THE DESCRIPTION AND FUNCTION OF CLOUGH'S AMBIVALENT POETRY AND ITS SOURCES IN HIS LIFE AND THOUGHT, WITH SPECIAL APPLICATION TO Dipsychus

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DEDICATION

To my wife, Gloria Haich, whose encouragement and loving aid deserve a larger tribute than a dedication allows.
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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate Council in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

THE DESCRIPTION AND FUNCTION OF CLOUGH'S AMBITIOUS POETRY AND ITS SOURCES IN HIS LIFE AND THOUGHT, WITH SPECIAL APPLICATION TO DIPSYCHUS

By

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This dissertation is limited to Clough's ambivalent poetry because an understanding of this characteristic mode of his poetic statement permits a more just estimate of his poetic powers. In his own time Clough was seen as a poet who, in some of his most characteristic moods, refused to speak with a positive prophetic voice. While the Victorians found this hesitancy unattractive, modern readers find the uncompromising honesty of his intellectual self-examination appealing because Clough does not pretend to more assurance than he has.

Clough's ambivalent poetry is defined as that poetry which presents two sides of an issue—sometimes by an objective statement of both sides of the question but sometimes through irony and satiric exaggeration—while yet not bringing the question to a final resolution on either side. Such poetry is called Dipsychian because of its double-minded attitude and because Clough gave the fullest expression to this ambivalence in his poem Dipsychus. The reader of Dipsychian poetry is presented with a full and complex expression of a question and at the
same time he is left totally free to form his own personal conclusion about the issue itself. This effect upon the reader parallels the function which the ambivalent poetry served for Clough himself at the time of his writing. Clough wrote most of his Dipsychian poetry during periods of personal stress when the issues he treated in that poetry were for him not resolved; he used his poetry as a method by which he could examine and consider the questions which troubled him.

The second chapter examines the primary internal tension that generated most of Clough's Dipsychian poetry. This poetry, which was for the most part written during the period from 1848 to 1852, reflects Clough's concern at that time with the moral problem of how a man may maintain moral purity and at the same time be actively involved with the affairs of the world. This problem confronted Clough during this period because, having left his somewhat sheltered position as an Oxford don, he was forced into a more active involvement with life while at the same time his common-sense appraisal of the realities of life and the duty he felt to serve others as a practical expression of obedience to God both seemed to force him into an active engagement with worldly affairs. The basis of Clough's moral conflict is traced through his early life and aspects of this conflict are examined in several separate lyrics. Clough's often overlooked, strong sense of reality was grounded in his personality and was one source of the sincerity which is a prominent characteristic of his poetry. His concern for moral purity, while not unusual for an earnest Victorian, was heightened by his contacts with Dr. Arnold and W. G. Ward.

An examination of Dipsychus in Chapter Three demonstrates how the tension so generated finds a typically ambivalent expression in a
lengthy and complex Dipsychian poem. The hypermoral Dipsychus provides a characterization which embodies an extreme representation of the morally pure attitudes in regard to involvement with the world. The character, Spirit, presents an equally extreme picture of worldly, realistic attitudes. The ambivalence in this poem is found in the balanced presentation of these characters and in the fact that neither by tone nor attitude does Clough offer a resolution of the central question of the poem. The conclusion of the poem leaves neither character fully victorious, and its ambivalence represents Clough's own confusion on this point at this period of his life.
PROLOGUE: HESITATION BEFORE DECISION

Two roads diverged in a yellow wood,
And sorry I could not travel both
And be one traveler, long I stood
And looked down one as far as I could
To where it bent in the undergrowth.

Robert Frost

Everyone is familiar with the mental processes which are anterior to the final resolution of a complex problem. One's mind searches out all the discoverable elements of the problem; the consideration of alternatives, the balancing of opposing thoughts, the evaluation of alternate modes of action. When sufficient reason is found or when the urgent necessity for resolution forces one, a decision is made. In the verses above, Frost records just such a thoughtful period of hesitation before decision. The state of mind that Frost here depicts is frequently found in the poetry of Arthur Hugh Clough. Much of Clough's poetry is devoted to the delicate movements of thought that are preliminary to decision. Examination of Clough's lyrics often reveals a lyric which takes one side of a question and then a subsequent lyric that appears to take an opposing view. "Easter Day," for example, carries the refrain, "Christ is not risen," and the next poem, "Easter Day II," has the refrain, "Christ is yet risen." Between these two companion pieces the opposing thoughts are balanced as Clough examines the nature of the resurrection. This examination of issues by paired lyrics occurs elsewhere also as, for
example, in "Peschieria" and Alteram Partem where Clough weighs the ultimate value of patriotic heroism. Furthermore, within single lyrics he frequently takes one view of an issue, only to shift to another view before the poem ends as he does in "Epi-Strauss-ium" or in "Is it true, ye gods, who treat us." In Clough's long narrative poems the two sides of an issue are most often embodied in two opposing characters as with Dipsychus and Spirit in Dipsychus. In all such careful balancing of thought, Clough can be observed tracing his own mental processes as he seeks resolution of some problem or the discovery of some truth.

This obvious ambivalence has naturally puzzled many of Clough's readers from the beginning and each age has responded according to its intellectual predispositions. Clough's Victorian contemporaries, who were being forced by the advance of science and historical criticism into a religious insecurity as they felt the grounds of the orthodox faith cut from under them, were usually disposed to see in Clough's ambivalence the troubled mind of the religious doubter. Victorian critics were frequently unable to apprehend that Clough was subjecting religious issues to a coolly rational examination while maintaining a warmly positive attitude toward the underlying central truths of the faith. When they saw John Henry Newman forcing himself out of the Anglican communion by the rigor of his logic and when they saw the logic of science speeding up the materialistic tendencies which threatened Evangelical otherworldliness, the conservative reaction was an understandable distrust of the results of logical examination of matters of faith. It was to be expected that they called
Clough a doubter. Even while James Russell Lowell praised Clough as being representative of his times, he characterized Clough as representing "the doubt and struggle towards settled convictions, of the period in which he lived." Lowell knew Clough well enough to recognize that he was not a mere doubter but rather that he was struggling toward settled convictions. A more typical Victorian view of Clough in this regard is presented by the review of *Ambarvalia* in the *Guardian* on March 28, 1849. There, though the reviewer praised Clough for thoughtful power, he was disturbed by what he identified as Clough's doubting temper and therefore he believed that the book was morally dangerous, asserting that a wide circulation of these poems "will do more harm than good." Such a response grows naturally out of the general feeling of religious insecurity characteristic of the times.

A response to Clough's poetry which regards it as merely the poetry of doubt, though widespread and certainly understandable in the context of the Victorian Age, does not take into account at least two very important matters. It omits both Clough's personal, positive orientation towards Christianity and, more significantly, it omits Clough's poetic expression of such positive orientation in poems such as "Say not the struggle nought availeth." Therefore, would it not be more accurate to suggest that though Clough subjected religious matters to a searching scrutiny, he still held a living, personal faith in the central Christian truths? Clough is probably not a poet reduced to doubt and despair by the destruction of his early orthodox faith. Instead, his poetry can be seen as an examination of the religious issues
raised by his times. It is the record of the thought that proceeded a religious and moral decision.

While a discussion of Clough must account for the ambivalence in his poetry, there is a second matter which must also be examined here. Largely on the basis of what they found in his poetry, Clough's Victorian critics reached the conclusion that he was personally irresolute. This conclusion is understandable in the context of one of the major expectations that Victorians had for poetry before the eighteen-seventies. From the early thirties thoughtful Victorians were expressing the idea that the poet should be a prophet to the troubled times. They saw the old traditions crumbling in the face of widespread social change and, in the words of Carlyle, they looked to the writer to "by wise teaching guide the souls of men." When the positive prophetic voice which they had expected was lacking in Clough's poetry they looked at his life with every expectation of finding him to be an irresolute man who lacked the intellectual fortitude to seize upon decision in the trials of his personal life. That early biographers, like Osborne, could find what they could consider to be evidences of irresolution in their examination of his life is not surprising. Beside the fact that they were deliberately looking for such proof, the success of their search was assured by the special character of Clough's life. His was basically a life of thought rather than of action. Thus the main streams of his life were hidden from view. Mrs. Clough identifies this characteristic of Clough's life in a letter to C. E. Norton: "It is so much a hidden and inner life that it would require something like genius to express it, I think." Since Clough's was an inner life, the decisions
arrived at were inner decisions and did not force themselves upon the observation of biographers, and they were permitted to view Clough's thoughtful consideration of both sides of issues in the superficial light of personal irresolution. This approach was taken by many of Clough's biographers. Osborne says of Clough that he was "a man who made decisions with great difficulty."5 Again, later, when Osborne concludes his biography, he summarizes what had become a sub-theme of his book by asserting of Clough that "his name has been in danger of becoming a byword for irresolution."6

Even some modern biographers still tend to view Clough as irresolute. Katharine Chorley's biography of Clough, though it is sometimes weak in its criticism of his poetry, provides, in the opinion of Clough scholars, the most complete treatment of the facts of his life so far written.7 Yet occasionally Chorley will lapse into viewing Clough as an irresolute person. For example, towards the end of her book she says of Clough, "Already in America, his indecision was getting the better of him, so that he could not initiate any plan which involved an active launching out."8 For the modern student of Clough such a lapse could occur partly because of the inner nature of Clough's life but also because of the earlier Victorian treatment of Clough from that point of view. Yet when a modern scholar studies Clough's letters, he is struck by the fact that in such personal mode of self-expression the use of ambivalence is largely absent. Also, when the modern scholar further observes that Clough rarely employs ambivalences in his prose writing, he is forced to reassess the facile assumption that Clough was indecisive. And there is a great deal to
support such a reassessment. The first piece of evidence to indicate that Clough was far from indecisive is the obvious strength of his will which is demonstrated in the moral and physical self-discipline that he maintained from the time he was a boy at Rugby. Furthermore, there is the resolute courage that characterized not only his independence of thought, but was also apparent in his willing involvement with both the Paris revolution in 1848 and the Italian revolution in Rome in 1849. But probably most significant of all is the assessment of Clough's friends and acquaintances. Palgrave, Matthew Arnold and the many others who wrote of Clough in memoirs and letters after his death returned over and over to the idea that Clough's death ended a life that held much more than the usual promise for significant accomplishment. Nor was this a view which was prompted simply by the fact of his early death. From the time when Clough had become Dr. Arnold's prize pupil at Rugby and throughout his entire life thereafter, men of accomplishment, such as Emerson, Dr. Arnold, and Tennyson, expected Clough's life would yield great achievements. Surely such successful and perceptive men as these would not expect a weak, indecisive character to accomplish much in life. Clough's undeniable courage and independence of mind cannot co-exist within a character weakened by basic irresolution. It therefore becomes impossible not to conclude, as do some modern critics of Clough such as Michael Timko, that irresolution could not be the character basis of the ambivalence in Clough's poetry.

