir Charles Tennyson's. In his *Alfred Tennyson* (p.179) we find it boldly declared: "The excitement of [Charles's] engagement and marriage proved too much for him, and he began almost immediately to give way once more to the dreaded opium habit. Louisa struggled bravely and devotedly to free him, but the effort was too great. She succeeded, but at the cost of her own health." As Sir Charles does not cite his sources in support of these assertions, very little can be deduced from them and one is left with the view that they are interpretations of fact rather than an exposition of the facts themselves. Unfortunately his interpretation has entered the canon of Tennyson biography *as fact* and persists even in the most recent biographies of the Laureate.[37]

Louisa stayed but briefly with Charles in early 1840; from that point until her reappearance in 1849 nothing is known of her movements. All the Sellwood sisters may have been driven from Horncastle in the

summer of that year by a virulent epidemic of scarlatina there;[38]nor are they likely to have been in Horncastle after 1848 when their father retired from his legal practice and moved to Hale, near Farnham in Surrey.

While Alfred's own relationship with Emily Sellwood was to move into a prolonged state of suspension in 1840, other members of the Tennyson family were embarking upon marriage about this time. Frederick, settled in Florence, married Maria Giuliotti of Siena in 1839; Emily was to marry Richard Jesse in January 1842 and Cecilia was to follow in October of that year with her marriage to Edmund Lushington.[39]

Finding himself leading a solitary life yet again, Charles applied successfully to the bishop for a non-residence licence, the Turners' physician pressing "the urgent necessity of his non-residence at Grasby for the present from the peculiar state of health (mental) of Mrs Turner" and adding that he deemed "change of abode imperative as an essential step towards her recovery."[40] This suggests that Charles expected a re-union if he were to move out of his parish. He did not fully move out of Grasby, however, for some time; he had his aunt Mary Anne Fytche come to live with him and he maintained the offices of the church until September 1843.[41]

1841 saw a return to old financial wranglings, for the Tennysons became involved in speculation which they believed would increase their capital considerably. It almost brought about their ruin. The venture involved the purchase of shares in a 'pyroglyph' industry, a

wood-carving manufactory, into which they sank about £8000, Charles interceding on behalf of his sisters for the release of some £2000 from their inheritance held in trust by their uncle Charles and speaking in his letter of appeal of the undoubted "prudence of the speculation ... a very safe one."[42] A book of accompt belonging to Charles[43]suggests that he himself was much involved in the enterprise. Charles Tennyson d'Eyncourt's reluctance to release the money proved justified, for the manufactory failed and only by the provident intervention of Edmund Lushington was the Tennyson capital restored to the family in late 1843.

Nor was this the only financial near-catastrophe. Arthur, who had been living for the most part in the Caistor district since the family moved from Somersby, was equally obliged to call for funds from his uncle Charles: "I am in very great difficulties", he wrote. "I am again threatened with the law & owe a great many debts at Caistor & at Horncastle where I have been written to from a tradesman. I expect a lawyer's letter every day. To be brief will you advance me another £60 ..."[44] Becoming deeply dependent on alcohol, Arthur was in late 1842 to place himself voluntarily in an asylum for the insane, the Crichton Institution in Dumfries, where he was to stay until September 1843; he then left for Florence where he was to remain some twelve years, his brother Charles dealing with the Crichton's bills.[45]

In September 1842 it was discovered that some of the funds held in trust from the bequest of Samuel

Turner had been fraudulently appropriated. The malefactor, who has not hitherto been identified, was in fact Samuel Turner's step-son, and Charles's attorney, C. R. Haddelsey. As Charles put it, he had "been acting the parasitical plant for many years & feeding largely on trustee juices which ought to have gone to have kept the trunk of the estate in proper bulk for myself, Edwin & the alternate inheritors."[46] Haddelsey had disposed of £2000 worth of shares for his own uses, speaking of "a claim for services to the late Mr Turner."[47] Charles enlisted the assistance of the second trustee, his uncle Charles, and for the legal work involved in the recovery of the embezzled money the lawyer who agreed to undertake the case was Henry Sellwood.[48] The proceedings, which were settled out of court, lasted until 1850.[49] It is thus apparent that there was no estrangement between Sellwood and his son-in-law throughout this period.

Charles finally decided to leave his living in the care of a curate in April 1843, explaining his position in an important and clarifying letter to Bishop Kaye:

> My Lord
>
> You are aware of my situation in great part, if not wholly: a widower - virtually, - as it is not thought safe for my wife & myself to live together. You probably remember something of my various plans & purposes, as you, I cannot forget, were so kindly considerate of my case: Subsequent to our separation and now therefore

for some length of time, it has been a favourite scheme of my mother's, that I should have a curate for Grasby, in order that we might live together i.e. she & I with a sister or two who yet remain unmarried. They have suffered in no slight degree from the plausible tho' nefarious designs of speculatists coming in the garb of pure friendship; - she & they then are very anxious for me to superintend their affairs in person especially as most of my brothers are not in a situation to do this for her. She (my mother) could not with justice to her daughters bury herself with me at Grasby, & our living together can only therefore be achieved by the above-mentioned plan. Besides all this, I cannot but say that distressful circumstances have made Grasby a lonely place for me & as my wife resides with her father & at times, being on a visit in the neighbourhood (for it is deemed right & serviceable for her not to continue too long a period together even in her father's house), comes even nearer to me - viz. within a very few miles - this sad proximity I should much rejoice to dispense with by a change of residence. Even if, eventually, (a case perhaps not at all probable) she could return to me, the loneliness and wants of neighbourhood of Grasby would throw it quite out of the line of a medical adviser's suggestions ... Her religious views, with which I

could not concur or sympathize, seem to keep her heart at a distance from me & therefore of course no motion is made or is likely to be made on the part of her friends to reunite us. Finally I beg to mention to your Lordship my determination not to withdraw any of the advantages which my parish enjoys i.e. school subscription, poor man's allotments etc. etc. I should not apply for a curate if I intended my non-residence to involve any retrograde movement of this sort. I trust Mrs Kaye & your family are well & I remain

Your Lordship's obed$^{t.}$ humble servant

Charles Turner[50]

Religious dissent among the villagers having grown of late - a Wesleyan Chapel had been built in 1840 and a Primitive Methodist Chapel in 1841 - Charles was particularly concerned that the curate appointed could meet the challenge.[51] He put his estate, now removed from Haddelsey's hands, into those of a new agent, his neighbour Joseph John Burkinshaw (valued by Charles for his "great ability & discretion",[52]) and, performing his last official duty on Sunday 24 September 1843,[53]he left Grasby to join his mother at Boxley in Kent. In November he moved with her to Cheltenham where, with Mary, Matilda and aunt Mary Anne, a number of dogs, a parrot and a monkey, they established a curious ménage[54]first in Belle Vue Place and then in St. James's Square. A pastor without a flock, a poet without a

muse, a landowner exiled from his estate and a husband severed from his wife, he was thus to pass the next six years of his life. His achievements must have seemed to him as nought.

Of his activities at this time we know little. We catch a glimpse of him dining with an old Lincolnshire friend, John Rashdall, who was visiting Cheltenham in 1844,[55] and another glimpse of him in London in the latter half of 1847 when another old friend, W. H. Brookfield, briefly called on him "and going away, C. said in his short, true-passing-observation way 'We used to be wits, now we're going off, I think, nothing but languid commonplaces.'"[56]

In 1845 he was certainly in France, for his copy of Virgil's *Georgics* was, according to its signed inscription, "bought at Marseille off a stall in early May."[57] He was in Lille in the following July[58] and was accidentally discovered by Septimus in Paris too.[59] He was in Lincolnshire at least once - in 1846, summoned by parish business[60] - and we know that he began 1849 feeling unwell and needing "a change of air & cheerful society."[61] The early months of 1849 are also unfortunately scantily covered by records and so we know nothing of the precise circumstances surrounding the reunion of Charles and Louisa. It happened between 2 February when Charles petitioned the bishop for a renewal of his non-residence licence on the grounds of his wife's ill-health[62] and 21 May when the current curate at Grasby, the Reverend James Douglas, informed the

bishop "The principal cause of Mr Turner's non-residence having been happily removed, he intends to reassume the management of the parish himself and dispense with my services."[63] They had been apart for nine years. As has been indicated, there was to be no full restoration of Louisa's mental health and her condition, which was to prove manic-depressive, was one Charles had to face with fortitude. From her cryptic diary entries it is apparent that her deepest fears and severest bouts of self-chastisement came with the darkness so that her nights were spent often in confessional prayer, but she would invariably emerge into the light of day with almost frenetic industry and this is to be seen in her immense commitment to the activities embraced by her husband's incumbency. There was thus a dichotomy between the morbid personal misery hidden from public view and the supportive vitality she presented to the world.

The Turners did not take up residence in Grasby immediately as the curate was without financial means and was unable to find a living elsewhere. They were particularly unwilling to force him out when his youngest child died in March[64]and this drove Charles on to effect the speedy building of a new vicarage on land already his by inheritance, although it should be noted that the bishop's 1849 charge had decreed that "on benefices of which the income exceeds £100 a year" (Charles's vicarage was valued at £200) "the Bishop is

required by the Act to insist on the erection of a house."[65]

In December 1849 they were in London purchasing a carriage[66]and work began on the laying out of the grounds. The house, built at a cost of £1200,[67]still stands. By no means extravagantly designed, it is an attractive two-storey brick structure whose front looks south away from the road and down onto gently sloping lawns, large enough to warrant Charles's use of a 'mowing-machine', and onto a meadow - the home-field - beyond.[68] In the course of time Charles was to plant an abundance of trees, one avenue, skirting the lawns and meadow, becoming a favourite walk, known today as 'The Poet's Walk'. From various references in his letters and memorandum books[69]we find that he planted lemon-scented thyme, "20 ft. high sunflowers", myrtle, fig trees and the unspecified "Moorland Tree" addressed in an 1868 sonnet. He singularly refused to lop down or prune any shrub or tree - recalling the injunction of John Turner's will - so that the willow props, planted as stakes to hold up the roses, took root and flourished. His study, on the east side of the house on the ground floor, looked out onto the lawns and meadow; on the west side were the bay-windowed drawing room and the dining room where the portrait of his mother as a young woman hung over the fireplace.[70]

Charles and Louisa moved into the new house in May 1850, though builders were still on site some six weeks later. It was to become for them both, despite the



7. Grasby Vicarage, seen from the home-field. Reproduced from Alfred J. Church, *The Laureate's Country*. (*British Library*).

darkest despairs hidden within its walls, a source of peace and delight and was probably a major factor in the binding of their union:

> 'Scaped from the day's long heats and hustling crowds,
> How much for that sweet silence I condon'd!
> ('Summer Evening. Retirement of a Garden'. 1864)

A further source of delight was the appearance in their lives of a child, not their own, for they were to remain childless, but that of Louisa's sister Anne, Agnes,[71] who was six when they moved into the vicarage. A regular visitor, she in later life recalled how the house was

> ... embowered in roses and honeysuckle and clematis and the summer breezes that brought the sweet fragrance of these flowers into their rooms wafted in with them also the weirdly musical notes of an Eolian harp.[72]

The momentous occupation of the vicarage coincided with equally momentous events in Alfred's life, for on 1 June Moxon published his *In Memoriam A. H. H.* and on 13 June he was, after a ten-year hiatus in his engagement, married to Louisa's eldest sister Emily at Shiplake, near Reading. Charles himself had played some part in this, having interceded with Henry Sellwood on Alfred's behalf.[73] Part of the honeymoon was to have been spent at Grasby, but the presence of builders put it out of the

question.[74] The Turners were not present at the wedding but on the day itself the Tennysons received Louisa's letter of blessing and Charles's added, and rather pointed, observation "Oh what a queer world it is! I hope however it has done a brace of amiable & remarkable people some genuine good, whirligig as it is, this time at least."[75]

Charles's first major parochial task was the partial restoration of the church and by the end of 1850 the bricked-up north arcade had been opened, so restoring the north aisle to use and increasing the number of pews from about a hundred and thirty to two hundred. This was a necessary step in his efforts to lure back those members of the congregation who had defected to the dissenting chapels and indeed by March 1851 he was able to report that forty parishioners attended the morning service and eighty the afternoon service.[76] The whole church was re-roofed and re-pewed, private pews being removed in accordance with Charles's democratic principles.

He was to be no 'squarson' and never vaunted his position as lord of the manor; his mildness, humility and kindliness were to endear him to his flock and one suspects that a number of his parishioners took advantage of this, judging by the number of loan records found[77]in the backs of the Turners' memorandum books:

> Lent Mrs Hannath 5 pounds to be repaid in small sums when she can.

Jan 23 1852

Charles Turner

F. Hannath

Madam,

Our work is stopped for a few weeks and so I think of going to see my friends and I have not quite money enough to take me on the Journey would you do me the favour as to Lend me 10 or 12 shillings while I return again that will be in the coarse of three weeks or a month ... G. Lambert

Sent George Lambert half a sovereign & half a crown by the postman the day this note was received.

Nor did he fit into the Lincolnshire squirearchy of passionate huntsmen, for his repugnance towards the killing of any creature by his own hand had been early established, as his sonnet 'On Shooting a Swallow in Early Youth' attests. Despite the fact that in the 1840s twenty-nine of the sixty-five magistrates of Lindsey were men of the cloth,[78] he was never to contemplate a role in the magistracy, although his social standing would have sanctioned it. His was essentially a non-aspiring nature: the shrieval chaplaincy offered him by his cousin Lewis Fytche, High Sheriff in 1864, was very firmly declined on the grounds that it was "too public and prominent" for his rural habits.[79] In 1850 he described himself to Alfred and

Emily as "like the Vicar of Wakefield's family, a mere flitter from the blue bed to the brown",[80] his life becoming circumscribed by the concerns of his parish, the pleasures of his garden and his reading.

Louisa's father joined the household in 1851 and he was to live with them until 1864, so prompting visits from his other daughters. Alfred visited them first in July 1852, walking through the fields from Moortown railway station, admiring "the deep long-stemmed Lincolnshire wheat" and finding that it was "a nice little place they have and the country really looks pretty at this time of year";[81] the Turners returned the visit by being present at the christening of Hallam Tennyson at Twickenham in the October when "there were poets there as thick as blackberries, - Brownings and Taylors and Tennysons and great historians, venerable Hallams, and radiant visions of fair women."[82] The social worlds of Charles and Alfred, now Poet Laureate, were now to diverge dramatically.

Throughout the early 1850s Charles's health was troubled. In 1851 he declared himself "amused at my bare ribs which for years have been well-clothed"[83] and was in London for a consultation about a throat complaint.[84] Alfred, on his 1852 visit, found him "rather low" and both Charles's and Louisa's appearance shocked Emily who commented "How thin they both look!"[85] Louisa's condition placed a considerable strain on Charles and occasional lapses into the use of laudanum were the result. Now, paradoxically, she indefatigably managed

to sustain him and bring him through the experience, though even as late as 1859 Emily was to comment "Poor Charles. Perhaps we shall be able to do something towards convincing Louy but I fear not because she is fully aware of what has been so often said by others that abstinence is easier than moderation."[86] Both Emily and Alfred were, of course, fully acquainted with the problems of both of the Turners and Alfred, working on *Maud* in 1854, was only too painfully aware, from his knowledge of Louisa's state of mind, of the workings of the psyche thrown into imbalance by monomania.

For Charles activity was an essential means of aiding his recovery and he next turned his attention to the village school. It had been founded on the national plan in the 1840s but was quite inadequate to meet the needs of the increasing population whose numbers reached their peak about 1855.[87] His returns, in answer to a Diocesan questionnaire,[88]show that in February 1855 the average attendance of both boys and girls was sixty, while the number of children for whom accommodation was provided was fifty-two. We also learn from the document that he provided a furnished house and garden rent-free for the school-master and his wife. There was no Sunday School. In his 1840 charge, Bishop Kaye had reminded the ministers of his diocese that from the moment of a child's baptism "the Church becomes, as it were, a sharer in the parental responsibility and is bound to co-operate, through her ministers, in causing the child to be trained to lead his future life according to this

holy beginning."[89] "The school room", he averred, "is scarcely a less essential part of the parochial establishment than the house of God itself."[90]

In response to these perorations, Charles had the school rebuilt in 1855 at his own expense and instituted a Sunday School, Louisa taking overall control, for instruction in the catechism and in the Scriptures. From loose manuscript notes found in her 1861 diary we find her firm but kindly words of guidance for the Sunday School teachers: "From the time you enter try to keep [the children] still but never speak sharply or crossly ... a look will be enough ... Call to see them in the week if absent on Sunday."[91] From this point the village children came increasingly into the Turners' lives and the annual school feast became a high point in the year. In 1857 Emily Tennyson with her sons Hallam, then almost five, and Lionel, three, was present at one such feast and she gives an account of it in her journal:

> The boys charmed with the school feast for which we went yesterday to Caistor to buy cakes and toys, which they distribute, & Lionel astonishes the children by giving them flowers. They are very eager in the races for books .... The school children show great fancy in their dances to the Hurdy-gurdy of a wandering minstrel. Lionel charmed. The school children sing old English airs very well on the lawn. Then "God save the Queen" & three lusty cheers & they depart.[92]



8. Agnes Grace Weld 1857, by C. L. Dodgson.
(*Princeton University Libraries*).

Another picture, illustrating Charles's manner with children, has been left by the daughter of a neighbouring clergyman:

> I well remember Mr Turner, who was often seen in his parish; often hatless, wrapped in a big cloak and enveloped too in a sort of scholarly benevolence. When talking to my mother there was often a sprinkling of laughter which was good to hear. When 3 years old I was taken to a Grasby farm. Out came a gobbling turkey and I thought it was bleeding when I saw its red feathers. I screamed with fright and dear Mr Turner hoisted me up in his arms and hugging me tight against his *unshaved chin*, carried me all the way back to the vicarage. The great events in the summer were the Village School Treats. The one at Grasby was the most popular, because Mr Turner always took such an active interest in all the activities of the young people.
>
> In the winter 'spelling bees' brought the neighbours together; but Mr Turner was more ambitious and started poetical 'bees'. There was a final competition, judged by Mr Turner, and he awarded the first prize to my mother, much to our delight.
>
> In the early days of photography my brother Charles longed to take a photograph of Charles Turner. To his surprise he readily agreed and brought a chair out into the garden, quite ready to pose. At the last,

most critical moment he made a comical and hideous grimace, and though Charles was disappointed he enjoyed the fun and thought it 'so like Mr Turner'.[93]

Between 1856 and 1860 the vicarage saw visits from Lady Franklin, who declared "I scarcely know when I have enjoyed a visit more",[94]the Welds, Lewis and Albert Fytche and the Lushingtons. There were reciprocal visits to Bayons Manor at Tealby, Alfred being taken there by Charles in 1857 to look over the completed house.[95] Old rancours had been forgiven. The relationship between Edmund Lushington and the Turners deepened during this period, particularly after the death at Avignon of Edmund's sister, Louisa, on her return from Malta in 1854. She was but thirty and known for the gentleness of her disposition.[96] Edmund's brother, Franklin, with her at her death, was the one to send news of her last hours to Park House, the Lushingtons' home, and Charles was among the first to send a letter of condolence: "Louy was indeed a 'sweet' soul as you say. I can see her in my fancy with her gentle smile & unvarying affability ... It must be [of] infinite satisfaction to [Franklin] to have held his sister in her last moments in his arms & to have seen the heavenly smile which you mention."[97] Louisa added her own words: "Tho' the loss of gentle spirits brings the greatest pain, it also brings the greatest relief when you think of them in a place more in tune with them than this rough world is ... May you all so receive this

grief that it may be a vast step towards meetness for that place where you may meet her again in perfect bliss." This melancholy experience was to be of considerable significance for Charles, for it revitalised his imagination and the result was the first successful sonnet to have been written by him for nearly twenty-five years:

> Though Death met Love upon thy dying smile,
> And stay'd him there for hours, yet the orbs of sight
> So speedily resign'd their azure light
> That Christian hope fell earthward for a while,
> Appall'd by dissolution ... .

It is, in these first lines, an expression of momentary despair, presenting as it does the collapse of faith; but momentary it is, for the sonnet continues:

> ... but on high
> A record lives of thine identity;-
> Thou shalt not lose one charm of lip or eye

The reality of her physical nature - and Charles makes no reference to the concept of 'soul' - will be sustained:

> ... our stricken hearts repose
> On the dear thought that we once more shall see
> Thy beauty - like Himself our Master rose;

Then shall that beauty its old rights maintain,
And thy sweet spirit own those eyes again.

In the process of thought in this poem, Charles encapsulates within fourteen lines the basic theme of Alfred's *In Memoriam* - published only four years before - in which he had similarly addressed one taken from life in tragic circumstances. The sudden appearance of Charles's poem suggests that the current circumstances of his life were not the only factor in the reviving of his poetic faculty: his brother's elegy had a potent and profound role in effecting this.

Charles gave this sonnet to Edmund who evidently asked for further poems which Charles eventually supplied in May 1860. The Louisa Lushington sonnet and three others were submitted by Edmund to Alexander Macmillan for publication in *Macmillan's Magazine* which had been launched the previous year. Alfred's 'Sea Dreams' had its first publication in the January issue and Charles's sonnets appeared in the June issue. The memorial sonnet to Louisa appeared under the title 'Resurrection' - to be re-titled 'Anastasis' in 1864 - and its three accompanying sonnets were 'Spring', 'A Thought for March 1860' and 'Sunrise'.[98] The theme of Spring' is again that of life emerging victorious from the grip of deadening natural forces while 'A Thought for March 1860' presents the reverse, a picture of a peaceful England threatened by the destructive forces of political greed. The latter was to become one of many

written in the manner of those dedicated to liberty and order published by Wordsworth in 1842. 'Sunrise' borrows its sentiment from Montgomery:

> In darkness as in light
> Hidden alike from view,
> I sleep, I wake within His sight
> Who looks all nature through.[99]

It was to be re-titled 'The Lattice at Sunrise' in 1864 and become one of his most frequently anthologized poems; but it is unfortunately a badly-flawed poem, carrying in its central section an assonance on the 'ee' sound to an excessive degree. However, the image employed in it, the play of light and shadow, is one he much favoured and is here skilfully used to give expression to a statement of faith. The "midnight glooms", pierced by Divine light, are the darknesses of the soul, cruelly known by Charles in the private night-torments endured by Louisa. The appearance of day was for both of them a benign and transcendental experience, the "flaunting leaves" and the "flitting birds", earthly delights that they are, being shadows thrown from the light of a heavenly reality:

> ... at prime hour, behold! He follows me
> With golden shadows to my secret rooms!

Macmillan's response to the sonnets was both encouraging and cautious:

> I enclose a cheque for the sonnets which you sent us through Mr Lushington for our Magazine. It will be a great pleasure to have others from you, or, even more welcome, if some of your poetry came to us in lyric form. But perhaps you find the sonnet more natural. I doubt if there are many finer in our language than the four you have sent us, but the more common English ear and tongue marks its rhythm and meaning with difficulty ... . Are you likely to think of publishing a volume of your poems - old and new? Your first volume I have long had bound up with Mr Alfred's two early volumes.[100]

Macmillan, astute, knowledgeable and acutely responsive to current taste, was correct in his estimate of the sonnet's ranking in the public mind in 1860. Tupper's *Three Hundred Sonnets* of that year was in no way bound to restore his past fame and it was volumes like Alfred's *Idylls of the King* (1859), Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Poems Before Congress* (1860) and William Allingham's *Day and Night Songs* (1860) that were to find the readiest audience. Macmillan's perspicacity was well-rewarded in his bringing out Palgrave's *The Golden Treasury of the Best Songs and Lyrical Poems in the English Language* in 1861.

Charles surprisingly responded to Macmillan's letter with the offer of a lyric of eleven four-line stanzas, 'An Eastern Legend Versified, from Alphonse de Lamartine's Travels'. It is a terse narrative whose fundamental declaration is that Love is the foundation of religious principles. Its date of composition cannot be deduced.[101] Macmillan published it in the July issue of his magazine.[102]

The restoration of Charles's poetic abilities was to be sustained. His health improved and the years 1860 to 1864 saw him at his most active. In 1862 he was in London visiting the International Exhibition and writing a sonnet on the occasion ('The Great Exhibition of 1862', published 1864). He also saw his mother, "very well and hearty tho' almost bent double[103]and now living in Hampstead with her sister Mary Anne Fytche, and he and Louisa then stayed with the Lushingtons at Park House.[104] They also visited Lady Franklin in Knightsbridge, she finding that Charles had "grown stouter & stooped a good deal".[105] In the Summer of 1861, just after attending the funeral of Charles Tennyson d'Eyncourt,[106]the Turners had indeed ventured out of the country, accompanying Charles Weld, Louisa's brother-in-law, in the Ardennes.[107] From Antwerp they proceeded through Brussels and Luxembourg by train and then on to Trêves where Charles composed the sonnet on Constantine's amphitheatre (published 1864). Carrying on by steam-boat down the Moselle, they passed through Berncastel, Marienburg and Alf below which they took a

small rowing-boat whose owner was accompanied by his young daughter. The experience was recorded in Charles's sonnet 'The Moselle Boatman and His Daughter' and its partner-sonnet, the first a tender evocation of a scene given delicacy by the description of the night:

Not high, nor full enough to show things clear,
The half moon hung above the mountain-lines -
But, glancing on the waters, kindled there
A lamp of gold beneath the unseen vines

The tranquillity of the night is reflected in the tranquillity of the relationship between the boatman and his daughter, for in the act of his rowing and her steering is seen a union, completely without tension, of two bonded in harmony. Their faces express patience, their manner mildness and their words love. This nocturne approaches the qualities of *haiku*;[108] its euphony and firm control of syntax and cadence reveal Charles's full restoration to artistic power.

The partner-sonnet was included by Weld in his account of the tour published in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1863. It presents quite a different situation. We have the same boatman and his daughter, but it is morning; The girl rows and

... at each stroke, whose ripples reached the land,
She rose up bodily, with toil and pain,
And often paused, and dipped her little hand

To cool her brow, yet did she not complain.

Here we have the harsh facts of human endeavour. Charles needed to proceed beyond the bounds of his first sonnet to complete his statement on the condition of human relationships, the rôles played by men and women. Such enactments of the human drama were to occupy him increasingly in these late years, though this pair of sonnets are the only ones of this type in the 1864 volume, and his use of the word 'tableaux' in the title of his 1868 volume is apt.

By April 1864 he had gathered quite a body of verse, some of the drafts of which may be found in two notebooks now in Lincoln. Dates appearing in both of them place them in the years 1863 to 1865. He used them principally for recording fragments from his reading: a note from "Hogg on the microscope" about the structure of the eyes of a species of water-beetle; an observation on sleep ("Some have considered sleep a normal state - waking, on the contrary, a state of tension ... Sleeping the necessary periodical return to an inner life ..."); a few words about clouds ("Carried 400 miles from the ocean without loss of a single drop of water"). The vast majority of the notes, however, are drawn from current theological works, including articles in the *Christian Remembrancer* and touch largely on the typology of Scripture and prefigurative symbolism in the Old Testament, particularly in relation to Moses and Mosaic Law. Charles shows himself very much caught up in the

crisis facing the Anglican Church in the late 1850s and early 60s, for it was at this time that the Church was struggling to accommodate the findings of the latest biblical scholarship and of modern science. Such findings called in question the literalist interpretation of the Bible and the belief in verbal inspiration from a divine source. These were not new issues, for they went back to the publications of German theologians like F. C. Baur and D. F. Strauss. Strauss's controversial *Leben Jesu*, with its mythological interpretation of the Gospel narrative, had been published in 1835, though it was not until 1846 that an English translation was to appear. 1860, however, saw the publication of *Essays and Reviews*, a gathering of papers by Broad Church (i.e. liberal) theologians who were attempting to harmonise Christianity with contemporary intellectual developments. The reaction to the volume in some church quarters mounted to hysteria and two of the contributors were arraigned before the Court of Arches. The Bishop of Lincoln said "Faith feels the ground shaking beneath her feet."[109] The anxieties of the orthodox Anglicans were further intensified in 1862 by the publication of *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined* by Bishop Colenso of Natal. This work denied the historical 'truth' of the Mosaic account and it was the basis of much of the argument noted by Charles.

It is apparent even from Charles's scattered notes that he was highly conservative in his theological

stance: the divesting of the scriptures of their mystical truth was abhorrent to him and it is not surprising to find quoted fragments from others which he found supportive of his views, such as Hooker's "Faith not knowledge, but acknowledgement" and Bishop Westcott's "A gospel without miracles is like a church without sacraments". It will be seen that Charles's theological thinking was to lead him into the arms of the High Church, though in at least one matter he was by no means completely orthodox.

Interspersed with these theological notes are the working drafts of most of the anti-neological sonnets to be published in 1864 and a few non-theological sonnets: 'To a Friend', ' An April Day', 'A Summer Morning' and 'Harvest Home'. In later years he declared that his working method was to write in the morning: "I never judge of it until after dinner. If it runs and sounds well after dinner, I pass it."[110] All the drafts reveal extensive revisions.

He gathered a hundred sonnets, including two from the 1830 volume, the four published in 1860, two published in 1861 and the one in 1863 and sent them off to Alexander Macmillan. The manuscript was seemingly as casually compiled as that presented to Jacksons of Louth: "The sonnets were mostly transcribed", he explains in his covering letter,[111]"before their sequence was fixed so that .... there has been much snipping, pasting and blotting." He continues "The short series of 25 sonnets on Neology is to be put last & numbered

independently of the rest ... The elision of the 'e' in such words as asked (ask'd) etc must be adopted or not, according to the present fashion I suppose. I rather like the abbreviation & in most books of poetry it seems to be still used. I have looked into Mr Palgrave's Golden Treasury & find it is so & I take that work (which I perceive also is published by you) as a test of the proprieties in such matters ... Some line of demarcation & the motto 'Pro Aris' would be advisable I think as distinguishing the anti-neological sonnets." Charles's casual attitude to the use of elision was to be an important factor in the editors' making their own decisions for its use in the 1880 posthumous collection of his sonnets.

Macmillan promptly agreed to publish. He had already met Alfred. Indeed in 1858 when Alfred's publisher Moxon died, Macmillan, who had a very real admiration for and understanding of the Laureate's work, approached Franklin Lushington with a view to enticing Alfred into his fold of authors. They first met in Cambridge in 1859 and Macmillan passed three agreeable days at Farringford, Alfred's home since 1853 on the Isle of Wight. His cultivation of Alfred's friendship, which was reciprocated, was also a publisher's wooing and both were fully aware of this. The poet was, however, still morally bound to the Moxon firm and he was not to put himself fully into Macmillan's hands until 1884. It may be considered that this major business liaison coloured Macmillan's attitude towards

Charles's projected volume, but this would not be just, for his appreciation of the four 1860 sonnets had been real and there was considerable integrity in his relationships with his authors. For one thing, he was extremely sympathetic towards new authors, or, as in Charles's case, those re-emerging from the shade: he had, as June Steffensen Hagen puts it, the "quality of being literary dolphin to perpetually drowning sailors of prose and poetry and bringing them to safe harbor."[112] Equally he was passionately committed to "the free play of theological speculation", though he "craved for certitude ... [and] felt assailed by the heresy and strife around him",[113] thus being receptive (if not necessarily sympathetic towards) Charles's theological sonnets.

