

## Romantic Idealism and Nineteenth-Century Capitalism in Tennyson and Coleridge

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### 1

The relative silence of critics regarding the relation of Tennyson's writing to that of Coleridge is perhaps still more surprising than the near-silence of Tennyson himself on the figure who, of all nineteenth-century authors, exercised the greatest influence on the intellectual milieu of Tennyson's friends and contemporaries.<sup>1)</sup> Until recently, indeed, critics seem to have been deterred from highlighting parallels or - even qualified - analogies between Tennyson and Coleridge, not merely on the grounds that Tennyson, as a Victorian, was responding to substantially different economic, political, and cultural influences, but also because Tennyson's explicit comments on Coleridge are so limited and generally unfavourable. The most substantial comment on Coleridge in Tennyson's published letters, indeed, shows little more than continued irritation at Coleridge's comment, thirty-nine years earlier, that though 'there are some things of a good deal of beauty' in 'young Tennyson's poems', 'The mischief is that he has begun to write verses without understanding what Metre is'.<sup>2)</sup> In a letter to the music critic George Grove of 1872, Tennyson - still seeking to justify himself in response to the critic R.H. Hutton's invocation of Coleridge's comments of 1833 (first published in the posthumous *Table Talk* of 1835) - writes: 'It is true that in the folly of youth I played some tricks with orthography and metre - but Coleridge ought - only old men get shut up in themselves - to have seen that it was from wantonness not from ignorance', adding - in explanation of his continued concern about these comments - 'I say this because my enemies were always quoting Coleridge against me'.<sup>3)</sup> Though scarcely complimentary to Coleridge, the 63-year-old Tennyson's reaction here to a repetition of criticisms published when he was 27 suggests a continuing concern with the authority attached to Coleridge's opinions both in the early and in the later nineteenth century. (The 'old man' who criticized Tennyson, indeed, was

younger than the Tennyson who disparages his aged self-absorption in this letter.) Such an enduring resentment of the authority of a critic who - as John Beer has shown - was the most respected and influential thinker among Tennyson's Cambridge contemporaries<sup>5)</sup> - may go some way towards explaining Tennyson's avoidance of direct expressions of enthusiasm for or indebtedness to Coleridge's writings, and - I will argue - is not incompatible with, but in a sense itself bears witness to the impossibility of writing, in early or mid-19th-century England, except against the background of Coleridgean thought, aesthetics, and language in all their diverse ramifications.

That Tennyson writes against this background has, indeed, been acknowledged by several critics who have sought to define Victorian writers' distinctive questioning of or resistance to Romantic ideas and values. A good example of this form of criticism is Herbert Tucker's statement, in *Tennyson and the Doom of Romanticism*, that 'In the work of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats, with their aspirations to a universality based upon the sole self but devoted to exploring avenues out of solipsistic paralysis', the undergraduate Tennyson 'could read the history of his own writing to date. And he could see that it would not suffice'.<sup>5)</sup> The Romantics thus emerge, in Tucker's analysis, as 'the others he needed to confront', 'speaking [Tennyson's] own language', yet needing themselves to be 'surpassed', just as - in relation to his own earliest writings - they seemed to have 'surpassed him in advance'.<sup>6)</sup> The emphasis here on Tennyson's need to emancipate himself from an influence, authority, or mere antecedence perceived as a form of subjection clearly echoes key aspects of his reaction to Coleridge's criticisms described above. More specifically, Tennyson's method of 'surpassing' his Romantic antecedents is described by Tucker as consisting primarily in the conversion of Romantic faith or evocations of transcendence into evocations of a need, or desire, for such beliefs or ideals, while remaining (at least) substantially agnostic regarding the validity of Wordsworth's or Coleridge's claims to some form of mystical insight.<sup>7)</sup> Such a reading has the virtue of acknowledging not only that Tennyson wrote in relation to the continuing prestige of Romantic writings, but also his partial incorporation of Romantic themes into his own, and is borne out by - among other factors - the ambivalence towards Romantic

optimism implicit in the way in which Tennyson's dramatic monologues portray their narrators' pursuit of 'higher' ideals than material ones as a response to disillusionment or the negation of an earlier optimism. Julian Wolfreys' reading of Tennyson's relation to Romantic faith similarly stresses how '*In Memoriam*'s faith is made manifest through indirection...rather than through conventional or canonical...modes of representation predicated on the promise of presence or the locatability of some logocentric origin which will either return or to which we will return'.<sup>8)</sup> Yet while emphasizing Tennyson's self-reflexive focus on the representation of faith rather than its more direct expression, Wolfreys nevertheless argues that Coleridge's emphasis, in *On the Consitution of the Church and State*, on the 'cultivation' of 'the nobler characters of our nature' anticipates and finds its echo in Tennyson's assessment of the progress of humankind, which moves 'from more to more',<sup>9)</sup> expressing through this and analogous phrases ('from world to world', 'from high to higher', 'from state to state', 'from form to form') a 'transformative trope' which figures 'faith's faith in that which is simultaneously unrepresentable, unprogrammable and yet which is immanent in all forms, all phenomena'.<sup>10)</sup> Again, therefore, Wolfreys like Tucker describes Tennyson's relation to Coleridgean (or Wordsworthian) faith as consisting in the establishment of a certain distance or detachment, expressed either through the conversion of the literal into the figurative (as if in evocation of a verbal or conceptual aspiration which cannot be wholeheartedly transformed into conviction) or through a partially-detached emphasis on the psychology rather than the fact of religious or metaphysical belief. Both of these readings, indeed, are anticipated by that of Joanna E. Rapf, who - while noting that both *In Memoriam* and 'Tintern Abbey' are 'prime examples of what M.H. Abrams calls "the greater romantic [*sic*] lyric," where, in the course of meditation, the speaker comes to terms with a tragic loss, and emerges with heightened understanding', additionally argues that Tennyson's poetic voice is distinctive in that it 'never ceased to be punctuated with the strong strain of the conditional', so that the contrast between Wordsworth and Tennyson 'is between transcendence and endurance, between apotheosis and survival'.<sup>11)</sup>