From a consideration of the previous material it becomes apparent that an adequate discussion of the poetry of Arthur Hugh Clough
must account for his poetic ambivalence without any distortion of his true character in tracing the origins of that ambivalence. Furthermore, in the case of Clough, it is not wise to consider the poetry alone and not consider the character of the poet. Houghton's *The Poetry of Arthur Hugh Clough* does offer a close reading of many of Clough's poems without reference to his life, but Houghton's otherwise fine and insightful book is often limited by that critical self-restriction. Moreover, Houghton is almost the only major critic of Clough to attempt that sort of criticism—a fact that can be taken as a demonstration that, more than that of many other poets, the life of Clough is a major element in any general consideration of his poetry. Biographical material, however, becomes especially important when the poetic method finds its parallel and source in the life of the poet; Clough's ambivalence may be explained in great measure by the special personal functions to which he put his poetic material. The examination of the ambivalence present in much of Clough's poetry provides the key to all of his poetic production because it points to those special circumstances that typically generated his poetic expression. Clough did not write because he viewed himself primarily as a poet nor did he often write out of the sort of overflow of feeling that one identifies with the Romantic poets. Throughout much of his life he did not consider publication of great importance although he did write a great deal. Writing poetry, however, had a unique purpose in his life.

Poetry provided the proving grounds for Clough's thought. From the time that he was a schoolboy at Rugby he was greatly interested in contemporary political questions. Though politics are of secondary
importance in his poetry, they often formed the major substance of his letters. Two of his four major works (The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich and Amours de Voyage) are intimately involved with social-political issues. Since social issues do inform a significant part of Clough's poetry it is apparent that he did use poetry to express his social ideas.

The major problems, however, that Clough subjects to a poetic scrutiny are not socio-political issues but rather religious and philosophical dilemmas. As a concerned student of Christianity throughout his life and as a teacher of philosophy, this is only to be expected. Although many thoughtful Englishmen were concerned with these problems, Clough did not treat these ideas simply because they were of general concern; he dealt with them because they were of immediate, pressing, personal concern. They were often treated in Clough's characteristically ambivalent fashion because Clough himself was at this time poised in the thoughtful hesitation before decision. The strenuous intellectual force which he employed in the balanced consideration of the philosophical alternatives, and Clough's shifts from one to another class of religious and philosophical problems under consideration reflect both the intensity and the progress of his concerns as his life's situation was altered. The problems that he faced in Rugby were naturally different from those he had to face in Oxford, or again after Oxford, or those he faced when he returned from America. For this reason the consideration of Clough's life becomes an essential element in any full discussion of his poetry. The study of Clough's ambivalent mind, as it probes the alternate sides of the problems he faced on the testing ground of his poetry, leads to the very center
of his poetry though it must take into account his life and its his-
torical context. Clough's major ambivalent works of each period will
then bear a new significance when examined from a point of view that
at once focuses upon Clough's unique ambivalence and can demonstrate
how the problems he so considered were best treated by a man of Clough's
temperament, in that precise manner, at that particular time in his
life.

The organization of "The Description and Function of Clough's
Ambivalent Poetry and Its Sources in His Life and Thought, with Special
Application to Dipsychus" is reflected in its title. Chapter One de-
scribes Clough's ambivalent poetry and discusses the uses the poet in-
tended such poetry to serve for himself and for his readers. Chapter
Two examines the influences and experiences which helped to create
the particular moral tension which Clough expressed in his ambivalent
poetry. The final chapter uses the ideas from Chapter One and Chapter
Two to show how well they work in actual application to a single poem.

The field is well prepared for this sort of discussion of Clough's
poetry. The texts of Clough's works have recently received modern
editorial reconstruction based upon a thorough reappraisal of the manu-
scripts. This editorial work is particularly important in Clough's
case because he himself saw so little of his work through the press.

Though the earlier text of Clough's works was assembled by his wife
and others, especially C. E. Norton, and saw fifteen editions between
1869 and 1930, sometimes these editors had suppressed whole sections
of certain poems and often they had added titles without any manu-
script authority. Therefore, the 1951 edition of Clough's poems has
become the authoritative text not only because it provides a better text, but because it is equally valuable for the extensive quotation in the notes of alternate readings derived from the manuscripts which would not be otherwise accessible. Most of Clough's prose works, many never before printed, are now gathered together in The Selected Prose Works of Arthur Hugh Clough by Buckner Trawick. Mulhauser has gathered Clough's letters in a two-volume edition which makes them for the first time readily available. Mulhauser is also working on an edition of Clough's unpublished notebooks and, though they are not presently available to scholars, one can expect few surprises from them because most of Clough's biographers have seen them and quoted from them. The recent biographies by Goldie Levy and Katharine Chorley and the French study of Clough by Paul Veyriras provide more detail than the earlier biographies by Osborne and Waddington. Thus the raw material for a study incorporating Clough's life and thought in an examination of his characteristic poetry is now available and forms a valuable aid to the understanding of that poetry's ambivalent nature.
NOTES

1James Russell Lowell, My Study Windows (Boston, 1871), p. 211.


6Ibid., p. 183.


8Chorley, p. 355.


CHAPTER I: THE PLOT HAS COUNTERPLOT

The physical sciences have a system of closely defined terms which are used strictly according to their definition, but since literary criticism has no such system, the critic must be particularly careful about his use of terms, being especially sure that any terms he employs will be clear to the reader. Accordingly, this first chapter will largely involve definition and description. The matter that first requires attention and delimitation here is the precise type of Clough's poetry under consideration. Since Arthur Hugh Clough wrote a wide variety of poems, ranging from the light-hearted description of Oxford college youths on vacation in Scotland, through an extensive revision of Dryden's translation of Plutarch's Lives, to a rendering of the classical myth of Actaeon's metamorphosis, it is clear that the particular type of poetry dealt with here needs specific definition. The poetry which was earlier called ambivalent and referred to as the poetry of those mental states preceding decision can be most accurately called Dipsychian because in Dipsychus Clough gives it the fullest expression.

The shortest and most comprehensive definition of Dipsychian poetry is that it is that poetry of Clough that presents a clear opposition of viewpoints in a relatively equal balance without resolving the issue on one side or the other. Houghton says of this poetry, "We welcome his Clough's special capacity, so rare in his own age,
This Dipsychian poetry is of two classes. The classes are determined by the manner in which the balanced views are presented to the reader. The first class of Dipsychian poetry presents the opposing sides by direct statement as in Clough's narrative poems where he often puts the opposing views in the mouths of opposing characters. Clough handles the issue of social class in that way in The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich when the student, Hewson, is often found arguing social questions with the tutor, Adam. A similar balancing of views embodied in opposing characters is, of course, seen in Dipsychus when the worldly Spirit confronts the idealistic and moral Dipsychus. Thus Clough's narrative poems achieve a type of conflict which arouses intellectual interest though the plot of the narrative may seem uncommonly static. In shorter, lyric poems the direct statements are attributable to a persona which the poet assumes. The pattern often is psychological. The lyric will follow the turnings of the persona's thought as it moves first one way and then another. A classic example can be found in the conclusion of "Is it true, ye gods, who treat us."

If it is so, let it be so,  
And we will all agree so;  
But the plot has counterplot,  
It may be, and yet be not.  

Another part of this same lyric can conveniently serve as one example of the second class of Dipsychian statement--the ironic. The issue in "Is it true, ye gods, who treat us" is the question of whether or not the poetic faculty is a divine vision or simply a singular physical and mental conformation that makes poetic production possible. In
the twenty-two lines preceding the four lines quoted above Clough has presented each side, but in the presentation of each side Clough employs an ironic tone that undercuts the presentation on both sides. Clough uses an exaggeratedly exalted statement to mock the view that poetry is a "divine vision" in a phrase such as "In our rapturous exaltation." He uses an equally exaggerated, coarse statement to show the ironical tone in his presentation of the view that poetic power derives from the physical-mental conformation makeup of the poet. The coarse bluntness can be seen as ironically exaggerated when one notices how Clough employs three major poetic devices to emphasize the coarseness in one important word ("belly") in the line "Of the brain and of the belly."3 The alliteration of the "b's" in words that receive a strong accent is one obvious way the word "belly" is emphasized. Its position at the end of the line also places a measure of emphasis on it. The fact that it is a rhyme word gives further emphasis and the fact that it is made to rhyme with "Shelley," the idealist, brings out the coarseness by the contrast with its rhyming word.