As Charles's instruction on the use of elision indicates, he was in many respects quite naïve in his attitude towards his publications. His letters to Macmillan bear this out: on the use of the exclamation mark he writes "I find it is very useful to emphasise passages, particularly in compositions which, like some of these sonnets, have a partially lyrical tone & are constantly ejaculatory or exclamatory";[114] on the use of the title 'Continued' for partner-sonnets, he considered that it was "all that in an edition of Wordsworth's sonnets is resorted to".[115] We also find from these letters, late in a proof stage, that he asks for the words 'the Revd' to be inserted before his name on the title page (though "I don't wish to be singular"[116]) and

that the third line of 'The Lion's Skeleton' should read 'First came the vulture: worms and mud and rain',[117] though this was never amended.

The titles of the sonnets submitted were not in all cases those he originally chose. These have fortunately survived in one of the working notebooks and establish some references that would otherwise be obscure. 'To a Friend' was originally 'Sonnet to E. L. L.' (i.e. Edmund Law Lushington); 'An Incident in a Church' was 'An Incident in Boxley Church, Kent' and so refers to the tombs of Lushington's sister Louisa, his brother Henry who died in 1855 and his only son Edmund Henry who died in 1856. 'On Certain Books' was originally 'The Essays and Reviews'.

The publication was, of course, highly unusual in that it came thirty-four years after its predecessor. The author, now fifty-six years of age, was quite a different individual from the Trinity undergraduate who presented *Sonnets and Fugitive Pieces* so cautiously in 1830; his audience, moreover, was now seemingly of a different world. The England of 1864, with its population nearly half as great again as that of 1830,[118] had developed into a highly self-conscious major power, pre-eminent in finance and commerce and with far-reaching political pretensions. The rapid expansion of sea traffic, fuelled land locomotion and electrically-conveyed message-transmission almost bewilderingly shrank old concepts of distance, so that the country comprehended its spatial identity in a way completely

unknown to those witnessing the first journey of Stevenson's 'Rocket' on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. The zealously competitive middle class, which had grown remarkably in the middle years of the century, demanded a voice and indeed found their medium in the vast plethora of newspapers, family magazines, tracts, novels and published lectures and sermons. The church, reformed and equally vocal, had not merely survived the onslaught of Nonconformism, the divisions of the Tractarians and the Evangelicals and increasingly overt materialism and agnosticism, but was by the 1860s able to shake even the secular press with its own current issues and disturbed confrontations.

With a background, then, of *prolific* talk, discussion and debate on every issue touching society and Man's relationship with his Creator, Charles presented a volume which is itself unsteady and unsure of its own rôle. The poem 'To a Friend' bespeaks his diffidence:

> My low deserts consist not with applause
> So kindly ...

and the prefatory poem reveals a man, launching his work onto an unknown public, who is pulled between the public voice and the personal experience. His dream of writing an ode with "rolling chords" has a two-fold character: it would be a fulfilment of his fanciful desire to move into - and beyond - the realms of the "purple hill,

where all my dreams found room"; it would also be a fulfilment of his desire to embrace themes of great social import. The music produced from his "thrumming on a single hair" is, however, his more modest achievement. The "hair amid the harpstrings" is the outgrowth of his daily experience but, paradoxically, it will be seen that he transcends the circumscribed world he depicts, embracing verities of considerable significance.

On matters of international significance there are some seven poems in the volume, preoccupations nurtured by his avid but by no means deeply considered reading of the national press. We know from his Memorandum Book for 1866 that he subscribed to the *Standard*, for he was in the habit of inscribing fragments of world news from its pages into the margins of his daily entries: on Governor Eyre's suspension from his duties in Jamaica (January); the proposed suspension of Habeas Corpus in Ireland on account of Fenianism (February); the electric telegraph's completion (July). There are equally notes on national issues: Prince Alfred's assumption of the title 'Duke of Edinburgh' (June); tremendous floods in Yorkshire and Lancashire (November); the burning down of the Crystal Palace Tropical Department (December).

The seven sonnets themselves cover such diverse subjects as the ascension of the Greek throne by Prince William George of Denmark in 1863, Garibaldi's landing in Italy in 1862, the inglorious values of the American Civil War (1861-1865) and the message from Czar

Alexander II to Congress advocating peace. The poems are declamatory, exhortatory, and adopt a national voice of uncomfortable rectitude:

> ... can we think their words were idly spent
> ('Possible Results of the Friends' Mission to St. Petersburg')

> And so we see, O saddest of all sights!
> A ravening temper, deaf to all things good
> ('Autocratic Policy of the Federal Americans')

They touch on moral as much as political issues, for they all recall Charles's old fulminations against despotism, but they fail not so much in their overwrought heatedness as in the paucity of their poetic mechanics with limp images like

> ... in the shoes of truth the Quakers tread
> ('Possible Results ...')

and

> A throne built on the anger of defeat
> ('Autocratic Policy ...')

the one risible and the other incomprehensible.

We also find in these sonnets that problem noted by Leigh Hunt so many years before, a "conventional mode of talking in Charles and an assumption of the knowing".[119] There is an immodesty here which is at variance with the modesty of his personal nature and it is the immodesty assimilated from the middle-class press whose voice by 1860 had tended to become complacent to a large degree.

> Another year of tranquil prosperity [writes Charles's old friend Venables, in his survey of events for 1864 in *The Times*] has been added to the most undisturbed period of English history. Steady material progress is probably accompanied by moral and social improvement, and the uniformity of political affairs is rendered more conspicuous by the absence of political changes ... As usual, the disturbed condition of foreign affairs has contrasted with the uneventful tranquillity of England ... England is the only great Power which steadily and conscientiously pursues a policy of peace.[120]

This self-satisfied view of the national achievement finds expression in Charles's exhortation to the Ionian Islanders:

> Remember England, ruling but to save,
> And how she listen'd to your earnest vows;
> Remember England in that night's carouse,
> For what her mighty hand, unfolding, gave!

('The Landing of King George I of Greece ...')

The same tone enters 'The Great Exhibition of 1862':

> The paths of peace and commerce, from all sides,
> Lie straight for England, like old Roman ways

and the first partner-sonnet to 'Hebron'

> Help! England, lend the shelter of thy love -
> And let the firm stress of thy brooding wing
> Be felt by those bold hands that would remove
> Thy fond protective strength ...

The complexities of England's social condition are ignored in Charles's sonnets. We find nowhere in his memoranda, in his letters, in his poetry any recognition of the amoral exploitation of the poor in the urban economic structure and its attendant evils. Leading a circumscribed rural life in a county almost untouched by industrialisation, he felt the miseries of commercial greed barely at all in his everyday life and his occasional journeys to Kent, Cheltenham and Hampstead gave him but fleeting glimpses of the social deprivation of England's cities. His reading was similarly circumscribed; there is no evidence that he read for example Dickens or Kingsley or indeed any novels at all: of the sixteen books referred to in his 1866 Memorandum Book, ten are theological works and the rest are

biographical (lives of Katherine de Bourbon and Charlotte Corday) or poetical works (Barnes, Wordsworth and his own brother).

The apotheosis of national pride as expressed in 'Greatness of England' is tempered, however, by caution:

> Perchance the ebb comes next. We stand at full of tide.

Charles, indeed, may be seen to recall in these words the sentiments he himself voices in 'The Arrow-King',[121] 'The Lion's Skeleton' and 'Constantine's Amphitheatre at Trêves', all poems on the 'Ozymandias' theme of power brought low.

His attempts to embrace issues of national importance are of a one with his yearning to grasp worlds beyond his immediate experience. The sonnets 'Great Localities. An Aspiration' and 'Great Localities. Rome' present such worlds:

> O! that the realms our rounded earth doth hide
> Could, maugre all the horizons, be displayed
> To my rapt eyes and heart ...

Similarly, past events, unreachable, have their fascination:

> ... O Holyrood!
> Speak, for thou knowest!

('Mary Queen of Scots')

... how my angry mood sped back through time
To gust my fancy with the ancient crime ...

(Partner-sonnet to 'Fulvia')

It is a matter of deep regret to him that he "haply might have met" Byron himself but is now constrained to be satisfied merely with the Thorwaldsen statue of the poet at Trinity:

... Fate allows
But this poor intercourse ...

('On a Statue of Lord Byron')

There is a restlessness here in these aspirations to grasp dimensions of space and time beyond his reach, suggesting that the wider imagination and poetic scope of his brother Alfred, "exuberant - boundless - wild", as he put it in 1827, still claimed his admiration.

The great issues of current theological controversy - unpromising subjects for poetry - were irresistible to him in 1864 and the preoccupations of his current sermons were to be carried over into this volume of poems. His stand in the arguments relating to the interpretation of the Gospels is quite clear: his insistence is upon the human reality of Christ, the physical, the tangible, "the sad *precision* of the Cross" ('Christ and Orpheus'). Christ's sufferings at

Gethsemane are not to be divested of their pain and anguish, he says, for they are essential for our full understanding of the significance of the Crucifixion. The Church, he declares, does not evade the horror:

> When she would paint her Master's darkest day,
> She takes the full-hued life-drop on her brush
> ('The Critics at Gethsemane')

This exhortation to clear-sighted perception, embracing the Agony, is echoed time and again in Charles's sermons of which a large number have survived.[122] His sermon for divine service on the Feast of St. John the Evangelist (27 December) in 1857 is representative. Its text is from the first chapter of St. John's First Epistle General (verses one and three): "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of life ... That which we have seen and heard we declare unto you". In his sermon he ponders the historical facts surrounding the foundation of the seven churches at Ephesus by John and perceives their heresies:

> Not even then was the Church free from persons who attempted to corrupt her faith and practice. Against some of these he wrote his epistles & that chapter chosen for the epistle of the day answers some of these false doctrines. Some had arisen who ...

maintained Our Lord's human nature was not real & that He did only in appearance take our flesh ... Those who taught that God only *appeared* to take our flesh vainly imagined they were doing honour to the glory of God by saying He could not be joined to so base a thing as man's flesh. [John] saw that God's glory was displayed to the highest by His lowly humiliation of Himself to our flesh & blood.

Charles appeals to church practice in support of his contention:

We repeat [the Nicean and Athenasian] creeds at stated periods & declare all over the world that we of the Church of England believe & confess that Our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God is God & Man, God of the substance of the Father, begotten before all worlds, and Man of the substance of His mother, born in the world, perfect God & perfect Man of a reasonable soul & Human flesh subsisting ... Thus does the Church agree with John's earnest declaration of having seen, heard & handled the Word of life.

The central tenet of the sermon is pursued to a theological conclusion:

If Our Lord had no real body then we could never be redeemed by His blood ... We could not have been united to Him had He not been a real man. In this

union with Christ lies all our salvation ... He came into the world to work on us. If He were not a real & true man as well as God we could not be members of His Body, His flesh & His bones.

Charles's stance is clearly at variance with that of theological writers like Strauss who, with his philosophical forebears and his followers, is denounced in the last group of sonnets in the volume; "modern schools, a wrangling lot", he dismissively calls them in 'Modern Termini', with their "smart theosophies" (Partner-sonnet to 'On Certain Books'). What he finds so fundamentally unacceptable in Straussian teaching is its view of early Christian beliefs as a continuation of pre-Christian ideologies, particularly of Orphism wherein Christ becomes an extension of and is subsumed into the Orphic myth, that indeed all the Gospel narratives were to be attributed "to the unconscious, mythologizing activity of the collective Christian imagination"[123]"Let Calvary stand clear of fabulous mists", Charles declares in the second partner-sonnet to 'Christ and Orpheus', and in its first partner-sonnet he scorns diaphonous "understatements, partial, vague and scant".

He denounces with equal force the rationalistic school of theology (the Neologists) which developed from Hegelian philosophy - "Bleak-faced Neology, in cap and gown" ('A Dream'). The Neologists, such as the liberal Catholic Renan, in his *Vie de Jésus* of 1863, would, he

says, divest the gospels of their metaphysics, leaving an arid historicism. Such, he states,

> reduce our grand old faith,
> Our full-orb'd creeds, to merest nuclei,
> With atmospheres of philosophic breath!

Current critical examinations of the scriptural texts were, for him, often destructive rather than instructive: the 'higher criticism', the "critical inquiry into the nature, origin and date of the documents ... as well as into the historical value and credibility of the statements which they contain"[124] had simply "stolen away our food for faith" ('How the "Higher Criticism" Blesses the Bible'). The current danger, Charles considered, was not merely the propagation of the ideas he rejected but their easy availability in cheap editions for the "foolish grasping hands of youth" ('On Certain Books').

These sonnets are important for our understanding of the priest, but they are negligible in our appreciation of the poet. They do, to be sure, contain some fine imagery, notably the resonant

> ... all coheres; His pangs and triumphs touch
> Each other, like the wings of Cherubim
> ('The Transfiguration')

and the sustained analogy of the leaf in 'On Certain Books' is given vitality by its precision of language:

> And if, perforce, on dry and dusty days,
> Upon the breeze some truant leaf should rise,
> Brittle with many weathers, to the skies,
> Or flit and dodge about the public ways -
> Man's choral shout, or organ's peal of praise
> Shall shake it into dust, like older lies.

There is also a poignancy in the soft modulations of 'The Young Neologist at Bethlehem', but the sonnets in general are declamatory in utterance and prosaic in sentiment. They run, all twenty-three of them, as if they are one long poem segmented into sonnet-sizes. They are sonnets for the pulpit, versified essences of sermons, whose argument Charles felt the need to vent at a time of intense debate, but the issues they raise dwindled in importance with time and only two such sonnets were to appear in 1868 and two thereafter.

In contrast with these the sonnets on the Lincolnshire landscape and the creatures that inhabit it are vibrant and timeless. He openly declares his sympathies in 'Ceasing of the Storm',

> ... on nature's book
> I love to pore, and mark what soars on high,
> Or lurks in bye-paths for the observant eye.

A true country-dweller, he has an acute perception of the natural flux of the seasons and the shifts of weather and light. His memoranda are full of observations upon the weather and it is generally the quality of the light that seems to capture him. These selected fragments from his 1866 Memorandum Book are typical:

> "Thunderous. One clap with rain. A little dusky most of the day" (6 June); "Much warmer - dull with gleams and misty distance" (21 June); "Opening dullish, bright after" (18 July); "Partly wild and cloudy, partly sunny" (30 July); "Cold, but a good harvest day - a shower or two and a beautiful rainbow - rather peculiar in its multiplicity" (3 September); "A little spit of rain. At night cold and wildish" (13 November).

Fluctuations in meteorological conditions, perpetual shiftings between the extremes of light and dark, have a significant role to play in much of his verse and are vividly captured in 'An April Day' in which beast, sky and land are linked in a kaleidoscopic whirl:

> The lark sung loud; the music at his heart
> Had called him early; upward straight he went,
> And bore in nature's quire the merriest part,
> As to the lake's broad shore my steps I bent;
> The waterflies with glancing motion drove

Their dimpling eddies in among the blooms
Shed by the flowering poplars from above;
While, overhead, the rooks, on sable plumes
Floated and dipt about the gleaming haze
Of April, crost anon by April glooms,
As is the fashion of her changeful days;
When, what the rain-cloud blots, the sun relumes
O' the instant, and the shifting landscape shows
Each change, and, like a tide, the distance comes
and goes!

Charles's sensitive response to natural processes is clearly evident in such poems as 'The Charming of the East Wind' and 'The Ceasing of the Storm' and, with the added quality of assurance of technique, he can create a sonnet of memorable vitality like 'Wind on the Corn', with its rhythmic impulse, its deft placing of 'tilts' and 'dips' at crucial points in the line, its linguistic spring and suppleness, its bold and original images:

Full often as I rove by path or style,
To watch the harvest ripening in the vale,
Slowly and sweetly, like a growing smile-
A smile that ends in laughter - the quick gale
Upon the breadths of gold-green wheat descends;
While still the swallow, with unbaffled grace,
About his viewless quarry dips and bends -
And all the fine excitement of the chase
Lies in the hunter's beauty: In the eclipse

Of that brief shadow, how the barley's beard
Tilts at the passing gloom, and wild-rose dips
Among the white-tops in the ditches reared:
And hedgerow's flowery breast of lacework stirs
Faintly in that full wind that rocks th'outstanding
firs.

His perception of flux in the landscape and in the patterns of the weather reflects his ever-present awareness of the tenuousness of the moment. Even more, the ever-shifting fortunes of the day are microcosmic representations in Charles's vision of the ever-shifting fortunes of life, to the reality of which his own life bore such ample testimony. Although we shall find poems wherein despondency is evident, in a notably large number of his poems his buoyancy of spirit leads him to model the sonnet into a movement of ebb and flow so that, invariably in the 1864 volume, what is lost is, within the space of the sonnet, restored. The most obvious manifestation of this is in sonnets like 'Loss and Restoration of Smell' which moves not merely from physical debility to recovery, but temporally through all the seasons of a full year. 'Resuscitation of Fancy' employs such an image of temporal movement:

The edge of thought was blunted by the stress
Of the hard world; my fancy had wax'd dull,
All nature seemed less nobly beautiful,-
Robbed of her grandeur and her loveliness;

Methought the Muse within my heart had died,
Till, late, awaken'd at the break of day,
Just as the East took fire and doff'd its grey,
The rich preparatives of light I spied;
But one sole star - none other anywhere -
A wild-rose odour from the fields was borne;
The lark's mysterious joy fill'd earth and air,
And from the wind's top met the hunter's horn;
The aspen trembled wildly, and the morn
Breath'd up in rosy clouds, divinely fair!

This beautifully-formed poem, ending as it does in a paean of delight, offers as great a representation of the Divine Spirit working through the activities of Nature as do the more overtly pious sentiments of 'The Forest Glade' which also moves from darkness into the light bestowed by Divine Providence. 'Resuscitation of Fancy', however, illustrates what Keble calls 'reserve', for the natural world itself is allowed to express the joy of a revitalised spirit. Didactic interpolation by the poet would be here superfluous. Charles, who was to write in strikingly huge lapidary letters "KEBLE DIED" in his Memorandum Book entry for 29 March 1866, reveals here his indebtedness to that poet.

The question that arises, of course, is the degree to which Charles is indebted to Keble and Tractarian poetics in *all* his Nature poetry. The lapidary inscription is too striking to be taken lightly.

Keble's *The Christian Year* (1827), a volume of immense significance to the Victorian reading public, was still cherished nearly forty years after its publication as a domestic shelf-companion to the Bible and *In Memoriam*. On his death, Keble's work could be seen, particularly in church circles, as "setting before the devotional mind of this country a mirror in which it could see itself faithfully reproduced, without omission, exaggeration or distortion"[125] and shortly before his death one commentator, reproducing but a single quotation from *The Christian Year*, felt that citation was superfluous on the grounds that "we assume so thorough a familiarity with it on the part of our readers as to justify an almost absolute abstinence from quotation."[126]

The Christian Year is, of course, primarily a collection of devotional verse, but it is notable for its blend of Nature poetry and pious sentiment. Keble's purpose is didactic, but it goes beyond that in its intention "to show forth Nature as more than a Wordsworthian moral teacher instructing by vernal impulse; it was to show Nature as the hand-maiden of theology and at times the vehicle of a sacramental grace that brought man into contact with the divine".[127] In his poetry and in the precepts of his lectures on poetry[128] Keble's concern was to allow the depiction of Nature to be subordinate to religious concerns, but Nature, which "he who runs might read", itself revealed God to man, objects of the visible world being symbols

of the invisible, such symbols being the equivalent of sacraments. Pre-Christian Nature poetry is by no means dismissed by Keble; indeed it is his assertion that pagan Nature poetry prefigures Christian truth.

Charles, deeply imbued in classical poetry, sustained the pagan pastoral tradition to some degree in his 1830 volume, but by 1864 he had assimilated aspects of Keble's devotional practice, his imagery working on a hierarchical, a vertical level, holistically embracing the Creator and the created. Indeed, Charles's sonnet 'The Rainbow' is a direct comment on the sacramental quality of that phenomenon and of others:

> Father of all! Thou dost not hide Thy bond
> As one that would disclaim it - on the cloud,
> Or springing fount, or torrent's misty shroud,
> Lord of the waters! are Thy tokens found.

The rainbow as a sacramental image of divine grace will re-appear in his verse in, for example, 'The Drowned Spaniel' (1880) and its significance will be observed when that poem comes under discussion. Water images carry resonances of baptismal cleansing: in Keble the fall of dew, coming with early morning light, betokens the act of baptism:

> A few bright drops of dew
> Shall work a wonder there.
> ('Holy Baptism')

Charles, in his partner-sonnet to 'Cynotaphium', employs the image of morning-dew, but in a startling paradoxical way. He is contemplating the end of life, the burial of a favourite dog, but in pressing his thoughts further to a consideration of the new life of the soul, he juxtaposes the baptismal rites with the funeral rites:

> 'I cannot think thine all is buried here',
> I said, and sighed - the wind awoke and blew
> The morning-beam along the gossamer,
> That floated o'er thy grave all wet with dew;
> A hint of better things ...

Here not only is the dew invested with a sacramental quality, but also the awakening wind and the morning-beam, images of resurrection. Such vivifying images fill the partner-sonnet[129] to 'The Order of the Star of India' which begins with arid desolation:

> I dreamed - methought I stood upon a strand
> Unblest with day for ages; and despair
> Had seized me ...

But, beginning with the mild "cooling airs", we progress through the increasingly powerful "a dawning", "a wild half-morning", "seas come washing", "sheets of gleaming ripples", "goodly rivers brimming" until we arrive at

the apotheosis, the incarnational image, reflecting the majesty of Christ Himself, "the beam / Of sunrise".

The high significance of the Sun image, analogous with the figure of Christ, is apparent wholly and throughout "The Lattice at Sunrise", for it is "*His* lustre" which "pierceth" the glooms and the shadows, carrying with it the manifestation of joyful Nature in "the flaunting leaves and flitting birds". It is the light of the sun which acts as the benediction of Christ in 'Resuscitation of Fancy':

> Just as the East took fire and doff'd its gray
> The rich preparatives of light I spied,

the suggestion being that the restoration of Charles's creative powers was effected by divine intervention. It is equally the benediction of Christ that shines upon the harvesters as they leave the fields in 'Harvest-Home' while "the setting sun / Blazed momently betwixt each rolling wain".

The re-appearance of the sun each morning may thus be seen in Charles's poetic imagination as analogous to the Resurrection, an affirmation of hope breaking upon the darknesses of the soul. Such darknesses are given expression fleetingly in 'The Forest Glade':

> ... sad my thoughts had been - the tempest's wrath
> Had gloomed the night ...

and in the melancholy "fatal woes of mine!" of 'A Night Thought', but the assuaging of these sorrows by the beneficent power of hope in the form of light is carried by imagery from poem to poem. The trembling fluctuations of light observed in his poems are however, an expression of those uncertainties necessarily attendant upon Man's lot and in this perception his vision is clear-sightedly realistic and far removed from the strident Christian affirmations of much Tractarian devotional verse. This ambivalence gives depth to his vision.

Ambiguity rather than ambivalence springs from his lunar imagery. It is difficult to perceive the full implications of the moon's presence in 'The Moselle Boatman and His Daughter' and Charles appears to recognise this, for while it is transformed into "a lamp of gold" in the waters of the Moselle, it is but a half-moon, "not high nor full enough to show things clear". It may be beneficent but its silvery remoteness separates it from the world of men. Its "sole function", he avers in 'An Application of the Waxing Moon', is "to wax and wane" and his faith, which "must keep her victories of light", is seen in opposition to it, for otherwise he would be as one with beasts and contemplate it "with comfortable eyes of sheep and kine". Similarly the star in 'The Planet and the Tree', "ever baffled by the pettish wind" can enchant by its beauty, but not sustain by its steadfastness, while Hesperus, in the sonnet of that title, is consciously

hammered by the poet into an image of metaphysical significance, though its nature would seem to deny it. Contemplation of the night sky may indeed reveal God's grace, but we cannot be convinced by these poems that Charles comfortably accepted images of moon and star as symbols in the Christian sacramentalist mode. The moon in these sonnets may, as Lucina, Salene or Juno, typologically prefigure Marian concepts, but its poetic rôle seems to root it firmly in the pagan tradition and the "gold moon glimpsed from out faint-stirring clouds" of 'Summer Evening ...' could still be for him the moon of a Virgilian pastoral.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1 In *The Tribute* (infra.). Republished, with some slight changes and under the title 'A Bridal Farewell', in 1873.

2 *The Tribute: A Collection of Miscellaneous Unpublished Poems by Various Authors* (1837). The volume is fully described in George O. Marshall, Jr., 'Giftbooks, Tennyson and "The Tribute" (1837)'. *Georgia Review* 16 (1962), 459-464.

3 Republished as 'On Some Humming-birds in a Glass Case', with considerable changes, in 1873.

4 See my 'Some Unpublished Verse by Charles Tennyson Turner', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 23 (1988), 79.

5 Lieut.-Gen. Albert Fytche, *Burma Past and Present with Personal Reminiscences of the Country* 2 vols. (1878), 1, pp.3-4. The poem does not appear in CTT's collected sonnets.

6 CTT to Bishop Kaye, December 1835. LAO Cor B 4/27/10.

7 AT to W. H. Brookfield, [May 1835]. *LALT* 1, p.131.

8 Notes on the church made by Archdeacon the Ven. H. K. Bonney on a parochial visitation on 29 July 1846. N. S. Harding ed., *Bonney's Church Notes* (Lincoln, 1937), pp.80-81.

9 Christopher Hildyard the elder, Vicar of Grasby 1722-1755, and his son, Vicar 1755-1764. The memorial slabs, now in the vestry of the church, describe them as 'of this parish and of Withernsea, Yorkshire'.

10 Rev. John Posthumus Parkinson to Bishop Kaye, 21 October 1828. LAO Cor B 5/4/27/10.

11 Author unknown. LAO Cor B 4/27/2.

12 Revd Thomas Frognall Dibdin (Chaplain in Ordinary to Her Majesty), *A Bibliographical, Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in the Northern Counties of England and in Scotland* (1838), pp.101 and 118.

13 Rex Russell, 'The Enclosures of Searby (1763-1765), Owmby (1795-?) and Grasby (1815-1844)'. Typescript. Lincoln Central Reference Library.

14 Agnes Grace Weld, *Glimpses of Tennyson and of Some of His Relations and Friends* (1902), pp.7-8.

15 *A Bill: For restraining and regulating the holding of*

Benefices in Plurality, and for amending the Laws relating to the Residence of the Clergy, 2 March 1837.

16 Handbill, dated 16 March 1837, for the sale by auction of the Manor of Grasby on 3 April 1837 at the George Inn, Caistor. The legal agent was C. R. Haddelsey. LAO 4T.d'E. H28.

17 CTT to Susan Haddelsey, postmark 10 February 1837. TRC. 'Grassby' is the form of the name commonly used on maps until the mid-nineteenth century. In some eighteenth century maps the form is 'Gresby'.

18 Advertisement for the sale by auction at the Rectory on 22 and 23 May 1837. *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 12 May 1827, p.2 and 19 May 1837, p.1.

19 Mary Bourne to GHT, 1 December 1837. LAO T.d'E. H121/81. When Mary Bourne died in 1864, AT spoke of her with gentleness: "Had she ever expressed a wish to see me or any of us, I or they would have gone to her immediately" (*LALT* 2, p.363.) Her letters are among the most sharply humorous and interesting of those in the Tennyson archive and a fair appraisal of this vigorous and eccentric woman is most emphatically required. Her home, Dalby House, was burned down 5 January 1841.

20 TRC.

21 William Ellis to his uncle, Alexander Webster, 24 May 1837. Draft. LAO Dixon 17/5/5/10.

22 Cecilia Tennyson to Susan Haddelsey, [1 December 1837]. *LALT* 1, pp.155-156.

23 In an unknown hand. LAO Ten. 1/1/2.

24 CTT to Emily Tennyson, 31 May 1839. TRC.

25 Variously Poole's or Marshall's Gentleman's Pocket Memorandum Books for 1856, 1859-1868, 1870 and 1873-1876. TRC.

26 Cecilia Tennyson to Susan Haddelsey, 11 April 1838. *LALT* 1, p.160.

27 Cecilia Tennyson to Susan Haddelsey, 23 March [1839]. *LALT* 1, p.170.

28 Records of baptisms, burials and marriages in the parish of Grasby. Typed transcripts. LAO.

29 CTT to Bishop Kaye, 24 April [1842]. LAO Cor BS 4/128/2.

30 The verbal contractions have been expanded, the symbols transliterated and basic punctuation provided.

31 TRC.

32 TRC.

33 Henry Sellwood to his brother-in-law, John Booth, 4 November 1839. LAO Misc Don 756/1/4/7.

34 Sellwood to Booth, 29 November 1839. LAO Misc Don 756/1/4/8.

35 Sellwood to Booth, 4 December 1839. LAO Misc Don 756/1/4/9.

36 Sellwood to Booth, 2 January 1840. LAO Misc Dep 476/1/7. Letter torn.

37 Michael Thorn, *Tennyson* (1992), p.174.

38 James Conway Walter, *A History of Horncastle* (Horncastle, 1908), p.122.

39 Edmund Law Lushington 1811-1893. Professor of Greek at Glasgow University 1838-1875. CTT officiated at the wedding of the Lushingtons on 14 October 1842. The fullest picture of him is in John O. Waller, *A Circle of Friends: The Tennysons and the Lushingtons of Park House* (Columbus, 1986).

40 Robert Haldane Paterson to Bishop Kaye, 29 January 1840. LAO NRL 4/46.

41 CTT officiated at 2 out of 6 of the marriages in Grasby Church in 1840, all of those 1841-1842 and 1 in 1843. 13 out of 15 baptisms were performed by him in 1840, all 13 in 1841, 16 out of 17 in 1842 and all 10 up to October in 1843. He officiated at 1 out of 5 burials in 1840, all 7 in 1841, 4 out of 7 in 1842 and all 6 up to October in 1843. LAO.

42 CTT to CTd'E, 24 October 1841. LALT 1, p.196.

43 Dated 25 March 1842 to 22 February 1843. TRC.

44 Arthur Tennyson to CTd'E, n.d. [1842]. TRC.

45 Arthur Tennyson to CTd'E, 19 October 1843. LAO T.d'E. H128/40.

46 CTT to CTd'E, 10 September 1842. LAO T.d'E. H161/56.

47 CTT to CTd'E, 21 September 1842. LAO T.d'E. H161/57.

48 CTT to CTd'E, 23 November 1842. LAO T.d'E. H161/59.

49 CTd'E to GHT, 10 January 1850. LAO T.d'E. H135/3.

50 CTT to Bishop Kaye, 24 April [1843]. LAO Cor BS/4/128/2.

51 CTT to Bishop Kaye, 11 May [1843]. LAO Cor BS/4/128/3.

52 CTT to CTd'E, 21 September 1843. LAO T.d'E. H128/32.

53 When he proclaimed banns of marriage. The curates during his

six years' absence were the Reverends Philip Leopold Drake (1843-45), Annesley Paul Hughes (1845-46), Thomas Jackson Milnes Townsend (1846-47) and James John Douglas (1847-49).