This - valid - emphasis on a certain ambivalence in Tennyson's treatment of Romantic ideas, however - and especially Tucker's reference to his psychological interest in faith as fulfilling certain needs or desires - involves the important paradox that the recurrent pattern in Tennyson whereby diverse forms of personal loss seem indirectly to cause the optimism (sometimes, indeed, the mania) by which they are (at least temporarily) replaced is not only one which animates much Romantic writing from Blake to Keats and beyond, but also one which these poets themselves focus on as a key psychological process underlying and within their own writing.<sup>12)</sup> The ambivalence, that is, seems already to be present in Wordsworth's description, in the 'Intimations' ode, of his search for 'strength in what remains behind', and especially in the consolations of a philosophic 'faith', once the splendours of his youthful vision have faded 'into the light of common day', and - still more pertinently, perhaps - in Coleridge's description of his search for 'a refuge from bodily pain and mismanaged sensibility in abstruse researches, which exercised the strength and subtlety of the imagination without awakening the feelings of the heart'.<sup>13)</sup> As Tucker himself notes, indeed, Tennyson himself 'finds strength in what remains behind', once the first flourishing of Romantic-Neoplatonic 'faith' has started to disperse; though his further comment that Tennyson finds this consolation 'in what Wordsworth's language may prove to say once a portion of Wordsworth's meaning is deducted' seems not to imply a much greater degree of detachment than that involved in a more emphatic and consistent focus on the psychological value of Wordsworthian or Coleridgean conviction. As I will show, indeed, Tennyson's emphasis on the contrasting evils of contemporary urban life has extensive parallels in Coleridge's writing, in particular, so that the distinction between them lies primarily in the degree to which the consoling faith in higher truths is portrayed as a personal one, or as revealing a universal truth which, if more effectively disseminated and promoted among the wider population, has the potential to transform society.<sup>14)</sup> Rapf, indeed, argues that while 'Wordsworth seems to have stumbled into comfortable belief, Coleridge and Tennyson remain tormented by doubt', and that 'Coleridge, in his most honest works, had too penetrating a mind to deceive himself into faith, and in this he is closer to Tennyson than Wordsworth, who was always seeking "resolutions"'.<sup>15)</sup> Despite

this greater proximity between Tennyson and Coleridge in terms of their self-reflexive focus on the psychology of transcendence, however, Tennysonian optimism - I will argue - is nevertheless more often tainted with the suspicion of delusion - and most emphatically so, of course, in 'Maud', where the narrator's faith in the 'ideal' of a just war against Russia seems to parody the compensatory forms of optimism evoked by the Romantics.<sup>16)</sup>

That others of Tennyson's writings more directly echo and absorb Coleridgean ideas and language, however, is noted not only by Rapf, who points out several verbal and conceptual parallels between Tennyson's 'The Two Voices' and Coleridge's 'Rime of the Ancient Mariner' and 'Dejection', but also by Beer, who - among other analogous images - suggest a resemblance between Tennyson's description of how, when re-reading some of Hallam's letters, 'His living soul was flashed on mine, // And mine in his was wound, and whirled / About empyreal heights of thought', and the celebration of the unity of Coleridge's wife, Sara, with the living universe which concludes 'Dejection: An Ode': 'To her may all things live, from pole to pole, / Their life the eddying of her living soul'.<sup>17)</sup> Beer's statement that 'The movement of *In Memoriam* as a whole is that of a great eddying stream' of recurrent but impermanent 'visionary experience',<sup>18)</sup> indeed, suggests a deeper resemblance than this and other verbal echoes noted later in this essay - a pattern, indeed, of resurgent hope and disillusionment analogous to that which structures 'Dejection' itself. No less importantly, perhaps, Beer's demonstration of the extent to which the Cambridge Apostles, at the time when Tennyson and Hallam joined the society in 1829, were imbued with the Coleridgean ideas fostered by, among others, the founding (and explicitly Coleridgean) members F.D. Maurice and John Sterling, highlights the impossibility of Tennyson's not being profoundly familiar with Coleridge's thoughts and aesthetics, as well as the inappropriateness of seeking to draw an imaginary line between the overlapping eras of Coleridge and Tennyson.<sup>19)</sup> The additional evidence which Beer presents as to A.H. Hallam's more overt enthusiasm for Coleridgean thought, moreover, should leave us in little doubt as to the particular prominence of Coleridge in the literary and intellectual milieu within and against which Tennyson was writing, especially in the early to middle parts of his career.<sup>20)</sup> As I will show, indeed, the theoretical

and creative resemblances between the two authors are paralleled by evident social and economic ones, since the economic system described by Coleridge in 1828 was not far removed from that evoked in 1837 by Tennyson in 'Locksley Hall'. The explorations in the remainder of this essay, therefore, will - I hope - help further to clarify the often-obscured relation between Tennyson and Coleridge, not primarily in the sense of direct influence or imitation, but in the deeper sense of an intellectual, aesthetic, and cultural continuity adjusting to shifting social and economic circumstances, as well as to the increasing doubt as to Romantic forms of faith which, as Beer points out, resulted from 'the blows of Darwinism in its various forms'.<sup>21)</sup>

## 2

That Tennyson owes much to Coleridge's distinctive blend of Christianity with Neoplatonism, and echoes his expressions of distaste for a society excessively preoccupied with material status or appearances as opposed to spiritual progress or development, is - I will suggest - immediately apparent from a comparison of their writings. Though Tennyson's enthusiasm for scientific and industrial development as an expression and accompaniment of mankind's spiritual and intellectual advance is far more prominent and explicit than Coleridge's, indeed, a similar tendency to subsume scientific discovery under the advances of the human mind or spirit, as among what Tennyson calls the 'stepping-stones' to an ultimately religious illumination, is fundamental to the Neoplatonic fascination with stages in the progression of being which similarly underlies Coleridge's persistently hierarchical vision.<sup>22)</sup> One of the key differences between the two poets' reaction to the age of industrial development which both experienced, however, lies - I would suggest - in the distinction between 'science' and 'technology', or between an exploratory attempt to understand the appearances of nature, and the application of the knowledge it gives rise to for practical or economic purposes. To the extent that the products of science cease to be 'stepping-stones' for the further progression of intellect, becoming the means to some ulterior end which itself absorbs our attention, that is, Coleridge persistently opposes it, and nowhere more emphatically than in *On the Constitution*

*of the Church and State*. 'We live', he writes, '...under the dynasty of the understanding: and this is its golden age....It is the faculty of means to medial ends' - that is (as he explains in a slightly earlier passage), of means 'to such purposes or ends as are themselves but means to some ulterior end' (*C&S*, 59). What this 'ulterior end' is, Coleridge scarcely needs to make explicit, though the assemblage of biblical quotations which concludes this passage ultimately does so.<sup>23)</sup> The 'crowned isle, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers the honourable of the earth; - who stretcheth out her hand over the sea, - and she is the mart of nations!' (*C&S*, 60), that is, differs from the 'Mammonite' England of Tennyson's 'Maud' mainly in that Coleridge's attack on the evils of unrestrained capitalism is more moderate and reserved than Tennyson's, depicting the transformation (and implicitly the degradation) of Britain into little more than a marketplace as part of the broader tendency of his contemporaries to focus excessively on external or material factors. Tennyson's critique of 19<sup>th</sup>-century capitalism, on the other hand, focuses primarily on the evils of exploitative greed, though his emphasis on its inhumanity has important features in common with Coleridge's criticism of Malthusian theories and (by implication) of the broader political economy of which they formed a part. 'In every direction', Coleridge writes, the 'means to medial ends' advance,