A different kind of irony occurs in Clough's narrative and dramatic poetry. There a subtle, dramatic irony is employed which is used to clearly show that Clough himself is not fully endorsing a character he presents. Jacob, in Clough's dramatic monologue of the same name, is given additional dimensions by such dramatic irony as seen in a few lines abstracted from the end of that ninety-eight-line poem. In this section Jacob's grasping nature is set in ironic contrast to his position as a chosen man of God and as patriarch of
Israel. Jacob’s materialism and his supplanting of Esau are betrayed in these lines which Jacob speaks: “To have done things on which the eye with shame/ Looks back, the closed hand clutching still the prize!” Such materialistic striving as that of Jacob is set in ironic contrast with Jacob’s proper kind of obedience to God when Jacob adds, “O God!/ I thank thee it is over, yet I think/ It [the materialistic life] was a work appointed me of thee.” It is a perfectly understandable and human rationalization for a materialist such as Jacob to think that God has somehow required his materialism but Clough has placed the materialism in ironic juxtaposition with phrases such as “a work appointed” of God which betrays it as a rationalization. The concluding four lines of the dramatic monologue point out Jacob’s puzzlement at the central enigma of his life as Clough’s poem shows it—that though he has striven to do his duty, Jacob is not satisfied with his life. The irony is precisely that Jacob need not have striven and, in fact, if he had not striven, his life would not have been so full of conflict and it would have been much more satisfactory to him. The main significance of the poem is pointed out to the reader with the concluding irony of the old and dying Jacob saying, “How is it? I have striven all my days/ To do my duty to my house and hearth,/ And to the purpose of my father’s race,/ Yet is my heart therewith not satisfied.”

The presence of dramatic irony in Clough’s dramatic monologues is not at all surprising, not only because dramatic irony is a frequent device in that genre, but also because dramatic irony is found abundantly in another poem which must have been in Clough’s mind when
he wrote "Jacob." Browning's "The Bishop Orders His Tomb at Saint Praxed's Church" was certainly known to Clough. We can be sure of that not only because Clough kept up with the current literary scene, but Clough specifically mentioned Browning's series, Bells and Pomegranates, in a letter to some publishers as a possible prototype for Clough's and Burbidge's Ambarvalia. The surface resemblance between the dying Bishop speaking to his "nephews" and the dying Jacob speaking to his sons is itself significant. The use, however, to which irony is employed marks the major contrast between Clough's Dipsychian irony and Browning's use of irony. Houghton provides a clue about "Jacob" when he writes, "Clough has all of Browning's insight into the recesses of consciousness but none of his power to create a living scene." That is not quite true. Clough can create a living scene as Houghton himself says when he discusses The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich, "...the sense of actual life is so firmly created." The more accurate statement would be that Clough does not choose to create a living scene in "Jacob" because Clough wishes to focus attention upon an intellectual problem. Clough is interested in the problem that many Christians face in their obedience to God. They wish to obey, but they are not given explicit instructions in the minutiae of their lives, and, consequently, they interpret such lack of instruction according to the wishes of their own personal temperament. Thus Jacob found himself striving to gather material advantage when he would have been given those necessary things, as Abraham was, without scheming and strife.

Browning, on the other hand, was more interested in the irony
of a Bishop, who certainly should know better, living and dying as a materialist. Browning emphasizes the ironies in the situation, such as the inner conflict of the Bishop about the nephews' reliability in regard to carrying out his dying requests and whether or not he should tell his sons what they will need to know to fulfill that request.

Browning focuses attention upon the character of the Bishop and his situation. Clough, however, focuses attention upon the intellectual problem of moral obedience to God. That focus of attention is typically Dipsychian not only in the intellectual attention to a moral problem, but mainly in the fact that one cannot perceive which side Clough takes on this matter. Though Browning does sympathize with the Bishop as a man, as he had to do to present such a magnificent depth of perception into his personality, yet Browning clearly does not endorse his materialism. Clough uses dramatic irony to a different end—toward ambivalence on the main question of his poem "Jacob."

This Dipsychian ambivalence underlines Jacob's view that there is no solution to man's problem of obedience to God. Though Jacob felt that he had done his duty as he should have, yet his heart was "therewith not satisfied." If man had minute and specific instructions on each detail of his daily life from God, he could be perfectly obedient, but he would become an automaton. On the other hand, if man is to use his human capacity to decide the course of his life, there will inevitably be error and sin and his life will not satisfy his longing heart. That is the paradox that the Dipsychian dramatic irony points to in Clough's treatment of Jacob, and it is typical of Clough to
direct our attention to an intellectual apprehension of a moral problem as he does in "Jacob." Both major kinds of Dipsychian poetry, the objective balanced statements and the use of irony, are designed to appeal to the thinking mind rather than to either the sensuous mind or the emotions of the reader.

The intellectual nature of Dipsychian poetry grows out of Clough's careful presentation of mental experience. The processes of the mind thus may often become more formative of poetic structure than poetic conventions. In "Jacob," for example, Clough does not abstractly balance the life of simple obedience to God with the life of scheming. Instead, the form of the poem is created by Jacob's psychological processes. Logical or formal principles do not, for example, determine the basic order of ideas presented to the reader, but the mental process of association controls the order of presentation of ideas in the poem. The form of the resulting poem is not logical but associative or psychological. Clough has the dying Jacob recall his own experiences of "The first-born faith, the singleness of soul" and Jacob contrasts that with his remembered necessity "To plot and think of plots." There follows then a hint of a possible resolution of the problem in Jacob's recollection of the vision at Luz, where God showed how His angels go "On stairs invisible betwixt his heaven/ And our unholy, sinful, toilsome earth." This is the vision of God's own presence within the problems of the "toilsome earth." But Clough is psychologically accurate in showing that it was because Jacob thought primarily of his troubles that he did not manage to incorporate that vision into his life, for Clough has Jacob turn promptly
from his recollection of the vision to his recounting of the many troubles of his life. Because Jacob kept his eyes upon the earth he was faced with the paradox of his life of duty leading to an unsatisfactory life and the structure of the poem grows naturally out of the natural processes of thought which a man like Jacob would follow in considering this question. Such an accurate representation of the psychology of a man's confrontation with a problem is generally a prominent characteristic of Dipsychian poetry.

A matter which is closely associated with the description of Dipsychian poetry is a general view of the effects that this kind of poetry will have upon the reader, and, inasmuch as effects can be expected to flow from intentions, it is necessary to observe that "the end of poetry for Clough is primarily moral."\(^{13}\) It would be quite wrong to take Clough's moral intent in poetry to mean that he intended to teach simple copy-book maxims, using poetry to decorate the commonplaces of moralistic piety; instead, his aim is to plumb the problems of existence that have always stirred and tantalized thinking men. As Clough himself said, art's purpose should be "To sum up the large experience of ages, to lay the finger on yet unobserved, or undiscovered phenomena of the Inner Universe."\(^{14}\) The Dipsychian poetry can be seen as a special case. While it fits well within Clough's view of the moral purpose for poetry, the function of Dipsychian poetry is to pose questions on either side of issues that were real and immediate to the poet and to the society. These were issues that, because of their nature, were not susceptible to simplistic solutions as, for example, the problem of religious interpretation which Clough treated in a
Dipsychian manner in "Epi-Strauss-ium" and elsewhere. Strauss and others had brought that problem to the attention of thoughtful Victorians, and Clough personally had to face it both before and after he considered the matter of his subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles.

The Dipsychian strategy of examination of issues by the posing of the question was natural to Clough. Osborne observes that Clough as a teacher at Oxford was "cautiously Socratic" in his teaching method but this caution arose not from some fear of censor by the college authorities but out of his conscientious attitude toward his students. He felt that he should not force an attack upon their views when they differed from his own, but nevertheless that he should present matters for their own full, thoughtful consideration. Norton, who observed Clough's teaching while Clough was in New England, comments "that he was much too long-suffering to youthful philosophical coxcombr."

Veyriras, however, misjudges the character of English and American college students when he concludes that Clough's "horreur du dogmatisme dans tous le domaines l'empêchait d'acquérir cette autorité que tant d'étudiants désirent." The evidence appears quite the contrary. As one who knew him well at Oxford records in the "Memoir" in the Poems and Prose Remains, Clough was "A most excellent tutor, and exceedingly beloved by the undergraduates." There is much other evidence to support that view from, perhaps, less prejudiced sources. Thomas Hodgkin, as a mature man, looked back on Clough's class in Aristotle as "the most stimulating and fruit-bearing" of his college course. Another of Clough's students, Sir Edward Fry, says much the same thing of Clough's class, "Perhaps no class was ever more enjoyed by me or added more to
my store of thought and to the cultivation of the habits of my mind."20

In itself, the success or failure of Clough as a pedagogue would be outside the scope of the discussion here, but when one recalls that the Socratic teaching method in question is quite similar to the poetic method under examination, and that Clough employed the Dipsychian poetic method during the same period of time that he found teaching success with a similar approach, then it becomes apparent that there may be more than an accidental relationship between the two.

Walter Bagehot definitely links Clough's success as a teacher with his gently questioning habit when he says, "Several survivors may think they owe much to Mr. Clough's quiet question, 'Ah, then, you think--?' Many pretending creeds and many wonderful demonstrations, passed away before that calm inquiry."21 It seems quite likely, therefore, that Clough would have been told by his students about the benefit they had received from this method, but even if he were not told, a teacher could sense the method that worked well for him. It may be that when Clough found himself facing a similar situation in his poetry --when he wished to use poetry to stimulate thought on issues of importance to him and that were of equal concern to his readers--Clough either deliberately or unconsciously developed the Dipsychian poetry on either the pattern of his successful Socratic teaching method or for the same reasons that he used that Socratic method. The reason for the questioning method in Clough's teaching is reflected in the comments made about it. Sir Edward Fry said it added "to the cultivation of the habits" of his mind. Bagehot pointed out how it dissolved fallacious beliefs. Certainly, then, it can be assumed that
Clough employed his Dipsychian poetry to the same end and that it would have the same effects. The two sides of an argument would be presented without bias so one's resistance to the force of persuasion would not hinder an open reexamination of the issue. The readers would become involved in the intellectual issues and thus prepared to resolve them for themselves.