54 Edith Humphris and E. C. Willoughby, *At Cheltenham Spa* (1928), p.273.

55 John Rashdall, ms Diary, 19 November 1844. Bodleian Library MS Eng.Misc.e.354 f.91^{V}. The diary entry reads "Chas. Tennyson dined with us - Alfred, Mary etc came in Evg."

56 W. H. Brookfield to his wife, c.6 August 1847. Charles and Frances Brookfield, *Mrs Brookfield and Her Circle* 2 vols. (1905) 1, p.239.

57 *Les Georgics de Virgile*, trans. by Jacques Delille (Paris, 1803). In TRC. Campbell 1, item 2605.

58 CTT to Bishop Kaye. 5 July 1845. The address is given as Lille.

59 Septimus Tennyson to CTd'E, 23 July 1845. LAO T.d'E. H161/67.

60 Edmund Lushington to Frederick Tennyson, 5 August 1846. Hugh J. Schonfield ed., *Letters to Frederick Tennyson* (1930), p.75.

61 Eliza Tennyson to Lewis Fytche, 7 January 1849. TRC.

62 LAO NRL 13/53.

63 Revd James Douglas to Bishop Kaye, 21 May 1849. LAO Cor BS/4/27/12. Note that *Alfred Tennyson* (p.240) gives the date of the Turners' reunion as "the last half of 1849".

64 James Morton Douglas, baptised 10 December 1848; buried 6 March 1849. Church records, LAO

65 Bishop Kaye, *Charge at the Triennial Visitation in 1849* (1849), p.202.

66 Walter White, *Journals* (1898), p.142.

67 *White's Directory for Lincolnshire* (1872), p.538.

68 The author has been kindly shown round the house and grounds by the present owners, Mr and Mrs G. H. Harrison.

69 See particularly CTT to Mary Brotherton, 13 June 1873 and CTT's memorandum book for 1 and 5 February, 25 August and 22 September 1866. All TRC.

70 Agnes Weld, *Glimpses*, p.13.

71 Agnes Grace Weld (1844-1915), only child of Anne Sellwood and Charles Richard Weld.

72 Agnes Weld, *Glimpses*, p.11.

73 *Alfred Tennyson*, p.240. No source is given, however.

74 "... the workmen have not quite been cleared off, such as bell-hangers etc etc." CTT to Bishop Kaye, 17 June 1850. LAO Cor BS/4/27/12.

75 CTT and Louisa Turner to AT and EST, [11?] June 1850. TRC. *Memoir* 1, p.330 mistranscribes parts of this letter.

76 R. W. Ambler ed., *Lincolnshire Returns of the Census of Religious Worship* 1851 (Lincoln, 1979), pp.215-216.

77 In all, 19 such 'I.O.U.'s' were found by the author in the back pockets of various Turner memorandum books in TRC.

78 Sir Francis Hill, 'Squire and Parson in Early Victorian Lincolnshire', *History* 58 (October 1973), p.338.

79 CTT to Lewis Fytche, 15 November 1864. TRC.

80 CTT to AT and EST, 20 June 1850. TRC.

81 AT's Letter Diary. *Memoir* 1, p.352.

82 Mrs Rosslyn Wemyss ed., *Memoirs and Letters of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Morier* ... 2 vols., (1911), 1, pp.116-117.

83 CTT to the Revd Charles West, 11 April 1851. TRC.

84 Edmund Lushington to Frederick Tennyson, 30 September 1851. Schonfield, *Letters to Frederick Tennyson*, p.102.

85 EST to James Spedding, 30 September [1852]. James O. Hoge ed., *The Letters of Emily, Lady Tennyson* (Pennsylvania and London, 1974), p.61.

86 EST to AT, 26 March 1859. Hoge, *Letters of Emily, Lady Tennyson*, p.134.

87 The population was 287 in 1831; 374 in 1841; 455 in 1851; 433 in 1861; 408 in 1871; 411 in 1881 and 347 in 1891.

88 Lincoln Diocesan Board of Education, 'Questions Relative to Schools'. LAO DBE 8/1/177

89 Bishop Kaye, *Charge at the Triennial Visitation in 1840* (1840), p.216.

90 Bishop Kaye, *Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Lincoln* (1847), p.342. The sentiments were expressed again in the *Charge at the Triennial Visitation in 1849* (1849).

91 n.d. TRC.

92 EST's journal, 30 July 1857. James O. Hoge ed., *Lady Tennyson's Journal* (Charlottesville, 1981), p.96.

93 Mrs Gould, daughter of the Revd T. J. M. Townsend, Rector of Owmby-cum-Searby and formerly Curate of Grasby, quoted in *Background to Genius*, p.127.

94 Lady Franklin to Henry Sellwood, 1 October [1861]. TRC.

95 EST's journal, 25 July 1857. Hoge, p.96. Visits to Bayons Manor by CTT and other members of the family took place 1, 2, 22, 23 October and 28 December 1857. GHT's Diary. LAO Misc. Don. 860/15.

96 John O. Waller, *A Circle of Friends: The Tennysons and the Lushingtons of Park House* (Columbus, 1986), p.186

97 CTT to Edmund Lushington, 31 July 1854. Collection of Roger Lushington.

98 *Macmillan's Magazine* 2 (June 1860), 98-99.

99 James Montgomery, 'At Home in Heaven', Part 2, verse 1. *Original Hymns for Public, Private, and Social Devotion* (1853).

100 George A. Macmillan ed., *Letters of Alexander Macmillan* (1908), pp.50-51.

101 AT had a copy of the *Travels* published in 1839. TRC. Campbell 1, item 1347.

102 *Macmillan's Magazine* 2 (July 1860), 226-227.

103 AT's Letter Diary, 30 April 1862. *Materials* 2, p.351.

104 Louisa Turner's Memorandum Book for 1862.

105 Lady Franklin, Domestic Journal, 25 August 1862. Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge. MS 248/127.

106 He died 21 July 1861. CTT was the only one of the Somersby Tennysons to attend his funeral.

107 Louisa Turner's Memorandum Book for 1861. They were on the continent for most of August. The tour is fully described in 'The Sketcher in the Ardennes and Moselle Land' (over the erroneous subscription 'C. W. R', for it is by Charles Richard Weld.), *Fraser's Magazine* 68 (October 1863), 513-525. Charles's partner-sonnet to 'The Moselle Boatman and His Daughter' is included in the text, as being by "one of our party". AT, no doubt encouraged by reports of the tour, took his own family along the same route in August 1865.

108 The affinity between CTT's poetry and that of the haiku poets, in which "exact evocation of something observed and poignantly felt seems to bring one to the very edge of deeper emotion", is perceptively noted in the review notice of *A Hundred Sonnets* in *Times Literary Supplement*, 23 December 1960, p.830.

109 Bishop Jackson, *Charge at the Triennial Visitation in 1861*

(1861), p.38. Jackson succeeded Bishop Kaye in 1853.

110 Rawnsley, *Memories*, p.226.

111 CTT to Alexander Macmillan, 19 April 1864. British Library. Add.MS 55253 ff.81-82.

112 June Steffensen Hagen, *Tennyson and His Publishers* (1979), p.163.

113 Richard Davenport-Hines, *The Macmillans* (1992), p.57.

114 CTT to Alexander Macmillan, 26 April 1864. British Library. Add. MS 55253 f.83.

115 CTT to Alexander Macmillan, 14 May 1864. British Library. Add. MS 55253 f.85.

116 CTT to Alexander Macmillan, 30 May 1864. British Library. Add. MS 55253 f.92.

117 CTT to Alexander Macmillan. [18?] May 1864. British Library. Add. MS 55253 f.94.

118 The population of England and Wales in 1831 was 13,896,797; in 1861 it was some 20 millions. It had doubled since CTT's birth.

119 Review of *Sonnets and Fugitive Pieces*, 1831.

120 [George Stovin Venables], 'Annual Summary for 1864'. *A Reprint from 'The Times'. The Annual Summaries for a Quarter of a Century* (1876), pp.226-254.

121 'The Arrow-King' may be seen as a response to AT's 'The Eagle' published in 1851.

122 In TRC. In all, 1059 MS sermons for divine service have survived. Some are dated precisely, coverage extending from 1856 to 1866. They are written in black ink on paper folded to make booklets of 6 to 8 folios each, sewn at the fold with thread. They are mainly in the hand of Louisa Turner with scriptural headings and brief interpolations in CTT's hand. A few are in an unidentified hand which may be that of a Grasby curate.

123 Alec R. Vidler, *The Church in an Age of Revolution* (1961), p.106.

124 Definition given by A. H. Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Monuments* (1893), p.2.

125 Revd H. T. Armfield, 'On Some Writings of the Late Mr Keble'. *Churchman's Family Magazine* 7 (June 1866), 496.

126 A. H. Grant, 'On the Influence of the "Christian Year"'.

Churchman's Family Magazine 5 (May 1865), 475.

127 G. B. Tennyson, 'The Sacramental Imagination' in U. C. Knoepflmacher and G. B. Tennyson eds., *Nature and the Victorian Imagination* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1977), p.371.

128 John Keble, *De Poeticae vi Medica: Praelectiones Academicae Oxonii Habitae, Annis 1832-1841* (Oxford, 1844). First English edition 1912. CTT may have seen AT's copy (TRC. Campbell 1, item 1297).

129 Indubitably a mis-titled sonnet (it is headed 'Continued' in both the 1864 volume and *Collected Sonnets Old and New)*, for it is quite unconnected with 'The Order of the Star of India'.

5

The Years of Achievement

Sales of the new volume were slow indeed: only one hundred and forty copies were sold in the first five months[1] and forty-one of those were bought by the author for presentation purposes. Towards the end of the year Macmillan thought the sales amounted "to some £20 from which £6 must be deducted for advertising. I confess this is not what I would have liked".[2] He thought the *form*, the sonnet, was unpopular rather than the author. "Had the same thought, feeling & fancy assumed other and more popular forms", he declared, "it would have met with acceptance."[3] Repeatedly he urged Charles to turn to the lyric. This, of course, Charles was unwilling and unable to do; as he was to say in his next volume's opening sonnet, addressed to a friend - actually Macmillan himself -

> Let lyrics be;
> For, though I do not love to say thee nay,
> For my poor muse it is too late a day
> To mell with strophe and antistrophe!

The *Saturday Review*[4] thought the volume was inferior to the 1830 one, but the *Athenaeum*,[5]dwelling particularly on the Nature sonnets, felt that the best of them were "finer than any that have lately been produced." The volume did not in fact fall entirely on barren ground. Charles's old friend, Spedding, was delighted with it: "... your descriptions of nature are as pure and fresh as the morning and all your expression as original as it is true and sweet." However, he regretted that no more than two of the 1830 sonnets were included: "Why were not all ... the old sonnets included? Do not you mean to reproduce them in becoming shape?"[6] This Charles was to respond to quite readily in 1868 when twenty-three of the old volume's sonnets were republished. One of the 1864 sonnets shortly found itself in an anthology, Charles giving his approval to its appearance in a collection of devotional *lyrics* produced for the benefit of "poor and neglected bargemen"[7]and, most interesting of all, the young Gerard Manley Hopkins, attracted no doubt by the volume's sacramentalist imagery, asked his friend Alexander Baillie "Have you read Turner's sonnets? They are the things to read now ..."[8]

Life for Charles had by now established its own pattern. In the late Summer of 1864 he and Louisa were at Farringford - where I. Mayall took Charles's photograph[9] - and in the following Summer they were at the Welds' new home, Aubrey House at Keyhaven, just opposite the Isle of Wight. There the poet William Allingham met Charles for the first time, succinctly

describing him as "like Alfred, though of shorter stature. Manner peculiar to the family, at once dignified, odd, very easy and natural! Way of speaking odd but distinct, and the phraseology always original ... I like him much."[10] Thither Henry Sellwood moved from Grasby, now "the model of an old English gentleman",[11]very thin, with white hair and beard.

Advancing years indeed now marked the older generation and in February 1865 Charles's mother died, "worn out with old age & an attack of bronchitis",[12]just a few hours after he reached her in Hampstead. Within three weeks her sister and companion of her last years, Mary Anne Fytche, died too. "How soon did the sisters follow each other!" wrote Charles. "I think it often is ordered so by Providence."[13] In the May Aunt Mary Bourne died, Charles attending her funeral, and in the following month Lewis Fytche's mother; Aunt Russell in the following year. These melancholy events hung heavy in Charles's mind and were to darken his verse.

A record of his everyday affairs, his Memorandum Book for 1866, has fortunately survived. It is in no sense a confessional and contains very few observations of an introspective nature. Though Louisa is mentioned throughout, we have from it virtually nothing illuminating their relationship, her personality or her state of mind, though there is one small burst of exasperation on 27 December: "Louisa's lachrymosity me miserrimo atq[ue] irato." Nor does he refer greatly to his writing; only two precise details emerge: on 23 May

"I touch up my Swallow Sonnet ['The Plea of the Shot Swallow'] daily" and on 19 June "My last Rocking Horse Sonnet ['Make-Believe Hunting'] nearly polished off." His thoughts are most frequently thrown outwards onto the affairs of his parishioners, for his concern is with visits - always accompanied by Louisa - to the sick, the needy, the old and the bereft. Death is an ever-present reality; he never softens references to it. The one word 'poor' prefixed to the name of the deceased is the only suggestion of emotional involvement, but no-one is spoken of patronisingly or condescendingly, nor are they sentimentalised. There is little about the church itself and no mention of sermons, though he frequently speaks of religious discussions with some of the villagers. His stance in relation to Dissenting Ministers ('Ranters') is clear: he strongly disapproved of them. This fragment covering a full week in February is representative:

3rd Cold. We called on Ht. Moore & on Lenz King & on the Whites.

4th Cold in the morning till Catechism then soft & sweet & vernal. A thunder & sleet or hail at night. We called on Knight.

5th Very fine. We called on Mr Foster about Robert King Sen^{r}'s proposed loan. We saw only Mrs Foster. Anne wrote about a Caryatid

flying across the drawing-room. Surely this is one of the spiritual incidents I have read of. The New Fence Lowe has now nearly finished looks very well & the snowdrops Cross has dispersed about. We called on Ht. Moore & on Lenz King & I read to & talked to him about Christ & on Robinson (behind the house) with 2s - at door.

6th Very windy indeed but warmish. We called on Ht. Hoore (Mr Nottingham better) & on the Laceys - she having asked me to church her turned out of the chapel - & on Frankish the old man (weakly). Anne sent seeds. Cross was busy chalking his kitchen-garden walk today. The soldier is at the Ranters' Chapel again tonight with his 3 medals.

7th Fine & vernal - roughish wind in morning. Mr Foster called about Robert King's request for a loan. Mr & Mrs S. Turner called with 3s for Mumby. We called on Mr Ashton about Mr Sellwood's orphan, Miss Bartholomew, a Berks farmer's daughter. Mary according to Ht. West has had an interview with Aunt Maryanne (spiritualistic). Rhodes sent receipt for [illegible] the Tennyson Trust. E. & A^{d}. wrote from Gore Lodge. Account of Arthur's chairmanship & his pun - chary (?). We called

on the Smiths of Clixby - saw his sister again - he gave his vote for Miss Bartholomew. We called on Ht. Moore & on Lenz King - better of late - & on Robinson behind the house.

8th Cold & rainy. We called on Pl. King & on Ht. Moore & on Tailor Thompson's for pearl barley & on Mrs G. Good with medicine. Cross went to Grimsby with Mrs Nottingham. The soldier's lecture at the Ranters' Chapel. Mary Lacey went with the church key to chapel. Louisa was forced to have the singers here. Robert King Sen: appeared to be dying. Master called - about to make his will. We called on him at about 11 o'clock at night & I prayed by him.

9th Very rainy morning then vernal. I read a review of 'Ecce Homo' with extracts in the Guardian - very clever & beautiful. Vernal about 2pm, rain after. We called on Ht Moore & on Robert King Sen: - better - lying on our sofa which we sent him & on Lenz King - long church talk with him & Mr Curtis.

In August Charles was suddenly incapacitated. He records the precise moment, which occurred during Divine Service on Sunday the 5th: "I fell back after reading the prayer against the Cattle Plague & did not continue the service from a rush of blood to the head & now great

nervousness." His physician, Dr MacIntosh, said his seizure was brought on by "congestion of the brain" and ordered him not to undertake the Church services. This was, in fact, the last official Sunday service Charles was ever to conduct, all subsequent ones being taken by Curates.[14] During the rest of his incumbency he conducted but three burials (one being Tailor Thompson's), though seventeen baptisms, many of them private baptisms of dying infants, are recorded in his name. From this point he assiduously joined his parishioners in their devotions as one of the congregation.

Anxious to obtain a diagnosis of his condition and to effect a cure, he and Louisa went to Clifton, near Bristol, in October to see Dr Symonds,[15]an eminent physician and the father of John Addington Symonds, who declared that Charles had merely suffered a fainting fit, but this was the beginning of a slow decline in Charles's health. They also stayed with the Welds, now moved to Weston, near Bath, taking the opportunity to examine the Pump Room ("little door marking a vomitorium for bathers"), the museum ("ghastly mummy - fish teeth"), the Roman Catholic church ("I never scarcely saw so perfect a work of art") and the Synagogue ("wild eldritch chanting"). He examined Charles Weld's "large prism fringing everything with velvet colours", listened to the telegraph wires which "required a wind to bring out the exquisite deeply melancholy & sweet Eolian sound" and the Wiltshire White Horse. They also stayed a week in Lyme Regis ("rosey clouds - reflection of a

star - rosey beach - sea not so wild & tumultuous - sea ripply & yet withal mournful").[16]

The year was troubled by the decline and death, on 8 September, of his brother Septimus. The Turners laid "white rose and white winter heather on his grave for winter & summer flowers" in Cheltenham. Also Louisa's father, Henry Sellwood, became partly paralysed in early 1867 and was losing his sight. Her sister Anne wrote to her "His poor eyes are all but closed & I fear he has quite lost the sight of both of them - he sends the message to your Charles that he gives him his watch."[17] Charles said he would always prize it.[18] The watch, the gift of a blind man, was to be immortalised in the sonnet 'A Photograph on the Red Gold' where Charles reflectively prays

God of small things and great! do Thou ensure
Thy gift of sight, till all my days are told.

Henry Sellwood died on 20 September 1867.

This period was also troubled by unpleasant Fytche family wranglings over Aunt Mary Anne's will, Charles himself being the executor, but these legal problems were as nothing compared with the extraordinary litigation of Turner v. Burkinshaw. J. J. Burkinshaw had been appointed Charles's agent on the dismissal of Haddelsey in 1842. He administered the affairs of the estate until 1861 when Henry Sellwood, looking into the accounts, detected several errors. Negotiations between

Charles's attorney, Coverdale, and Burkinshaw's took place and a settlement of £120 due was reached, but in 1863 a bill was filed by Coverdale for the recovery of further dues. Accordingly the case appeared before the Master of the Rolls. The dues owing by Burkinshaw were found to be no less then £4,337 and he was ordered to pay it, which he did immediately. Coverdale, however, relentlessly pressed for monies due on interest accrued, but this was not allowed by the Master of the Rolls. In April 1867 an appeal was made by Coverdale to the Court of Chancery. The Lord Chancellor, Lord Chelmsford, who presided, affirmed the decision of the Master of the Rolls and commenting upon the "extraordinary relations between the two parties, which were of a most unusual character and description", quashed the appeal. In making judgment, the Lord Chancellor described the situation:

> The Plaintiff, a clergyman, reposed such entire confidence in the Defendant, who was a farmer's son in the neighbourhood, as to entrust him with the uncontrolled management of all his pecuniary affairs. The course seems to have been - though no express arrangement to that effect is proved between the parties - that the Defendant should pay all moneys which he received on account of the Plaintiff into a bank at Lincoln. The Defendant had authority to draw upon that account to an

unlimited extent ... Mr Turner himself never drew at all upon that account.[19]

Yet again Charles, with a startling lack of worldliness, had been deceived. His indifference to financial affairs had been potentially ruinous, as had his naive trust in others. His grandfather's forebodings may be seen to have been indeed justified. Charles, however, had come to perceive trickery through long experience and observations upon the workings of guile were to appear in his poem 'The Rogue's Nightmare':

> One who, the self-same morning, had decoyed
> The widow and her son with glozing talk,
> At eve through springing pastures walked abroad,
> . . . . . .the white lamb kneeled
> Upon his crafty parchments, signed and sealed
> By victim hands ...

The experience also sharpened his perception of guilelessness, particularly in the innocence of children, which figures largely in his late poems.

The Summer of 1867 was to see the Turners again in the south of England. William Allingham, with the Tennysons in the Solent, has left a vivid impression of this visit:

> Wednesday, July 17.-- Lymington. Fine; hurry to steamer. Excursion to visit the French Fleet at



9. Alfred Tennyson c. 1870, by W. Jeffrey. (*Gloucestershire Record Office*).

Spithead. At Yarmouth a large Tennyson party comes on board -- A.T., his brother Charles and Mrs. Charles, Hallam and Lionel, two daughters of Fredk. Tennyson, from Jersey, and Matilda T. A.T. and I collogue. At Cowes a bustlė: the Queen embarking in her steam-yacht.

We see the Fleet at Spithead, 'like Milan Cathedral.' Rain comes on. The Queen having reached the French Fleet - Ironclads, huge, black and ugly, - royal salutes thunder, the yards are manned, but we can see very little for the thick weather. Ryde Pier, Tennyson and I land, among others; the ladies ill and draggled. Pier Hotel A.T., Charles T. and I go up High Street and out into a field beyond, where we sit on a balk of wood, looking at some cows grazing, and A.T. smoking. He quotes a sonnet of his brother's about elms and calls it *daimonisch*.[20]

The experience found expression in Charles's sonnet 'The Illumination of the English and French Fleets at Portsmouth':

And, oh! those long-drawn rockets, how they climbed,
To fill the very heaven with tricolors!
What healths we drank, by booming cannon timed!
And how the city swarmed from all her doors
To greet the Frenchman on our English shores!

His visit to his brother Frederick just after this was similarly recorded in 'On Board a Jersey Steamer'.

By April 1868 enough poems were ready for Charles to contemplate another volume and declaring to Macmillan that "there is, I think, more human interest in the present collection than in the former",[21] he sent off eighty-six new poems together with twenty-three re-worked sonnets from the 1830 volume. The book, *Small Tableaux*, was published in the last week of June.

It contains one splenetic sonnet, 'Poor Hodge and the Rev. Sans Foy', aimed at the Straussian school - "that little twinkling creed / Which counts for light at Tübingen" - and another aimed at Renan's *Vie de Jesus*, a "book of pleasant phrase, but narrow span". There is, to end the volume, an exhortation to those whose faith is "simple" to withstand denigrators; but that is the sum of his vehemence over theological matters. A voice of similar intransigence, however, informs his sonnet 'Wolf and the Casket', an attack on the suggestion made by the German scholar F. A. Wolf that *The Odyssey* and *The Iliad* were really a compilation of ballads written by sundry hands. This was an old issue,[22] but Charles's raising of it here reveals his unabated interest in the classical past, something manifest in his two sonnets on Philoctetes,[23] his fanciful evocation of schoolboy classical studies in 'The School-Boy's Dream on the Night before the Holidays' and in the two sonnets on the finding of a Roman shield in the Thames. There is in

'Philoctetes' even an echo of the terse Sophoclean style:

> Not now Achilles, shouting from the trench,
> Dismays them ...

and again in its partner-sonnet:

> Night falls - The mighty bow lies still on board,
> And dips and rises with the heaving wave ...

The twin poles of attraction, the classical past and the Christian tradition, are overtly presented in 'Art and Faith' as in direct opposition, where he bids Christ

> Through all the winsome sculptures of old Greece
> Keep Thou an open walk for Thee and me!

The attraction was nevertheless irresistible, for in his next volume he was to introduce a new translation of a lyric from Simonides and one from Sappho:[24]

> Aphrodite! thron'd above!
> Immortal schemer! child of Jove!
> Condemn me not to pangs of love,
> Adorable! I pray ...

In *Small Tableaux* the attraction is most feelingly portrayed in his graceful tribute to Virgil in 'The Steam Threshing Machine'

> Flush with the pond the lurid furnace burned
> At eve, while smoke and vapour filled the yard;
> The gloomy winter sky was dimly starred,
> The fly-wheel with a mellow murmur turned;
> While, ever rising on its mystic stair
> In the dim light, from secret chambers borne,
> The straw of harvest, severed from the corn,
> Climbed, and fell over, in the murky air.
> I thought of mind and matter, will and law,
> And then of him, who set his stately seal
> Of Roman words on all the forms he saw
> Of old-world husbandry: *I* could but feel
> With what a rich precision *he* would draw
> The endless ladder, and the booming wheel!

Here the world of his study and the world of the fields are finely balanced, but the latter lays the greater claim to his attention in his poetry and there is, in this volume particularly, a great insistence upon the local, the immediate in his experience. There is also a movement away from personal grief now to a consideration of the sadness of the lives of others, the grief of humanity:

> Who ecapes or can escape

The burthen, while the great world sins and mourns?
Grief comes to all, whatever be her shape
To each ...

('Morning Sorrows')

For Charles the experience of the moment was too intense for him to offer merely a *generalised* meditation on the subject of pain: the pain of those he knew, he shared. We thus have in this volume a series of sonnets presenting the mortal fears or mortal finalities of those apparently of his flock. Until more precise evidence comes to light, we cannot confidently assign the plights of the people portrayed in these sonnets to *known* members of his parish, but there are sufficient parallels to make some suggestions of potentially valid worth. Although 'Hero and Leander' would appear to be one of Charles's *sonnets* of the fancy wherein the classical myth is re-vitalised, the poem may actually be a response to the death by drowning of an Owersby youth, George Brumby, who died at the age of eighteen in the River Ancholme. His remains were buried in the Grasby churchyard by Charles on 12 July 1863.[25] Similarly 'Mary - A Reminiscence' and its partner-sonnet may be seen as reflections upon the death of Mary Moss who died at the age of nineteen, not in June, but in April 1867. Her burial on 4 May was one of the mere three at which he officiated after his illness in 1866. The precise details - the "gorge" (the Grasby lime-pit excavations), the "one loved chair", "the match box", the "little

rasping sound of taper lit / At midnight, which aroused her slumbering bird" - all establish a very real presence. The "loving kindness" of the one mourned in 'The Storm - a Harvest Memory' could well have been that which Charles received for years from Ann Brumpton, a Grasby friend, who died aged fifty-four, in August 1867 and 'Alice Wade' could be one of any number of young villagers who succumbed to small-pox: Charles's niece, Agnes, records how he and Louisa "would get up in the dead of a stormy night, and go forth, lantern in hand, to the bedsides of the small-pox patients who had the disease in so virulent a form that all their own relations had fled in terror from them."[26]

The subjects of most of these poems are girls or young women. In all cases what moves Charles in their plight is their vulnerability and also their moral purity. They are indeed all guileless. Mary is "pale and meek", her few relics betokening "wakefulness and prayer"; little Phoebe, in the sonnet of that name, is a "sweet child", "golden-haired"; Alice Wade a "little maid" with "still-brilliant eye" and Edith, of 'Going Home', equally blessed with "sweet face" and "bright hair". They are, all of them, transmuted into a type recognisable to an audience responsive to the sentiments of Victorian genre painting, and more particularly to the current vogues in photography. Such was the high mortality rate among the young, their untimely deaths evoked considerable sentiment and one of the most popular prints of the 1860s was H. P. Robinson's 'Fading

Away', a photograph taken in 1858, depicting a death-bed scene of much pathos. Indeed a fashion grew for 'Angel-Pictures' wherein infantile corpses were adorned with 'wings'. The sentiment of these poems is, however, needlessly intensified by Charles's over-zealous use of the adjective "little" - "Little Phoebe" with her "little basket", "my little maid" - suggesting that he felt unsure of his technique here and had to manipulate the reader's response. His pressing for a sympathetic response is superfluous, for the dangers these young girls face and often succumb to are very real indeed: Phoebe, crushed to death by a falling tree; Alice Wade, her face disfigured, "All-confluent now, and molten by disease". Their plight is that of the 'Tod und das Mädchen' tradition, their lives not only moving through shadow but plunged into the deepest shadow of annihilation.

Sombre these poems are and bleak in their refusal to offer any sense of hope; in this respect they cannot be said to be sentimental and in the face of such human anguish we must, says Charles in accompanying sonnets, come to terms with it with fortitude. Grief does come to all, but

> we are framed with pain to cope;
> And, when we bow, we help our climbing hope.

It is a sentiment given expression in 'Hope beneath the Waters' (1864):

angels' wings
Grow best from bruises, hope from anguish springs

And is most overtly declared in an undated letter Charles wrote to his brother-in-law, Charles Weld:

> I have come in course of years to accept trials of temperament and circumstances as developers of faith, searchers and cleansers. We need often to be purified with waters of Mara, bitter as gall itself. But provided we get our spiritual eye once fairly opened by our lifelong probations, intensified *as* God sees fit and *when* - we shall not undervalue the wholesome agonies.[27]

Such is the frailty of our human nature, he suggests, guidance and protective guardianship are needed for us to sustain strength of purpose, to embolden moral courage or simply to provide us with a sense of security. The victim of 'The Drunkard's Last Market', lacking such guidance, dies in isolation.[28] The role of guide and guardian is performed by the good shepherd in 'The Late Pastor of Woldsby Ebrorium' and by the steersman of 'On Board a Jersey Steamer' who reassuringly responds to Charles's question with the words "I am true!" Charles's emotional demands had changed little in this respect since 1827 when he wrote of the need for

That fost'ring guide, which all require

('In early youth I lost my Sire')

In *Sonnets* the role of guardian was assumed by the buoy-bell:

High is thy mission, though thy lot is wild -
To be in danger's realm a guardian sound.

Here in *Small Tableaux* it is assumed by the Needles' Lighthouse:

The sole beam in our darkness! Those who dwell
Near these great beacons are instructed well.

It will be seen that in later poems this role is returned once more into human hands.

The compassion he feels for the more vulnerable members of the human race is extended to embrace the sufferings of sentient Nature. There is a rapt sense of awe and pity in his contemplation of small and helpless creatures. "A bat which flittered about in our bedroom at night", he writes in his Memorandum Book on 16 September 1866, "was found drowned in the pitcher in my dressing room in the morning - a beautiful creature with broad ears rosey veined, caoutchouc wings & a mole-like hand". We find this responsiveness to the distresses of delicate animal-life time and again in his poems: here

we have the wren, "worn and spent / With idly dashing on the window-pane" ('The Gold-Crested Wren'); the bees "pining, worn and vext" ('The Bee-Wisp'); the flies, mere "tiny forms / Supine and dumb" ('November Sunshine and the House-Flies') - each claiming, like the shot swallow, "an elegy of words and tears." These creatures, a portion of the divine creation, move and have their being in accordance with divine law so that no matter how humble they may be, they are "befriended by th'Almighty mind" and elevated in Charles's thinking to a sacred level, sustaining his faith:

> Once more I see the glorious insect rise!
> My faith is lifted on two gauzy wings,
> And served with light by two metallic eyes.
> ('The Fly's Lecture')

While the lowly may exercise attraction - and it was Charles's habit to examine diminutive forms of life with the aid of a microscope[29] - the attraction of the vast and distant is, as we have seen, of equal power and there is no diminution in the number of sonnets devoted to the subject of heavenly bodies. As givers of light they are all of a one with the Divine and their conflict with darkness is, as ever, central to his imaginative vision: hence, the image of the waning moon expresses his constant perception of the darkness of human misery:

> When the moon's edge grows dim, then blurred and

rough,

And darkness quarries in her lessening orb,
She yields an image, true and stern enough,
Of all those crimes and sorrows, which absorb
Our hope and life!