...conquering, and to conquer. Sea, and land, rock, mountain, lake and moor,  
yea nature and all her elements, sink before them, or yield themselves captive!  
But the ultimate ends? Where shall I seek for information concerning these?  
By what name shall I seek for the historiographer of reason? Where shall I  
find the annals of her recent campaigns? the records of her conquests? In the  
facts disclosed by the Mendicity society? In the reports on the increase of  
crimes, commitments? In the proceedings of the Police? Or in the  
accumulating volumes on the horrors and perils of population? (*C&S*, 59-60)

Coleridge's view that the most important facts about humanity have nothing to do with those assembled by the police or other authorities, and his additional implication that Malthusians, and political economists in general, represent an extreme and dehumanizing form of materialism, I would argue, anticipate in several ways the 'Maud'-narrator's description of the

'curse' which modern Britain has made of 'the blessings of Peace' - the same 'Peace', indeed, as that which preceded Coleridge's criticisms of Britain's materialist culture in 1828.<sup>24)</sup> A similar irony to that of Coleridge's discussion, indeed, informs the 'Maud'-narrator's description of the so-called 'days of advance, the works of the men of mind,/When who but a fool would have faith in a tradesman's ware or his word?'<sup>25)</sup> As we shall see, the 'underhand' 'Civil War' of Victorian society evoked in Tennyson's poem has closer analogies in some of Coleridge's early writings; yet 'the facts disclosed by the Mendicity Society' are, Coleridge implies, not just facts about begging, but in an important sense mendacious as well - depicting humanity not as the potentially transcendent being which Tennyson evokes most vividly in *In Memoriam*, but rather as primarily an economic creature, advancing in proportion to its industrial development and the effectiveness of its marketing, rather than in any more spiritual sense. The transformation of 'merchants' into 'princes', and of 'traffickers' into 'the honourable of the earth', moreover, stresses what Coleridge depicts as the degradation of early 19<sup>th</sup>-century Britain still more effectively, albeit resisting the severity of his earlier critique of British society in 'Religious Musings', where those 'who meekly catch/The morsel tossed by law-forc'd charity/...die so slowly, that none call it murder'.<sup>26)</sup>

The analogies between Tennyson's and Coleridge's views on contemporary society are further highlighted by a slightly earlier passage in *Church and State*, describing 'a volume newly read by me, containing a well-written history of the Inventions, Discoveries, Public Improvements, Docks, Railways, Canals, &c. for about the same period, in England and Scotland', and going on to suggest that the so-called 'golden age' of such achievements involves a proportionate degradation of the human spirit.<sup>27)</sup> Though less explicit in its attack on industrial development, Tennyson's 'Maud' in many ways echoes this view, attacking the greed, dishonesty, and exploitation of early-Victorian England - an age in which (as Tennyson's narrator puts it) 'only the ledger lives, and...only not all men lie' ('Maud', I, 34, *TPW*, 1042) - and mocking the so-called 'men of mind' - that is, the industrialists who (as in Coleridge) are clearly implied to be of somewhat lesser mind than they suppose.<sup>28)</sup> Coleridge's reference to a catalogue of new 'docks, railways, canals, and the like', moreover, interestingly

recalls the origin of the wealth of Tennyson's grandfather and uncle - the models, it seems, for the 'old man, now lord of the broad estate and the Hall', and the 'millionaire' who cheats the 'Maud'-narrator of his bride.<sup>29)</sup> Tennyson's grandfather, that is, played a central role in the development of docks at Grimsby, while his younger son and heir typified the aspiration of 'merchants' to transform themselves into 'princes' which Coleridge ridicules in *Church and State*.<sup>30)</sup>

Despite these important textual and historical parallels between the two authors, however, Tennyson is perhaps better-known for his celebrations of the 'golden age' of understanding which Coleridge criticizes in much of his writing.<sup>31)</sup> In 'Locksley Hall' - a poem written just nine years after *Church and State* - for example, Tennyson repeatedly celebrates the 'wondrous Mother-age' of technological development, all-but-explicitly making railways a central metaphor of the progressiveness which Victorian England offers to an otherwise-benighted world.<sup>32)</sup> The narrator's initial doubts as to the pleasure to be derived from 'the march of mind', and specifically from 'the steamship' and 'the railway', that is, are soon transformed into a desire that 'the great world' should 'spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change'.<sup>33)</sup> Science and technology in 'Locksley Hall', indeed, are undoubtedly means to the progress not merely of the Victorian economy, but also of the human spirit, purifying the narrator of his self-indulgent sloth, and teaching him that whatever the appeal of 'Summer isles of Eden...in dark purple spheres of sea', the 'gray barbarian' is invariably 'lower' than the 'heir of all the ages' wrought by Christianity and European technology.<sup>34)</sup> Such an identification of industrial development with the spiritual gifts which enlightened Europe has to offer to benighted regions of the globe implies an almost hyperbolic confidence in the self-righteous values of the mercantile society which Coleridge and the later Tennyson (or at least the 'Maud'-narrator) so vigorously deprecate. As noted earlier, however, 'Locksley Hall' is also vigorous (if scarcely so hard-hitting as 'Maud') in its attacks on a society in which 'Every door is barr'd with gold, and opens but to golden keys', and where - moreover - 'all the markets overflow'.<sup>35)</sup> The contradiction, of course, is at least 'partly explained by the transformations of vision which Tennyson's narrators repeatedly undergo, and which exemplify a consistent

model of recovery from grief or loss (including the financial and social disappointments which dominated Tennyson's early life)<sup>36)</sup> into a mood of optimism in which economic, technological, and colonial 'progress' almost act as substitutes for the Neoplatonic ascent of spirit which still predominates in Coleridge's latest writings. Or as 'Locksley Hall' puts it immediately following its celebration of European science and technology:

O, I see the crescent promise of my spirit hath not set.

Ancient founts of inspiration well through all my fancy yet.<sup>37)</sup>

'Fancy', indeed, seems the operative term here, since the world of fancy or understanding (in Coleridge's terms) is precisely that which Tennyson's narrator paradoxically envisages as fulfilling the promise of his 'crescent' spirit.<sup>38)</sup> What Coleridge so vigorously deprecates as the products of the mere mechanical 'understanding', that is, Tennyson's narrator eventually celebrates as manifestations of an advance which is no less evident in the transmission of European culture to the unenlightened colonies. The 'sublime' horizons of the opening of 'Locksley Hall', indeed, are quite rapidly transformed into 'heavens fill[ed] with commerce' which the narrator envisages as leading to an idealized universal government ending all wars.<sup>39)</sup> This vision of trade and industry as the tools of mankind's spiritual advance, moreover, is explicitly associated with a description of the 'wondrous Mother-age' of nineteenth-century England as infinitely greater than the cultures it 'progressively' displaces; or as Tennyson unashamedly puts it: 'Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay'.<sup>40)</sup> That the misfortunes and resentments of Tennyson's narrators and protagonists should so obviously reflect those of his own family, moreover, implies a quest for the restitution of his personal fortunes which to some extent undermines his more generalized attacks on the greed and ostentation of Victorian capitalism. The form of his dramatic monologues, of course, creates a degree of distance between the viewpoints or identities of author and narrator which is impossible in the confessional or 'effusive' mode of most of Coleridge's writing - a distance which is increased by the varying degrees of insanity or derangement his narrators are depicted as suffering. Yet in both 'Maud' and 'Locksley Hall', Tennyson's visions of the transcendence

of self-interest are ambiguously combined with an emphasis on technological, economic, and colonial progress which seems potentially to contradict these values.