Interestingly enough, the initial poem in the first volume of poems Clough wrote presents one of the characters in the poem using just such a Socratic technique of questioning. It is as if Clough were giving his readers a hint of the purpose of the Dipsychian method with the first poem he intended to present to the reader's eye—the poem "The human spirits saw I on a day" in the Ambarvalia collection of Clough's lyrics. As circumstances developed, The Bothie of Tober-na Vuolich, though written later, happened to be published before Ambarvalia, but Clough had intended Ambarvalia to be the first published volume of his mature years.22

An examination of this first poem which Clough intended to present at the beginning of his first publication of his mature poetry indicates that Clough's poetic purpose is indeed moral though it may, at first glance, seem sceptical and iconoclastic. The basic pattern of the poem is that of "The Questioning Spirit" who approaches various "human spirits" typical of all mankind, and asks them searching questions about their ultimate values in life. When we look at the textual history it becomes clear that Clough intended that the philosophies which the various human spirits held are all to be taken seriously, to be viewed as sacred because Clough, when he described the "human
spirits" in an early manuscript sent to Matthew Arnold, had deliberately used the Biblical number for sacredness. The first line then read "Seven human spirits saw I on a day" and the use of that number was carried out in the balance of the poem in lines 24, 41, and 42. Matthew Arnold, however, objected: "Thou I still ask why 7. This is the worst of the allegorical—it instantly involves you in the unnecessary—and the unnecessary is necessarily unpoetical." Lowry, in his notes to that letter, suggests that Matthew Arnold was objecting to the number seven simply because it was allegory. That may be true, but it seems more probable that his objection was based upon the idea that the notion of sacredness suggested by the number does not add to our understanding of the poem. In his "Preface to the Poems of 1853," Arnold follows a similar line when he says, "What is not interesting, is that which does not add to our knowledge of any kind...a representation which is general, indeterminate, and faint." That Arnold was considering the "human spirits" poem according to its overall effect is apparent from the way he expresses his approval of it: "The 7 Spirits Poem does well what it attempts to do I think...the feeling is deep in the Poem, and simultaneously runs clear." With a view to the effect of the poem, Arnold's criticism is clearly correct. The movement of the human spirits from "sceptic melancholy" to "true ignorance" with hope, obtained by following the philosophy of duty, would not be helped by the allegory. Accordingly, Clough dropped it. For our purpose in understanding this poem as an example of Clough's moral intention in his poetry, the concept of sacredness suggested by seven, with its Biblical overtones, is more important than it would be to
the general reader. The use of the "sacred" number indicates that Clough did not intend to be lightly cynical; moreover, one of the "seven spirits" is treated positively—the spirit that is identified with "duty."

"Human spirits" who hold positive views about the nature of reality and the worth of material acquisition, knowledge, strife, passivity, love, or social conventions are each subjected to searching examination by the questioning spirit, and each of the "human spirits" is forced to admit that he cannot rationally justify his belief in the philosophy upon which he has molded his life. They all reply at last, "I know not," but nonetheless they wish to pursue life in their old way, saying, "We know not, let us do as we are doing." But they have been brought to a serious reexamination of their basic assumptions and, as the poem continues, it is clear that the questioning spirit has taken the "human spirits" on at least the first step out of their blind acceptance of unexamined philosophies of life. That is exactly the purpose of much of Clough's Dipsychian poetry. Clough, like the questioning spirit, forces his reader into a searching reexamination of the philosophy that the reader has adopted in an unthinking sort of way. For poetry to bring its readers to the point of intellectual reexamination of their philosophies would certainly be a moral purpose in Clough's view as this poem illustrates. The questioning spirit at the end of the poem justifies his action in bringing the others and himself to reconsider their beliefs. The questioning spirit admits that he does not have the answers to the questions he has been asking, but his purpose in "Imbreeding doubt and sceptic melancholy"
is not that they remain in their condition of doubt. The questioning spirit intends that his questioning continue "Till that, their dreams deserting, they with me/ Come all to this true ignorance and thee."29 When we examine the context we can see that this means that the human spirits are to abandon their present blind faith in whatever philosophy they may hold, "their dreams deserting," and that they will come to know that even though they do not have a completely rational reason for the adoption of their new philosophy of "duty" yet they will be able to be hopeful in spite of their ignorance because they are following the best philosophy, that of duty. Therefore they "Come all to this true ignorance," an ignorance that will permit hope, in contrast to their previous state of "sceptic melancholy." It is important to realize that there is no necessary positive advance in knowledge promised. The human spirits are ignorant of the ultimate value of life if they follow their old philosophies which place primary values on material acquisition, knowledge, strife, passivity, love or social conventions, or, on the other hand, even though they choose the philosophy of duty they still "know not." Clough, however, does assert that though there is no greater intellectual certainty in following duty, there certainly is an advance in attitude. They will move from "sceptic melancholy" to the attitude of hope when they follow the philosophy of duty.

The examination of "The human spirits saw I on a day" is important. Even though it is not strictly Dipsychian in its structure, it points to the nature of the moral purpose that does inform Clough's
poetry and it shows how he was not aiming at a blank scepticism, though
the non-dogmatic nature of the Dipsychian poems, taken by itself, would
seem to suggest that he were. To appreciate how Clough could view the
stimulation of thought as a moral purpose, it should be remembered that
Clough was an intellectual. He was concerned throughout his life with
ideas. The years of undergraduate study at Oxford deepened and advanced
the intellectual habits Clough had acquired at Rugby, and Clough's years
as an Oxford don intimately involved him in the intellectual and re-
ligious ferment of the Oxford Movement. At Oxford Clough could observe
at first hand how the espousal of a system of dogma halted further
thought in the dogmatist.

To an intellectual, the sense of his existence, his sense of
being, is closely bound to his continuing process of thought. To cease
to think is to cease to be, as an intellectual. The materialist has
his sense of being primarily bound up with his sensory responses to the
world around him. The man of feeling identifies himself basically with
his emotional awareness. But the man of thought, the intellectual,
must place a primary value on thought. And since thought is a process,
anything conducive to halting the process of thought, such as the es-
pousal of a final system of dogma or the arbitrary arrest of further
inquiry, must necessarily be looked upon as deadly. On the other hand,
those structures and situations that further thought will certainly be
valued positively. From the intellectual point of view then, Clough
could naturally endorse a questioning attitude because it would function
as the motive force to ensure the continuance of the process of thought
essential to the intellectual's sense of being.
Certainly such a characterization as the above does apply to Clough. Goldie Levy momentarily loses sight of Clough's intellectualism when she comments on Shairp's statement that Clough spoke for two hours in the Oxford debating society, the Decade, neither for nor against the proposition "that the character of a gentleman was in the present day made too much of." Levy, one of Clough's less perceptive biographers, observed that Clough must not have been speaking to the point. That was not true. Instead of taking one side or the other, Clough traced the history of the conception of "gentleman" and so opened the whole question to a deeper and more fruitful consideration. It is scarcely likely that Levy could have been correct because Clough could not have held the attention of his audience of Oxford fellows through an entire two-hour speech if he were not speaking to the point. But there is a further conclusion which may be drawn here. Clough did not take sides on this question. It was natural for him as an intellectual not to take a position that would close further inquiry.

F. T. Palgrave, who knew Clough well, speaks about Clough's characteristic open-mindedness by stating that he "was diffident of his own conclusions; had no clean-cut decisive system, nay, thought experience proved the narrowness of such." Osborne confirms this attitude of Clough's when he is discussing Clough's own personal reaction to the Oxford Movement. Within Clough the conflict raised was not whether he would align himself with the Newmanites or the anti-Newman group; instead, Clough's fundamental conflict was "the conflict between common sense and open-mindedness on the one hand and, on the other, adherence to any set of principles that had been set up and were
kept up by deliberate action of the will." Clough was the type of intellectual who insisted upon keeping his options open so that the process of thought would be continued.

From this point of view it becomes clearer that those who consider Clough a poet of "doubt" are not really examining the situation with the thoroughness that is required. Certainly Clough does call propositions into question, and perhaps could, in the strict sense of the word, then be classed as a "doubter." But Clough is not a doubter in the sense that he has had his belief destroyed. Nor does he wish to destroy the faith of others. He is not a doubter in the sense that Voltaire could be called a doubter. Neither is Clough a doubter in the sense that he brings up questions about one side of an issue only, such as frequently occurs with religious doubters who only question the orthodox view but do not question their own "anti-orthodoxy." Clough wished to question both, and he did. Clough's typical "perhaps" and "perhaps not" can best be seen as neither irresolution nor as the usual religious doubt, but as a pattern of mind that can best be described as open-mindedness. When such a habit of mind comes to express itself, one of its possible modes of expression could naturally be Dipsychian ambivalence. In such a form, open-mindedness would be employed to examine and evaluate both sides of an issue. The effect upon the reader would then be one that would be highly valued by the intellectual Clough: the reader will be induced to think and thus the reader's sense of being as an intellectual would be promoted.

There is definite evidence that Clough did structure his writing according to the effect that it would have upon a particular audience,
and, further, that the intended effect was often to bring an audience which supported one side of an issue to reconsider its own side and to see somewhat of the other side. Probably one of the more striking examples of Clough's practice in this regard is discovered in Clough's prose piece, "Address on Socialism." This was written probably about 1851. It was directed to a group of socialist workmen who had formed one of the numerous workmen's cooperative associations that were springing up in England during the late 1840's and early 1850's.

A group of Oxford and Rugby men and their friends formed the nucleus of a group who interested themselves in various activities on behalf of the working class. The group was begun by Charles Kingsley, F. Maurice, the principal of Queen's College, and J. M. Ludlow, a young barrister who had been practicing at Lincoln's Inn. Ludlow was the "prophet" of the group because as a boy he "had seen one revolution in Paris, and as a student he had drunk deep of the Fourierian spring." Fourier, it will be recalled, was the thinker behind such cooperatives as the memorable one that flourished at Brook Farm outside of Boston during the 1840's. The cooperative idea had held such appeal for Nathaniel Hawthorne at Brook Farm that he, who had never worked with his hands, found himself cleaning stables, hoeing, and working as he had never before done. These same ideas appealed to Clough when, after Maurice had brought Thomas Hughes into the group, Clough then became associated through Hughes. Though Clough had met another member of the group, Charles Kingsley through Froude at Oxford, Kingsley rather puzzled Clough more than attracted him. Thus it was Tom Hughes, a fellow Rugbian with Clough, who involved Clough in this particular
group. The group published a periodical, *Politics for the People*, and themselves taught in a night school for the poor of Great Ormond's Yard. By April, 1850, they also had been instrumental in the formation of the first of several cooperative workshops designated as the Working Tailors' Association.