('The Moon and Sin, an Illustration')

There is, however, a slackening of his control of an image here, for the poem works on the level of an analogy, as its title indicates, and so in the integration of image and sentiment there is not the imaginative fusion we find in poems like 'Resuscitation of Fancy'. There is equally a failure of 'reserve', so that we find a greater uncertainty in his handling of the sacramentalist idiom and one may question whether he is secure in his acceptance of its poetic validity. Or is it indeed the old problem of accommodating the image of moon and star into this idiom? It is significant that in the beautifully-observed poem 'On the Eclipse of the Moon of October 1865' he achieves complete poetic mastery without recourse to it.

One little noise of life remained - I heard
The train pause in the distance, then rush by,
Brawling and hushing, like some busy fly
That murmurs and then settles; nothing stirred
Beside. The shadow of our travelling earth
Hung on the silver moon, which mutely went
Through that grand process, without token sent,

Or any sign to call a gazer forth,
Had I not chanced to see; dumb was the vault
Of heaven, and dumb the fields - no zephyr swept
The forest walks, or through the coppice crept;
Nor other sound the stillness did assault,
Save that faint-brawling railway's move and halt;
So perfect was the silence Nature kept.

At the centre of Charles's response to the natural world is Joy; his perception of change and loss in that world is therefore all the sharper. His numerous poems on harvest and the closing months of the year are poignant in their expression of sadness and regret, but it is the skilful conceit employed in his poem 'A Photograph on the Red Gold' that most vividly exhibits his vision of the world temporally passing on, for the "tiny sunshine" peeping about "a tiny elm" is but a reflection in a time-piece. Equally his sonnet 'A Farewell to the Isle of Wight', while an expression of sadness at farewell seen in spatial terms, is also a tender contemplation of movement in temporal terms, for it is a tribute to a poet who held his affection in his youth now so long passed, Mrs Tighe, on whose poem 'On Leaving Killarney' it is modelled.

Farewell, sweet scenes! pensive once more I turn
Those pointed hills and wood-fringed lakes to view
With fond regret; while in this last adieu
A silent tear those brilliant hours shall mourn

For ever past. So from the pleasant shore,
Borne with the struggling bark against the wind,
The trembling pennant fluttering looks behind
With vain reluctance![30]

There is indeed indebtedness to another poet in this volume, displayed with some virtuosity, and that is his brother Alfred. It is there in the rich luxuriance of 'The First Week in October':

ever and anon, the ashen keys
Dropt down beside the tarnished hollyhocks,
The scarlet crane's-bill,and the faded stocks,-
Flung from the shuffling leafage by the breeze ...[31]

but never more so than in the remarkably beautiful 'The Sea-Fairies' Answer':

Our spells shall keep her floating, yet unchanged;
The nautilus shall push his purple sail
Across her happy shadow; in the gale
The storm-blown land-bird, which too far hath ranged,
Shall trust her look, and perch, and close his eye:
Around her shall the graceful proäs move,
And fling their garland-gifts of awe and love;
And, when the tropic midnight veils the sky,
On fair phosphoric seas thy child shall rest,
And morn shall find her, when the day comes back
Laid, as in Heaven's own river, in the track

Of sunrise o'er the waters - to suggest
In symbol, that her soul is pure and blest,
And floats from light to light, and cannot die.[32]

There are elements of a successful *lyric* poet here.

The volume was accorded but few reviews. These few were, however, sympathetic, the *Guardian* finding it "of greater merit than his former volume".[33] Again Charles acquired a number of copies for presentation purposes, one such being sent to Trench, now Archbishop of Dublin, who had just included two of the 1830 sonnets in his anthology *A Household Book of English Poetry*, but sales were again slow and even four years later Macmillan was observing "I wish the account was more exhilarating for your sake. They ought to sell better".[34] Charles, however, was gratified by small tokens of praise bestowed on his poems, "being", as he said, "ridiculously fond of them all, as an author should be - thus exemplifying poor Cowper's line - 'fancy's fondness for the child she bears'."[35]

In September 1868 the Turners took their holiday in North Wales, staying in Llandudno[36]and Penmaenmawr where they met Macmillan and his wife, their only meeting. The holiday prompted a small group of sonnets, one of which, 'The Artist on Penmaenmawr',[37]captures most poignantly Charles's greatly sharpened awareness of Man's tenuous hold on life. The succession of family deaths and his fears for his own condition which was slowly worsening (he had drawn up his will in the June

of 1867), all contributed to the heightened response he gave to the Abergele train disaster referred to in that poem. This was the horrific accident, described in the *Guardian* as "one of the most awful which has ever been recorded in Great Britain",[38] which happened on 20 August, ten days before he passed along the same stretch of track. Thirty-three people, men, women and children, had been burned to death by the ignition on impact of a number of petroleum casks. The poem 's shadows, flickering through a scene of sea-side delight, are truly dark:

> 'Farewell! these happy skies, this peerless day!
> And these fair seas - and, fairer still than they,
> The white-arm'd girls in dark blue bathing-gowns,
> Among the snowy gulls and summer spray.'

So "the night-struck mountain" seems to say as darkness falls "o'er the great crags and downs". The grim heights of Penmaenmawr glower down onto the exulting youths beneath it and in the growing shadows, life is swept away. It is a deeply disturbing poem, one of Charles's most successful observations upon mortality.[39]

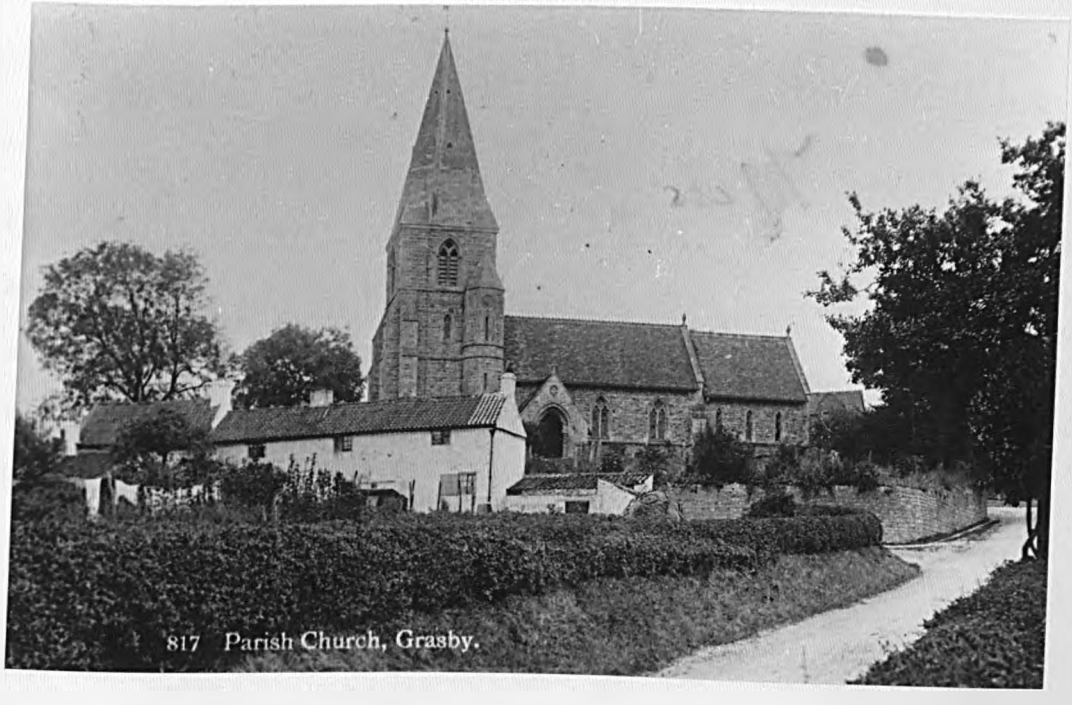
As if in recognition of his moving towards the close of his own life - and also as a thanks-offering too - he was now to make his greatest material contribution to the church he had served so long. He undertook the full restoration of its fabric. He chose as his architect not James Fowler of Louth, the

contemporary designer of so many Lindsey churches of this time, but Charles Buckeridge of Oxford.[40] Buckeridge (1832/3-1873) had been a member of the great George Gilbert Scott's architectural office and in the 1850s had held strong Puginian ideas about the uses of Gothic architecture.[41] He superintended the restoration of University College Chapel in Oxford and, being a pronounced Tractarian, accepted commissions for extensive work on Ascot Priory, Holy Trinity Convent, also in Oxford, and monastic buildings near Llanthony. His work on All Saints at Grasby was quite ruthless. Much was demolished; what remains is the thirteenth century north arcade, the archway to the south door and two windows. The east window was moved to the west wall and replaced with glass from Clayton and Bell's foundry. The style of the church is that of the thirteenth century and its materials, Kirton-in-Lindsey stone, are local. The interior has a distinctly High Church quality, for the chancel and sanctuary are quite elevated above the nave and the highly-placed windows of the south aisle create a subdued light. While it was being built, services were held in the school: "obliged to close work in the morning an hour earlier", reads the school log book on 6 July 1869, "on account of having a marriage in the schoolroom".[42]

The re-building is presented in the sonnet 'Our New Church':

As yet no organ rolls - no prayer-bell rings -





10. (Above) Grasby Church, before restoration, in 1868. Oil on board by Revd T. J. M. Townsend. Charles and Louisa are shown talking to a villager. (*Lincolnshire Library Service*).

11. (Below) Grasby Church, after restoration and still with its spire. Postcard c. 1935. (*Welholme Galleries, Grimsby*).

But in and out the darting swallows pass;
While distant hands prepare the pictur'd glass,
Through vacant quatrefoils the hodman sings.

A feature of the new church was its fine clock in a small turret attached to the tower. Made by B. Cooke of Hull, it has a remarkable gravity escapement mechanism, in perfect working order to this day. It was much cherished by Charles who records its activity:

Down in the nave I catch the two-fold beat
Of those full-weighted moments overhead;
And hark! the hour goes clanging down the street
To the open plain ...

('Our New Church Clock')[43]

In August 1869 the new bells, one inscribed to the memory of Charles's mother, the other to the memory of Louisa's father, rang out to proclaim the church's offical opening in the presence of the Bishop. The entire cost of the rebuilding had been met by the monies recovered in the law-suit.[44]

With the death of Charles Weld in January 1869, Charles had come to feel that "Life is becoming to all the survivors, as it were, a close neighbour to death",[45]but though ailing himself, he nevertheless maintained a quietly convivial life-style, attending the somewhat Anacreontic monthly "club meetings" with neighbouring clerics, the Reverend T. J. M. Townsend of

Searby, known in their circle as Poleostelos, the Reverend W. F. Chambers of North Kelsey, Thalamon and Charles himself, Torneutes.[46] Townsend was a High Churchman, indeed an English Catholic, as was Charles's curate, the Reverend H. W. Holden, and Charles's position in these late years was staunchly orthodox with High Church sympathies, though he gave no sanction to the extremes of High Church ritual in divine service. His brother-in-law, Edmund Lushington, was prone to teasing him on his orthodoxy, describing him in mock-Byronic terms

> He leaves a Corsair's name to later time,
> His thousand virtues soil'd by but one crime.
> The crime, indeed, is one that rightly shocks ye,
> The man was deeply tinged with Orthodoxy.[47]

In a district of deeply-founded Dissent and Low Church practice, High Anglicanism was not easily countenanced in the 1870s. Ritualism to many was associated with the papacy and the divisions between all sects at this time were decidedly strained. Nonconformist pressures, for example, may be seen in the threat of one Grasby man to withdraw his children from school if weekday church attendance were obligatory[48]and the attractions of the Chapels' feast days decimated school attendance.[49] Suspicions, quarrels and wildly false accusations arose. Many felt uncomfortable about the introduction of plainsong for responses by the previous curate, John

Wilberforce Doran, who was once found, to Charles's disgust, exorcising the church flowers[50]and who went on to publish the 'Te Deum Laudamus' to Ambrosian Chant in 1879.[51]

The height of hysteria, however, was to be reached in the response to a Ladies' Retreat held in Grasby in late 1873. It was conducted by the Reverend Robert Linklater, who was to become the locum curate in 1876, and overall arrangements for the accommodation of the visitors were in the hands of Louisa Turner. The Reverend T. J. M. Townsend, who was probably the organiser, presented the 'programme' for the event in the local press:[52]

Wednesday, 12 November	:	9.30 p.m.	Compline
Thursday 13 and Friday 14	:	8.00 a.m.	Prime
		10.00 a.m.	Matins
		10.45 a.m.	Terce
		12.30 p.m.	Sext

The occasion gave rise to vitriolic attacks: "The whole affair is part and parcel of the bold attempt now being made throughout the land to un-Protestantise the Established Church", wrote one correspondent to the press and another described it as "a monstrous piece of folly" and pilloried "'the silly women' who gathered together for the glorification of an apostate Romanizing priest".[53] Charles's role in all this was quite passive,



12. Interior of Grasby Church.
(*Photograph by Patrick R. Usher*).

but of course he was in the eyes of many officially responsible. He was defended, however:

> If men like the Vicar of Searby only confined themselves and their amusements to their own parishes, no one would be much hurt, for there they are little noticed; but when they obtrude themselves into the parishes of their less ostentatious neighbours, and thereby bring them into ridicule, the matter becomes serious ... As the mistletoe attracts attention only by fastening itself to the giant oak, so do those insignificant human parasites attract attention only by associating themselves with some noble character such as the humble-minded, the amiable and accomplished incumbent of Grasby. They know full well from his modesty, his goodness, and his patient endurance that they are pretty safe in his parish...[54]

By May 1873 Charles had been ready yet again to publish a large number of sonnets. Although he had maintained extremely friendly relations with Macmillan, their working relationship had - with one small exception later - come to an end in 1869 with the latter's regretful refusal, on financial grounds, to publish any more of his volumes.[55] Since then Charles had published seven fine sonnets in *Good Words*,[56]one of Alexander Strahan's serial publications. Strahan had given up his publishing business in 1872 and joined forces with Henry S. King. Alfred's friend James Knowles approached

Strahan and King on Charles's behalf,[57] so that King was to be his next publisher. The volume was well-advertised in advance and review copies were sent to forty-seven different newspapers and periodicals. The terms agreed were that Charles should receive two-thirds of the profits. Perhaps not surprisingly, the author purchased seventy-five copies for presentation purposes.[58]

The volume, entitled *Sonnets, Lyrics and Translations* and dedicated to Agnes Grace Weld, is sparser in new material than either of the two preceding it, only fifty-eight of its ninety-two poems making a first appearance. Among their number are two new lyrics, 'An Incident on the Dee' and 'The Prince of Wales at Madingley', the first such since 1860, and two new translations, the first since 1830. It was to be Charles's last volume - though not his last publication - and there are signs that now, with failing health, he anticipated this. The movement of time had ever been a preoccupation of his thinking, but there are more direct references to its swift passage:

> My clock's a mocking thief, who steals my coin,
> Then counting up the sum, as if to say,
> "How many precious pieces I purloin,
> One, two, three, four", - trips daintily away.
>
> ('My Timepiece')[59]

and, speaking of the chiming of his church clock in 'Twelve o'Clock at Noon',

> . . . I love to hear
> That fair and open reckoning, night and day,
> Which tells us boldly how we pass away!

Its most imaginative expression, however, comes in the sonnet 'After the School-Feast':

> The Feast is o'er - the music and the stir -
> The sound of bat and ball, the mimic gun;
> The lawn grows darker, and the setting sun
> Has stolen the flash from off the gossamer,
> And drawn the midges westward; youth's glad cry -
> The smaller children's fun-exacting claims,
> Their merry raids across the graver games,
> Their ever-crossing paths of restless joy,
> Have ceas'd - And, ere a new Feast day shall shine,
> Perchance my soul to other worlds may pass;
> Another head in childhood's cause may plot,
> Another Pastor muse in this same spot,
> And the fresh dews, that gather on the grass
> Next morn, may gleam in every track but mine!

The volume also displays an increased preoccupation on Charles's part with human relationships and more precisely the subject of the union of man and woman by love or marriage. There were no such poems in the

Sonnets of 1864, there were four in *Small Tableaux;* here we have seven. There were to be nine more, one to be published in 1876,[60] the rest to appear in the posthumous collection of his poems. These later sonnets will be considered here with the 1873 sonnets, as they are part of a sequence.

The lateness of their appearance in his work may be attributed both to his increased confidence in the potentialities of the sonnet-form and to the distancing factor of passing time which allowed him now to dwell on what had once been a painful experience in his own life. The sonnets are unusual in that they are not poems of unrequited love, but poems whose subject is the insecurity of union. There is a trembling uncertainty in the relationships they picture and in many cases they present a union violently threatened or disrupted. We saw this first in the sonnet 'Annie and Ambrose' (1868), whose subject is the restoration of a relationship after a ten-year hiatus, something which bears an obvious autobiographical parallel. The lovers of 'The Parting-Gate' and 'Hero and Leander' are less fortunate, for their union is shattered by the death of one of the partners. In the 1873 volume, the horrific deaths[61] of the bride in 'The Fir-Grove' - struck down by lightning on her honeymoon - and in 'The Missing Bride' - fatally locked in a chest on her wedding-day only to be found years later as "A skeleton, in bridal wreath and ring" - continue this theme. They express what for Charles was a profound sense of distress at the thought of losing

the loved one and being abandoned to isolation and loneliness, a state of being he knew only too well and a state reflected in the plight of the malkin:

> No mate beside thee - far from social joy;
> As some poor clerk survives his ruin'd firm,
> And, in a napless hat, without employ,
> Stands, in the autumn of his life, alone.
>
> ('To a Scarecrow, or Malkin, Left Long after Harvest')

Such abandonment is found too in 'The Hydraulic Ram' and in 'A Blush at Farewell'.

In the sonnets published after 1873 we have not only lovers faced with loss, but lovers on the brink of open avowal of their love who are threatened with loss. They move towards consummation of feeling, but their aspiration is not fully realised. Again like the child catching at the bough that came his way, there is a grasping for the desired object which is snatched away by an unfeeling power no sooner than it is touched or else it is withheld. In 'A Night-Change against a Swan by a Lover' the unfeeling power is the swan in the night which breaks the lover's dream and so denies him the reassuring answer he desires; in 'The Lover and His Watch' we move through suggestions of imminence - "glimmer", "coming day", "peeping", "dawn was near" - but dawn does not break. There is no consummation. It ends in hope unfulfilled. 'The Mute Lovers on the

Railway Journey' dramatises the tensions produced by the withholding of overt expression of feeling: the lovers have not declared their love and one is borne afar into a bleak emptiness of uncertainty.

The male protagonists of these three sonnets are victims of their own diffidence. They are passive, almost inert; their role is insecure. This is finely captured in the most highly accomplished of these sonnets, 'A Country Dance', a poem looking back to his Horncastle days, where the protagonist, with "faint and dim" hopes, passively stands as the movement of the dance carries his loved one into the threateningly dangerous arena of "fond faces and relays of love":

He has not woo'd, but he has lost his heart.
That country dance is a sore test for him;
He thinks her cold; his hopes are faint and dim;
But though with seeming mirth she takes her part
In all the dances and the laughter there,
And though to many a youth, on brief demand,
She gives a kind assent and courteous hand,
She loves but him, for him is all her care.
With jealous heed her lessening voice he hears
Down that long vista, where she seems to move
Among fond faces and relays of love,
And sweet occasion, full of tender fears:
Down those long lines he watches from above,
Till with the refluent dance she reappears.

In these 'sonnet-dramas', so full of unease, threat and anxiety, where the fragile nature of human relationships is explored, the poet distances himself from his subject by the utilisation of a mode of expression identifiable to his audience from another art-form. They are representations in words of scenes which find their counterpart in much genre painting of this period. 'No Tidings from the Sea' (1870), a painting by Frank Holl, and 'A Hopeless Dawn' (1888), by Frank Bramley, are, in their portrayal of the pain of separation and human isolation, visual companion-pieces to poems like Charles's 'Shadows off the Coast', but whereas in Victorian painting it is usually the forsaken maiden or the bereft wife who occupies the centre of the stage, in Charles it is *always* the agitated youth or anguished husband who occupies our attention. With this in mind, we may well consider that Charles himself is subsumed into the drama he represents, for, much in need of security and harmony, he found the bliss of matrimonial union a desperately hard-won achievement.

This adds a poignancy to the last three sonnets of this sequence where he allows harmony to prevail. The lovers in 'To a German Lady' find fulfilment and they do so in a setting of peace and tranquillity:

From noise and city tumult far away

The harmony of music is expressive of their love; the suggestion of "Morgenluft" and "Abendsonnenschein" is

that the harmony will last from the morning until the evening of their lives. That it is the wife who takes away the husband to her home is noteworthy, however. In 'To Beatrice on her first Interview with Dante' we feel the balance is more equable, for Dante actively - and the verb is startling -

Hath seized thy fair belongings

while Beatrice is given a vivid presence by the double reference to her crimson gown and her role is to be a positive one.

The final sonnet, 'The Wedding Posy', whose subject is based on fact,[62] carries the concept of earthly union into spiritual realms, for the act of laying the bouquet on the tomb has a sacramental quality more potent to Charles than the union by hands that has preceded it. It expresses the harmony of the body and the soul, the union of the living and the dead and the synthesis of natural beauty and natural affection. This richly suggestive sonnet moves from "today" to "the earliest passage of thine angel wings" and with its last line, "... the blest shall tell of orange flowers," it carries us back to Charles's tribute to his own wedding day in the apostrophe, written over forty years before, to one of Louisa's sisters:

Farewell! it is my parting hour:
Thy sister wends her way with me,

To spend far off, by land and sea,
Those first fair moons of peace and glee
That shine upon the orange flow'r.

It is apparent from this sequence of sonnets that Charles's view of womanhood far transcended that representation given us in the poems addressed to meek, vulnerable and lowly maidens. Woman is also for him the anchor of his being, a guardian, a guide, a 'Nausicaa'

Whose brave-eyed pity fac'd a naked king,
And made a shipwreck sweet ...

She is Charles's 'sea-star' and, poetically, of a one with his buoy-bell and lighthouse. If there is a dichotomy, it was one he found in the nature of his own Louisa who rose, with a courage he must have envied, far above the vulnerable to the bearing of a Beatrice:

He gain'd
A prize in meeting thee, and thou hast part
Henceforth in him, to all his fame allied:
For thou hast pass'd into a poet's heart,
To be his Beatrice, his angel-guide.

The volume was slightly but warmly received and the most significant and important critique was that in *The Contemporary Review*.[63] This, the first assessment of

Charles's three volumes of 1864, 1868 and 1873, was written by Henry Hewlett, James Knowles's brother-in-law.[64] This nine-page estimate does not conceal Charles's faults and condemns the theological sonnets as unconvincing; but it pinpoints his virtues: "Mr Turner's best sonnets are almost uniformly those wherein, to adopt his own words, he is 'poising one bright thought' ... With an eye prompt to catch the rich varieties of form and gradations of colour in Nature, he unites a hand apt at rendering either her breadth or her delicacy." Most importantly, however, Hewlett suggests that "his three little books might well be collected into one and brought within the reach of a wider circle." This review Knowles later brought to the notice of James Spedding who considered it showed a truer appreciation of Charles's qualities than any he had seen.[65]

Seeing the volume off the press, the Turners took their annual holiday at Sea Mill, near Ardrossan in Ayrshire, on medical advice, for the air was bracing and "said to contain a great deal of *ozone*, an ingredient which the physical philosophers are discussing & analysing just now."[66] This Scottish stay prompted four sonnets: 'Localities of Burns', 'The Drowned Spaniel', 'The Quiet Tide near Ardrossan' and 'Millie Macgill'. The delights of his youthful Mablethorpe days seem to have been re-lived in these late holidays; three years later, in 1876, he was to satisfy his "strong relish for

the breakers" at Cleethorpes where 'The Sea-Tide Truants' was written.

Agnes Weld, on her visit to Grasby in June 1873, found one of the Turners' main concerns was the procuring of a school master: "They have grown so arified nowadays that some of them ask as much as £200 a year and lodging."[67] William Windle, who had taken over as schoolmaster and parish clerk in January 1868, had left Grasby in April 1873. His tenure had improved matters in the school enough to warrant the Government Inspector's report that it was "in good order and the work of the upper class is well done and shows intelligence. Singing is good. The lower classes are very fair."[68]

The school was without a permanent teacher from Windle's departure until 14 July 1873 when George Bell began his duties. This troubled period is reflected in the Inspector's report of 14 February 1874: "This school was for some time in an unsettled state as to teachers and has suffered as a consequence."[69]

Though Louisa Turner inspected the needlework and examined the pupils in the Scriptures with weekly regularity until December 1877, at no time did Charles ever involve himself in the religious education of the school; but as patron and manager, he was responsible for the school's upkeep and the procurement and payment of its staff and he fulfilled these obligations to the end. He exacted no payment from the families whose children attended,[70] but attendance, as in the majority of

Lincolnshire village schools, was often poor. "The children are pretty regular in winter and early spring, but when summer comes the fields claim their presence, and the schools are half emptied," says an Inspector of Schools in 1877 and among their employment he lists bean and potato planting, bird 'tenting', pea-pulling and harvesting.[71] Notwithstanding these problems, the annual school feasts, held at local beauty spots such as Pelham's Pillar, the Day School Feast and the Sunday School Feast, took place every August and held their own against competing Wesleyan Methodists' festivals and Primitive Methodists' outings.

On 24 February 1876 he opened a Reading Room in Grasby.[72] It was no doubt a repository for SPCK tracts which he regularly distributed on his pastoral visits, judging by his Memorandum Book for that year, but newspapers were also made available, at a fee of 2/- a quarter, to the members. The initial expenditure was his own and this willingness to encroach still upon his own investments is apparent in one of his last acts as benefactor to the district:

> The Rev. Chas. Tennyson Turner, Rector [sic] of Grasby, has recently offered to give a desirable building site of one acre in Caistor to any individual or company who would undertake to build thereon a dwelling-house and offices of the value from £20 to £30 per annum; the only condition annexed being that on its completion, and whenever afterwards it might be

untenanted, the Curate of Caistor should have the first refusal of its occupancy.[73]

The momentum of Charles's writing was unabated and indeed seemed to gather pace. 1875 saw the publication of 'The Felled Oak'[74]and the previous year his sonnet 'To Mrs Cameron'. Frequently at Farringford had he and Louisa met Julia Margaret Cameron who was fond of them both: "How much I wish you were both always here - we loved and *love* you so deeply & really who could help it?" she wrote.[75] She appears to have taken a photograph of him,[76]but if it has survived, its whereabouts are unknown. It was in two volumes of her photographs, her *Illustrations to Tennyson's 'Idylls of the King', and Other Poems* (1874/75), that she utilised his poem addressed to her, as a preface.

At the end of 1876 Charles was to reappear in *Macmillan's Magazine*[77]with what was to prove an extraordinarily popular sonnet, 'Letty's Globe, or Some Irregularities in a First Lesson in Geography'. Its popularity lay in its union of sentiment and nationalistic fervour. Letty's innocence, her artlessness, mark her as one among many guileless small girls in his writing. The fact that her eye was "unlearned" made her patriotism supernatural:

And while she hid all England with a kiss,
Bright over Europe fell her golden hair.

Unfortunately the sonnet was garbled on its first appearance, the words "old Empires peep'd / Between her baby fingers" being omitted, so reducing the poem to thirteen lines. Edmund Lushington's invective against the printer was understandable:

> What devil can have possesst the foolish printer
> .....
> To spite his Muse & of due measure stint her?[78]

But the denunciation was misdirected. The fault was Charles's own. Macmillan, however, graciously printed the corrected version in the next issue of the magazine[79] and it has appeared, almost ad nauseam, in anthologies ever since.

Charles's writing had now become a high consideration to him and in 1876 he was occupied with an attempt to republish *Sonnets, Lyrics and Translations*. In August he received some etched illustrations to his sonnets from an Emma Jenkins and a Florence Street who we know from his Memorandum Book had visited him earlier in the year. Whether Charles had already decided, at this date, to embark on a new illustrated edition is not clear, but certainly on 18 October he was writing to King & Co. about an edition containing the illustrations. We do know that the illustrations were done at his request.[80] King accepted the work, putting the matter in hand in the December. Charles was insistent that Emma Jenkins' name should appear under

the engravings - Florence Street seems to have dropped out of the venture by this stage - but the price proposed (6/-) for the volume was too high for him. His aim was to produce a cheap edition. The etchings, however, were engraved; one we know to have been an illustration to accompany his sonnet 'Nausicaa'. Emma Jenkins continued to produce etchings to accompany sonnets from the 1864 and 1868 volumes suggesting that Charles possibly had a view to producing a 'Collected Works' himself. But no cheap edition, or indeed any other edition, appeared in his lifetime. Henry S. King & Co. went out of business in the middle of 1877 and that probably ended the matter.[81]

The years between 1873 and 1878, however, saw Charles at work with sustained powers on some of his most memorable sonnets. Some fifty sonnets were to emerge, all ultimately making their appearance in the penultimate section of the posthumous collection of his works. Some were known to friends - sometimes in variant forms - almost as soon as they were written, for it was his practice to release them in his letters.

In reciprocal letters he was encouraged to develop his themes, one such letter coming from Christopher Wordsworth, a contemporary of his at Trinity and now Bishop of Lincoln.[82] Wordsworth was warmly appreciative of the 1873 volume, but ventured to suggest that Charles should address himself more to the teachings of the Old Testament:

> ... I long for a string for your beads, and a vase for your bouquet of flowers, and it has occurred to me that you would be doing great service to the faith if your Christian Muse would tune its harp to sing to us of the inner spiritual and evangelical meaning of the history of the Old Testament, beginning with the creation and carrying us on from paradise to the patriarchs and thence to Sion and the prophets ... and to the twilight of the Gospel.[83]

Charles would most certainly have seen poetry as the hand-maid of theology; as he made clear in a letter to Alfred,[84]

> "I have never in my old desultory reading days found such a charm & interest as in the study of the Queen Science, as Trench calls 'Theology', and those who assume that they will find [in] it no food for the mature reason will be surprised at the large provision for the Intellect & rich satisfaction for the highest Imagination.