*In Memoriam*, of course, elides the more negative aspects of that 'progress' which Tennyson depicts as both material and spiritual, offering his readers a reassurance which the overwrought melodrama of *Maud* questions in the deliberately tentative mode of a partially-discredited first-person narrator. The first stanzas of *In Memoriam* following the Prologue, however, again reveal the densely paradoxical nature of much of Tennyson's writing. The Romantic-idealist notion - which Tennyson attributes indirectly to Goethe - that 'men may rise on stepping-stones/Of their dead selves to higher things' is immediately followed by a reflection on the gains ultimately to be derived from 'loss' or misfortune, which - as Joseph points out - not only seems indirectly to refer to the misfortunes of Tennyson's own family, but also uses a surprising economic metaphor to evoke the productive benefits of practical or emotional misfortune.<sup>41</sup> 'But who shall so forecast the years', he writes,

And find in loss a gain to match?

Or reach a hand through time to catch

The far-off interest of tears?

(*In Memoriam*, I, 5-8, *TPW*, 864)

That Tennyson should use the concept of 'interest' on what - presumably - is the 'capital' of earlier disappointment to evoke the creativity or insight he envisages as ultimately arising from it is one of the more notable instances of the merging of spiritual and material in his writing. Tennyson, indeed, seems still more demanding than those of his Romantic precursors who evoke a philosophical consolation for loss or disappointment, not only seeking the return of his emotional 'capital', but a greater benefit than could have been achieved without its original loss. As we shall see, however, Tennyson's suggestion that early misfortune might lead to greater achievements than could otherwise have occurred has a notable parallel in the early Coleridge's suggestion that the very abuses suffered by the 'numberless' victims of greed and exploitation described in 'Religious Musings' have 'goad[ed] human thought' 'To ceaseless action', not only facilitating humanity's conquest of nature, but ultimately leading, through

'heavenly Science' to 'Freedom'.<sup>42)</sup> In 'Religious Musings', this process of enlightenment and liberation is explicitly egalitarian in its effects, not only removing the 'unseemly disproportion' of wealth, but also bringing an apocalyptic 'Retribution' for 'Th'innumerable multitude of Wrongs/By man on man inflicted'.<sup>43)</sup> Nevertheless, I will argue, this model of an eventual triumph which not only reverses but also results from earlier injustice or defeat bears close resemblances to many of Tennyson's evocations of a transition from personal 'loss' to a 'gain' which is often envisaged as more universal. As we shall see, Tennyson's version of this idea is particularly problematic because of the explicitness with which personal and material forms of 'gain' are identified with universal and spiritual ones, thus converting the Neoplatonic vision of a more generalised progression which he shares with Coleridge and the eighteenth-century optimists into a far more ambiguous achievement. Whereas, in Coleridge, the spiritual 'gains' are implied to depend on a certain renunciation of worldly and even of selfish concerns, that is, in Tennyson self-interest and the general advance not only of faith, but also of industry and commerce, often seem largely indistinguishable.

Such paradoxes are especially prominent in the celebration of the marriage of Tennyson's sister, Cecilia, which concludes *In Memoriam*, and which completes the poem's evocation of a recovery from the griefs of the past and an idealized progression towards unity with the divine. Tennyson's appeal to his 'genial spirits' to 'advance and greet a whiter sun' seems somewhat exaggeratedly to invert the failure of the imagination in Coleridge's 'Dejection', additionally replacing the lurid shades of the stormy sky in Coleridge's poem with a whiteness evoking the purity of those reborn from death and loss into what becomes an almost cosmic voyage towards the deity.<sup>44)</sup> Such optimism, indeed, seems scarcely more convincing than the description, several stanzas after this passage, of the moonlight touching 'With tender gloom the roofs and walls' until, with the 'splendour' of dawn, the 'soul' of his sister's imagined child 'draw[s] from out the vast' of the solar system.<sup>45)</sup> The problem with both of these passages, I would suggest, is the excessive literalism of Tennyson's Neoplatonic vision, or in other words the increasingly uncomfortable conjunction of metaphysical imagery with a physical and social reality which repeatedly refuses to endorse it. In the 20 lines

following this event, the newly-created being, purified from the evils of the past which gave him birth, first 'strike[s] his being into bounds' - a phrase whose emphasis on a temporary finitude contrasted with his spiritual essence recalls the 'prison-house' of earthly existence in Wordsworth's 'Intimations' ode<sup>46)</sup> - and then, in an accelerated evolutionary process, develops into 'a closer link between us and the crowning race/Of those that, eye to eye, shall look/On knowledge; under whose command/Is Earth and Earth's, and in their hand/Is Nature like an open book;/No longer half-akin to brute'.<sup>47)</sup> Clearly, this vision of a coming master-race almost divinely empowered by scientific knowledge seeks hyperbolically to combine the virtues of enlightenment (in the 18<sup>th</sup>-century sense) with those of the spiritual advance which most of the poem develops. This distinctive combination of values is additionally emphasized by Tennyson's description, in the last stanza of the poem, of Hallam - the 'noble type' of his anticipated nephew - as living in 'That God, which ever lives and loves, /One God, one law, one element,/And one far off divine event,/To which the whole creation moves.'<sup>48)</sup> This 'divine event', it seems, is the ultimate unity with God to which he - like Coleridge - envisages humanity as progressing; and in describing this God as 'one element' Tennyson additionally hints at the idea of God's universal presence in nature - an element of pantheism which seems not incongruous with the vision of his nephew as emanating from the heavens to which he ultimately returns. This cosmic journey, indeed, also has much in common with those of Akenside which anticipate so many Romantic images.<sup>49)</sup> But what remains distinctive, if not eccentric, is Tennyson's connection of this spiritual journey with a scientific advance which is not - as in Coleridge - merely a stage in the path to further enlightenment, but rather the means to a practical power over nature which seems to elevate him - like the colonial master-race in 'Locksley Hall' - to an almost divine status. Again, that is, the celebration of technology, industry, and the conquest not only of nature but also of other human beings, is very oddly combined with images of purity, transcendence, and the ascent of mind or spirit towards unity with its origin. Failure to distinguish the worldly interests of individuals and nations from those of universal 'spirit', I would suggest, underlies the extraordinary contradictoriness or conflation of opposites which characterizes Tennyson's Victorianized Romanticism.