Clough's connection with this group was haphazard and informal. He did not have the disposition of the active reformer though he agreed with the Socialistic aspirations and sympathized with the Socialistic groups in the Paris revolution while he was there in the summer of 1848. Clough was listed among the nearly twenty that formed the group in its early stages. However, there is little in Clough's correspondence of this period to indicate a great deal of active participation. Nevertheless, he was somewhat involved and he was certainly personally sympathetic. In a way that was typical of his temperament, he did not identify himself totally with the Socialist position, but thought through his own position and then kept that position open for reexamination. Yet when, as a speaker, he came before an assembly of the Working Tailors' Association they naturally expected him to support their aspirations and goals.

Clough opened his remarks to the Working Tailors' Association in the way they anticipated, showing that he was in sympathy with them. "Gentlemen: I am a fixed customer of two of your cooperative establishments.... May they prosper!" However, he promptly presented his purpose in this address concerning their doctrines, "that as regards them there seems to be something to be said on the other side.--Which ought to be said." Then Clough began to present what he believed
these Socialistic partisans should hear of views in opposition to their own. He did this hoping for the same effects that he strove for in the Dipsychian poetry--that they would reconsider and deepen their understanding of the total situation. His sympathy with their cause was genuine, but his searching mind saw objections that he felt they should be aware of, and so he structured his speech in such a way as to expand his audience's awareness of the issues. Since they, in their own beliefs, represented one side of the issue, Clough had determined to present the other side to them. In this way a dialogue of the two sides could be formed.

Clough's basic objections were to the utopian elements in their doctrines. He objected to their hopes of an idealized Christian brotherhood through their workingmen's associations. And certainly the later developments of these groups bore him out. Clough also presented to the tailors assembled before him his objections to their utopian social goals. He criticized their hopes of eliminating poverty and drunkenness. "Soberly, because you are good, will there be no more bad men? Because tailors divide profits equally, will there be no more fools and brutes? Because shoemakers have a common purpose, will spiritous liquors cease to tempt...?"41

If Clough's political views were not known from other sources than this speech, his politics would be certainly thought to be rather conservative, if not in fact reactionary, considering that he is presenting such a conservative speech to an audience of socialists. But Clough, while in Paris, had seen the French socialists fail to gain significant strength during the revolution of 1848 and Clough's ex-
periences in Paris led him to conclude that the utopian aspirations behind radical reform were practically certain to be disappointed in England too at this time. He wished to bring the tailors in his audience to a more comprehensive view of their situation through his contradiction of their own utopian dreams.

Interestingly enough, however, in order to enlarge his audience's grasp of the situation, Clough even went so far as to deny some of the beliefs that he currently held, as, for example, later in the speech he presented a cogent argument in support of competition. "And suppose in this race of competition a man beats me! —how has it happened? By his own superiority, by luck, or by trickery. In the first case, Eternal Justice is pleased, and so ought I to be; in the second case, I must hope for a better chance next time, in the third—I must take care and keep a better look out." One does not need to look very far into Clough's life or his poetry to find many items of proof to show that such a view of competition is in direct contradiction to his own views. His poem "In the Great Metropolis" presented in brief Clough's own antagonism to the whole idea of competition. Its bitter tone and the sharpness of its satire demonstrate Clough's opposition to competition with a forceful cynicism that is unusual for him. Clough's satire is usually more dialectic, more sceptical and open-minded than in this poem, and by its unusual force the depth of Clough's own feelings against competition can be judged. One cannot probably sense the bitterness by an examination of merely one or two quotes, but Clough's sharpness will at least begin to show itself in the second stanza: "And when the schoolboys grow to men,/ In life they learn it
The devil take the hindmost, o'er again— The bitterness is underlined by the rollicking coarseness of the refrain which, by its constant repetition after every two lines, comes to represent a sort of summary of the rough spirit that Clough sees in the supporters of the principle of competition. In the following stanzas Clough points to the shocking presence of competition not only in the schools but in the church, in marriage, and throughout the whole length of a man's life to his death. "And after death, we do not know,/ But scarce can doubt, where'er we go,/ The devil takes the hindmost, o"^ And thus with a view of afterlife that assumes competition will continue, Clough reaches the end and the climax of this short poem.

"In the Great Metropolis" is not unique in its antagonism to the idea of competition; rather, it is typical. The same antagonism to competition occurs often in other poems; for example, it is apparent at the end of one of the few poems by Clough that is anthologized with any regularity, "The Latest Decalogue." In that poem, which is an interpretation of the Decalogue according to the worldly point of view, the last commandment is treated thus: "Thou shalt not covet; but tradition/ Approves all forms of competition." Here again Clough makes abundantly clear his own attitude toward the coarsening of spirit which he believes is induced by the practice of competition.

That Clough, in the speech before the Working Tailors' Association, would publicly present a positive view of competition when he did not personally endorse competition is surprising perhaps, but it becomes less so when one recalls that it was Clough's avowed purpose in that speech to show his audience there was justification for the
laissez-faire capitalists' view of economics which was in sharp contrast to the economic view of Clough's present socialistic audience. Clough was not pretending to an expression of his own opinions. He was adapting his message to his audience—presenting a message that was calculated to enlarge their view of a situation which was of great importance to them. Certainly the Working Tailors' Association needed to understand the cogent logic of a view of competition that was held by their social and political opposition. This incident serves to illustrate not only that Clough did adapt his message to the needs of his audience, but it also demonstrates the Dipsychian manner of thought. A major characteristic of the Dipsychian mode is the presence of two opposing views of an issue held in an equal balance. If we consider that the audience of tailors represented one view and that Clough's speech offered the opposite view, then within the total situation the Dipsychian balance is present. For the reader of Clough's Dipsychian poetry, however, this incident's most important message warns that he should not accept that poetry strictly at face value. Because Dipsychian poetry presents both sides in rather equal balance and remembering that Clough can, upon occasion, offer views that he does not personally endorse, the reader is warned not to pre-emptively assume that Clough is speaking his true mind in either side he may present. To discern his true views, one must study his non-Dipsychian poetry and also take into consideration his letters and the other information we have about his life in order to form a true estimate of his actual beliefs. If that tactic had not been followed in the present case, one would have been forced, judging from the text alone, to believe that Clough's
speech to the Working Tailors' Association proved him to be a supporter of laissez-faire capitalism, an assumption which would be patently in error in light of his support of the Working Tailors' Association and his various poetic expressions objecting to laissez-faire capitalism. Furthermore, when the total effect of Dipsychian poetry is considered in view of the fact that Clough is interested in widening his audience's perception of the issue at hand, then one is prepared to recognize that Dipsychian poetry is an attempt at comprehensiveness rather than some weakness of will. Clough wished to bring his audience beyond accepted schools of thought and closed systems of dogma. The goal he aimed to attain through his presentation of both sides of an issue was that his readers might be cognizant of the full complexity of the issue, just as Clough's own logic and his honesty to his perceptions brought him to see it. His diffidence toward his own conclusions, which Palgrave pointed out in an earlier quote, rests on this impulse in Clough to bring before his readers the entire question in all of its complexity.

That Clough chose a dipolar structure to do this in his Dipsychian poetry rather than some other structure that would provide for a discussion of each of the shades of opinion between the extremes can also be accounted for in terms of his proposed effect upon his audience. He not only wished them to see the complexity of the issues but he also wished that they might, by their own thoughtful reasoning, arrive at a position uniquely their own. The reader would be less apt to choose a position at one of the extremes when he could see the two extremes set in opposition. In Dipsychus, for example, when he sees the coarse worldliness of the Spirit, together with the naive idealism of Dipsychus,
both extremes become equally repellent. Unlikely to choose either extreme, the reader will be forced, through analysis of both sides of an issue, to take some of his ideas from both sides and so arrive at an opinion that is personally satisfactory. The proposed effect of Dipsychian poetry, therefore, is not only to induce thought and provide a comprehensive view of the issue, but also to free the reader to form his own personal position on the issue in question. From this point of view, Clough's intended effect, then, was to enable change and growth in his readers. Timko recognized this effect which Clough proposed in at least one area of thought when he says, "Clough's wish ...was for man to accept things as they really are rather than avoid coming to grips with the world by resorting to conventional behavior, to 'mawkish sentimentality,' or animal actions."^45 One must look to Clough's intended effect upon his readers, but to achieve the most comprehensive understanding of his Dipsychian poetry it is necessary also to consider the part that self-expression plays in the genesis of that poetry.

One aspect of Clough's self-expression in his poetry should be examined first because it can indicate one of Clough's primary reasons for the creation of his poetry, beyond its proposed salutary effects upon the readers. Rare indeed is the writer who writes only to promote the welfare of his readers. Some may write to achieve fame, but these are usually least successful in their aim. Others may write as a means of livelihood but Clough published so little that this could not have been his aim. In fact, the only poetry he wrote for which he was ever paid was his Amours de Voyage and even this was not pub-
lished until many years after it was written. Though Clough wrote neither for fame nor wealth, he did have an intimately personal reason for his poetic creation—the use of poetry as a means of examining his own philosophical and religious problems.

There is a good deal of evidence to indicate that Clough wrote his poems as a method of thinking about these problems. In an examination of Clough's periods of poetic productivity it can be observed that there were conspicuous periods of productivity but also equally observable lapses in poetic production. The periods of poetic creation usually were periods of personal stress for Clough. It was during such times that Clough employed poetry as a means of working toward a resolution of the problems besetting him. The first period of production was from 1839 to 1841 when Clough faced the "shock of seeing the religion of Arnold challenged by both Catholicism and Theism." The second period was from 1849 to 1851 when Clough had witnessed the defeat of political liberalism in Paris and in Italy and at the same time had found that University College in London offered no haven from religious intolerance.