But for all that, neither theology nor biblical history are by any means *overtly* presented as the subject in any of his last sequence of poems. It is, however, not a matter of his having failed to be swayed by Wordsworth's suggestion; rather it is a case of Wordsworth's not having recognised in Charles's verse the greater quality: the *intrinsic* recognition of the "spiritual and

evangelical meaning" of the scriptures. The sonnet 'The Drowned Spaniel' is a fine example of this quality at work.

The situation presented to us - the poet's coming across a spaniel newly drowned by the sea's edge at the end of a stormy day - is, in its pathos, dangerously near to the sentimental, but Charles constrains this by the highly-charged use of sacramentalist symbol, returning to this poetic mode with consummate ease. The symbolism is of an order that directs the sentiment along an intellectual as much as an emotional path: it resides in the nature of the rainbow which arches over the scene presented to us.

The day-long bluster of the storm was o'er:
The sands were bright; the winds had fallen asleep:
And, from the far horizon, o'er the deep
The sunset swam unshadow'd to the shore.
High up the rainbow had not pass'd away,
When roving o'er the shingly beach I found
A little waif, a spaniel newly drown'd;
The shining waters kiss'd him as he lay.
In some kind heart thy gentle memory dwells,
I said, and, though thy latest aspect tells
Of drowning pains and mortal agony,
Thy master's self might weep and smile to see
His little dog stretch'd on these rosy shells,
Betwixt the rainbow and the golden sea.

The source of the tradition being employed here is, of course, *Genesis* ix, 13-16:

> I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be a token of the covenant between me and the earth ... and I will look upon it, that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that is upon earth.

The symbol of the rainbow as an instrument of God's grace was fully understood by the Victorian audience as interpreted to them by biblical commentators like Patrick Fairbairn:

> ... as the rainbow throws its radiant arch over the expanse between heaven and earth, uniting the two together as with a wreath of beauty, after they have been engaged in an elemental war, what a fitting image does it present to the thoughtful eye of the essential harmony that still subsists between the higher and the lower spheres! Such undoubtedly is its symbolic import, as the sign peculiarly connected with the covenant of Noah; it holds out, by means of its very form and nature, an assurance of God's mercy ...[85]

This sacramental image, common in seventeenth century literature, takes on a further dimension in some Victorian poetry[86] as a symbol of Christ himself, though early in the century Shelley could mock the associative

value of the phenomenon of the rainbow in 'Queen Mab' where "blood-red rainbows canopied the land." Landow, in his essay on the rainbow, suggests that the denigratory incursions upon the faith made by authors like Byron and Shelley made it difficult "for later authors to employ the rainbow literally as an emblem of grace."[87] Charles, however, far from being troubled by the shaking of the tradition made by poets he undoubtedly knew well, goes further and in 'The Drowned Spaniel' he proclaims, by his utilisation of the image, the endowment of God's grace not only upon Man, but upon the beast.

This is a significant departure, for it leads to the recognition of the sacred value of all sentient beings. Charles and the orthodox teaching of the church do not diverge markedly on this issue, and Bishop Wordsworth should have been well-satisfied, but Charles's belief in the immortality of the souls of the beasts carries him some way from central Christian doctrine. He was quite firm in this belief:

> The sympathy you show for my warrantable assumption of animals' souls perhaps many also feel, but few express themselves fully about it. I cannot understand the sufferings of horses and dogs unless we may credit them with a posthumous existence those compensation awaits them & some sort of moral & spiritual perfection.[88]

The appearance of Charles's drowned spaniel "tells / Of drowning pains and mortal agony", but its master may be comforted, he suggests, by the hope afforded by the sign of the rainbow and the certainty of glory in "the golden sea" which stretches beyond the bourne of Time. Similarly the sheep in 'The Flock for the Market' are granted a hope more susceptible of fulfilment than any they may receive on earth. It is significant that the subtitle of this poem is 'Hope and Despondency'. The lark in this poem is also invested, like the rainbow, with a sacramental quality equating it with the concept of the angelic host, agents of God's Providence. The flock of sheep are granted the light for which they cry; their emergence from darkness is into the light of divine love, their voices appropriately sounding like "a people's prayer." The sufferings of the creatures are not ignored, "some at once to bleed," but in Charles's mind "their compensation awaits them" and in this respect he has moved from what is merely compassion ("my pitying eye") in 'The Cattle Train', published in 1873, and in the numerous sonnets on the suffering of insects to a spiritual stance.

Such an assertion of this kind on Charles's part, betokening a belief in divine intent working through the chaotic cruelty of Nature, is not apparent in all of these last sonnets and we can only surmise how securely he might have stabilised his thinking on the subject had he lived longer. 'The Lark's Nest' shows rather the victory of Despondency over Hope, though in this

ambivalent poem, above the "little callow thing / Erect, with death-cold wings" rises "a living lark" singing and free. But there is no suggestion that the pleadings will be answered here or indeed anywhere and the light that shines upon the nest, fluctuations of light and shade, is cut off from the nestlings' eyes "earthbound and dark / Beneath a morning sky they could not see." The cold indifference of the world to the lowings of the cow in 'Rose and Cushie' is not softened by any suggestion on the poet's part that there is any solace for the calf who "[i]n some far shambles waited for the knife." There is pity here as there is pity in 'On Shooting a Swallow in Early Youth' and very pure and utterly sincere it is. But that is all, and for the effect of the poem it is enough.

That Charles's ambivalence on this matter may have a deeper root in a fundamental uncertainty in his faith is a question given point by his own words in a sonnet published in 1830:

> O God, impart Thy blessing to my cries,
> Tho' I trust deeply, yet I daily err;
> The waters of my heart are oft astir,
> An Angel's there! and yet I cannot rise!

On this poem's reappearance in 1868 the second line reads

> I trust but faintly, and I daily err.

On his attitude to the subject of the spiritual standing of animals, therefore, the "light and shade" of his faith must be ever borne in mind. That he was able to integrate his faith imaginatively with his compassionate vision is manifest from a reading of the beautifully modulated 'The Drowned Spaniel'; equally there is no failure of poetic imagination in 'The Lark's Nest' where sentiment and an uncompromisingly direct portrayal of the cruelties of Nature are fused without strain.

Charles, however, could not always sustain such control over the disturbing subject of animal suffering and he sometimes becomes jocular and even facetious when a subject presents more thought than he is prepared to grant it: hence 'Calvus to a Fly', 'Julius Ceasar and the Honey-Bee' and 'The Posted Swan' all possessing a charm, but, like 'To a Starved Hare in the Garden in Winter' and 'Cowper's Three Hares', minor variations on the subject of the vulnerability of smaller creatures. Nevertheless they all display his keen delight in the natural world and as such they broaden, if not deepen, our perception of his compassionate nature.

The last two sonnets dealing with sentient Nature, 'Nightingales in Lincolnshire' and 'To a Nightingale on its Return', are more directly concerned with personal experience than with the birds in the titles. The first expresses a recurrent theme in Charles's verse, the reaching for a desired object and the failure to attain it, a theme explored, as we have seen, in the sonnets of

love; the second suggests why that object is so desirable: to alleviate the pain of a life of "lonely steps" and "weary head", he finds in the song of the nightingale "love, and hope, and mystery."

> How often have my lonely steps been led,
> By thy sweet voice, on to thy magic tree!
> How often has thy wakeful spirit fed
> My thoughts with love, and hope, and mystery!
> How often hast thou made my weary head
> A music chamber for my soul and thee!

In this intensely felt poem a melancholy sense of unfulfilled personal experience is apparent; the song of the nightingale brings not merely harmony but "energy", a "wakeful spirit" and a "thrilling tale" to a mind whose imaginative instinct demanded more than the daily duties the parochial round could supply. In this respect the nightingale as a poetic image goes far beyond the imaginative bounds of the other creatures presented in these late sonnets. It is representative of something quite removed from the teachings of the Old Testament and the moral law promulgated by the old faith. It is in effect amoral and therein lies its power to allure; the "mystery", the "magic tree" are a charm and the alien world it inhabits is to Charles's imagination a power of some strength. It is an image central to the Romantic tradition and ironically brings

him within that tradition as inherited by Swinburne and Rossetti.

While the contemplation of landscape figures largely in Charles's earlier work, there are comparatively few poems from these last years where he utilises the image it presents, and these last few, like their predecessors, are not exploratory but traditionalist. Like the poems of Clare, Barnes and Hawker, they celebrate the peace of a rural England far removed from the strident noise of Victorian urban society. "For all these writers, a landscape intimately known contains 'hallowed places', for it is these which help a man to retain his identity in a changing world."[89] The changing world where the machine is replacing back-breaking labour is, however, not ignored in Charles's verse, as we saw in 'The Steam Threshing-Machine' and as is illustrated in 'An Evening at Harvest Time':

> On goes the age with footsteps fleet and strong,
> And we have seen a wondrous sight today;
> The mighty Chariot-reaper forced its way
> Where erst the half-hidden scythes-man stoop'd along.

But the "hallowed" nature of the spot is not for Charles thereby destroyed, for the landscape is left, in the evening light, silently mysterious and with an atmosphere of suspended intensity:

> Another tale of harvest hours is o'er,

With all its great, and all its little gains,
And poor old Ailsie piles her wheaten store,
And feels as rich as all the rolling wains.
The moonrise seems to burn a golden oil,
To light a world of plenty, while it shows
The woodland, listening in its dark repose
To many a voice and homeward step of toil,
Till all have pass'd beyond the forest bound,
And not a footfall chafes it into sound.

This is the landscape whose abode is the nightingale, with undertones of a silent, active power similar to that which awakens his sympathetic response in 'The Quiet Tide near Ardrossan'. The woodland listens and it expresses a concord whose beneficence is the "world of plenty" reaped in the harvest. The solitary figure of Ailsie[90] gleaning in the twilight is *of* the landscape, the flow of harmony embracing her as it does the "moonrise" and "forest sound." Though this world is not destroyed by the advent of progress, the poem suggests that it is threatened,[91] that the "homeward step of toil" may be overtaken by "footsteps fleet and strong" and the "Chariot", an alien intrusion, may force its way past the "rolling wains."

A rich ambiguity informs the last of these sonnets, 'East or West?' The time is evening. Charles is capturing the moment when light is poised ambivalently: the sun is setting, a rainbow is fading, the moon is about to rise.

I sat within a window, looking west,
On a fair autumn eve; the forest leaves
Moved o'er a fiery sunset, vision blest
After that day of storm and rainy eaves.
While thus I gazed, I heard a sweet voice cry:-
'Come to the east, and see the rainbow die.
On the last shower anon the moon will rise,
And light the village when the rainbow dies.'
Betwixt the two I could not well decide;
For each was fair, and both would vanish soon.
But that sweet voice cried eastward still: I knew
No light would pierce the wood when day withdrew;
So I went east, and to the rising moon
The village brighten'd when the rainbow died.

The sonnet presents an ethereal dream-like quality where it is difficult quite to perceive the fluctuating emotional responses. The presence of the "sweet voice" intensifies what takes on the aura of a mystical experience, for the writer is pulled between two silent natural phenomena, both of arresting beauty, but both on the point of departure. One or other may be grasped before its demise. Is the rainbow here the sign of God's covenant as it was in 'The Drowned Spaniel'? Is its benediction the gift of moonlight to "light the village"? Or is the moon, because of the withdrawal of the rainbow, a more potent symbol of benediction? Is this a choice between a traditional Christian image and

a pagan one? No overt answer is given by the poem, but the insistent cry of the sweet voice is the call of an innocent voice untroubled by such speculation and for Charles, here at least, the world of the rising moon - the world of the nightingale - is safely accommodated into the world of Divine Grace.

Submissions of sonnets to periodicals and constant intercourse by letter with other writers mark these last years as years of poetic vigour. What is notable is how his literary friends rallied to his support, no doubt sensing that he was now too old and ill to throw himself into the pressurised world of publication and self-advertisement and also feeling that he had too long been neglected by the world at large.

One such friend was the Reverend Richard Wilton,[92] who appears to have first corresponded with Charles in 1869.[93] Wilton had held the cure of Londesborough in the East Riding of Yorkshire since 1866. In 1868, having already contributed several prose articles to a number of religious periodicals, he considered gathering his as yet unpublished poems into "a volume of 'Wayside Musings' in verse", as he put it to a friend, "in different lyrical measures with a union of religious and poetical feeling, which would be generally acceptable in the society in which I move, where Keble is the ideal of excellence ... If one could only combine true poetry - however unambitious in form - with true piety .."[94]

This ideal is apparent in his first volume of poems, *Wood-Notes and Church-Bells*, published in early July 1873, two months after Charles's last volume.[95] In this collection of lyrics and sonnets his poem 'The Vista', with its allusion to Charles, has as its topographical setting the view from Londesborough, which is some seventeen miles from Hull, looking across the river to Lincolnshire:

> There mighty Humber rolls along,
> Diminished to a silver thread,
> And, radiant with the light of song,
> The dim wolds lift their head ....

A footnote to this verse observes "The Lincolnshire Wolds, visible from Londesborough across the Humber, have been made classical by the poetry of Alfred Tennyson, and of his rarely gifted brother, the Rev. Charles Tennyson Turner, Vicar of Grasby, near Brigg." With this obvious attraction, it is not surprising that Wilton should have sought the attention of Charles and indeed he found friendship there. Wilton's day-to-day life in the parish was similar to Charles's at Grasby; his poetic gifts, limited though they were, were such as Charles would find congenial, betraying a love of the commonplace (among Wilton's subjects in the 1873 volume are 'On my Parish-Register Chest', 'The Sun-dial on the Church Porch' and 'Leaves Falling in the Sunshine') and a passionate concern for natural wild-life. Among

Wilton's friends was the Rev. F. O. Morris, Rector of Nunburnholme, Yorkshire, author of *A History of British Birds* (1851-57) and an ardent advocate of mercy towards animals, exemplified in his SPCK tract *A Word for God's Dumb Creatures* (1876) and in his bitter attack on blood sports *A Dialogue about Fox-hunting* (1878).

It is apparent from Wilton's volumes that he utilised verse as a vehicle for the expression of principles. His verse fails most obviously in that it often is a mere presentation of maxims given local colour and illustration by the use of analogy. This extract from his sonnet 'The Buoy Bell' (*Wood-Notes and Church-Bells*) may serve as an example:

O'er a calm sea, beneath a heaven of blue,
Strikes on the ear the tolling of a bell ...
Like some old voice prophetic moved to tell
The burden of the future - stern and true.
So in our seasons of serenest peace,
When life's smooth waves with scarce a breath are stirred,
The sound as of a warning bell is heard,
Which calls and calls again, and will not cease,-
God's Word of grace and truth ...

The fact is that Wilton was first and foremost a priest. He was not a true poet. Verse, he discovered, was a useful medium for the propagation of Christian thought. His volumes follow in the tradition of Keble's *The*

Christian Year but his verse has a flaccidity common in contributions to Victorian periodical literature and with its pietistic tone it is frequently complacent and effete in its offer of comfort.[96] He became, perhaps inevitably, very popular in both America and in Britain and he was one of the few living poets to appear in the 1891 edition of Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*.

Charles responded to Wilton's kindness and expressed the hope that his poems should "have a lively market. They have sold rather well, as yet, I think."[97] "I like the delicate & simple working & noble subject matter of those you sent me," he wrote later[98]and sent in return two of his own recently written sonnets, 'The Posted Swan' and the never published 'Phoebus and Swinburne'.[99] He certainly began to nurture the younger man's writing, and, while displaying a realistic caution, he gave encouragement. His practical advice was typical: "I prefer 'Earth & Sky' [as a title for a proposed volume] as more self-heralding than 'Green & Blue' which might be prefixt to a Racing or Boat-race volume."[100] In none of his extant letters does Charles dwell on the details of Wilton's writing; there is no criticism beyond the genial expression of approval of particular lines or whole poems. "Thanks for the poem on the Autumn leaves. It is sweet & elegant, particularly the third & last stanzas."[101]

In 1877 Wilton published two sonnets in *The International Review*[102]a New York periodical. One is

entitled 'On the New Church Spire at Grasby, in Connection with the Poetry of Charles Tennyson Turner'.

Graceful it rises on the green hill-side,
That fair white spire, and points men to the sky,
A silent preacher to the casual eye
O'er field and wold and woodland far and wide.
Though but of yesterday, it will abide
While centuries, like the summer clouds, flit by:
A landmark, it will lift its head on high,
From age to age the hamlet's crown and pride.
Meanwhile another structure not of stone,
A life-work built of pure and lofty rhyme,
Beneath the shadow of that spire has grown
To lend its beauty to the aftertime;
When Grasby shall assert its kindred claim
With cherished Grasmere to poetic fame.

At Grasby Wilton won the trust of Louisa Turner, as a later letter will show, and the companion-piece to the sonnet is a complimentary tribute to her, 'To Mrs Charles Tennyson Turner'.

O "Lady," art thou not "elect" - to stand
And daily minister to one so dear,
Who, with his sweet-toned Muse, has won the ear
Of many a loving listener through the land ...

On learning that the sonnet on Grasby Church was to be republished in Wilton's *Lyrics; Sylvan and Sacred* in 1878, Charles had declared himself "pleased & proud Sir to be admitted into your 2nd volume, for I am one with my 'spire' I guess."[103] In this second publication Wilton now looked a little further than the view across the Humber; 'On the View of Faringford' [sic] proclaimed loftier aspirations and he asked Louisa if she would forward a copy to her sister Emily Tennyson.[104]

Wilton's rather importunate behaviour leads one to suspect him of having more worldliness than his verse would have us believe. His perhaps unconscious wish for social approbation was as great as his desire for poetic recognition.[105] That he was an opportunist is perhaps the sad truth, but his affection for the Turners and his sincere regard for Charles's sonnets were indeed real, as the three sonnets memorialising Charles testify.[106]

There are certainly echoes of Charles in Wilton's verse:

> As by some leafless hedge or rustic stile
> Betwixt bare fields I wander, lo, the scene
> Suddenly flushes with an emerald sheen,
> Caught from the Winter wheat ...
>
> ('Winter Wheat')[107]

> I mark the insects as in mazy dance
> With twinkling motion up and down they glide ...
> From right to left the purple foe advance,

And, true as tilting knights, make havoc wild.

('Warp and Woof')[108]

Wilton's solace in the security of his own local spot was perhaps cultivated and sustained by his reading of Charles's poetry, but he never achieved the tension inherent in Charles's writing nor his fusion of image and thought. Speaking of Wilton's poems, Palgrave said "Often the sonnets remind me of C. Tennyson Turner."[109] This may be justified, but the similarity lies in the choice of subject matter rather than in the treatment; his departures into lyric forms in the currently fashionable French manner show little of Charles's influence.

Wilton, however, was useful to him. He was instrumental in spreading his name beyond England's shores by the publication of the two sonnets in *The International Review* and he was influential in the proposal that Alexander Grosart should write a critical estimate of him in *The Leisure Hour*.[110]

Wilton had worked with the Reverend Alexander Grosart on translations of Crashaw's Sacred Latin poems. In 1875 he supplied him with a copy of Charles's 'The Felled Oak, Grasby Vicarage, Sept. 5th 1874'[111] which Grosart describes in his article as "a sonnet that reached me the other week from the friend to whom it was sent, and I print it with the modestly-put consent of its author." Grosart fulfils the obligation he imposes on himself of presenting Charles to a wider public. "On

their merits," he says in his article, "-that is, independent of all extrinsic associations - it seems to me a sorrow and a bewilderment that the age should be so unaware of the gift bestowed on it in this cunningly-wrought poetry." He quotes in full thirteen of his sonnets, selects a number of well-chosen fragmentary epithets and presents to the public for the first time an engraving of Charles's portrait.[112]

Grosart's enthusiasm, however, is often unguarded and regrettably he raises Charles at the expense of his brother: "There are elements of poetic inspiration and *motif* in Charles, that the world had been the richer for had they been shared by Alfred; for where the younger brother is hazy and indefinite, and growingly inarticulate *on the deepest facts and problems*, the elder is open-eyed and clear-spoken, and that not professionally or because he is a parson, but from the inevitableness of his whole-brained, whole-hearted, though unclamorous godliness ..."

We do not know Charles's reaction to this acclaim, but, from his Memorandum Book, we find that he was corresponding with Grosart soon afterwards,[113]though the correspondence was apparently not sustained.

It was no mere chance that the American periodical *The International Review* should have published in 1877 Wilton's sonnets addressed to Charles and his wife. Two years earlier[114]an anonymous review of Charles's 1864, 1868 and 1873 volumes, entitled 'Charles (Tennyson) Turner', had introduced his work to the transatlantic

public. The review was actually written by Andrew James Symington.

Symington was born at Paisley, near Glasgow, in 1825. He published a number of biographical sketches of nineteenth century minor writers both in journals and as monographs[115] and he travelled extensively, spending a year, 1874-75, in America where he contributed to several journals.

Symington's article on Charles is lengthy: thirty-three of the sonnets are printed in full, many in part. In general he merely presents the poems with a brief eulogy on certain selected epithets, but there is substance. He lists what he sees as his leading attributes, "at least four very characteristic traits of Mr Turner's mind, viz. his wide, genial, and delicately tender *human sympathies*; his great *love for little children*; his *consideration for the lower animals*; and his deep *loving delight in nature* ..." Symington is probably the most penetrating of the contemporary reviewers in his perception of the fundamental order of Charles's universe. To his philosophic mind, he says, "the material Cosmos is as 'the shadow of heaven', with its multitudinous outward harmonies, inner correspondences, and mysterious starry influences - aerial, tidal and magnetic. He notes the many ceaseless interdependent changes, and that perpetual *becoming* of Nature, which oscillates within certain prescribed limits, inexorably fixed by benign law; and he also reverently takes cognizance of 'that eternal circle run

by life', up through crystal, plant, and the lower animal creation, to man ..." Here Symington adds a significant rider not suggested or taken up by any other commentator on Charles in his life-time: "recognizing these links, and the comparative anatomy which pervades the universe - 'no chaffinch but implies the cherubim' - he does not, ... perceiving harmonies, by any means ignore the mysterious existence of discords ..." In this respect, in his recognition of the tremulous quality underlying Charles's world, Symington goes well beyond those who merely saw in him a genial, 'Pre-Raphaelite' painter of rural prettiness.

Symington was instrumental in getting four of Charles's new sonnets published in *The International Review*: 'Dante and Beatrice at Portinari's Evening Party', 'Localities of Burns', 'The Sea-shell and the Sonneteer' and 'Two Past Ages'.

Charles had called Symington "my unfortunate exile friend" in December 1874, so it is apparent that they had become acquainted some time before the publication of his critique and that his action in publicising Charles's name was not merely that of a disinterested reviewer. Their correspondence was constant throughout 1876; from the entries in the Memorandum Book for that year it can be seen that Symington wrote to Charles or to Louisa or to both of them thirty times. The Turners were certainly privy to the melancholy details of his marital disaster, for on 2 June Louisa received news that "his foes are nearly all vanquished."[116] In return

Charles sent eighteen letters to Symington in 1876, often enclosing copies of recently written sonnets, as he did in his correspondence with Wilton.

Some idea of the size and nature of the correspondence may be gathered from a letter Symington sent to Thomas Hutchinson in 1896:[117]

> ... I have 4 of C. T. T.'s vols. inscribed by him to me. Also his Collected Poems in one vol. pubd after his death & sent me by the late Laureate.
>
> I have also many letters[118]& poems in MS.
>
> ...Macmillan the publisher showed my friend G. G. Napier a letter of Mr Turner's - & told him it was the rarest & most valuable in his autograph collection, far more than the Laureate's.
>
> No life has been pubd of him beyond notices & the preface to his collected vols. I intend to go over his letters some day and make extracts to submit to his nephew Lord (Hallam) Tennyson.[119] Till that be done I'll not mutilate his valuable correspondence. Almost every letter of his contains an enclosure or addition from his wife. Both of them were once under my roof for a fortnight,[120]and a most delightful & memorable visit it was.

Symington, anxious that Charles's name be better known in England, published a second article on his verse in November 1876, this time in a journal more

inclined to devotional than to literary achievement, *The Sunday at Home*.[121]

He was obviously as fond of Charles the man as he was of his work. He was also fond of Louisa Turner: her copy of W. H. Havergal's *Psalmody and Century of Chants* (1871) is inscribed "To Mrs Turner with very kind regards from A. J. Symington, February 1873".[122] The memory of the Turners' visit in 1873 never left him: "... the fortnight they spent with us was one happy dream of delight ... with his true genius, exquisite taste and child-like diffidence - he was absolutely the most delightful & lovable man I ever personally knew ..."[123] Though Symington's verse shows none of Charles's influence whatsoever, his last volume, *Poems*,[124] is dedicated "To the memory of Charles Tennyson Turner and Mrs Turner, the valued Friends of many years."

Finally we have Rawnsley, possibly the most devoted of Charles's protégés. Correspondence between Hardwicke Rawnsley and Charles appears to have begun in the 1860s when Rawnsley was but a boy at Uppingham School making a name for himself in athletics and taxidermy and winning the prize for English verse in 1869. Years later he recalled how

> one morning at school I opened a letter from my father in which was enclosed a message from ... Charles Tennyson Turner, an elder brother of the Laureate. My father had sent him one of my school-day sonnets, and the old poet had been kind enough not only to read it,

but to criticise it. So it came to pass that correspondence sprang up between us, which ended in my looking upon him as my mentor in the music of the sonnet, and as my most unwearying of counsellors in matters pertaining to the "terza rima."[125]

Charles had, of course, long known the Rawnsley family. It was Hardwicke's grandfather, the Reverend Thomas Hardwicke Rawnsley, who had been entrusted with the guardianship of the Tennyson children on the death of their father.

Rawnsley's poetic impulse was by no means diminished by his going up to Balliol in 1870 and Charles's avuncular and kindly advice to him is exemplified in a letter sent probably in 1872 where he warns him not to "relax your University studies because you are of the poetical temperament. They will not destroy the *vis* if they defer the practice of the art for a little time. They will feed the fire when classical, & in the case of mathematics will condense you & keep you in order ..."[126]

Rawnsley's heroes were people like his old master at Uppingham, Edward Thring, from whom, he writes,[127] "we learnt the true uses of the Bible ... one will never forget the pictorially dramatic way in which ... the Word of God was shewn to be a living well for all who thirsted." Turner, orthodox in his faith and traditionalist in his poetry, would have had a strong appeal to a mind not given to radical impulses and

Rawnsley, worthy though he was in many fields of activity,[128] was representative of much in current poetry that was commonplace, conventional and comfortably pretty, as in these lines from 'At Wray Cottage':

> The farms stand vacant, fields half-harvested,
> Along the vale no herdsman's cry is sent;
> You could believe the shepherds all had fled
> Beyond the hills for life and merriment;
> And down the gossamer's slow-sailing thread
> Flashed out the thought in rainbow hues - Content![129]

While Rawnsley did indeed look upon Charles as his mentor, he fails to capture his sense of awe in his contemplation of the natural world, his suggestions of trembling uncertainties and his humility. Nor is his imagery innovative or surprising and his archaisms and loose sentence structure betray a poeticising manner.

Rawnsley's account of his 1876 visit to Grasby is nevertheless of considerable value in its presentation of the Turners in their last years, both for its picture of the vicarage - homely and now simply-furnished - and for its picture of Charles - now in his sixty-eighth year - large of brow and broad of chest, with dark piercing eyes, swarthy complexion and fine mouth, 'picturesque' in his loose coat and with a 'native dignity', an image confirmed by Mayall's photograph taken twelve years before. Louisa, in Rawnsley's words "his dear and saintly wife", is seen here in the

humblest of attire: a grey-frieze cloak and what appear to be clogs. Their day begins with prayers in the church, the office being said by the curate, and their breakfast, laid for them by an old servant, is prefaced by a reading aloud by Charles of the Scriptures and by further prayer. Charles's ailing physical condition is apparent: "At times I noticed a great look of pain come over his fine face, as if he were suddenly racked by torment, and he would stop and say, 'I have tooth-ache all over the body'."[130] Rawnsley gives no precise identification of his ailment, but fortunately some of the questions he posed Charles are pertinent:

> I asked why it was that he had so stuck to the sonnet metre; he could only say that Alfred's fame, and name, and great mastery of verse had so overshadowed him, that he had felt fearful of attempting any lyric or epic writing, and he had been content, perforce, with the "sonnet's scanty plot of ground". I asked him why he had been silent for so long ... He told me that he could not account for his dumbness. He supposed the wells had been frozen at his heart - but, he added, "I think it was Alfred's perfect work that made me feel so ashamed of my own poor attempts that I did not brace myself to the task".[131]

The interview, for such it is, is particularly valuable in that it records Charles's readings to Rawnsley of newly composed sonnets, so roughly establishing for us

their dates of composition, and in that it presents biographical details relevant to individual sonnets. It also gives us some idea of Charles's feelings about his own verse; he was himself moved by certain sonnets - 'On Shooting a Swallow in Early Youth' and 'The Lattice at Sunrise' - and had a quite unselfconscious delight in some of his own images: "'I think this is a beautiful fancy,' he observed of his lines

> A simple child may do him shame and slight;
> Twixt thumb and finger take the golden head,
> And spin the horns of Ammon out of sight."[132]

For his part Charles records nothing of Rawnsley's visit in his Memorandum Book beyond the barest details:

> 5 January: Hardwicke Rawnsley came from Halton.
> 6 January: Hardwicke Rawnsley read my new Sonnets.
> 7 January: Hardwicke Rawnsley left us for Bristol.

Three weeks later on 28 January, he notes "I wrote to Hardwicke Rawnsley with my Dumb Lovers sonnet."[133] This was in compliance with Rawnsley's request that "he would do for the railway what he had done for the steam thresher and the hydraulic ram"[134]and Rawnsley responded with "a nice sonnet on Grasby school and with [one] on myself."[135]

In 1877 Rawnsley saw Charles in Bristol where he had gone for medical attention and the last contact was

in 1878. On 29 January Rawnsley married Edith Fletcher at Brathway; as they left the church Edith turned aside to lay her bridal bouquet on her father's grave in the churchyard.[136] Charles, hearing of this, sent the couple his sonnet 'The Wedding Posy', probably the last sonnet he wrote.

Rawnsley, like Wilton, memorialised him in sonnet-form. 'In Memoriam Charles Tennyson Turner' opens his *Sonnets at the English Lakes*, published in 1881, followed by another, 'The Anniversary of Charles Tennyson Turner's Death, 25th April'. The volume, like Symington's, is addressed to Charles: "To the Memory of Charles Tennyson Turner, these sonnets, with all affection, are humbly dedicated."[137]

In September Charles joined Louisa who, for her own health, was installed in lodgings in Shanklin, Isle of Wight.[138] They moved into a lodging house, Carlton Villa, on East Cliff Promenade, where he could benefit from the air. "We have a balcony," Louisa wrote,[139]"stretching before his bedroom & sitting room - there he walks as our rooms are on a cliff about 200 feet just above the sea." Charles's mind was still active; Louisa reported that "he means to publish as soon as he can; but he has not decided on a publisher."[140] He was unable to write, however, and Louisa's condition was by now markedly deteriorating for she was sinking further into a state of dementia.