As noted earlier, however, Tennyson's attempt to identify his personal interests with those of humanity in general, and at the same time to merge spiritual with material benefits, is implicitly questioned by his emphasis, in 'Maud' and in the earlier part of 'Locksley Hall', on the evils of the free-market society fostered by political economy, which the narrators of these poems blame for personal and family disasters which bear obvious resemblances to those of Tennyson's early life.<sup>50)</sup> Though these narrators - and especially that of 'Maud' - may be 'unreliable' in the sense that these disasters have disturbed their reason, moreover, the portrayal of modern society as having precisely this effect on certain of its members - including those in similar social circumstances to the young Tennyson - itself implies a vigorous critique of the social and economic system which, at the end of 'Locksley Hall', Tennyson describes as participating in the upward progression of the human spirit. As we have seen, in the latter poem, Tennyson implicitly rationalizes this contradiction by portraying his narrator as progressing from embittered doubt as to the merits of the society he perceives as having stolen his bride, to an eventual faith in the merits of European civilisation and its gradual enlightenment of benighted nations. Faith in the transcendent power of technology and colonialism is thus portrayed as overcoming or replacing youthful suspicions of the system in which (as the same narrator earlier puts it) 'every door is barr'd with gold, and opens but to golden keys' ('Locksley Hall', l. 100, *TPW*, 694). The narrator's progression to a form of optimism which in a sense inverts that of Hartley, finding material fulfilments for spiritual promises rather than vice versa, indeed, seems to parallel that of Tennyson's self-portrait in *In Memoriam*, moving from loss to a gain (whether spiritual or otherwise) which is increased by earlier disappointment.<sup>51)</sup> Hence the questioning of social evils is ultimately subsumed into the celebration of a personal and national success which, Tennyson implies, it is our duty to pursue with vigour and optimism.

The more emphatic doubts expressed in 'Maud', however, are not quite so easily resolved. Admittedly, the narrator's bitterest criticisms of 19<sup>th</sup>-century capitalism immediately follow the description of his father's apparent suicide and of what he depicts as the theft of the family's estate by enemies resembling Tennyson's grandfather and uncle, in a way that echoes

the combination of political dissatisfaction with personal disappointment in the earlier part of 'Locksley Hall'. The intensest and most memorable passages of *Maud*, moreover, are precisely those in which the evils of the free market are most severely indicted; and the poem offers surprisingly little ground for believing that the triumph of British technology and capital is the modern form of spiritual transcendence. 'Why do they prate of the blessings of Peace', the narrator asks:

...we have made them a curse,  
 Pickpockets, each hand lusting for all that is not its own;  
 And lust of gain, in the spirit of Cain, is it better or worse  
 Than the heart of the citizen hissing in war on his own hearthstone?...

Is it peace or war? Civil war, as I think, and that of a kind  
 The viler, as underhand, not openly bearing the sword.

(*Maud*, I, ll. 21-8 (TPW, 1041-2))

These lines, in combination with the more detailed evocations of the degradation of the poor by Victorian capitalism which immediately follow, and with the vigorous criticisms of the ostentatious enemy's theft of the narrator's inheritance following the failure of his father's 'vast speculation',<sup>52)</sup> create so memorable an image of a society gone disastrously wrong as seemingly to undermine the simplistic and contradictory forms of optimism I have examined in Tennyson's earlier poems. The passage of 'Maud' quoted above, indeed, is perhaps the closest thing in Tennyson's writing to Coleridge's vigorous indictment of contemporary society in 'Religious Musings', where 'Property' is described as giving rise to 'dagged Envy, spirit-quickening Want', and 'all the sore ills/That vex and desolate our mortal life' ('Religious Musings', ll. 204-16, CPW, 1:116-7) - a situation which Coleridge, like Tennyson, illustrates with a series of vignettes of poverty, desolation, and violence.<sup>53)</sup> Yet whereas Coleridge envisages the removal of these evils either by a simultaneous scientific, spiritual, and democratic revolution, or by the second coming of Christ,<sup>54)</sup> Tennyson in 'Maud' offers no more inspiring solution than a (possibly) recovering lunatic's vision of the unification of the

British by a supposedly 'just' war against Russia which redirects their competitiveness and aggression from the pursuit of individual wealth to the overthrow of 'an iron tyranny'.<sup>55)</sup>

As noted earlier, however, it remains uncertain whether this 'dream' (as Tennyson's narrator calls it) of a purifying war is supposed to represent an accurate or deluded vision of the Crimean war itself. More importantly, the narrator's emphasis on the pursuit of political ideals (albeit through the ambiguous vehicle of military force) as an alternative to economic or commercial aims appears to leave no room for incorporating the progress of either domestic or colonial trade and industry among the aims which either the poem or the narrator envisages. His 'dream', indeed, is explicitly that Britain's 'one sole God' should no longer be 'the millionaire', and that 'commerce' shall 'No more...be all in all' - an ideal which, moreover, he connects with the wish that 'Peace' shall no longer 'Pipe on her pastoral hillock a languid note,/And watch her harvest ripen, her herd increase' (*Maud*, VI, ll. 18-24, *TPW*, 1091), thus rejecting not only the aims of contemporary industry, but also those of the landed gentry to which Tennyson's industrializing grandfather and ostentatious uncle aspired to belong.<sup>56)</sup> According to Bristow, these lines imply a wish to displace the new commercial middle class by 'resurrect[ing]...an era when, implicitly, serfs are once again enfeoffed to their paternalistic landed masters'.<sup>57)</sup> Such an interpretation, however, not only ignores the syntax of Tennyson's sentence ('No more shall commerce be all in all, and Peace/Pipe on her hillock a languid note...'), in which 'No more' clearly qualifies both 'commerce' and the 'Peace' associated with a (somewhat ironically-depicted) pastoral idyll, but also fails to register the fact that the narrator's celebration of war as a 'noble' alternative to the 'civil war' of contemporary commerce specifically rejects 'the peace that I deemed no peace', emphasizing that the latter 'is over and done'.<sup>58)</sup> Despite what seems its evident misreading, however, Bristow's comment echoes others' interpretation of the enthusiasm of Tennyson's narrator for the Crimean war as reflecting a widespread wish to 'purge society "of the spirit of selfish calculation repeatedly associated, in these months, with the [commercial] middle class"', and to demonstrate that 'aristocratic spirit and aristocratic leadership could guide a nation and an army to victory'.<sup>59)</sup> The echoes of medieval chivalric ideals in some elements of the poem (as also of 'The Charge

of the Light Brigade', which concludes *Maud, and Other Poems* [1855]), as well as the fact that the Crimean war was precipitated by the quasi-crusading aim of establishing control over the holy sites in Jerusalem,<sup>60)</sup> provide significant grounds for associating Tennyson with the aristocratic faction in debate over the war, whose 'mythology of heroic leadership' was soon replaced by the 'mythology of business efficiency' purveyed by leaders of the middle class 'reform' faction.<sup>61)</sup> As Vanden Bossche points out, however, the widespread hope that 'Fighting for others...would rid the nation of the selfishness of laissez-faire individualism', turning the British towards 'higher aims', was also associated with the hope for a 'millennial regeneration of England': the 'giant liar' in whom Tennyson represents Tsar Nicholas I, indeed, is described by Shaw as resembling 'some apocalyptic beast', appropriately associated with 'millennial upheaval'.<sup>62)</sup> In addition, it is perhaps worth noting, with Vanden Bossche, that 'Even Marx was among the momentary supporters of a war [the Crimean war] many hoped would lead to the liberation' of Poland, Hungary, and Italy from Russian domination.<sup>63)</sup>