During one other period Clough's poetic creativity is linked directly to personal stress. The later part of the Rugby period, particularly after the fall of 1835, was a period during which Clough was engaged in a restricting of his intellectual abundance. Clough then had "the sense that the too fast and brilliant working of one's mind was somehow wrong and alien to some deeper quiet of the heart." He began to use poetry as a way of resolving this problem by objectifying it in poetry. Such an activity, however, only forced him into
a greater mental activity. For this reason he could not "bring himself
to believe enough in the value of his own poetry." Instead of the
calming effect he had sought, he was the more stimulated and he turned
away from the meditative, spiritual mode of thinking that he had been
hoping to promote. In his "Journal" one Sunday morning in September,
1835, he wrote, "Instead of turning to God last night I wrote a sonnet,
and poetized till 10 o'clock. Composed 2 more in bed." The sixteen-
year-old Clough felt that such an activity amounted to turning to poetry
instead of turning to God.

When Clough was caught up in the poetic mood, however, he some-
times felt that poetry offered him more than other modes of thought.
Chorley asserts, "A number of these schoolboy poems were published in
the Rugby Magazine of which he became editor during his last year." One
of Clough's poems, which he published in the Rugby Magazine in
April, 1836, illustrates Clough's mood of poetic rapture very well.
"Yet let our earthly souls in that bright wake (the wake of poesy)
Still, still with fond and springing rapture ride; This burning thirst,
those high desires still slake/ And joy as in these hues." These
lines from the poem which young Clough called "The Exordium of a Very
Long Poem" show how deeply poetry excited the very depths of his being.
That as a schoolboy Clough struggled against that sort of poetic rup-
ture accounts in part for the intellectual character of most of his
later verse. The main point to be observed, however, is that almost
in spite of himself at such an early age, Clough naturally turned to
poetry during a period of stress, and, despite his conscious reasonings
to the contrary, Clough did find a large measure of comfort and relief
in poetic activity.
Yet poetic activity was not of equal intensity during each of the three major periods of Clough's poetic activity prior to 1852. The Rugby period produced the least amount of poetry, probably for two reasons. First, Clough was just beginning to learn his craft as a poet. The second reason, and the more important one, is that Clough probably never again worked as arduously on other projects as he did during his years at Rugby. Many years later Clough wrote to his fiancée, Miss Blanche Smith, about the long hours he spent on his studies at Rugby: "When I was a boy, between 14 and 22 throughout, I may say, you don't know how much of this regular drudgery I went through.... Certainly as a boy, I had less of boyish enjoyment of any kind whatever either at home or at school than nine-tenths of boys." Such concentrated efforts on his studies, coupled with his other duties at Rugby—the responsibilities of being a praeposter, the long hours he had to put in as sole editor of the Rugby Magazine—left Clough little time for extensive poetic production no matter how much he felt drawn towards poetry by its capacity to help him relieve some of his inner stresses during this period.

The poetic production for the period from 1839 to 1847 cannot be called slight for it was during those years that the sixty-four pages of Ambarvalia were written, together with about eight more poems that were later published separately. But when this period is compared with the period of Clough's greatest poetic activity, the contrast makes the periods of earlier poetic creation seem very slight indeed. In the four-year period from 1848 to 1852 Clough wrote the greatest volume of his work. Perhaps the best way to compare the production
of the two periods is to compare the number of pages the production from each period requires in the 1951 definitive edition of Clough's Poems. The poems from the period 1839 to 1847 cover about fifty pages in that edition, while the poems from the shorter period (1848-1852) fill three hundred and five pages. Clough wrote approximately six times as much poetry during half the length of time in the period from 1848 to 1852. In this later period Clough wrote not only lyrics but also all but one of his narrative poems. The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich, The Amours de Voyage, and Dipsychus, as well as the unfinished Adam and Eve, were all long narrative or dramatic poems written during this short span of four years. If Clough had continued writing at that rate of production he would have filled several volumes of poetry before his early death at forty-two years of age.

What accounts for this period of intensive poetic creation during the years between 1848 and 1852? The answer must be the same as that which accounts for the creativity of the other earlier periods. This period, like the earlier ones, was a time of personal stress, but this time, however, was a period of much greater stress than the earlier ones. Mrs. Clough describes the period thus: "This was without doubt the dreariest, loneliest period of his life, and he became compressed and reserved to a degree quite unusual with him, both before and afterwards." His period of greatest personal stress is by far the period of Clough's greatest poetic activity. No doubt there were other influences which also made this production possible, as, for example, the increased leisure of this period compared to that of his Rugby period. But he probably had less leisure during his most creative
period than he did during the early years at Oxford, and thus the major factor seems to be the greater degree of personal stress which Mrs. Clough indicates was characteristic of these years.

A further observation must be made about the poetic production during the years from 1848 to 1852, and that is that most of Clough's Dipsychian poetry was written during this period. It may be assumed that the inner stress which characterizes this period finds its natural expression in the Dipsychian form. The tension between felt opposites which constitutes mental stress is precisely the psychological tension which Dipsychian poetry was formed to express. Clough had created this particular pattern of poetry out of his own experience during this "dreariest, loneliest period of his life."

Besides the coincidence of Clough's periods of poetic activity with his periods of internal stress, there are other indicators that Clough was at least partly motivated toward using his poetry to aid himself in objectifying and eventually in resolving the tensions that wracked him. One such indicator is that Clough's poems, to a striking degree, reflect his personal experience and his own personality. Such a personally oriented subject matter and style suggest that Clough may well have used his poems to deal with the problems, both philosophical and personal, that tried him. It is a commonplace of criticism to observe that a writer's creation reflects his own experience. This is, of course, true of Clough and can be seen even on a superficial level by recognizing that the settings of each of Clough's major poems were drawn from his immediate experience.

For several years, while in Oxford, Clough had journeyed to
Scotland a number of times to participate in reading parties. He had participated both as a student and as a tutor. Towards the end of August, 1848, two months before he was to formally resign his Fellowship at Oriel, Clough visited Fisher, a former pupil who was then acting as tutor to his first reading party in Scotland. At this time only the formality of the announcement of Clough's resignation remained. His connections with Oxford were virtually severed. No doubt this brief visit with Fisher's reading party in Scotland reminded Clough of his own happy experiences on similar trips when, during the long summer vacation, he had led a group of students in their studies and on rambles through the Scottish countryside. From his nostalgia for the reading parties and out of his sense of freedom from the restrictions his Fellowship had imposed, Clough wrote the long vacation pastoral, *The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich*. While the poem was occasioned by his separation from Oxford, it was certainly built upon his own experiences in just such reading parties as the poem describes. The settings for Clough's other long poems are just as closely tied to his own experiences. *The Amours de Voyage* is set in Rome during the siege by the French in 1849. Clough was in Rome at that time. *Dipsychus* is set in Venice, and Clough wrote his first draft of it while he himself was there in 1850.

The relationship, however, between Clough's experiences and his poetry is even more intimate than to function merely as a source for settings and some of the actions in his poems. As will become apparent, the personal philosophical problems that he was facing are also reflected in the poems. It is this kind of preoccupation with
philosophical problems that led Matthew Arnold to write to Clough about Clough's poem, "Duty—that's to say, complying." Arnold wrote, "I was all rasped by influenza... Upon this came all the exacerbation produced by your apostrophes to duty." Then Arnold speaks in general about the philosophical, psychological character of Clough's poetry: "I did not at all do justice to the great precision and force you have attained in those inward ways... Yet to solve the universe as you do is as irritating as Tennyson's dawdling with its painted shell is fatiguing to me to witness." Arnold could see that Clough had achieved a considerable skill in working with his "inward ways" in his poetry. Whether or not one is willing to grant Clough a measure of success in his treatment of man's inner mind, it is clear enough that man's "inward ways" formed the major theme of Clough's poetry and, further, that the one major source for this must be his own inner experience. "Clough wrings his criticism of life out of his own experience."  

There certainly is a close relationship between Clough's personal situation, both in exterior matters such as Clough's travels and the settings for his poems, and in inner matters such as Matthew Arnold pointed to in his praise of Clough's "great precision and force" in his poetic treatment of his "inward ways." This closeness to Clough's own experience in the materials of his poetry can be witnessed in another way. Clough's biographers seem to show an unusual penchant for identifying Clough with the major characters of his poems, which illustrates that people who have studied Clough's life notice a remarkable identity between Clough and his poetic creations. Perhaps
nowhere is this tendency shown more clearly than when Goldie Levy links Clough both with Dipsychus and with Claude within the confines of a single sentence. "Dipsychus, the man of two souls, is an introspective, intellectual, reserved and sensitive type, reminiscent of Claude in The Amours de Voyage and of Clough himself." This same tendency to identify Clough with the characters he created is criticized by Houghton in his review of Chorley's biography of Clough.

An uncritical use of the poems for the purpose of biography has the same tendency to lead the biographer into error as does the uncritical use of any source but it certainly was not wrong for the biographers of Clough to use his poetry as a source of information about him, as indeed they did. The difficulty arises when the biographer has found so many insights into Clough's life through a study of his work that he may be tempted to use the poetry in an uncritical fashion. Levy is correct. There are many similarities between Claude, Dipsychus and Clough—more similarities than she listed in the quote given above. The observation and the use of these similarities can lead the student of literature into a greater understanding of Clough's work just as the use of such similarities can lead Clough's biographers into a fuller understanding of his life. This is true because Clough, more than many poets, drew directly upon his own personal experience and reflected that experience in his poetry, both directly and indirectly.