The situation was now critical, for neither of them was in a position to manage their own affairs and steps

had to be taken to rescue them from a hopeless plight. Hallam Tennyson, no doubt following his parents' instructions, took things in hand and on 18 October had Louisa admitted as a patient in a private lunatic asylum, Laverstock House, at Laverstock near Salisbury.[141] He then accompanied Charles to Cheltenham, for, despite Emily Tennyson's having made arrangements for him to go to Farringford,[142]he wished to be treated by Dr Ker, his sister Mary's brother-in-law and a leading homoeopathic surgeon in the town. Here at 6 Imperial Square he remained while Louisa's self-mortification and despair in Laverstock grew more profound. In a letter of startling intensity she wrote to Richard Wilton:[143]

> As to myself, I fear mine is the history which will come to light at the last day. Pray that it may not be so. I often think of your sonnet[144]& think how utterly [it] is opposed to fact. Now another, a sister, has to minister to him, not because I am not strong enough, but from the depth of my iniquity; the corruption of a long life of sowing to the flesh whilst I was struggling or seeming to struggle to recover the fatal steps taken. Latterly I have become so much worse that I have no trace of what a Christian ought to have or to be - I could never, for one moment, have conceived the things I have said thought done felt towards God, myself, my neighbour this last year or more - this year it has been abominable beyond

words to tell: yet I am not horrified or ashamed as-I ought-to-be-but I seem to have pleasure in it. I know you will be astonished beyond measure. So many took my strugglings to be real sanctity. To return to poor Charles. He had been cured of some of his ailments; he was very weak in June. I grieve to say he came to me in Shanklin as sea air was recommended. I did not tell him how much worse I had become whilst I had been there - my horrible ways there shocked his nerves so that his old pain returned & he grew worse. For his life's sake I was obliged to ask the doctor to remove me once more from him, as by a doctor's orders I had been removed before, & he had that long journey to make with a strange nurse. However, he made it well & the homeopathic doctor, Doctor Ker, under whom he is, speaks hopefully. He cannot do anything for himself. The help you so kindly thought I was to him I am not but am here in the *most awful* condition yet not feeling it. This is what I have to say. I am glad you found your daughter happy & comfortable. I would my most worthy father could, from Paradise, see his daughter even the least in the Kingdom of heaven. This is his birthday so I think of him. I treated him shamefully & he gave up his life for us. Poor Charles was so sweet & loving & forgiving & hopes still for me.

Here the idée fixe of her sinfulness and her abandonment by the powers of redemption marks her as one in

desperate need of help; the Tennysons, feeling that the church could offer her no consolation and knowing that Charles, through infirmity, was now unable to give her the support he had so long administered, no doubt felt that medical supervision was all they could resort to.

Both Emily Tennyson and Charles himself, now barely able to hold a pen, tried by letter to sustain her:

> ... take care of thyself for Uncle Charlie's sake and for ours and say every day to thyself for my sake "God is love."[145]

> ... God bless thee! Trust in Him through Jesus Christ & his Holy Spirit."[146]

> Who among the sons of men is worthy? But thou by the very feeling of unworthiness provest thyself worthy with such worth as man can have - the worth of coming like a little child to God in Christ & doing what he bids or striving to do it. My darling, try to think always that our sins are blotted out. Try to forget those things that are behind & to reach forward unto those which are before ...[147]

The practical affairs of dealing with the properties in Lincolnshire had to be grappled with and Emily exhorted Louisa "to mortgage the land & pay off the bank & leave yourselves money".[148] Charles realised they would not return to Grasby: "Do about the cows which is best. Why

will not Cross [one of their servants] allow them to be sold?"[149] The cows, in the event, were slaughtered and the meat distributed among the widows of Grasby.[150]

Louisa had long considered the taking of food and drink as sins of the flesh and was consequently in a wasted condition so that her sister constantly appealed to her to take nourishment.[151] Charles meanwhile was undergoing treatment by 'Galvanism' [152]and recovered his ability to walk. But both were saddened by the deaths of close friends: their old doctor, Dr MacIntosh, who lived in a house owned by Charles in Caistor, died in November 1878[153]and on 26 January 1879 Mrs Cameron died in Ceylon.[122] Charles, with his trust in Dr Ker, rallied and made what efforts he could to sustain his wife's spirit, signing his small note with the name Louisa affectionately gave him:

Deary Louie

God bless you. Look to Christ alone, not to your sins. I am, the Dr. says, getting better.

Best love - Your very loving Cubbie[154]

This, however, was one of the last letters he wrote. In April his strength failed.

Edmund Lushington managed to get to Cheltenham to be with him in his last hours and on 25 April he sent the following message to Hallam Tennyson:

I write to you as likely to open the letter first & perhaps to anticipate its sad news, & to break it to your Father. Yesterday I heard so alarming an account of the sudden & rapid failure of power that I came off alone, & arrived last night. It was not too soon, for this morning our dear Patient past away about 8 in painless ease, as the Nurse says who alone was with him. About 4 he had asked for some tea & seemed to relish it. When I came your Aunt Mary & Dr Ker were at the house; he asked to see me & I sat a little by his bedside; all his affection & tenderness of manner made itself felt thro' all his weakness, but he spoke very indistinctly & often cd. not hear right what I said. In the last day violent alarming sickness had come on at times, but when that was over he seemed free from pain ... All that devoted attention could do has been done by those who were with him, & he was very grateful for it. The funeral will have to be arranged in a few days. They proposed to bury him near his brother Septimus in the cemetery here.[155]

Two days after Charles's death Lushington wrote to Alfred with further details:[156]

It is very touching to hear the Nurse speak of him: she like everyone else who has seen him in his illness, was quite charmed & captured by his unfailing sweetness amid so much suffering; she says she never saw anyone so gentle & considerate of others - never

knew anyone like him. His tender gratitude for any little help was exquisitely beautiful & his cheerfulness & humour kept up its native grace to the last. Dear Mary was admirable in her devoted attention to him & so was Dr Ker; all who loved Charles will ever owe a debt of deep gratitude to him.

His sonnets written in late years are all together - he wished much that they shd be published; I have been reading over several of them this morning - every line seems to bring himself before me with wonderful vividness; each word seems a living utterance of his inmost being, alike in playful or solemn, always gracious, mood ... Nothing from here has been written to Salisbury - we thought it much better that the information should come from you.

Emily had already taken it upon herself to inform Louisa of the news which was carried to her by Hallam:[157]

My darling,
Thy Beloved one has gone to the rest he so much desired and thou wilt joyfully follow in God's own good time. May He ever be thy guide and comfort!
Thy very loving sister, Emily Tennyson

and she tried to carry Louisa through this dark period:

Thou has been ever a perfect sister to me and let it not be forgotten that that true loving simple Christian soul-brother called thee his "Guardian Angel" and that to thee has been granted this exceeding blessing that through thy help he came out of a state, brought on chiefly by illness, from which scarcely any other human being has been known to be freed into that state of patience and faith and love and hope which has been an example and a delight for all.

Doubtless, my sweetie, thou wilt accuse thyself of many things in the course of this fierce trial to him and to thee but all the more glory to God for the result, even if thy self-accusations were not mostly due to an overworked brain, overworked in doing what seemed to thee right or what was right and what has been to him a blessing beyond human conception.

I sent a box of primroses and forget-me-nots yesterday by post. I knew that he would have liked to have had some from Farringford ... [158]

From one of the Grasby villagers came further words of comfort to Louisa:

Last Sunday was both a bitter and a joyful day. We felt that he who so often hath knelt with us at the altar was gone to feast in the full presence of Him who has redeemed us by His own precious blood. I pray dear Mrs Turner that the cloud which hangs over your

spirits may be withdrawn and that you may at eventide have light ... [159]

Charles's remains were buried in the Borough Cemetery in Cheltenham on the first of May, a day of bitter cold, the funeral service being taken by his friend and former curate Robert Linklater.[160] Hallam undertook the supervision of the Turners' Grasby possessions, though Franklin Lushington was Trustee,[161]and continued his visits to Louisa, while the Tennysons were hopeful that she would be able to leave Laverstock to live with them at Farringford,[162]but Louisa was to survive her husband less than a month. She died on 20 May, her birthday.[163] She quite possibly saw the last letter Emily sent her:

I know that thou wilt like this word from him - Entirely his own thought to write it. I am glad that it comes on thy birthday, sweeting. May it be a day of blessing to thee in God's own way.[164]

The "word" she refers to was an enclosed note from Alfred:

Keep your heart up, my dear. *He* is waiting for you yonder. I send you a brother's kiss.[165]

She was buried with her husband in the cemetery in Cheltenham. Above them, on a short flight of calvary

steps, which Time has allowed to sink - so obscuring their engraved names, stands a simple stone cross.



13. The Turners' Grave in the Borough Cemetery, Cheltenham. (*Photograph by Patrick R. Usher*).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1 Alexander Macmillan to CTT, 11 November 1864. British Library Add. MS 55383 (2), sheet 573. (Unfoliated)

2 Alexander Macmillan to CTT, 9 December 1864. British Library Add. MS 55383 (2), sheet 713.

3 Ibid.

4 *Saturday Review* 18 (6 August 1864), 184-185.

5 *Athenaeum*, no. 1917 (23 July 1864), p.111.

6 James Spedding to CTT, 19 July 1864. TRC.

7 Revd Robert H. Baynes to CTT, 17 September [1864]. TRC. The volume, edited by Baynes, was *English Lyrics* (1865).

8 5 January 1865.

9 Hoge, *Lady Tennyson's Journal*, p.215. See frontispiece.

10 William Allingham, *A Diary*, p.121.

11 Emily Tennyson's journal for 25 June 1865. *Materials* 3, p.14.

12 CTT to Lewis Fytche, [21-27 February 1865]. TRC.

13 CTT to Lewis Fytche, 27 March 1865. TRC.

14 The curates from this date were the Reverends Lewis Usk Jones (December 1866-1867); N. H. Skinner (1867-1868); John Wilberforce Doran (1868-1870); Harington William Holden (1870-1877); Robert Linklater, locum (1876); F. W. Harper (1878-1879); E. W. Gilbert (1879).

15 Dr John Addington Symonds (1807-1871). AT met him first at the home of the sculptor Thomas Woolner in December 1865. Symonds was to be called to Marlborough when Hallam Tennyson was very ill in March 1867.

16 All quotations from the 1866 Memorandum Book, *passim*.

17 Anne Weld to Louisa Turner, [20 January 1867]. TRC.

18 Louisa Turner to Anne Weld, [22 January 1867]. TRC.

19 *Law Reports* 2 Chancery Appeals 488, Turner v. Burkinshaw 24, 25 April 1867. All details of this case are taken from the report; CTT's references to the litigation in his 1866 Memorandum Book are extremely slight.

20 *A Diary*, p.154.

21 CTT to Alexander Macmillan, 17 April 1868. British Library Add. MS 55253 f.160.

22 Wolf's *Prolegomena ad Homerum* was published in 1795.

23 CTT's copy of Sophocles' *Philoctetes* is full of detailed MS notes. TRC. Campbell 1, item 2580.

24 Neither translation is republished in *Collected Sonnets Old and New*.

25 All dates here are taken from the Grasby record of burials.

26 Agnes Weld, *Glimpses*, p.8.

27 Quoted in Agnes Weld, *Glimpses*, p.22.

28 CTT, who owned the Grasby inn, the Cross Keys, took steps to control the drinking habits of his parishioners by installing a landlord of temperate habits.

29 Anne Weld sent him a microscope in October 1856. Agnes Weld, *Glimpses*, p.17

30 From *Psyche, with Other Poems* (1811).

31 Cf. AT's song 'A Spirit haunts the year's last hours' (published 1830).

32 AT's poem 'The Sea-Fairies' was published in 1830.

33 *Guardian*, Supplement to no. 1194 (21 October 1868), p.1189.

34 Alexander Macmillan to CTT, 11 December 1872. British Library Add. MS 55393 (1) sheet 281.

35 CTT to Lady Franklin, 14 November 1868. W. F. Rawnsley, *The Life, Diaries and Correspondence of Jane, Lady Franklin 1792-1875* (1923), p.178.

36 Louisa Turner's Memorandum Book for 1868, 1 September.

37 First published as 'The Painter on Penmaenmawr' in *Good Words* 12 (July 1871), 500.

38 *Guardian*, no. 1186 (26 August 1868), p.947. See my 'Tennyson's "Midnight, June 30, 1879" and the Sonnets of Charles Tennyson Turner', *Tennyson Research Bulletin* 4 (November 1983), 81-91 for full details of this accident.

39 Archbishop Trench also wrote a sonnet relating to this accident, 'On a Brother and Sister who Died at the Same Time, Abergele, August 20, 1868', *Macmillan's Magazine* 18 (October 1868), 514.

40 See Andrew Saint, 'Charles Buckeridge and His Family', *Oxoniensia* 38 (1873), 357-372. Pevsner and Harris, *Lincolnshire* (1964), p.252, incorrectly attribute the rebuilding of Grasby church to J.H. Hakewill.

41 Charles Buckeridge, 'The Universal Applicability of Gothic

Architecture', a paper read before the Oxford Architectural Society, 19 November 1856. *Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural (and Historical) Society* (1856), pp.6-8.

42 Grasby Church of England School Log Book 1864-1906. Grimsby Central Reference Library.

43 First published as 'Our New Village Clock', *Good Words* 13 (September 1872), 697.

44 The best short description of the church is K. Joan Barton, 'All Saints Church, Grasby: A Brief History' (c. 1990), a typescript booklet available in the church.

45 CTT to Lewis Fytche, 3 November 1872. TRC.

46 CTT to Edmund Lushington, 21 February 1871. Roger Lushington's collection.

47 Edmund Lushington to CTT, 17 April 1873. TRC.

48 Grasby School Log Book, 25 May 1870.

49 Ibid, 19 and 27 June 1871.

50 Charles Tennyson, 'Tennyson and His Brothers', in *Tennyson and His Friends*, q.v., p.63.

51 Doran became a noted church musicologist.

52 Revd T. J. M. Townsend to the editor, *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 5 December 1873.

53 Ibid, the first over the initials 'P. W.', the second simply 'A Churchman'.

54 'A Caistor Protestant' to the editor, *Market Rasen Weekly Mail and Lincolnshire Advertiser*, 12 December 1873.

55 Alexander Macmillan to CTT, 9 November 1869. British Library Add. MS 55390 (1) Sheet 233.

56 'My Timepiece' and 'Ascent of Snowdon', January 1870; 'The Red-Wheat Field' and 'The Painter on Penmeanmawr', July 1871; 'The Cattle Train' and 'Human Sorrows', December 1871; 'Our New Village Clock', September 1872.

57 AT to EST, 31 October [1872]. *LALT* 3, p.37; also AT to EST, 2 November [1872]. *LALT* 3, p.38. King had become AT's publisher in 1873.

58 Henry S. King & Co., 'Publications Book'. D. M. S. Watson Library, University College, London.

59 First published 1870.

60 'Dante and Beatrice at Portinari's Evening Party'. Re-titled 'To Beatrice on Her First Interview with Dante' in 1880.

61 'The Fir-Grove' is based on a real incident recorded in *Illustrated Times*, 1 July 1865, and 'The Missing Bride' on an old ballad taken from Italian history.

62 The wedding of Hardwicke Rawnsley and Edith Fletcher, 29 January 1878.

63 22 (September 1873), 633-642.

64 James Knowles (1831-1908), architect of Aldworth, was editor of the *Contemporary Review* 1870-1877.

65 James Spedding to AT, 30 May 1879. TRC.

66 CTT to Sarah [Hayward] of Stonehouse, Gloucs., 18 July 1873. Gloucestershire Record Office.

67 Agnes Weld to Hallam Tennyson, 3 June 1873. TRC.

68 Grasby School Log Book, 3 February 1873.

69 Ibid, 14 February 1874.

70 On 31 March 1879, by which time CTT had relinquished his managerial responsibilities, the School Log Book records "Revd E. W. Gilbert gave notice that from the present time, all children attending the school would have to pay."

71 Report of M. J. Barrington-Ward, H.M.I. for the Lincoln district in 1877. Quoted in Rex Russell, *A History of Schools and Education in Lindsey, Lincolnshire, 1800-1892*, 2 vols (Lincoln, 1965) 1, p.15.

72 CTT's Memorandum Book.

73 *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 19 May 1876, p.5.

74 *Leisure Hour* 287 (6 November 1875), 712.

75 Julia Margaret Cameron to CTT, 10 October 1874. TRC.

76 Emily Jesse to CTT, 10 May [1873]: "Mrs Cameron has given me a photograph of you - it is so like." TRC. The photograph does not appear in the Cameron portrait index of the Royal Photographic Society, Bath.

77 35 (December 1876), 157.

78 Edmund Lushington to CTT, 5 December 1876. TRC.

79 35 (January 1877), 256. For a very brief survey of the bibliographical history of this sonnet, see my 'Letty's Globe', *Map Collector* no. 53 (Winter 1990), p.52.

80 CTT to Richard Wilton, 29 November 1876. TRC. All other information about this venture is from CTT's 1876 Memorandum Book *passim*. No information about Emma Jenkins and Florence

Street has come to light and the illustrations seem to have been lost.

81 No records of this projected publication can be found in the archive of Henry S. King's publishing firm in the D. M. S. Watson Library.

82 Wordsworth succeeded Bishop Jackson in 1869.

83 Bishop Wordsworth to CTT, 17 May 1873. J. H. Overton and Elizabeth Wordsworth, *Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln* (1888), p.315.

84 CTT to AT, 6 February 1865. TRC.

85 Patrick Fairbairn, *The Typology of Scripture* 5th ed. (Edinburgh, 1870), pp.336-337.

86 See Newman's sonnet 'Hope' and Keble's 'Quinquagesima Sunday'.

87 George P. Landow, 'The Rainbow: A Problematic Image' in U. C. Knoepflmacher and G. B. Tennyson, *Nature and the Victorian Imagination* (Berkeley, 1977), p.356.

88 CTT to Mary Brotherton, 20 November 1874. TRC.

89 N. P. Messenger and J. R. Watson eds., *Victorian Poetry: 'The City of Dreadful Night' and Other Poems* (1974), p.xix.

90 Probably Ailsie Wylmore, a Grasby villager, who died aged 90, in June 1876.

91 See J. R. Ebbatson, 'The Lonely Garden: The Sonnets of Charles Tennyson Turner'. *Victorian Poetry* 15 (1977), 307-319.

92 Revd Richard Wilton (1827-1903). Born in Doncaster. Curate (1866-1889) and then Rector (1889-1903) of Londesborough.

93 The formality of a letter from CTT to Richard Wilton, 30 April 1869, suggests that the correspondence had only recently begun. Author's collection.

94 Mary Blamire Young, *Richard Wilton: A Forgotten Victorian* (1967), p.205.

95 Wilton's poems had appeared in ten different periodicals in 1872.

96 See particularly the dedicatory poem in his *Lyrics; Sylvan and Sacred* (1878).

97 CTT to Richard Wilton, 3 February 1876. TRC.

98 CTT to Richard Wilton, 23 March 1876. TRC.

99 Memorandum Book 10 April 1876. CTT also gives the latter sonnet the title 'Swinburne and Apollo'.

100 CTT to Richard Wilton, 11 April 1877. TRC.

101 CTT to Richard Wilton, 29 November 1876. TRC.

102 4 (September 1877), 600.

103 CTT to Richard Wilton, 11 April 1877. TRC. The sonnet was re-published in Wilton's *Lyra Pastoralis* (1902) with the altered title 'The Church Spire at Grasby in Connection with the Poetry of My Friend, Charles Tennyson Turner'.

104 Louisa Turner to Richard Wilton, [September-October 1878]. TRC.

105 Wilton achieved his ambition of meeting AT in 1879. "The author had the happiness of spending a day with Lord and Lady Tennyson at Aldworth the year after the publication of ['On the View of Farringford']". (Note in *Lyra Pastoralis*). There is no record of what AT thought of him.

106 Published in *Sungleams: Rondeaux and Sonnets* (1882).

107 *Lyrics; Sylvan and Sacred* (1878).

108 *Lyra Pastoralis* (1902).

109 F. T. Palgrave to Richard Wilton, 12 January 1899. Gwenllian F. Palgrave ed., *Francis Turner Palgrave: His Journals and Memories* (1899), p.214.

110 Alexander B. Grosart, 'The Rev. Charles (Tennyson) Turner', *Leisure Hour* no. 1245 (6 November 1875), pp.711-716.

111 Appears in *Collected Sonnets Old and New* as 'The Oak and the Hill'.

112 Based quite faithfully upon Mayall's photograph.

113 Memorandum Book, 21 February 1876.

114 *International Review* 2 (September 1875), 577-603.

115 His works include *Thomas Chalmers, the Man, His Times, and Work* (1878) and *Some Personal Reminiscences of Carlyle* (1886). His volumes of poems are *Harebell Chimes* (1849), *Genevieve and Other Poems* (1855) and *Poems* (1885)

116 Memorandum Book, 2 June 1876. Symington's wife was granted a decree of separation from him in the Court of Session of the House of Lords 16 July 1875. She wanted custody of all their five children, but the Lords' decision was that Symington should have custody of the three boys, the girls remaining with their mother.

117 A. J. Symington to Thomas Hutchinson, 6 April 1896. Glasgow University Library.

118 Symington's collection of CTT's letters, if it still exists,

has not been traced. His papers were dispersed after his death in 1898.

119 Untraced. Perhaps they were never sent.

120 Referring to the Turners' stay in Scotland in July 1873.

121 'The Rev. Charles (Tennyson) Turner', *Sunday at Home* no. 1176 (11 November 1876), pp.724-728. The article is anonymous.

122 TRC. Campbell 1, item 3340.

123 A. J. Symington to Hallam Tennyson, 11 January 1894. TRC. This letter is cited by numerous commentators for its valuable information, gleaned from CTT, relating to AT's marriage. It is possible that Symington's own marital problems prompted his interest in those of others.

124 *Poems* (1885) is almost completely a republication of verse from *Harebell Chimes* (1849).

125 Rawnsley, *Memories of the Tennysons*, p.221.

126 Eleanor F. Rawnsley, *Canon Rawnsley; an Account of His Life* (Glasgow, 1923), pp.91-92.

127 H. D. Rawnsley, *Edward Thring Teacher and Poet* (1889), p.46.

128 In 1893 he became a founder member and Honorary Secretary of the National Trust, a function he discharged with exemplary zeal. Also a founder of the Keswick Convention.

129 *Sonnets at the English Lakes* (1881).

130 *Memories of the Tennysons*, p.228.

131 *Memories of the Tennysons*, p.230.

132 'On Seeing a Little Child Spin a Coin of Alexander the Great'.

133 'The Mute Lovers on the Railway Journey'.

134 *Memories of the Tenysons*, p.241.

135 Memorandum Book, 31 January 1876. The Grasby School sonnet is untraced. The sonnet on CTT is probably 'At Mablethorpe', published 1887.

136 *Canon Rawnsley; an Account of His Life*, p.40.

137 'In Memoriam Charles Tennyson Turner' was republished in the second edition of 1882 in a modified form and again, with further changes, in *Valete, Tennyson, and Other Memorial Poems* (1893). 'The Anniversary of Charles Tennyson Turner's Death, 25 April' was republished in 1882 with no changes.

138 In the list of visitors, *Shanklin Weekly News*, 14 September 1878, they are at Carlton Villa. Louisa appears to have been at Auckland House alone before this. Auckland House,

according to White's 1878 Directory, contained 'furnished apartments'.

139 Louisa Turner to Richard Wilton, [September-October 1878]. TRC. Carlton Villa is now the Carlton Hotel. It was damaged by fire in December 1990.

140 Louisa Turner to Richard Wilton, [September-October 1878].

141 Laverstock House Register. Wiltshire County Record Office. See Appendix. No biographers of the Tennysons have examined the details of this sad episode and as a result have made errors of fact in their commentaries. Martin (p.526) erroneously states that Louisa was "confined on the Isle of Wight while Charles was treated in Cheltenham". Hoge (*Letters*, p.310) asserts that the Turners "lived at their Grasby vicarage until their deaths" and (p.311) that Dr Manning was "evidently Louisa Turner's Grasby doctor". Hoge omits 32 of 47 letters from EST in this sequence. There is, of course, no reference to it in *Memoir*.

142 EST to Louisa Turner, 19 October 1878. TRC.

143 Louisa Turner to Richard Wilton, n.d. [late October 1878]. TRC.

144 'To Mrs Charles Tennyson Turner'.

145 EST to Louisa Turner, 26 October 1878. TRC. Hoge, p.310. Subsequent citations from EST's letters to Louisa are not in Hoge.

146 CTT to Louisa Turner, n.d. [? November 1878]. TRC.

147 EST to Louisa Turner, 13 November 1878. TRC.

148 EST to Louisa Turner, 24 October 1878. TRC.

149 CTT to Louisa Turner, n.d. [? November 1878]. TRC.

150 CTT to Louisa Turner, 6 November 1878. TRC.

151 EST to Louisa Turner, 28 October 1878, 30 October 1878, etc. TRC.

152 EST to Louisa Turner, 25 January 1879. TRC.

153 EST to Louisa Turner, 13 November 1878. TRC

154 CTT to Louisa Turner, n.d. [? February 1879]. TRC.

155 Edmund Lushington to Hallam Tennyson, 25 April 1879. TRC. On the death certificate, the cause of CTT's death is given as 'chronic catarrh and ulceration of bladder 2 years'.

156 Edmund Lushington to AT, 27 April 1879. TRC.

157 EST to Louisa Turner, 27 April 1879. TRC.

158 EST to Louisa Turner, 30 April 1879. TRC.

159 Mrs J. R. Foster to Louisa Turner, 9 May 1879. TRC.

160 The grave was the property of Horatio Tennyson whose first wife, Charlotte Maria, née Elwes, was buried there in 1868. It is number 4826 Section X in the cemetery's plan.

161 CTT's will, signed 14 June 1867, was filed 16 August 1879. He left the whole of his estate to Louisa.

162 EST to Louisa Turner, 18 May 1879. TRC.

163 The date of her death is that given in the Laverstock House Register and on her death certificate, where the cause of death is given as 'natural decay'. It is also the date on the memorial tablet erected by AT in Grasby Church. In the press notices and in her Letters of Administration it is given as 21 May.

164 EST to Louisa Turner, 19 May 1879. TRC.

165 AT to Louisa Turner, [19] May 1879. TRC.

APPENDIX

Laverstock House Register. Wiltshire County Record Office.
The entry in the register reads:

> 980. Louisa Turner admitted 18 October 1878 by order of Hallam Tennyson by his solicitor H. Roach Pith's dated 17 October 1878 and by consent of commissioners in Lunacy dated 16 October 1878. Transferred from Auckland House Shanklin, Isle of Wight. Discharged 26 October 1878, not improved, the Commissioners in Lunacy did not consider the order for admission valid.
> 981. Louisa Turner aged 61 admitted 26 October 1878, of Grasby Vicarage Lincolnshire, married. Admitted 26 October 1878, certificate signed by F. W. Coates M.D. and F. Lawson Lee, sent by Hallam Tennyson, nephew, previously at Auckland House and Carlton House [sic] Shanklin ...

The anomaly in the address given as that from which Louisa was transferred is explained possibly by Hallam's having approached his solicitor before the Turners moved into Carlton Villa. His not knowing the later address, where the Turners had been for one month, on 17 October, is unlikely. It may, of course, simply be an error in the entry, rectified as can be seen later in the transcript. Louisa's admission appears not to have been valid originally insofar as no certificate had been signed by a medical officer on her entering the asylum. She was not in effect discharged on 26 October: the certificate was supplied and the re-entry made to satisfy the requirements of the law.

The asylum is described in *The Post Office Directory of Wiltshire*, 1875:

> Laverstock House is a large private lunatic asylum, capable of accommodating 80 patients, the property of Joseph Haynes, esq., it was rebuilt about 1854 and is now a very complete establishment. Henry John Manning BA., M.R.C.S., superintendent.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

People

AHH	Arthur Henry Hallam
CT[d'E]	Charles Tennyson d'Eyncourt, uncle of CTT. Brackets are dropped after name changed.
CTT	Charles Tennyson Turner, both before and after name changed.
EST	Emily Sellwood Tennyson, Louisa Turner's sister and AT's wife.
GCT	George Clayton Tennyson, CTT's father.
GHT	George Hildeyard Tennyson, both before and after name changed. CT[d'E]'s son.
GT	George Tennyson of Tealby, CTT's grandfather.

Books

Hoge, *Letters*	*The Letters of Emily Lady Tennyson*, ed. James O. Hoge, 1974
LAHH	*The Letters of Arthur Henry Hallam*, ed. Jack Kolb, 1981
LALT	*The Letters of Alfred Lord Tennyson* 3 vols., eds. Cecil Y. Lang and Edgar F. Shannon Jnr., 1982-1990.
Martin:	Robert Bernard Martin, *Tennyson: The Unquiet Heart*, 1980.
Materials	[Hallam Lord Tennyson] *Materials for a Life of AT*, 4 vols., 1894-1895.
Memoir	[Hallam Lord Tennyson] *Alfred Lord Tennyson: a Memoir* 2 vols., 1897.
Memories	Revd H. D. Rawnsley, *Memories of the Tennysons*, 1900.

Locations of MS Material

LAO	Lincolnshire Archives Office
TRC	Tennyson Research Centre, Lincoln.

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All books published in London, unless otherwise indicated.

A. PUBLISHED WORKS OF CHARLES TENNYSON TURNER

Entries are headed by the name given to him in the item described.

[Tennyson, Alfred, Charles and Frederick]. *Poems by Two Brothers*. Louth: J. and J. Jackson; London: W. Simpkin and R. Marshall, 1827.

103 poems, none assigned to its author.

Tennyson, Charles. *Sonnets and Fugitive Pieces*. Cambridge: B. Bridges, 1830.

50 sonnets and 15 other poems.

Tennyson, Charles Turner *[sic]*. 'To a Lady'; 'Sonnet, on Seeing a Bevy of Humming-birds in a Glass Case.' In *The Tribute: a Collection of Miscellaneous Unpublished Poems by Various Authors*, pp.293, 380. Edited by Lord Northampton. John Murray and Henry Lindsell, 1837.

The first a 10-line lyric. Both republished in altered form in 1873.

Turner, Rev. Charles (Tennyson). 'Spring'; 'A Thought for March, 1860'; 'Sunrise'; 'Resurrection'. *Macmillan's Magazine* 2 (June 1860), 98-99.

All republished with slight changes in 1864; there, except for the second, they are re-titled respectively 'A Charming of the East Wind', 'The Lattice at Sunrise' and 'Anastasis'.

Turner, Rev. Charles. 'An Eastern Legend Versified, from Alphonse de Lamartine's Travels'. *Macmillan's Magazine* 2 (July 1860), 226-227.

Republished, with a slight change of title and considerable changes in the text, in 1873.

Turner, Charles. 'A Myth about the Nightingales'; 'The Rainbow'. *Macmillan's Magazine* 4 (June 1861), 167-168.

Both republished with slight changes in 1864 where the first is retitled 'Nightingales'.

[Turner, Charles]. 'When first we took the stream ... ' In 'The Sketcher in the Ardennes and Moselle Land' by C. W. R. *[sic]* [i.e. Charles Richard Weld]. *Fraser's Magazine* 68 (October 1863), 522.