Hence an interesting nexus of visions and ideals emerges in favour of a war variously envisaged as pursuing liberty for oppressed peoples, the defeat of laissez-faire economics, and the recovery of the holy sites in Palestine, and described by Tennyson's narrator as potentially bringing about a millennial transformation of England. Despite the realistic historical context of Tennyson's poem, therefore, this ideal of a war 'in defence of the right' which replaces - indeed defeats - materialistic aims with those of liberating the oppressed seems to have important elements in common with the apocalyptic vision which Coleridge presents towards the end of 'Religious Musings', in which 'The innumerable multitude of wrongs/By man on man inflicted' will be brought to an end, as the 'Giant Frenzy' of revolution makes way for the return of 'pure Faith' and 'meek Piety'.<sup>64)</sup> Coleridge's ambivalence towards the violent overthrow of tyranny, indeed, is paralleled by Tennyson's narrator's ambiguous vision of the Crimean War as not only involving a violent confusion in which 'many shall weep/For those that are crushed in the clash of jarring claims' (*Maud*, VI, 43-4 [*TPW*, 1092]), but also freeing both the British and their enemies from diverse forms of oppression, including both tyrannical government and what Coleridge often calls the 'atheistic' vice of materialistic idolatry.<sup>65)</sup>

Where the two poems differ more profoundly, however, is in the 'Maud'-narrator's vision of war - or more specifically, of war's (presumably temporary) suspension of the division or conflict within British society - as itself the objective, rather than as leading to any enduring transformation such as that evoked by Coleridge, in which revolution makes way for the opening of the 'gates of Paradise' and the establishment of 'the vast family of Love'.<sup>66</sup> The difference, indeed, is not just between a millenarian vision and an historically-realist one, but also between the eighteenth-century optimism of Coleridge's poem and what, despite its apparent celebration of the narrator's recovery from madness into higher ideals, ultimately remains the pessimism of Tennyson's vision, in which the unification of the British by warlike aims is described as the best or only alternative to a society absorbed in commercial 'Civil War'. Whereas 'Locksley Hall' and *In Memoriam* both echo the optimism of 'Religious Musings', yet also seek to identify its values with the progress of industrialization, colonialism and commerce, that is, Tennyson in *Maud* seems largely to have given up his ineffectual struggle either to find spiritual enlightenment and liberation in the progress of Victorian capitalism, or to envisage any enduring improvement of society. Where he is closest to Coleridge, however, is not in his depiction of the evils of contemporary Britain, but rather in his earlier vision of a progression from loss to a form of gain which involves the unification of self-interest with the universal good. As noted earlier, in Tennyson, this 'good' is often fraught with contradictions which his writing strives unsuccessfully to resolve - a fact which seems to arise from his misguided attempt to identify Coleridgean values with those of Victorian commerce. This problem, however, cannot obscure the similarity of Tennyson's earlier visions of inner enlightenment and liberation (particularly in 'Locksley Hall' and *In Memoriam*) to that which Coleridge presents in 'Religious Musings', when he describes how 'all the sore ills/That vex and desolate our mortal life' will become

...th'immediate source

Of mightier good. Their keen necessities  
 To ceaseless action goading human thought  
 Have made earth's reasoning animal her Lord;

And the pale-featured Sage's trembling hand  
 Strong as an host of armèd Deities!  
 From Avarice thus, from Luxury and War  
 Sprang heavenly Science; and from Science Freedom.  
 O'er waken'd realms Philosophers and Bards  
 Spread in concentric circles: they whose souls,  
 Conscious of their high dignities from God,  
 Brook not Wealth's rivalry! And they, who long  
 Enamoured with the charms of order, hate  
 The unseemly disproportion....

(‘Religious Musings’, ll. 215-31, *CPW*, 117)

Tennyson's hatred of the ‘disproportion’ not just of society in general but - as the scenario of *Maud* demonstrates especially clearly - also of the wealth of his relatives, the Tennyson d'Eyncourts, seems to be reflected in his repeated evocation of narrators who ultimately escape from the bitterness of loss or exclusion into ‘higher’ ideals of one kind or another, whether these involve the celebration of an economic and industrial system which initially caused the narrator's dispossession, or the vision of humanity's development into a master-race moving ever-closer to God, or - in the radically-ambivalent case of *Maud* - the vision of war in pursuit of liberty as unifying an otherwise helplessly-corrupted nation.

#### Notes.

- 1) On this point see especially John Beer, *Romantic Consciousness: Blake to Mary Shelley* (London: Palgrave, 2003), 107-22.
- 2) S.T. Coleridge, *Table Talk*, ed. Carl Woodring, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton UP, 1990), 1: 367-8. Coleridge was commenting on Tennyson's recently-published *Poems* (London, 1833).
- 3) *The Letters of Alfred Lord Tennyson*, ed. Cecil Y. Lang and Edgar F. Shannon, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982-1990), 3: 44-5.
- 4) Beer, indeed, particularly highlights A.H. Hallam's fascination with Coleridgean thought, as well as that of other Cambridge Apostles and near-contemporaries of Tennyson such as F.D. Maurice and John Sterling. See especially Beer, *Romantic Consciousness*, 111-22.
- 5) Herbert Tucker, *Tennyson and the Doom of Romanticism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1988), 51.
- 6) *Ibid.*
- 7) See especially Tucker, *Tennyson and the Doom of Romanticism*, 403-4.
- 8) Julian Wolfreys, ‘The Matter of Faith: Incarnation and Incorporation in Tennyson's *In Memoriam*’, in John Schad (ed.), *Writing the Bodies of Christ: The Church from Carlyle to Derrida* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 60.
- 9) *Ibid.*, 63, quoting S.T. Coleridge, *On the Constitution of the Church and State*, ed. John Colmer