Clough's indirect revelation of himself must, of necessity, have a special importance to the study of his Dipsychian poetry. When Clough reveals himself indirectly, it is often through his style, and style is an important constituent of the Dipsychian poetry because
that poetry is specially marked by various stylistic devices which
heighten its particular effects. Clough himself often commented on
the relationship between the style and the personality of the poet.
In his discussion of the problems of translation he points up this
particular relationship between the poet and his style when he says
of translating Goethe's lyrics, "We have the portraiture of a particu-
lar human mind to re-portray, and the fine personal details of a human
experience to re-express. Some delicate autobiographical confidence
is perverted by every seemingly slight alteration." Clough could
observe that "the style is the man" in his translation of Goethe's
lyrics because he knew it to be so true of himself. He had felt this
when he worked on his own poetry. Others, who knew Clough well, could
also see Clough's mind mirrored in his style. Palgrave knew Clough
when he was a Fellow at Oriel and later held a position similar to
Clough's as an Examiner in the Education Office while Clough was also
an Examiner there. This old friend noted the presence of Clough's
personality in the stylistic devices of his poetry. He says, "And
Clough is there, lastly, to turn to characteristics more distinctively
mental, in a certain caprice or over-fantasy of taste, in a subtle and
far-fetched mode of reasoning which returns to plain conclusions through
almost paradoxical premises." Palgrave, who had known Clough's
Dipsychian mind in friendly conversation, could see the same thing in
the style of his poetry. He refers to it when he mentions Clough's
subtle reasoning and his use of "almost paradoxical premises." It was
both natural and unavoidable that Clough's style should bear the strong
impress of his personality, particularly in his Dipsychian poetry.
Clough faced the problems he dealt with in his Dipsychian poetry with his characteristic rationality, but since these problems had a personal dimension for him, there is an emotional intensity present as well. "He is, of course, an intellectual, but he would not be a poet unless his intellectual findings—in the realms of personal and social psychology—had engendered strong emotions."

Fairchild alludes to the same thing when he observes that "Clough's satires reveal more discomfort than they inflict." It would be quite wrong to suppose that Clough was an emotional poet in the way that Shelley was. With Clough, the emotional force forms a sort of undercurrent of intensity more often than it breaks out into obvious emotionalism.

Clough's emotional drives provide the direction and the depth of his intellectual treatment of the issues. When those issues are examined, however, it is readily apparent that those matters are of great personal importance to Clough himself. A glance at one of the issues in Clough's Dipsychian poetry will make that clear. Since those issues which are crucial in Dipsychian poetry will later be discussed at more length, it will only be necessary here to mention one of the minor problems that Clough treats in his Dipsychian poetry and to show briefly how it is related to his own personal situation.

One subject that occurs with some regularity in the Dipsychian poetry is the problem of the interpretation of Scripture. Clough's early religious training at home had left him with the orthodox idea that the Scriptural stories should be read as if they were all composed at one time and addressed to people who were in about the same situation as himself. When Clough grew to understand what Dr. Arnold,
his headmaster at Rugby, was saying about the interpretation of Scripture, he found that he had to cope with a substantially different view. Dr. Arnold had become aware of the German criticism through his reading of Coleridge and by his own independent studies. Out of these studies and his own thought Dr. Arnold concluded that revelation is progressive—that the God who is revealed early in Jewish history is only the revelation of God that He thought they were prepared to understand. In the cruelty which He displays in the slaughter of the Amalekites which He commands Saul to undertake, Dr. Arnold saw God revealing Himself in the only way that the people of that time could comprehend and since, essentially, God was asking Saul for self-denial, Christians, who have the additional revelation of the New Testament, should see the lesson of self-denial and not think that God would be really pleased by wholesale slaughter of an entire nation. What Dr. Arnold's concept of progressive revelation means in practice is that the Christian reader of the Bible is instructed to consider the Old Testament stories as if they were a series of "parables" from which he is to draw a moral appropriate to himself and the fuller degree of revelation that he as a Christian possesses.

While Clough was in Oxford his contact with the Oxford Movement was intimate. Though he rarely had contact with Newman as an undergraduate, his mathematical tutor was W. D. Ward, who later (1844) published The Ideal of a Christian Church, which can be characterized as an expansion of Tracts for the Times, number ninety. In 1845 Ward entered the Roman Catholic Church. During Clough's early years at Oxford, Ward was not only Clough's tutor but his friend as well.
The overall result of Clough's intimate contact with Ward's probing and searching mind was that Clough found that he had to clarify and defend his own position. In fact, the final result was that Clough was not absorbed into the Oxford Movement but, instead, developed his own views along a more liberal line than Dr. Arnold had taught. Since this whole process of development of Clough's religious views will be treated at some length later, here it is only necessary to glance at a short poem written in the Dipsychian manner wherein Clough presents part of his later views on the question of inspiration.

Clough's liberal tendencies are apparent in the very title of the poem, "Epi-Strauss-ium." The central image of the morning sunlight passing through the stained glass portraits of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, and the afternoon sun shining through the clear glass windows of the same church suggests a development of Dr. Arnold's concept of progressive revelation. The central image in "Epi-Strauss-ium" suggests that during the early years of the Christian Church the truth of God, the sun, could only be perceived through the Gospel stories; now, in a time of fuller revelation, man can perceive the sun more directly. Clough's own reaction to this progress is somewhat ambiguous in the poem and that is what makes for its Dipsychian character. There is a wistfulness in his description of the sun "With gorgeous portraits blent." He sees them as "Lost, is it? lost, to be recovered never?" The later revelation of the sun is seen as a fuller revelation surely, but also as a less humanly satisfactory revelation. The richness of the early revelation is gone and in its place the sun itself is seen simply for itself while the old revelation in all its richness has
become "invisible and gone." Now, as Clough sees it, the church has lost its old glory though it has, as a sort of compensation, more direct light from the sun. "The place of worship the meantime with light/ Is, if less richly, more sincerely bright."66

From even such a brief examination of a very complex, though short lyric, it is possible to apprehend that Clough had incorporated and objectified his various attitudes toward the matter of Scriptural interpretation. His early Evangelical training was reflected in his wistful attitude toward the early revelation given to the Church through the Gospels. The concept of progressive revelation which he learned from Dr. Arnold and which he had further developed and applied to the New Testament during his Oxford years, in his reaction against Ward and the Oxford Movement, is implicit in the movement of the sun from the stained glass windows to the plainly glassed windows of the church. The recognition of the aesthetic appeal of the sun shining through the stained glass "With gorgeous portraits blent" can easily be taken for Clough's own realization that for many people, the rituals and devotions of the Church had a great value. He personally observed the attachment that many persons in the Oxford Movement gave to these things. Though ritual did not hold appeal for Clough, his experience with those for whom it did hold a great appeal, becomes an inevitable part of his Dipsychian examination of both sides of the questions involved in the matter of Scriptural interpretation. Because Clough created a poem based upon his own conflicting experience, and since that poem reflected conflicting elements by reflecting that experience, the Dipsychian form was in a sense inevitable. The balanced statement
on either side of the issue of Scriptural interpretation in "Epi-Strauss-
ium" objectifies Clough's own ambivalent experience with that very pro-
blem.

Since Clough was employing poetry, in part at least, as a com-
mentary on his own experience and as a sounding board for his personal
problems, introspection was naturally involved. The poetry grew out
of the introspection, however, and not the introspection out of the
poetic habit. Introspection was a habit with Clough as early as the
days at Rugby. Veyriras observes that it is one of the surprises which
the publication of Clough's correspondence revealed; to discover that
a young man who was widely admired for his high moral character and
his notable emotional balance was so often prone to indulge himself
in a nearly morbid self-analysis.67 The best examples of his intro-
spection are to be found in Clough's letters to Simpkinson. Simpkinson
had been a close friend of Clough's while they were at Rugby together,
and since Simpkinson was older, when Simpkinson went off to Cambridge,
Clough unburdened his heart to him in many letters during his last
years at Rugby. Before Simpkinson had left Rugby, Clough's other
close friends had also departed for college and Clough felt quite alone
when Simpkinson also left; thus it was natural he should turn to his
closest friend, and, through letters, reveal himself to Simpkinson.
Probably the letter that most reveals the occasional morbid touch
that Clough's adolescent introspection could at times take is the
letter of March 3, 1836, when Clough had just turned seventeen. "Ever
since the week I was in bed for it Clough refers to the time he was
ill with the measles, a kind of sound or tone which haunted me at that
time, and gave a kind of colour to everything I heard, has occasionally in times of excitement come over me, shrouding me as it were in a mist, nay, sometimes coming even within me and giving its ghostly spectre-like tone to thoughts even before they had acquired the definite sound of words." Clough then goes on to tell Simpkinson how this mood has entered his religious thoughts. "It has sometimes been quite dreadful to feel one's prayers for aid, whilst they are being breathed to God, infected with this loathsome disease. Sometimes however I felt quite triumphant in the consciousness that it could not touch my heart...and that the evil spirit had no power there." As the letter draws to a close, Clough's introspective mood turns him to a consideration of his thoughts while he was writing this letter. "All the while I have been writing this I have been in a constant struggle against evil thoughts which are like the waves of the tide running in; as soon as one retires, one rolls over and is almost beyond the other's original mark." This letter illustrates not only Clough's tendency to introspection as an adolescent, but also shows that Clough felt a danger in introspection for himself personally. But in spite of that, the introspection was continued throughout his life, at least until the time of his marriage. Such introspection was most intense, however, not during his Rugby period, but, instead, during the other two more poetically productive periods—while at Oxford, and especially during his most creative period, 1848 through 1852. Veyriras has observed the relationship between Clough's periods of introspection and those periods of special trial and greater creativity.

Miss Chorley's following statement, concerning the relation-
ship between Clough's introspection and his poetic creativity, is, perhaps, a bit romantic in its expression but it lays bare the heart of the matter. She is grateful that Clough's letters preserve some glimpses of his morbid introspection, "For here, clearly recognizable, is the seed-bed from which most of Clough's most moving poetry springs; the poetic imagination fertilized, conjured into action by self-torture." It is probably because of the presence of emotional pressures and the need to objectify them that Clough turned to poetry rather than to prose. While prose is the most responsive medium for the rendering of thought, poetry makes it possible to express thoughts together with their subtle coloring of emotional values and, at the same time, to trace the complex inner workings of the human mind. Poetry's responsiveness to emotional and psychological nuances, together with Clough's natural talent in his medium, were both, no doubt, factors in the choice of poetry as the means for him to express the thoughts and emotions which his introspection led him to observe in himself.