Republished, with slight changes, as 'The Moselle Boatman and his Daughter' in 1864.

Turner, The Rev. Charles. *Sonnets*. London and Cambridge: Macmillan, 1864.

100 sonnets, two of which had appeared in a slightly different form in 1830.

Turner, The Rev. Charles. *Small Tableaux*. Macmillan, 1868.

109 sonnets, 23 having first appeared in a slightly different form in 1830.

Turner, Charles. 'My Timepiece'. *Good Words* 11 (January 1870), 64.

Republished with slight changes in 1873.

Turner, Charles. 'Ascent of Snowden'. *Good Words* 11 (March 1870), 201.

Republished with slight changes in 1873.

Turner, Charles. 'The Red-Wheat Field'; 'The Painter on Penmaenmawr'. *Good Words* 12 (July 1871), 500.

Republished as 'To a Red-Wheat Field' and 'The Artist on Penmaenmawr', with some slight changes, in 1873.

Turner, Charles. 'The Cattle Train, Penmaenmawr'; 'Human Sorrows'. *Good Words* 12 (December 1871), 823.

Both republished with slight changes in 1873.

Turner, Charles. 'Our New Village Clock'. *Good Words* 13 (September 1872), 697.

Republished virtually unaltered as 'Our New Church Clock' in 1873.

Turner, The Rev. Charles. *Sonnets, Lyrics and Translations*. Henry S. King, 1873.

92 poems, 58 of which appear for the first time. 27 are republications, some heavily altered, from the 1830 volume; 1 is from *The Tribute*, 1837; 6 'appeared lately in magazines'.

Turner, Charles. 'To Mrs Cameron'. Prefatory poem in *Illustrations to Tennyson's 'Idylls of the King', and Other Poems* by Julia Margaret Cameron. 2 vols. Henry S. King, 1874-5.

An earlier version of 'To Mrs Cameron, Freshwater, Isle of Wight', 1880.

Turner, Charles (Tennyson). 'The Felled Oak'. In 'The Rev. Charles (Tennyson) Turner' by Alexander B. Grosart. *The Leisure Hour* 287 (6 November 1875), 712.

Published in 1880 with slight variations in the text and under the title 'The Oak and the Hill'.

Turner, Charles (Tennyson). 'Dante and Beatrice at Portinari's Evening Party'. *International Review* (New York) 3 (January 1876), 49.

CTT named only in annual index. This sonnet appears in a slightly different form in 1880, entitled 'To Beatrice on her First Interview with Dante'.

Turner, Charles (Tennyson). 'Localities of Burns'. *International Review* (New York) 3 (May 1876), 391.

Two erroneous words ('lands' and 'Willies'') are corrected on the poem's re-appearance in 1880.

Turner, Charles (Tennyson). 'The Sea-shell and the Sonneteer'. *International Review* (New York) 3 (September 1876), 594.

In 1880 appears as 'The Sonneteer to the Sea-shell'

with some slight differences in the text.

Turner, Charles Tennyson. 'Letty's Globe, or Some Irregularities in a First Lesson in Geography'. *Macmillan's Magazine* 35 (December 1876), 157.

The words "her soft hand / Was welcome at all frontiers" erroneously omitted.

Turner, Charles Tennyson. 'Letty's Globe' *[sic]*. *Buxton Advertiser*, no. 1304 (9 December 1876), p.2.

A reprint, complete with error, from *Macmillan's Magazine*. Its erroneously abbreviated title used in 1880 and in all subsequent anthologies.

Turner, Charles Tennyson. 'Letty's Globe, or Some Irregularities in a First Lesson in Geography'. *Macmillan's Magazine* 35 (January 1877), 256.

Corrected version. Published with slight differences in 1880.

Turner, Charles (Tennyson). 'Two Past Ages'. *International Review* (New York) 4 (March 1877), 190.

In a slightly different form, under the title 'Beau Nash and the Roman, or the Two Eras', in 1880.

Tennyson, Charles. 'On the Departure of Albert Fytche for India by the Ship "Marquis Camden"'. - Addressed to his Mother. March 9th, 1839'. In *Burma Past and Present with Personal Reminiscences of the Country*

(2 vols.), Vol. 1, pp.3-4. By Lieut.-Gen. Albert Fytche. C. Kegan Paul, 1878.

A 20-line lyric. Does not appear in 1880. Form of CTT's name incorrect.

[Turner, Charles Tennyson]. 'On Shooting a Swallow in Early Youth'; 'Calvus to a Fly'; 'The Flock for the Market'; 'It was her first sweet child'. In 'Charles Tennyson Turner' by James Spedding. *Nineteenth Century* 6 (September 1879), 479-480.

Five 'casual thoughts, images or similes', noted down by Spedding from CTT's own lips, appear on p.465. The sonnets republished 1880.

Turner, Charles Tennyson. *Collected Sonnets Old and New.* Biographical preface by Hallam Tennyson. Introductory essay by James Spedding. Memorial lines by Alfred Tennnyson. Kegan Paul, 1880.

343 sonnets, 7 lyrics. No-one acknowledged in the text as editor, but Hallam Tennyson's name is subscribed to the preface. Spedding's essay a slightly modified version of his 'Charles Tennyson Turner' in *Nineteenth Century* (supra). Contains all the poems of the 1830, 1864, 1868 and 1873 volumes except for 14 which appeared in the 1830 and 1873 volumes. The 1830 sonnets are given mainly in the form in which they first appeared, with later versions given, in part, in footnotes. The notes Coleridge wrote in a copy of the 1830 volume are appended to

some sonnets, some notes having appeared in David Main's *A Treasury of English Sonnets*, 1880. 50 sonnets appear in a section headed 'Sonnets now first published except four or five, which appeared in magazines'.

Turner, Charles Tennyson. *Collected Sonnets Old and New*. Macmillan, 1884 and 1898.

Exact reprints of the 1880 Kegan Paul edition, but Hallam, Lord Tennyson is named as editor on the title page of the 1898 edition.

[Tennyson, Alfred, Charles and Frederick]. *Poems by Two Brothers*. Edited by Hallam, Lord Tennyson. Macmillan, 1893.

A reprint of the 1827 edition. The 103 poems are assigned, though not definitively, to their respective authors by the placing of initials after each poem. 48 are assigned to CTT; 42 to AT; 3 to FT; 9 are doubtful; 1 is inscribed 'begun by Charles, finished by Alfred'. Some previously unpublished poems by AT are added.

Charles Tennyson Turner. Benn's Augustan Books of Poetry. Ernest Benn, 1931.

Forty-seven sonnets reprinted from the 1880 volume, with an introductory note.

Turner, Charles Tennyson. *A Hundred Sonnets*. Edited by John Betjeman and Sir Charles Tennyson. Rupert Hart Davis, 1960.

Reprints of sonnets from the 1880 volume with introductory essay by the editors. Coleridge's notes appended to some sonnets.

Turner, Charles Tennyson. *Collected Sonnets Old and New*. Kegan Paul, 1880; facsimile reprint ed., Loughborough: Gregg International, 1970.

[Tennyson, Charles] 'Four Unpublished Pieces from the Trinity Manuscript of *Poems by Two Brothers*.' Edited by Patrick Campbell. *Notes and Queries* 20 (March 1973), 87-90.

Ascribed, on the evidence of handwriting and technique, to CTT.

Turner, Charles Tennyson. 'At the Temple the Lawyers no more can declare ... ' In Sotheby's *Valuable Autograph Letters, Literary Manuscripts and Historical Documents* (Sale Catalogue). Item 279. 17 December 1981.

Four lines of nonsense verse written at the end of an autograph letter to Miss Rogers, 13 December n.y.

Turner, Charles (Tennyson). *The Collected Sonnets of Charles (Tennyson) Turner*. Edited by F. B. Pinion and M. Pinion. Macmillan, 1988.

The 343 sonnets of the 1880 edition (printed in the same order) with slight editorial changes based on the 1830, 1864, 1868 and 1873 volumes, on proofs and on MS readings. Annotated and with introductory essay.

Turner, Charles Tennyson. 'When, Susan, wilt thou cross again ... ' In 'Some Unpublished Verse by Charles Tennyson Turner' by Roger Evans. *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 23 (1988), 79.

A 26-line lyric in couplets, this piece of verse was addressed to Susan Haddelsey in 1837.

Turner, Charles. *Sonnets, Lyrics and Translations.* Henry S. King, 1873. In *English Poetry: The English Poetry Full-Text Database.* Release 1. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1992.

Lacking the translations pp.90-96.

B. APPEARANCES IN THE MORE IMPORTANT ANTHOLOGIES

Baynes, Rev. Robert H., ed. *English Lyrics.* Houlston & Wright, 1865.

A collection of contemporary devotional poems. Contains CTT's 'Hope beneath the Waters'. His earliest appearance in an anthology.

[J., R.C.] *Poems of the Inner Life.* Sampson Low, Son & Marston, 1866.

Contains 'The Lattice at Sunrise', 'O God, impart thy blessing to my cries....' 'Hope beneath the Waters' and ''On the Death of Two Little Children'.

Hunt, Leigh and Lee, S. Adams, eds. *The Book of the Sonnet.* 2 vols. Boston, Mass.: Roberts Brothers, 1867.

This selection constitutes CTT's first appearance before the American public. Six sonnets from the 1830 volume are given: 'The Delights of Intellect Unperturbing' (the editors' title for 'Vexation waits on passion's changeful glow...'); 'On Seeing a Child Blush..'; 'The Rainbow'; 'The Ringlet' ('To -- ' in 1830); 'On Startling Some Pigeons'; 'Silkworms and Spiders'.

Trench, Richard Chenevix, ed. *A Household Book of English Poetry.* Macmillan, 1868.

Contains 'On Startling Some Pigeons' and 'The Ocean'.

Main, David M., ed. *A Treasury of English Sonnets.* William Blackwood, 1880.

By far the most important selection of CTT's sonnets in an anthology. Contains 38 of his sonnets, including 'Wind on the Corn', 'The Lattice at Sunrise', 'An April Day', and 'Our New Church Clock'. In the biographical notes and annotations some of Coleridge's notes are published for the first time.

Caine, T. Hall, ed. *Sonnets of Three Centuries*. Elliot Stock, 1882.

Contains 'The Buoy-Bell', 'The Lattice at Sunrise', 'The Ocean', 'The Prisoner' and 'The Traveller and his Wife's Ringlet'.

Waddington, Samuel, ed. *English Sonnets by Poets of the Past*. George Bell, 1882.

Contains 10 sonnets, including 'The Lattice at Sunrise', 'On Startling Some Pigeons', 'Time and Twilight', and 'In and out of the Pine-Wood'. A note grants CTT originality and poetic genius, but criticises the lack of "muscling" in some of his work.

Main, David M., ed. *Three Hundred English Sonnets*. William Blackwood, 1884.

Contains 8 sonnets by CTT.

Sharp, William, ed. *Sonnets of This Century*. Walter Scott, 1886.

Contains 'The Lattice at Sunrise', 'The Buoy-Bell', 'On Startling Some Pigeons', 'The Ocean', 'The Lake' and 'Summer Gloaming'. While an introductory note denies that CTT's sonnets are true sonnets and are really 'sonnet-stanzas', a further note allows his work "one of the highest places in nineteenth century sonnet-literature".

Palgrave, Francis T., ed. *The Treasury of Sacred Song*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1889.

Contains 'O God, impart Thy blessing to my cries...', 'The Lattice at Sunrise', 'Our Mary and the Child-Mummy', 'The Harvest Moon' and 'Anastasis'. In his note on CTT Palgrave asserts that "No verse more sincere, more tender, more worthy of study, is contained in our Anthology".

Miles, Alfred H., gen. ed. *The Poets and the Poetry of the Century*. 10 vols. Hutchinson, [1894?] Vol. 4: *Tennyson to Arthur Hugh Clough*.

16 sonnets and 3 lyrics by CTT. The only appearance of his lyrics in an anthology.

Palgrave, Francis T., ed. *The Golden Treasury* (Second Series). Macmillan, 1897.

Contains 12 of CTT's sonnets: 'Letty's Globe', 'Little Sophy by the Seaside', 'Our Mary and the Child Mummy', 'It was her first sweet child ...', 'Resuscitation of Fancy', 'The Steam Threshing-Machine', 'Mary Queen of Scots', 'Going Home', 'Anastasis', 'The Afternote of the Hour', Mary - a Reminiscence', 'Mary (continued)'.

Quiller-Couch, Arthur, ed. *The Oxford Book of Victorian Verse*. Oxford: OUP, 1922.

Contains 'The Lattice at Sunrise' and 'Letty's Globe'.

Hamer, Enid, ed. *The English Sonnet: An Anthology.* Methuen, 1936.

Contains 'To Beatrice on her first Interview with Dante' and 'Letty's Globe'.

Piper, Myfanwy, ed. *Sea Poems.* Frederick Muller, 1944.

3 sonnets by CTT: 'On Board a Jersey Steamer', 'Little Sophy by the Seaside' and 'The Seaside - In and Out of the Season'.

Grigson, Geoffrey, ed. *The Victorians.* Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1950.

Contains 'Little Phoebe', 'The Artist on Penmaenmawr', 'On the Eclipse of the Moon of October 1865', 'The Steam Threshing-Machine' and 'The Seaside - In and Out of the Season'.

Woods, George Benjamin and Buckley, Jerome Hamilton, eds. *Poetry of the Victorian Period.* Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1955.

Contains 'The Steam Threshing-Machine'. The short biographical note speaks of his "happy and serene" life.

Hayward, John, ed. *The Oxford Book of Nineteenth-Century English Verse.* Oxford: OUP, 1964.

Contains 'The Steam Threshing-Machine'; 'On the Eclipse of the Moon of October 1865'; 'The Artist on Penmaenmawr'; 'To a "Tenting" Boy'.

Hall, Peter, ed. *The Other Tennysons: a Selection of Poems Written by the Brothers and Sisters of Alfred, Lord Tennyson*. Invicta Press, 1967.

Poems by Frederick, Charles, Mary, Edward, Arthur, Septimus and Cecilia Tennyson. CTT represented by 'A Summer Twilight' and 'Rose and Cushie'.

Kauvar, Gerald B. and Sorensen, Gerald C., eds. *The Victorian Mind: an Anthology*. Cassell in association with the Victorian Society, 1969.

CTT is represented by 'The Steam Threshing Machine' and its partner sonnet.

MacBeth, George, ed. *The Penguin Book of Victorian Verse*. Penguin, 1969.

Contains 'The Buoy-Bell', 'The White Horse of Westbury', 'Letty's Globe' and 'The Drowned Spaniel'.

Messenger, N. P. and Watson, J. R., eds. *Victorian Poetry: 'The City of Dreadful Night' and Other Poems*. Dent, 1974.

16 of CTT's sonnets in this volume of selections from the works of fourteen Victorian poets.

Nye, Robert, ed. *The Faber Book of Sonnets*. Faber and Faber, 1976.

Contains 'Letty's Globe', 'To Beatrice on Her First Interview with Dante', 'The Steam Threshing-Machine,

with the Straw Carrier' and 'On the Eclipse of the Moon of October 1865'.

Watson, J. R., ed. *Everyman's Book of Victorian Verse.* Dent, 1982.

Contains 'Wind on the Corn', 'Old Ruralities' and 'Old Stephen'.

Ricks, Christopher, ed. *The New Oxford Book of Victorian Verse.* Oxford, Clarendon, 1987.

Contains 10 of CTT's sonnets: 'The Lion's Skeleton', 'A Brilliant Day', 'On a Vase of Gold-fish', 'From Harvest to January', 'Gout and Wings', 'Alexander the Great', 'Letty's Globe', 'On Shooting a Swallow', 'Calvus to a Fly', 'A Country Dance'.

C. BIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL

Alford, Henry. *Life, Journals and Letters of Henry Alford D.D., late Dean of Canterbury.* Edited by his widow. Rivingtons, 1873.

As a fellow-collegian at Trinity, Alford presents some material relevant to CTT's undergraduate days. A single - appreciative - reference to the 1830 volume.

Allingham, William. *A Diary.* Edited by H. Allingham and D. Radford. Macmillan, 1907.

A friend of the Tennysons. First-hand accounts of CTT.

Ambler, R. W., ed. *Lincolnshire Returns of the Census of Religious Worship 1851.* Volume 72 of The Publications of the Lincoln Record Society. Lincoln: Lincoln Record Society, 1979.

Includes CTT's census return. Volume illustrates degree to which the Established Church was confronted by the dissenting bodies in Lincolnshire at this time.

Brookfield, Charles and Frances. *Mrs. Brookfield and Her Circle.* 2 vols. Sir Isaac Pitman, 1905.

Contains extracts from two of CTT's letters. Also a reference to him in 1847.

Campbell, Nancie (compiler). '[Catalogue of the] Library of Charles Tennyson afterwards Turner.' *Tennyson in Lincoln: A Catalogue of the Collections in the Research Centre.* Vol. I, pp.109-123. Lincoln: Tennyson Society, 1971.

This collection comprises books which went into AT's keeping after CTT's death. 236 items are listed.

Carlisle, Nicholas. *A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales.* Volume I Baldwin, Cradock & Joy, 1818.

Extensive description of the history, aims and curriculum of Louth Grammar School.

Church, Alfred J. *The Laureate's Country: a Description of Places Connected with the Life of Alfred, Lord Tennyson.* Illus. Seeley, 1891.

Church discussed his subject-matter with AT. Complete chapter on Grasby and CTT.

Colloms, Brenda. *Victorian Country Parsons.* Constable, 1977.

A chapter devoted to CTT, the material drawn mainly from H. D. Rawnsley, Spedding and Sir Charles Tennyson.

[Day, Aidan]. 'Letters from Emily Tennyson Jesse to Ellen Hallam ...'. *Tennyson Research Bulletin* 4 (November 1982), 29-31.

CTT's circumstances and activities shortly before his marriage, revealed in letters of Spring 1836.

Frodsham, [Rt. Rev.] George H. *A Bishop's Pleasaunce.* Smith, Elder, 1915.

Contains reference to a copy of *Poems by Two Brothers* with a significant MS inscription.

Fund for the Relief of Certain Necessitous Clergymen and Widows and Orphans of Clergymen in the County of Lincoln. *Annual Report of the Subscriptions and Donations.* [Lincoln, 1857-1877].

CTT's subscriptions appear in the list for the Yarborough Deanery.

Goulding, R. W., ed. *Louth Old Corporation Records*. Louth: R. W. Goulding, 1891.

Contains admissions-lists of Louth Grammar School.

Hales, John W. 'Louth Grammar School'. *Gentleman's Magazine* 273 (December 1892), 562-573.

Personal recollections, written in 1868, by an 'old boy'. Not a contemporary of the Tennysons, but illuminating.

Hall, John G. 'Tennysonnia' *[sic]*. *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries* 3 (1892/1893), 182-183.

Concerns the Tennysons' submission of *Poems by Two Brothers* to the Louth publisher.

Hill, Sir Francis. 'The Disinheritance Tradition Reconsidered'. *Tennyson Research Bulletin* 3 (November 1978), 41-54.

The finances of the Tennyson family. An important paper.

Hoge, James O., ed. 'Emily Tennyson's Narrative for her Sons'. *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 14 (Spring 1972), 93-106.

This is the version of the unpublished 'Written for my Sons' which Hallam Tennyson condensed for his memoir of AT. Here restored almost to full length and with editorial notes.

_____. *Lady Tennyson's Journal*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981.

Records, among other things, family visits between 1850 and 1874. Some errors in dating.

_____. *The Letters of Emily, Lady Tennyson*. Pennsylvania and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974.

Contains correspondence between the AT and CTT households. Misunderstands nature of Emily's letters to Louisa 1878-9.

Hull Times, 7 October 1933.

A description of the neglected state of CTT's garden and the dangerous state of the church spire. Further reports on the spire in the issues for 16 December 1933 and 20 January 1934.

Kime, Winston. 'Charles Tennyson Turner: The Gentlest Tennyson'. *Lincolnshire Life* 21 (November 1981), 24-25.

A thumb-nail sketch of CTT's life and work.

Kolb, Jack, ed. *The Letters of Arthur Henry Hallam*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1981.

Covers the period 1824-1833. Close involvement with all the Tennyson family. Highly useful.

Lang, Cecil Y. and Shannon, Edgar F., Jr, eds. *The Letters of Alfred Lord Tennyson*. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982-1990.

Not only AT's known letters, but many of those of family and friends. Biographical details in footnotes. Highly important.

Levi, Peter. *Tennyson*. Macmillan, 1993.

Undue weight placed on CTT's use of opium.

The Lincoln and Lincolnshire Cabinet and Calendar of Public Business for 1827 [1828, 1829]. Lincoln: J. W. Drury, 1827 [1828, 1829].

In the lists of the public officers of the County the names of members of the Tennyson family, including CTT's father, and family friends appear.

Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury, 19 May 1876, p.5.

A report of CTT's gift of land for the building of a curate's house.

Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury, 19 April 1878, p.5.

Brief report of the need to enlarge Grasby School.

Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury, 23 August 1878, p.5.

Brief report of the choice faced by the Grasby people between the old voluntary school and a new Board School.

Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury, 23 May 1879, p.5.
On CTT's estate. Erroneous.

Lincolnshire Archives Committee. [Descriptions of the contents of documentary deposits relating to George Tennyson the Elder and the Tennyson d'Eyncourt branch of the family]. *Archivists' Report* no. 2, 1950-51; no. 8, 1956-57; no. 10, 1958-59; no. 12, 1960-61; no. 14, 1962-63; no. 16, 1964-65.

Lincolnshire Archives Committee. [Description of the contents of documentary deposits relating to the Turner family]. *Archivists' Report* no. 12, 1960-61.

Lincolnshire Archives Committee. [Description of the contents of the deposited correspondence of Bishop Kaye]. *Archivists' Report* no. 9, 1957-58.
CTT figures personally in Bishop Kaye's letters.

Lincolnshire Committee of the Diocesan Board of Education on the Principles of the Church of England. *Annual Reports* [Lincoln, 1856-].
CTT's collections after sermons and annual subscriptions appear in the list for the Brigg Local Board.

London Gazette, 4 September 1835, p.1677.

Announcement of CTT's change of name.

Louth Grammar School. *Speech-day June 20th 1820* [An Advertisement Sheet]. Louth: Printed by Jackson, [1820].

Among the list of speakers is "Tennyson", reciting Sallust's 'Memmius to the Roman People'. This is likely to have been CTT. Both Tennysons appear on the reverse in the list of scholars at Midsummer 1820.

_____. 'Course of Study pursued in each class'. *Speech-day June 24th 1823* [An Advertisement Sheet]. Louth: Printed by Jackson, [1823].

The intensity of the classical studies in each of the eight classes is evident.

Maggs Bros. *Autograph Letters and Historical Documents*. Sale Catalogue no. 510, Autumn 1928, pp.302-303.

Extracts, one very substantial, from 4 of CTT's letters to John Frere, 1830-31.

Martin, Robert Bernard. *Tennyson: the Unquiet Heart*. Illus. Pors. OUP and Faber & Faber, 1980.

Emphasis on the neuroses of the family and in CTT's case his use of opium.

Merivale, Charles. *Autobiography and Letters of Charles Merivale, Dean of Ely.* Edited by Judith Anne Merivale. Oxford: Privately printed, 1898.

Contemporary, though brief, references to CTT in letters.

Miller, Betty. 'Tennyson: The Early Years.' *Twentieth Century* 167 (June 1960), 520-529.

'Pride of wealth' in other members of the family.

Millard, Charles W. 'Julia Margaret Cameron and Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*'. *Harvard Library Bulletin* 21 (April 1973), 187-201.

Refers to Mrs. Cameron's communication with CTT about her projected collection of photographic illustrations to AT's poem.

Moore, George. 'A Critical and Bibliographical Study of the Somersby library of Dr. George Clayton Tennyson.' M.A. dissertation, University of Nottingham, 1966.

Reveals what books CTT had access to in his youth. 43 have his name or autograph inscriptions in them.

Napier, George G. *The Homes and Haunts of Alfred, Lord Tennyson.* Illus. Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1892.

Napier received help from members of the Tennyson family on this book which was the result of visits to the locations covered. It first appeared in shorter

form, printed for private circulation, in 1889. Extended chapters on Somersby, Grasby and CTT.

Nicoll, W. Robertson and Wise, Thomas J., eds. 'Arthur Henry Hallam as Advocate of Alfred and Charles Tennyson'. *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century*. Hodder & Stoughton, 1895.

Two letters from Arthur Hallam to Leigh Hunt recommending AT's *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical* and CTT's *Sonnets and Fugitive Pieces* for review. Preceded by some biographical notes by the editors.

'Obituary Notice'. *Academy*, 10 May 1879, pp.412-413. *Athenaeum*, 3 May 1879, p.569. *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 6 May 1879, p.4. *Cheltenham Examiner*, 7 May 1879, p.8. *Cheltenham Free Press*, 10 May 1879, p.2. *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 2 May 1879, p.5. *Louth Times*, 24 May 1879, p.5.

O'Connor, V. C. Scott. 'Tennyson and his Friends at Freshwater'. Illus. Pors. *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 54 (December 1897), 240-268.

O'Connor was a friend of Arthur Tennyson whose comments about CTT are recorded here. Useful.

Palgrave, Francis Turner. *Francis Turner Palgrave: His Journals and Memories of his Life*. Edited by Gwenllian F. Palgrave. Longmans, Green, 1899.

Contains a brief reference to a meeting with CTT in 1871 and a letter from Palgrave to Richard Wilton referring to CTT's sonnets.

Rader, Ralph Wilson. *Tennyson's 'Maud': The Biographical Genesis*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963.

The social circle CTT would have known in the 1830s and 1840s.

_____. 'Tennyson's 'Strange' Father: the Comments of a Lincolnshire Neighbour'. *Notes and Queries* (December 1963), 447-448.

CTT's father's death.

Rawnsley, Rev. H. D. *Memories of the Tennysons*. Illus. Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1900.

Rawnsley drew upon family tradition for much of his material. Some material the result of 'interviews' with Lincolnshire locals made "nearly twenty years ago". Contains long account of a personal visit to CTT in 1876.

Rawnsley, Willingham Franklin, ed. *The Life, Diaries and Correspondence of Jane Lady Franklin 1792-1875*. Erskine Macdonald, 1923.

Contains a letter from CTT to Lady Franklin, dated 1868, in which he speaks of his sonnets.

Rawnsley, Willingham Franklin. 'Personal Recollections of Tennyson (1)'. *Nineteenth Century and After* 97 (January 1925), 1-9.

Contains quotations from family letters indicating CTT's role at home after his father's death.

_____. 'Tennyson and Lincolnshire'. In *Tennyson and his Friends*, pp.8-32. Edited by Hallam, Lord Tennsyon. Pors. Macmillan, 1911.

The Tennysons' friends in the Somersby district. Contains letters from the Tennysons to members of the Rawnsley family.

Reid, T. Wemyss. *The Life, Letters, and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes, First Lord Houghton*. 2 vols. Cassell, 1890.

Contemporary of the Tennysons at Trinity. Background material to that period. Brief reference to a proposed trip of Milnes and CTT to France.

Ricks, Christopher. *Tennyson*. Macmillan, 1972.

Uses much hitherto unpublished material. Many references to CTT.

Ritchie, Anne Thackeray. *Records of Tennyson, Ruskin, Browning*. Illus. Pors. New York: Harper, 1892.

Written from first-hand acquaintance with AT and brief acquaintance with CTT.

Roberts, Robert. 'Recollections of Tennyson'. In *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century*, pp.421-431. Edited by W. Robertson Nicoll and Thomas J. Wise. Hodder and Stoughton, 1896.

Roberts gleaned information about the Sellwoods and Tennysons by talking to old local inhabitants.

Schonfield, Hugh, ed. *Letters to Frederick Tennyson*. Hogarth Press, 1930.

Collection of letters found by the editor in the effects of Walter Ker, CTT's nephew. Contains one letter from CTT; several references to him in others.

'List of Visitors'. *Shanklin Weekly News*, 14 September-26 October 1878.

CTT and his wife appear.

Shannon, Edgar F., Jnr. 'Alfred Tennyson's Admission to Cambridge'. *Times Literary Supplement*, 6 March 1959, p.136.

Includes the dating of CTT's admission to Cambridge too.

_____. 'The coachman's part in the publication of *Poems by Two Brothers*'. *Modern Language Notes* 64 (February 1949), 107-110.

A discounting of the tradition concerning the Tennysons' coachman.

Smith, Henry Evan. '[Notes on the Tennyson Family Written Circa 1892]'. Edited by Peter B. G. Binnall. *Goulding's Household Almanack*. Louth: Goulding, 1941.

Smith was a journalist who lived in Caistor, about three miles from Grasby.

Sturman, Christopher. 'A Fascinating Look at the Fytches'. *Louth Leader*, 16 January 1991, p.6.

Mainly concerned with Albert Fytche. Contains CTT's poem on Albert's departure for India.

_____. 'Fytches of Louth'. *Louth Leader*, 30 August 1989, p.30.

Useful examination of a branch of the family given little prominence elsewhere.

_____. 'Revd. John Waite'. *Lincolnshire Life* 25 (October 1985), 40-42

More sympathetic to Waite than many of the earlier descriptions which are incorporated into this appraisal.

Sturman, Christopher and Purton, Valerie. *Poems by Two Brothers: The Lives, Work and Influence of George Clayton Tennyson and Charles Tennyson d'Eyncourt*. Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1993.

Particularly useful for the detailed family background of the early 1830s in its commentary.

Teeling, Bartle. 'A Visit to the Tennysons in 1839'. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 155 (May 1894), 605-621.

From a journal kept by Louisa Lanesborough, a friend of the Tennyson sisters. CTT was not present but is referred to.

Tennyson, Alfred Lord. *Works*. 9 vols. (The Eversley Edition). Edited by Hallam, Lord Tennyson. Macmillan, 1907/1908.

Annotations by AT and Hallam Tennyson. Various references to CTT.

Tennyson, [later Sir] Charles. *Alfred Tennyson*. Pors. Macmillan, 1949.

Grandson of AT, he draws extensively upon unpublished family papers. Much material on CTT.

_____. *Alfred Tennyson and Somersby*. Illus. Maps. Lincoln: The Tennyson Society, 1974.

CTT's birthplace and the surrounding district.

_____. Foreword and annotations to *Tennyson Collection: Usher Gallery, Lincoln*. Illus. Pors. Lincoln: City of Lincoln Libraries, Museum and Art Gallery Committee, 1963.

Catalogue, with detailed annotations, of Tennysoniana in Lincoln. Some items pertaining to CTT and Louisa.

_____. 'The Somersby Tennysons'. Pors. *Victorian Studies* Supplement to 7 (December 1963). (Publications of the Tennyson Society No. 1).

A description of all CTT's brothers and sisters.

_____. 'Tennyson and his Brothers Frederick and Charles'. In *Tennyson and his Friends* pp.33-68. Edited by Hallam, Lord Tennyson. Macmillan, 1911.

Germinal essay upon which the author based much of his later material.