- (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1976), 44 (hereafter *C&S*), and *In Memoriam*, CXVIII: 17, *The Poems of Tennyson*, ed. Christopher Ricks (London: Longmans, 1969), 969 (hereafter *TPW*).
- 10) Wolfreys, 'The Matter of Faith', 63-4, quoting *In Memoriam*, XXI:19, XLI:2, LXIV:13, LXXXII:6, CXXIII:6 (*TPW*, 883, 899, 917, 929, 973).
  - 11) See Joanna E. Rapf, 'Visionaries of Dereliction: Wordsworth and Tennyson', *Victorian Poetry*, 24:4 (1986), 375, 379, and M.H. Abrams, 'Structure and Style in the Greater Romantic Lyric', in *From Sensibility to Romanticism*, ed. Frederick W. Hilles and Harold Bloom (Oxford: OUP, 1965), 527-8.
  - 12) See, for example, my discussion of this point in David Vallins, *Coleridge and the Psychology of Romanticism* (London: Macmillan, 1999), 1.
  - 13) See 'Ode: Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood', ll. 176-87, in Wordsworth, *Poetical Works*, ed. Thomas Hutchinson and Ernest De Selincourt (Oxford: OUP, 1936), 462 (hereafter *WPW*), S.T. Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, ed. James Engell and W. Jackson Bate, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1983), 1:17, and the related passage in 'Dejection: An Ode', ll. 87-93, *The Complete Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. E.H. Coleridge, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912), 1:367 (hereafter *CPW*).
  - 14) The latter view is particularly suggested by Coleridge's criticisms of an excessive preoccupation with industrial or economic rather than spiritual aims in *On The Constitution of the Church and State* and elsewhere. See, for example, *C&S*, 59-60, and David Vallins, 'Radical Idealism: Coleridge and the Cotton-Mills', *Hiroshima Studies in English Language and Literature*, 46 (2002), 13-23.
  - 15) Rapf, 'Visionaries of Dereliction', 382. A similar point is made by Kramer, who comments that 'whether their work achieves or renounces a compensation wrought from within, Victorian poets are unique [*sic*] in fully exposing the psychological strain in the compensatory pattern, something they do with more candor than any Romantic poet other than Coleridge' (Lawrence Kramer, 'The "Intimations" Ode and Victorian Romanticism', *Victorian Poetry*, 18 (1980), 335).
  - 16) James R. Bennett, 'The Historical Abuse of Literature: Tennyson's *Maud: A Monodrama* and the Crimean War' (*English Studies*, 62:1 [1981], 34-45) examines the much-discussed ambiguity as to whether the ending of the poem implies a jingoistic celebration of militarism, contrasting Tennyson's statement that the narrator 'has recovered his reason, giving himself up to work for the good of humanity' with the report of his friend Henry Van Dyke that according to Tennyson, the narrator 'is wrong in thinking that war will transform the cheating tradesman into a great-souled hero, or that it will sweep away the dishonesties and lessen the evils of humanity', and that 'The history of the Crimean War proves his error' (*ibid.*, 45, 43, quoting Hallam Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir*, 2 vols. [London: Macmillan, 1898], 1:39, and H. Van Dyke, *The Poetry of Tennyson* [New York: Scribners, 1920], 97-8.) The narrator's idealism, it would seem, is thus expressed in emphatically misguided forms of optimism.
  - 17) See Rapf, 'Visionaries of Dereliction', 381-2, Beer, *Romantic Consciousness*, 129-30, *In Memoriam*, XCV, 36-8 and nn. (*TPW*, 946-7), and 'Dejection', ll. 135-6 (*CPW*, 1: 368).
  - 18) Beer, *Romantic Consciousness*, 130.
  - 19) See Beer, *Romantic Consciousness*, 111-14. Of particular relevance to my discussion of Tennyson's and Coleridge's views on contemporary commerce later in this essay, moreover, is Sir Charles Tennyson's comment that the criticism of contemporary society in 'Maud' 'sprang from his long talks with Charles Kingsley and F.D. Maurice about the terrible conditions in the rapidly-growing industrial cities' (Sir Charles, Tennyson, *Alfred Tennyson* [New York: Macmillan, 1949], 281, quoted by Ricks in *TPW*, 1039). Tennyson's poem 'To the Rev. F.D. Maurice' (*TPW*, 1022-5), and his choice of the latter as godfather to his son Hallam in 1852, make the closeness of their friendship still clearer. The extent to which Coleridge's criticisms of the excesses of early 19<sup>th</sup>-century capitalism influenced 'the Christian Socialist movement, particularly through leaders like Maurice' is discussed, for example, in William Francis Kennedy, *Humanist Versus Economist: The Economic Thought of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1958), 21. See also my discussion of Coleridge's criticisms of the factory system in David Vallins, 'Radical Idealism: Coleridge and the Cotton-Mills', 13-23.
  - 20) See *ibid.*, 116-22.