_____. 'Tennyson Papers 1: Alfred's Father'. *Cornhill Magazine* 153 (March 1936), 283-305.

A detailed examination drawn from family papers.

Tennyson, Sir Charles and Dyson, Hope. *The Tennysons: Background to Genius*. Pors. on jacket. Macmillan, 1974.

The fullest of Sir Charles Tennyson's pictures of the Tennyson family.

Tennyson, Emily, Lady. 'Recollections of My Early Life'. In *Tennyson and his Friends*, (supra), pp.3-7.

Written for her son in 1896. Concerns Louisa and other Sellwoods.

Tennyson, Hallam, Lord. *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir*. 2 vols. Illus. Pors. Macmillan, 1897.

A prime printed source of material on CTT.

_____. *Materials for a Life of AT.* 4 vols. Privately printed, [1895?]

Contains material relating to CTT - including one of his letters and parts of some Spedding letters - not used in the *Memoir*.

Walters, John Cuming. *In Tennyson Land.* Illus. George Redway, 1890.

Walters questioned the Louth inhabitants about the Tennysons. Extended coverage of the early years and the 1827 volume.

Weld, Agnes Grace. *Glimpses of Tennyson and of Some of His Relations and Friends.* Pors. Williams and Norgate, 1902. Withdrawn, amended and reissued 1903.

First-hand information about CTT and Louisa by their niece.

_____. 'Tennyson'. *Contemporary Review* 72 (November 1897), 689-696.

Much on CTT and the Sellwoods.

[Weld, Charles Richard]. 'The Sketcher in the Ardennes and Moselle Land'. *Fraser's Magazine* 68 (October 1863), 513-525.

An account of a tour in the summer of 1862 from which it is apparent that CTT was a member of the party at some stage, if not throughout.

Wheatcroft, Andrew. *The Tennyson Album: A Biography in Original Photographs*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980.
The fullest gathering of family photographs.

White, Walter. *The Journals of Walter White, Assistant Secretary of the Royal Society*. Chapman & Hall, 1898.
White's meeting with CTT in London in December 1849 briefly recorded.

Young, Mary Blamire. *Richard Wilton. A Forgotten Victorian*. George Allen & Unwin, 1967.
A biography of a man with whom the Turners corresponded frequently in their last years. It stops short before the period of their friendship which is not referred to.

D. CRITICAL APPRAISALS AND COMMENT

1. Books and Articles

Achilles, Klaus. 'Charles Tennyson Turner: Untersuchungen zur nachromantischen Lyrik in England'. Ph.D. thesis, University of Hamburg, 1967.
Central to the thesis is the assessment of CTT as an English 'Biedermeier' poet.

Bayne, Thomas. 'Charles Tennyson Turner'. *Fraser's Magazine* 24 (December 1881), 790-799.

Perceives him as a poet of "meditative gravity" rather than of "axiomatic dogma".

_____. 'Our Modern Poets. No. XVI - Charles Tennyson Turner'. *St James's Magazine* 36 (July 1879), 66-74.

Places CTT in the line of the sonnet tradition following Wordsworth. Likens him to Gilbert White of Selborne in his taking inspiration from his local environment and in his investing the small and insignificant with grandeur.

Betjeman, John and Tennyson, Sir Charles. Introductory essay to *A Hundred Sonnets* by Charles Tennyson Turner. Rupert Hart-Davis, 1960.

Though more biographical than critical, important for its commendation of the spontaneity and breadth of sympathy shown in the sonnets.

Campbell, Patrick Anthony Charles. 'A Critical Edition of *Poems by Two Brothers* by Alfred, Charles and Frederick Tennyson'. Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1970.

Each brother's contribution analysed and some new suggestions made on attribution. Very detailed annotations to the poems, particularly concerning influences.

Coleridge, Samuel Taylor. *Table Talk*, 1835.

Under the date 18 April 1830, Coleridge declares that CTT's sonnets "have many of the characteristic excellences of those of Wordsworth and Southey".

Collins, Rowland L. 'Charles (Tennyson) Turner'. In *Dictionary of Literary Biography*. Vol. 32, pp.298-303. Edited by William E. Fredeman and Ira B. Nadel. Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1984.

Places his poetic achievement in its biographical setting.

Davenport, Hester. 'Rural Rhymes of the Other Tennyson'. *Countryman* 93 (Autumn 1988), 64-68.

Brief appreciative sketch.

Ebbatson, J. R. 'The Lonely Garden: The Sonnets of Charles Tennyson Turner'. *Victorian Poetry* 15 (1977), 307-319.

An examination of the tensions manifest or hidden in the verse and their biographical source.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *English Traits*. G. Routledge, 1856.

Records Wordsworth's opinion of CTT.

Evans, Roger. 'The Form of Tennyson's Address to his Brother Charles'. *Tennyson Research Bulletin* 6 (November 1992), 48-55.

The structure of AT's memorial poem (a sonnet in disguise) as a tribute to CTT's chosen verse-form.

_____. 'Letty's Globe'. *Map Collector* 53 (Winter 1990), 52.

A bibliographical note.

_____. 'Some Unpublished Verse by Charles Tennyson Turner'. *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 23 (1988), 79.

Verse addressed to Susan Haddelsey in a letter of 1837. Biographical facts about her family.

_____. 'Tennyson's 'Midnight, June 30, 1879' and the Sonnets of Charles Tennyson Turner'. *Tennyson Research Bulletin* 4 (November 1983), 81-91.

Portrays AT's memorial poem as an imaginative reflection of certain aspects of the content of CTT's verse.

Foster, Rev. Dr. James. 'The Tennyson Brothers'. *Primitive Methodist Quarterly Review* 31 (October 1909), 638-647.

Suggests there is "variety in unity" in CTT, AT and FT in their classical learning, in their attitude to nature and to the past, and in their religious stance.

Going, William T. *Scanty Plot of Ground. Studies in the Victorian Sonnet.* The Hague: Mouton, 1976.

Chapter 2 considers the Tennysons as a sonneteering family.

Grosart, Alexander B. 'The Rev. Charles (Tennyson) Turner'. *Leisure Hour*, no. 1245 (6 November 1875), pp.711-716.

Eulogistic. Introduces a hitherto unpublished sonnet.

Heath-Stubbs, John. *The Darkling Plain: a Study of the Later Fortunes of Romanticism in English Poetry from George Darley to W. B. Yeats*. Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1950.

Links CTT, in a chapter on regionalist poets, with Barnes, Hawker, Hardy and Housman, not so much for his expression of the folk-tradition but as a recorder of the traditional life of the country-side.

Hewlett, Henry G. 'English Sonneteers: Mr Charles Turner' *Contemporary Review* 22 (September 1873), 633-642.

Spedding found this appraisal assessed CTT's qualities better than did any other. It is significant in that it recommends a collected edition of his sonnets.

Horne, R. H., ed. *A New Spirit of the Age*. 2 vols. Smith, Elder, 1844.

Recommends CTT, on the basis of his 1830 volume, as the author of simple, unaffected poetry whose purpose

is crystallised in the line "We must have music while we languish here."

Japp, Alexander H. 'Charles Tennyson Turner'. In *The Poets and the Poetry of the Century*. 10 vols. Edited by Alfred H. Miles. George Routledge, 1894. Vol. 4: *Frederick Tennyson to Arthur Hugh Clough*.

Draws upon Spedding's essay.

Jelinek, Konrad. *Charles Tennyson-Turners Leben und Werke*. Leipzig: Borna, 1909.

A drawing together of previously published material. Long section on the structure of CTT's sonnets.

Knight, William, ed. *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*. 3 vols. Ginn, 1907.

Wordsworth's opinion of CTT and AT recorded in a letter of 1830.

Knight, William. 'A Reminiscence of Tennyson'. *Blackwood's Magazine* 162 (August 1897), 264-270.

Record of a visit to AT in 1890. Contains AT's opinion of CTT's sonnets.

Livingston, Luther S. 'The First Books of Some English Authors. II. The Tennysons'. *Bookman* 10 (October 1899), 123-127.

A gathering together of already published facts.

Lounsbury, Thomas Raynesford. *The Life and Times of Tennyson, from 1809 to 1850.* 2nd ed. Edited by Wilbur L. Cross. New York: Russell & Russell, 1962.

CTT's early verse, notably that in *Poems by Two Brothers*, considered incidentally, though that volume granted a full chapter.

Lowes, John Livingston. *The Road to Xanadu.* Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, [1944].

Contains a note on Coleridge's criticism of CTT's use of the words 'swound' and 'scene' in his *Sonnets and Fugitive Pieces.*

McDowell, Robin S. 'The Source of Two Rainbow Allusions in *Poems by Two Brothers*'. *Tennyson Research Bulletin* 3 (November 1978), 77-78.

Refers to CTT's poem 'Phrenology'.

Macmillan, George A., ed. *Letters of Alexander Macmillan.* Printed for private circulation, 1908.

Contains a letter from Macmillan to CTT expressing admiration for the sonnets printed in his magazine in 1860 and raising the question of a possible volume.

Marshall, G. O., Jnr. 'Gift Books, Tennyson and *The Tribute* (1837)' *Georgia Review* 16 (1962), 459-464.

The nature of the volume to which CTT contributed 2 poems.

Nicolson, Harold. *Tennyson's Two Brothers: The Leslie Stephen Lecture 1947*. Cambridge: CUP, 1947.

Concerns Frederick and Charles.

Overton, John Henry and Wordsworth, Elizabeth. *Christopher Wordsworth Bishop of Lincoln*. Rivingtons, 1888.

Contains a letter from Bishop Wordsworth to CTT, suggesting the Old Testament as a subject for his verse.

Paden, W. D. *Tennyson in Egypt: A Study of the Imagery in his Earlier Work*. New York: Octagon Books, 1971.

Detailed information about the Somersby family and close scrutiny of *Poems by Two Brothers*.

_____. 'The Tennysons' *Poems by Two Brothers* (1827) Reconsidered'. *Library* 19 (1964), 147-161.

Concerns the assigning of poems to their respective authors in various marked copies.

Palgrave, Francis T. *Landscape in Poetry*. Macmillan, 1897.

In a chapter entitled 'The Landscape of Browning, Arnold, Barnes, and Charles Tennyson', Palgrave likens CTT to Barnes in his love of classical poetry, his depictions of the local scene and in his tender feelings for children. With illustrations of seven sonnets given in full, he asserts that CTT's

unorthodox sonnet-structure was intentional, helping him avoid monotony.

Patton, Lewis. 'Coleridge Marginalia in the Duke Library: Charles Tennyson Turner's *Sonnets*'. *Library Notes* 15 (December 1945), 4-60.

An examination of two copies of CTT's *Sonnets and Fugitive Pieces*, containing transcripts of Coleridge's marginalia, one in the British Museum, the other in the Duke Library.

Raysor, Thomas Middleton, ed. *Coleridge's Miscellaneous Criticism*. Constable, 1936.

Contains a transcript of the notes he thought Coleridge wrote in the British Museum copy of *Sonnets and Fugitive Pieces*.

Rawnsley, Eleanor F. *Canon Rawnsley. An Account of his Life*. Glasgow: MacLehose, Jackson, 1923.

Contains parts of two letters CTT wrote to Rawnsley who considered Charles "his mentor in the music of the sonnet" and elucidates the circumstances surrounding CTT's 'The Wedding Posy'.

Ricks, Christopher, ed. *The Poems of Tennyson*. Longman, 1969; revised 1987.

Considers the problem of attribution in *Poems by Two Brothers* in the preface.

Sanderlin, George. 'The Influence of Milton and Wordsworth on the Early Victorian Sonnet'. *English Literary History* 5 (September 1938), 225-251.

CTT, as a writer of descriptive sonnets, is listed as one much influenced by Wordsworth, though not like Wordsworth in structure.

[Shepherd, Richard Herne]. *The Bibliography of Tennyson*. Privately printed, 1896.

All three entries relating to CTT's publications (*Poems by Two Brothers, The Tribute, Collected Sonnets Old and New*) contain inaccuracies.

[_____]. *Tennysoniana*. Pickering, 1866; revised and enlarged 1879.

Chapter 1 attempts to assign certain poems in *Poems by Two Brothers* to AT, and in the revised edition - with accuracy for the most part - to both AT and CTT. The revised edition also presents a biographical note on CTT.

Spedding, James. 'Charles Tennyson Turner'. *Nineteenth Century* 6 (September 1879), 461-480.

Reprinted, with slight modifications, as the introductory Essay to *Collected Sonnets Old and New*. Critical evaluation of CTT's poems by someone who had known him since Trinity days.

Sturman, Christopher. 'Charles Tennyson Turner's "On the Eclipse of the Moon of October 1865"'. *Lincolnshire Past and Present* 5 (Autumn 1991), 9.

A brief placing of the sonnet in its biographical setting.

[Symington, Andrew James]. 'Charles (Tennyson) Turner'. *International Review* (New York) 2 (September 1875), 577-603.

The felicities of CTT's poetry with much illustration. Perceptively speaks of discords manifest in CTT's vision.

[_____]. 'The Rev. Charles (Tennyson) Turner'. *Sunday at Home*, no. 1176 (11 November 1876), pp.724-728.

Mainly concerned with sonnets with an overtly Christian theme.

'A Talk about Odes'. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 129 (June 1881), 783-802.

This imaginary dialogue contains an enthusiastic assessment of CTT's 'Martial Ardour in Age'. The 'irregularity' of his sonnet-form is referred to and the 1830 volume is held up as being superior to his later ones.

Taylor, Henry. *Correspondence of Henry Taylor*. Edited by Edward Dowden. Longmans, Green, 1888.

Brief but glowing commendation of CTT's sonnets in a letter (dated 1869) to the Hon. Mrs Edward Villiers.

Tennyson, (later Sir) Charles. 'Tennyson Papers 2: J. M. Heath's "Commonplace Book"'. *Cornhill Magazine* 153 (April 1936), 426-449.

Heath's book (at Cambridge) contains some MS poems by CTT, none unpublished.

_____. 'The Vicar of Grasby'. *English* 8 (1950), 117-120).

11 sonnets printed in full, 1 in part. A consideration of how a volume of CTT's sonnets could be compiled. This is the germ of the 1960 volume *A Hundred Sonnets*.

Terhune, Alfred McKinley and Terhune, Annabelle Burdick, eds. *The Letters of Edward Fitzgerald*. 4 vols. Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980.

A number of letters Dec. 1878 - Dec. 1880 concerning Spedding's article on CTT in *The Nineteenth Century*, the publication of the *Collected Sonnets* and the qualities of CTT's verse.

[Trench, Richard Chenevix]. 'The History of the English Sonnet'. *The Afternoon Lectures on Literature and Art*. (Fourth Series), pp.133-166. Delivered in the Theatre of the Museum of Industry, S. Stephen's Green, Dublin, in April and May 1866. Bell and Daldy, 1867.

A brief eulogy on CTT, referring only to the 1830 volume and giving 'On Startling Some Pigeons' in full.

Trench, Richard Chenevix, Archbishop. *Letters and Memorials*. [Edited by M. Trench]. 2 vols. Kegan Paul, Trench, 1888.

CTT's 1830 volume eulogised in contemporary correspondence between Kemble, Donne and Trench.

Welby, T. Earle. *Second Impressions*. Methuen, 1933.

CTT is paired with Hartley Coleridge in a brief eulogy.

Yearwood, John Charles. 'A Catalogue of the Tennyson Manuscripts at Trinity College, Cambridge'. Ph.D. thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1977.

Among the manuscripts is that of *Poems by Two Brothers*. Yearwood deduces the handwriting of each poem and attributes the titles to the authors or the publisher where appropriate.

2. Press Notices and Reviews

(i) *Poems by Two Brothers (1827).*

Literary Gazette and Journal of the Belles Lettres, no. 535 (21 April 1827), p.254; no. 536 (28 April 1827), p.270; no. 538 (12 May 1827), p.301.

Advertisements in the first two. In the third the volume appears in the 'List of New Books'.

Literary Chronicle and Weekly Review, (19 May 1827), 308.

Prints 'Stanzas' (by FT?) in full. Critique very short but complimentary.

Gentleman's Magazine 97 (1827), Supplement to Part 1, 609.

A brief, kind review. No mention of individual poems.

(ii) *Sonnets and Fugitive Pieces (1830)*.

Tatler,: no. 149 (24 Feb. 1831) pp.593-594; no. 151 (26 Feb. 1831) pp.601-602; no. 153 (1 Mar. 1831) pp.609-610; no. 155 (3 Mar. 1831) pp.617-618.

Reviewed together with AT's *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical*. By Leigh Hunt. While beginning with equal enthusiasm for both authors, Hunt comes down in favour of AT as being the less conventional and the less disposed to "an assumption of knowing".

(iii) *Sonnets (1864)*

Athenaeum, no. 1917 (23 July 1864) pp.110-111.

Commends their "pious benignity", directness and accuracy of description.

Saturday Review 18 (6 August 1864), 184-185.

Long and more than usually discerning review. Antipathetic to the doctrinal sonnets; sympathetic particularly to those published first in 1830.

Guardian, Supplement to no. 982 (28 Sept. 1864), p.951.

Slight but warm; perceives the influence of Wordsworth.

(iv) *Small Tableaux (1868)*

Athenaeum, no. 2127 (1 August 1868), p.143.

Very brief. Commendatory.

Guardian, Supplement to no. 1194 (21 Oct. 1868), p.1189.

Warmly commendatory.

(v) *Sonnets, Lyrics and Translations (1873)*.

Graphic 8 (5 July 1873), 11.

Brief, kind and particularly disposed towards the sonnets dealing with England and her international standing.

Guardian, Supplement to no. 1443 (30 July 1873), p.1007.

Commendatory but extremely brief.

Athenaeum, no. 2390 (16 Aug. 1873), p.202.

Saturday Review 36 (6 September 1873), 323.

Slight, factually inaccurate, well-disposed to the sonnets and dismissive of the lyrics.

(vi) 'Letty's Globe'.

Academy, no. 240 (9 December 1876), p.565.

A complimentary notice in the 'Notes & News' column of this sonnet which had appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine*.

(vii) *Collected Sonnets Old and New (1880)*

Athenaeum, no. 2768 (13 Nov. 1880), pp.635-636.

Academy, no. 446 (20 Nov. 1880), p.365

Dismisses the lyrics, condemns Spedding's essay, but concedes that the volume is "a very pleasant one".

Graphic 22 (18 December 1880), 638.

Cursory, but noteworthy for its appreciation of the "delicate sarcasm" of 'How the 'Higher Criticism' Blesses the Bible'.

Guardian, Supplement to no. 1830 (29 Dec. 1880), p.1837.

Places the volume "beside, if not absolutely among, the best volumes of English poetry ... produced in the last half-century".

London Quarterly Review 55 (January 1881), 482-484.

Somewhat preoccupied with CTT's long period of silence, but speaks of his verse, "upon which the contemporary voice pronounces a favourable verdict", as likely to be remembered by posterity.

Spectator 54 (29 January 1881), 154-155.

Praises volume for "the simplicity and integrity" apparent in it.

British Quarterly Review 73 (April 1881), 503-504.

Attacks CTT's indifference to traditional sonnet-forms and suggests he is at his best when dealing with commonplace topics.

(viii) *A Hundred Sonnets (1960)*

Times Literary Supplement, (23 Dec. 1960), p.830.

Draws an analogy between certain fragments of CTT's verse and haiku.

(ix) *The Collected Sonnets of Charles (Tennyson) Turner (1988)*

Times Literary Supplement, no. 4470 (2-8 December 1988) p.1334.

Equates CTT's writing with his taking of opium: as a narcotic.

3. Miscellaneous

Cattle, Frederic. 'Some Less-known Tennysoniana'. *Bookworm* 2 (August 1889), 263-264.

Refers to an inscribed copy of Justinian's *Institutes* which once belonged to CTT and commends the works of the latter as collectors' items.

[A note on Spedding's essay in *The Nineteenth Century*] *Academy*, 16 (6 September 1879), 176.

An attack on Spedding's line of argument in his defence of CTT's sonnet form.

E. POEMS AND OTHER IMAGINATIVE WORKS ADDRESSED TO OR RELATING TO CHARLES TENNYSON TURNER

Caswell, Clement James. 'Somersby'. In *Records of Woodhall Spa and Neighbourhood*, p.180. By J.Conway Walter. Horncastle: W. K. Morton, 1899.

A sonnet. Caswell was proprietor of The Bull, Horncastle. Illustrated J. Cuming Walters' *In Tennyson Land*. There is a MS guide to the life and works of AT by him, dated 1894, in TRC.

Collinson, S[amuel]. 'Grasby'. *Autumn Leaves*. Nottingham: William G. Shaw; London: Terry, Stoneman, [1869].

A second edition of this volume of poems was published in 1871. Collinson's sonnets clearly show the influence of CTT.

Gooch, Steve. 'Dark Glory'. Play in two acts for five players. Typescript, [1992].

Covers the years 1827-1850, examining the part played by death in the experience and fortunes of CTT and AT. Held in Modern Playscripts Collection, British Library.

Hallam, Arthur Henry. 'To Charles Turner'; 'Yes, Charles, a chain was forged in perfect gold ... ' In 'Some Unpublished Poems by Arthur Henry Hallam'. Edited

by Sir Charles Tennyson and F. T. Baker. *Victorian Poetry* Supplement to 3 (Summer 1965). Reprinted as *Publications of the Tennyson Society*, no. 3 (September 1970).

The first sonnet was transcribed by Eustace Tennyson Jesse (with his title) into a volume of Hallam's 1830 poems and the second is from Emily Tennyson Jesse's notebook.

_____. 'When gentle fingers cease to touch the string ... ' In *Remains in Verse and Prose of Arthur Henry Hallam*, p.81. Edited by Henry Hallam. Privately published, 1834.

Hope, Charlotte. *The Young Tennyson*. Max Parrish, 1964.

A fanciful depiction, for children, of the early years of the Tennysons. CTT is represented, oddly, as being rather too fond of airing his knowledge. Based contortedly on material drawn from the *Memoir* and Sir Charles Tennyson's biography of AT.

Jesse, Eustace Tennyson d'Eyncourt. 'I. M. Charles Tennyson Turner, Poet, Priest and Saint'. Unpublished sonnet. Autograph MS in 'Annales Tennysoniani', Vol. 2.

Two volumes of scrap-book Tennyson memorabilia compiled by Jesse, now in TRC.

Kemble, John Mitchell. 'To Charles Tennyson'. Unpublished sonnet. Autograph MS in a copy of *Sonnets and Fugitive Pieces*.

The copy is now in the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Centre, University of Texas at Austin.

Lushington, Cecilia. *Margaret the Moonbeam*. Marshall Japp, 1881.

In this instructional tale for children CTT's niece Cecilia (Zilly) recommends his verse. Two sonnets, 'The Moon and Sin, an Illustration' and 'The Harvest Moon', are given in full and there are other fragments.

Lushington, Edmund. 'May 1, 1879'. Unpublished poem. Autograph MS. Loose folio.

Elegy written on the day of CTT's burial. In TRC.

Rawnsley, Hardwicke D. 'The Anniversary of Charles Tennyson Turner's Death, 25th April'; 'In Memoriam Charles Tennyson Turner'. *Sonnets at the English Lakes*. Longmans, Green, 1881.

Both of these sonnets, in a volume dedicated to the memory of CTT, reappeared in the 2nd edition in 1882, the second in a slightly different form. Also the second appeared in yet another form, with the title 'Charles Tennyson Turner, April 25, 1879', in *Valete, Tennyson, and Other Memorial Poems*, 1893.

_____. 'At Mablethorpe; an Episode in the Publication of the *Poems by Two Brothers*'. *Sonnets Round the Coast*. Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey, 1887.

In his note to this sonnet Rawnsley indicates that he obtained the information upon which it is based from CTT. The sonnet reappeared in a slightly different form in *Valete, Tennyson, and Other Memorial Poems* and the note is expanded.

_____. 'Somersby'; 'To a Portrait of the Mother of the Poets, Grasby 1873'. *Valete, Tennyson, and Other Memorial Poems*. Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1893.

Symington, Andrew James. *Poems*. Paisley and London: Alexander Gardner, 1885.

While none of the poems is addressed to CTT, the volume is dedicated to the memory of CTT and Louisa whom Symington describes here as the "valued Friends of many years".

Tennyson, Alfred. 'Frater ave atque vale'. *Tiresias and Other Poems*, Macmillan, 1885.

Alluding to CTT, this poem was written on a visit to Sirmio in 1880.

_____. 'Midnight, June 30, 1879'. *Collected Sonnets Old and New*. Kegan Paul, 1880.

This prefatory poem to CTT's collected verse joined the main body of AT's verse in *Tiresias and Other*

Poems, 1885, where it is called 'Prefatory Poem to My Brother's Sonnets: Midnight, June 30, 1879'.

_____. 'More than my brothers are to me ... ' *In Memoriam* (Section 78). Edward Moxon, 1850.

The first line of this Section is the last line of Section 9 of *In Memoriam*.

Weld, Charles Richard. *Notes on Burgundy*. Longmans, Green, 1869.

The volume is dedicated to CTT. A travel book. Posthumous.

Wilton, Rev. Richard. 'On an Avenue at Grasby Vicarage, Planted by the Rev. Charles Tennyson Turner'; 'In Memory of Charles Tennyson Turner'; 'On Visiting Arran and Lochgoilhead'. *Sungleams: Rondeaux and Sonnets*. 'Home Words' Publishing Office, 1882.

_____. 'On the New Church Spire at Grasby, in Connection with the Poetry of Charles Tennyson Turner'; 'To Mrs Charles Tennyson Turner'. *International Review* (New York) 4 (September 1877).

Both sonnets were republished in *Lyrics; Sylvan and Sacred*, George Bell, 1878. The former was republished again, with the title 'The Church Spire at Grasby, in Connection with the Poetry of my Friend, Charles Tennyson Turner', in *Lyra Pastoralis*, 1902.

_____. 'The Vista'. *Wood-notes and Church-bells*. Bell & Daldy, 1873.

A footnote explains that the vista is that of the Lincolnshire Wolds with special reference to CTT.

F. SELECT SOCIAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

Addison, William. *The English Country Parson*. Dent, 1947.

Berridge, Virginia. 'Fenland Opium Eating in the Nineteenth Century'. *British Journal of Addiction* 72 (1977), 275-284.

The widespread use and common acceptance of opium in parts of Lincolnshire.

Binnall, Peter B. G. *Caistor, Lincolnshire: Some Historical Notes*. Gloucester: British Publishing Co., 1960.

CTT lived there before moving to Grasby, some 3 miles away.

Henthorn, Frank. *A History of 19th Century Brigg*. Stamford: Spiegl Press, 1987.

Useful for information about some of CTT's neighbours and friends.

Hill, Sir Francis. 'Squire and Parson in Early Victorian Lincolnshire'. *History* 58 (October 1973), 337-349.

Agricultural economics on the Wolds and the social pattern.

Martineau, H. D. 'The Open Road'. *Lincolnshire Life* 7 (September 1967), 52-53, 56-57.

Account of a visit to Grasby and the neighbouring villages.

Mingay, G. E. *Rural Life in Victorian England.* Illus. Heinemann, 1977.

The changes and problems of the period. Section on the clergy.

Mingay, G. E., ed. *The Victorian Countryside.* 2 vols. Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.

Essays by various authors. Notably large number of photographs of 19th century Lincolnshire.

Obelkevich, James. *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey 1825-1875.* Oxford: OUP, 1976.

Church, chapel and the attitudes, pagan as well as Christian, of the people.

Olney, Richard J. ed. *Labouring Life on the Lincolnshire Wolds: A Study of Binbrook in the Mid-Nineteenth Century.* Occasional Papers in Lincolnshire History and Archaeology No. 2, 1975.

The social structure of Binbrook, about 10 miles from Grasby.

Olney, Richard J. *Lincolnshire Politics 1832-1885.* Maps. Oxford: OUP, 1973.

The landowners, landholders and the clergy: their politics and influence. The agricultural setting.

_____. *Rural Society and County Government in Nineteenth Century Lincolnshire* (History of Lincolnshire, Volume 10). Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee for the Society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, 1979.

[Pusey, Philip ?] 'A Week in the Wolds of Lincolnshire'. *Fraser's Magazine* 51 (February 1855), 173-181.

Record of a visit made in 1854. A major section on the church.

Rawnsley, Willingham Franklin. *Highways and Byways in Lincolnshire.* Illus. Macmillan, 1914.

A travel book. Substantial sections on Somersby and Grasby.

Robinson, Geoffrey. *Hedingham Harvest: Victorian Family Life in Rural England.* Constable, 1977.

Hedingham a pseudonymous village in North Lincolnshire. Material culled from old relatives' verbal accounts by the author.

Sketch of the History of Louth. Louth: W. Shepherd, 1864.

Records a local incident contemporaneous with CTT's school-days.

Tillot, P. M. and Stevenson, G. S. *North-West Lindsey in 1851.* Maps. Sheffield: University of Sheffield Dept. of Extramural Studies, 1970.

Social and occupational structure of the area, including Brigg, about 4 miles from Grasby.

G. SOURCES OF UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

The Tennyson Research Centre, Lincoln

Letters of CTT, of members of his family and of friends.

CTT's Memorandum Books for 1866 and 1876.

Louisa Turner's Memorandum Books for 1856, 1859-1868, 1870, 1873-1876.

Sermons for Divine Service given by CTT in Grasby Church, 1856-1866.

MS notes in books in CTT's library.

Two working notebooks of poems for *Sonnets*, 1864.

Domestic notes, notes for Sunday School instruction and personal notes of Louisa Turner.

Fragments of a book of accompt, 1842-3.

Inventories, receipts, records of financial loans.

Lincolnshire Archives Office, Lincoln

Letters of CTT in the Bishop Kaye archive.

Letters, wills and domestic notes in the Tennyson and Tennyson D'Eyncourt archives.

Letters in the Dixon archive.

Curates Nominations and Licences.

Grasby Parish records and church records.

Grasby and Caistor enclosures and tenancies.

The British Library

Correspondence between CTT and Alexander Macmillan et al in the Macmillan Archive, 1864-76.

Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge

Letters of Sir John Franklin, Lady Franklin and Sophia Cracroft.

Journals of Lady Franklin.

D.M.S. Watson Library, University College, London

Henry S. King Publications Book, 1873.

Kegan Paul Publications Book, 1880.

Grimsby Central Library

Grasby School Log Book, 1864-1906.

The Goulding Collection, Louth Reference Library

MS notes on local matters.

All Saints Church, Grasby

Parish Registers.

St.Mary's Church, Horncastle

Parish Registers.

Wiltshire County Record Office, Trowbridge

Register of Laverstock House Lunatic Asylum.

Dunedin Public Library, New Zealand

J. M. Kemble archive.

Other Sources

The Public Record Office

Gloucestershire Record Office

Glasgow University Library

The Brotherton Collection (University of Leeds)

The Beinecke Library (Yale University)

The University of Rochester Library

The Lilly Library

The University of Illinois Library

The National Library of Scotland

The University of Edinburgh Medical School

The Welholme Galleries, Grimsby

The Mitchell Library, Glasgow

Nottingham County Library

Cheltenham Library

Portsmouth Records Office

Roger Lushington

Roger Evans