- 21) *Ibid.*, 131.
- 22) See especially *In Memoriam*, I,1-4 (*TPW*, 864), and David Vallins, *Coleridge and the Psychology of Romanticism* (London: Macmillan, 2000), 102-40.
- 23) *C&S*, 60n points out that this passage combines fragments from several chapters of the book of *Isaiah*.
- 24) Coleridge's obvious reference in this passage to the theories of Malthus, and his opposition to such views, is pointed out in *C&S*, 60n. On Malthus's appointment as Professor of history and political economy at the newly-founded East India College in 1805, and the relation of his own theories to those of other political economists such as David Ricardo and Adam Smith, see, for example, William Petersen, *Malthus* (London: Heinemann, 1979), 29-30, 60-1, 92-3, 82-91. See also 'Maud', I, 21-4 (*TPW*, 1041-2).
- 25) 'Maud', I, 24-5 (*TPW*, 1042).
- 26) See 'Religious Musings', ll. 287-9, (*CPW*, 1:119-20).
- 27) See *C&S*, 59.
- 28) See 'Maud', I, 34, 25, (*TPW*, 1042).
- 29) See 'Maud', I, 19, 66, 56, (*TPW*, 1041-5).
- 30) See Sir Charles Tennyson and Hope Dyson, *The Tennysons: Background to Genius* (London: Macmillan, 1974), 24-5, 83-4, 88-91.
- 31) See 'Maud', I, 29-30 (*TPW*, 1042).
- 32) See 'Locksley Hall', ll. 108, 185 (*TPW*, 694, 699).
- 33) See 'Locksley Hall', ll. 108, 166, 182 (*TWP*, 694, 698, 699).
- 34) See 'Locksley Hall', ll. 164, 174, 178 (*TPW*, 694, 698, 699).
- 35) 'Locksley Hall', ll. 100-1 (*TWP*, 694).
- 36) See Sir Charles Tennyson and Hope Dyson, *The Tennysons*, 39-42, 55-69, 93-4, 114.
- 37) 'Locksley Hall', ll. 187-8 (*TWP*, 699).
- 38) On 'fancy' and 'understanding' see, for example, S.T. Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, ed. James Engell and W. Jackson Bate (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1983), 1: 304-5; also Kathleen Wheeler, *Sources, Processes, and Methods in Coleridge's "Biographia Literaria"* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1980), 139, 144-5.
- 39) See 'Locksley Hall', ll. 11, 121, 126-30 (*TPW*, 690, 695-6)
- 40) See 'Locksley Hall', ll. 108, 184 (*TPW*, 694, 699). Coleridge's Eurocentrism, of course, can also be emphatic; yet his comparison, in *The Friend*, of materialists in early nineteenth-century London with 'fetish-worshippers' on the coasts of Africa is primarily an attack on precisely the fetishization of economic (and hence colonial) advance which Tennyson's narrator so blandly celebrates in the latter part of 'Locksley Hall'. See S.T. Coleridge, *The Friend*, ed. Barbara E. Rooke, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1969), 1:106.
- 41) See Gerhard Joseph, 'Producing the "Far-Off Interest of Tears": Tennyson, Freud, and the Economics of Mourning', *Victorian Poetry*, 36:2 (1998), 123-7.
- 42) See 'Religious Musings', ll. 276-300, 216-22, (*CPW*, 1: 119-20, 117).
- 43) 'Religious Musings', ll. 231, 303, 306-7 (*CPW*, 1: 117, 120).
- 44) See *In Memoriam*, CXXXI, ll. 77-8 (*TPW*, 984), and 'Dejection: An Ode', ll. 21-46 (*CPW*, 1:364-5).
- 45) See *In Memoriam*, CXXXI, ll. 109-23 (*TPW*, 985-6).
- 46) See 'Ode: Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood', ll. 67-8, (*WPW*, 460).
- 47) See *In Memoriam*, CXXXI, ll. 124-33 (*TPW*, 986-7).
- 48) See *In Memoriam*, CXXXI, ll. 138-44 (*TPW*, 988).
- 49) On this point see, for example, David Vallins, 'Akenside, Coleridge, and the Pleasures of Transcendence', in Robin Dix (ed.), *Mark Akenside: A Reassessment* (Cranbury, N.J.: A.U.P., 2000), 166-9.
- 50) See Sir Charles Tennyson and Hope Dyson, *The Tennysons*, 24, 88-91.
- 51) On the relation between physiology, psychology, and religion in Hartley's associationist theory see, for example, Vallins, *Coleridge and the Psychology of Romanticism*, 104-6 and 112-3.
- 52) See 'Maud', I, 9 (*TPW*, 1041). Joseph Bristow suggests that Tennyson may particularly have had in mind the railway-share collapse of 1847-8. The latter was also discussed by Marx and Engels in an article

- of 1849, whose emphasis on the negative effects of the free-market system which encouraged such speculation is in some ways analogous to that of Tennyson: 'An Englishman is never more unhappy than when he does not know to do with his money. Therein lies the secret of all grandiose speculations, all profit-making enterprises, but it is also the secret of all bankruptcies, all financial crises and commercial depressions.' See Joseph Bristow, 'Nation, Class and Gender: Tennyson's "Maud" and War', in Rebecca Stott (ed.), *Tennyson* (London: Longman, 1996), 130, and 'The State of Trade', in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Collected Works*, 50 vols. (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1975- ), 9: 3.
- 53) See 'Religious Musings', ll. 278-300 (*CPW*, 1: 119-20), and *Maud*, I, ll. 33-46 (*TPW*, 1042-3). In addition, however, Tennyson's lines substantially echo Coleridge's statement, in *A Lay Sermon* (1817), that 'Peace has come without the advantages expected from Peace, and on the contrary, with many of the severest inconveniences usually attributable to War' (S.T. Coleridge, *Lay Sermons*, ed. R.J. White [Princeton: Princeton UP, 1972], 141). As Nicholas Roe points out, moreover, the 'Peace' which Coleridge refers to in this passage was particularly characterized by 'economic depression and unemployment' - a factor which suggests a further parallel between the aspects of early 19<sup>th</sup>-century society which he and Tennyson criticize. See Nicholas Roe, *John Keats and the Culture of Dissent* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 2.
- 54) See 'Religious Musings', ll. 303-76, (*CPW*, 120-3).
- 55) See 'Maud', VI, 19-20 (*TPW*, 1091).
- 56) See Sir Charles Tennyson and Hope Dyson, *The Tennysons*, 23-5, 87-91.
- 57) Bristow, 'Nation, Class, and Gender', 131.
- 58) See 'Maud', III, 23-5, 48, 50 (*TPW*, 1091-2).
- 59) Chris R. Vanden Bossche, 'Realism versus Romance: The War of Cultural Codes in Tennyson's "Maud"', *Victorian Poetry*, 24: 1 (1986), 75, quoting Olive Anderson, *A Liberal State at War: English Politics and Economics During the Crimean War* (London: Macmillan, 1967), 101.
- 60) See Tennyson, *Maud, and Other Poems* (London: Moxon, 1855), 151-4, Vanden Bossche, 'Realism versus Romance', 75, and Asa Briggs, *The Making of Modern England, 1784-1867* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 377.
- 61) See Vanden Bossche, 'Realism versus Romance', 81. Considering the prominence of railway-speculation, noted above, among the evils of the early-Victorian economy which Tennyson's narrator wishes to escape, it is perhaps especially ironic that (as Vanden Bossche points out) 'In April, 1855, Palmerston was forced to name the manager of the Manchester and Sheffield Railways head of the commissariat in the Crimea'. See Vanden Bossche, 'Realism versus Romance', 81n, and Jasper Ridley, *Lord Palmerston* (London: Constable, 1970), 439-40.
- 62) See Vanden Bossche, 'Realism versus Romance', 75, 81, 76, and Shaw, *Tennyson's Style* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1976), 188.
- 63) See Vanden Bossche, 'Realism versus Romance', 75, and Anderson, *A Liberal State at War*, 3-4.
- 64) See 'Maud', VI, 19 (*TPW*, 1091), and 'Religious Musings', ll. 306-7, 317, 323 (*CPW*, 120-1). Despite the conservative tone of its reference to 'The red fool-fury of the Seine', the evocation of revolutionary change in Canto CXXVII of 'In Memoriam' still more vividly associates contemporary events with apocalyptic qualities resembling those of Coleridge's vision and language in 'Religious Musings', suggesting that the violence it evokes will ultimately lead to the fulfilment of the quasi-divine vision with which Hallam is associated: 'But ill for him that wears a crown,/ And him, the lazar, in his rags:/ They tremble, the sustaining crags;/ The spires of ice are toppled down,//And molten up, and roar in flood;/ The fortress crashes from on high,/The brute earth lightens to the sky,/ And the great Aeon sinks in blood,//And compass'd by the fires of Hell;/While thou, dear spirit, happy star,/O'erlook'st the tumult from afar,/ And smilest, knowing all is well.' See *In Memoriam*, CXXVII, 9-20 (*TPW*, 977).
- 65) See, for example, Coleridge, *The Friend*, I: 517-8.
- 66) See 'Religious Musings', ll. 346, 341 (*CPW*, 122).