Since Clough is so self-aware, it is not surprising to find that he recognizes the potential that writing poetry has for the relief and self-expression of those suffering some mental turmoil. In Dipsychus, after Dipsychus has recited a section of Clough's "Easter Day," Spirit questions Dipsychus about it. Spirit's objection to the "Easter Day" poem seems to rest upon its Dipsychian character. Because of the poem's ambivalence, Spirit's matter-of-fact mind finds the poem unclear in both opinion and tone. Spirit expresses his objection thus: "Well, now it's anything but clear/ What is the tone that's taken here;/ ...That's a great fault; you're this and that,/ And here and there,
and nothing flat." Spirit goes on to offer Dipsychus some common-sense suggestions about writing poetry. "Yet writing's golden word what is it,/ But the three syllables, 'explicit'?/ Say, if you cannot help it, less,/ But what you do put, put express." Interestingly enough Spirit here expresses much the same objection to "Easter Day" that the Uncle in the Epilogue to Dipsychus expresses about Dipsychus itself. The basis of the problem for such practical minds as those of Spirit and the Uncle is in the ambivalence that is the primary mark of both of these poems.

Furthermore, Spirit has suggested that there is a sort of compulsiveness in Dipsychus that made him write "Easter Day" when Spirit says, "Say, if you cannot help it, less." The suggestion is that Dipsychus cannot help but say something in verse. He seems compelled toward poetic utterance. When Dipsychus answers Spirit's remarks, we get a glimpse of the nature of that compulsion. Dipsychus explains why he wrote "Easter Day." "To please my own poor mind! To find repose/ To physic the sick soul; to furnish vent/ To diseased humours in the moral frame." This is much the same reason which has been suggested that Clough had for his own writing of poetry. Lest it be observed that one should not draw a hasty conclusion that what was true of Dipsychus is necessarily true of Clough, it is necessary to note that Clough himself suggests in this context that what is true of Dipsychus is true of Clough. Dipsychus is made to recite, as his own, the poem which in fact Clough had written—"Easter Day." This poem was written by Clough the year before while he was in Italy. Dipsychus, however, claims authorship and Spirit recognizes that claim, so it is certainly
justifiable to accept Clough's own suggestion that he and Dipsychus were alike in regard to "Easter Day." They both "pretend" to have written it. Because Clough has, in the writing of "Easter Day," drawn an identity between himself and Dipsychus, it is probable to assume that Dipsychus' motive in his pretended creation of the poem is much the same as Clough's motive in his actual writing of the poem. It then appears from Spirit's remark, "Say, if you can not help it, less ...," that Clough, like Dipsychus, writes from some compulsive motivation. This is all the more probable when we remember Clough's compulsive "poetizing" while he was in Rugby.

It is worthwhile to use this section of Dipsychus to further probe into the exact nature of this compulsion. In part, the compulsion comes from the need, as Dipsychus says, "To please my own poor mind!" Spirit offers some amplification of that statement when he comments on it, saying, "That in religious as profane things/ 'Twas useless trying to explain things;/ Men's business-wits the only sane things." Spirit rightly supposes that Dipsychus was compelled to write his poem in an attempt to explain to himself some religious matters that had been troubling him. This, then, suggests the thoughtful aspect of Clough's own motivation which is reflected in the strongly intellectual nature of his poetry, particularly of his Dipsychian poetry. Clough uses poetry to search out the various aspects of his own philosophical and religious problems and exposes them for his own examination—as he says, "To please my own poor mind!"

There is, however, more than intellectual examination involved. Dipsychus suggests another aspect of the poet's motivation in writing.
"To find repose; To physic the sick soul." Houghton comments on this when he discusses these lines. He says of self-examination, "For a poet it could also lead to a therapy of self-confession."\(^4\) This seems to be what Clough is suggesting here too. The process of self-examination would serve to promote a more healthy attitude toward the questions because they could be seen in a more objective manner. The problems would then be seen for exactly what they are, without introducing the exaggerations that solitary brooding would tend to bring to them. This, then, could be called therapeutic poetry because of the healing it may bring to the poet himself. Much of the Dipsychian poetry is of this nature because when both sides of an issue are laid bare, with the full force of arguments on each side exposed, the poet is placed in a position which enables him to make his own choice.

The Dipsychian poem would not record that ultimate choice since that would occur only after the poem had been written. This is the reason for the ambivalence in the Dipsychian poems—the issues they examine are at the time of examination in a state of flux in the poet's mind and the poem itself is part of the mental process by which the poet is working toward a resolution. It is thus easy to see that critics, looking at the Dipsychian poems themselves and not considering other sources of information about their author, were often erroneously led to the conclusion that Clough was a poet of doubt. It would be more accurate to say that Clough was a poet sometimes seized by doubt, and while he struggled under its power he turned to poetry to express that struggle. Ultimately the poet himself reached a resolution of the issue, but the Dipsychian poems are poems of the struggle, not of the resolution.
A third, and less complex, motivation for Clough's poetic creation is suggested by Dipsychus' explanation that he wrote "to furnish vent to diseased humours in the moral frame." This refers to the frequent experience of every person when in some mental difficulty. It is often helpful just to express the problem. People in trouble are helped by such a simple thing as an expression of the problem as they see it, whether or not any mental clarification of the issues results. Spirit makes light of Dipsychus' need for simply giving vent to his feelings when he mocks it as, "A sort of seton, I suppose, / A moral bleeding at the nose." Spirit's images are coarse—the seton is the surgical name for a string that is used to draw pus from a blister or a wound by capillary action. These coarse images merely reflect Spirit's cynical attitude towards the very human need to give expression to problems by the psychological value of simply giving vent to one's problems. This psychological device was as well recognized in the nineteenth century as it is today.

It is apparent that the type of poetry which the poet creates to give vent to his problems will not usually contain any statement of the resolution of those problems. One only needs to give vent to a problem while it is a live problem for him, which means that he cannot perceive the solution of that problem at the time. Naturally, then, no solution would be likely to appear in such a poetic presentation of the problem. Therefore, it is apparent that the Dipsychian poetry that Clough wrote wholly or in part from a motive of furnishing "vent to diseased humours in the moral frame" would not contain the resolution of the problem that it treated. It would present the problem as
he saw it while it was a problem to him. Both sides would seem equally
desirable or undesirable. The situation would be in balance. The
natural expression would be the ambivalent poetry that has been called
Dipsychian.

In this chapter the nature of Dipsychian poetry has been ex-
plained by means of definition and description. The definition of Di-
psychian poetry as it occurs in its objective expression was examined in
Clough's lyric, "Is it true, ye gods, who treat us." The expression of
the ironic mode of Dipsychian poetry was shown especially in Clough's use
of that mode in the poem "Jacob" where its relationship to psychological
patterns was also evident. The description of Dipsychian poetry would not
have been complete, however, without a study of the effects which Clough
intended to achieve. It becomes clear, when one examines Clough's Socratic
practice both as a teacher and as a poet, that he does not intend so much
to break down his readers' convictions as to bring them to an open-minded
reexamination of their own philosophy. Clough was also sufficiently self-
aware to recognize that he used poetry to assist himself with his own prob-
lems. The reader may recognize this when the relationship between the
periods of Clough's personal stress and his periods of great poetic crea-
tivity were seen to coincide. Furthermore, when his personal experiences
were seen to be intimately linked with Clough's poetic expression, not only
in superficial matters but on the deeper level of his current emotional
involvement with the issues of which his poetry treats, then the reader
is prepared to understand the sort of benefits that Clough sought to
obtain from poetic creation as he described them in Dipsychus. With
this type of definition and description in the background, the im-
portance of the forthcoming study of the unique characteristics of
Clough's personality, which caused him to write in a Dipsychian fashion,
will be apparent. It remains to be shown how these special personality
characteristics operated upon particular issues so as to find expres-
sion in Dipsychian poetry.
NOTES

1Houghton, Poetry of Clough, p. 226.

2Clough, Poems, p. 44.

3Ibid.

4Ibid., p. 87.

5Ibid.

6Ibid.

7Clough, Correspondence, p. 190.

8Houghton, Poetry of Clough, p. 75.

9Ibid., p. 116.

10Clough, Poems, p. 85.

11Ibid.

12Ibid., p. 86.

13Timko, p. 95.


15Osborne, p. 60.


27 Arnold, *Letters to Clough*, p. 60.


30 Chorley, p. 141.

31 Levy, p. 51.


33 Osborne, p. 50.

34 Clough, *Selected Prose*, p. 349.


36 An interesting picture of the formation, rise and fall of Brook Farm can be drawn from a collection of original documents such as letters, diaries, and contemporary newspaper articles which are assembled in *Autobiography of Brook Farm*, ed. Henry W. Sams (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1958).
37 Clough, Correspondence, I, 216.
38 Ibid., I, 204.
39 Clough, Selected Prose, p. 243.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid., p. 245.
42 Ibid., p. 246.
43 Clough, Poems, p. 91.
44 Ibid.
45 Timko, p. 102.
46 Houghton, Poetry of Clough, p. 208.
47 Ibid.
48 Arnold, Letters to Clough, p. 8.
49 Chorley, p. 25.
50 Arnold, Letters to Clough, p. 8.
51 Chorley, p. 25.
52 Clough, Poems, p. 439.
53 Clough, Correspondence, I, 310.
54 Clough, Poems and Prose Remains, p. 39.
55 Levy, p. 78.
56 Arnold, Letters to Clough, p. 63.
57 Chorley, p. 7.

60 Clough, Selected Prose, pp. 188-189.

61 Palgrave, p. 530.

62 Chorley, p. 6.


65 Ibid., p. 98.

66 Clough, Poems, p. 49.

67 Veyriras, p. 66.

68 Clough, Correspondence, I, 40.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid.

71 Veyriras, p. 67.

72 Chorley, pp. 31-32.

73 The locus for this and the following quotes in this section from Dipsychus is Poems, pp. 263-266.

74 Houghton, Poetry of Clough, p. 58.
CHAPTER II: THE DIPSYCHIAN MIND

Dipsychian poetry has been characterized as the poetry of decision. It has become abundantly clear that Clough wrote this kind of poetry to arrive at decisions of his own and also to bring his readers to form their own decisions. Dipsychian poetry, however, can also be characterized as the poetry of crisis. The crisis that typically generated Clough's Dipsychian poetry was not simply an external crisis that is easy for the biographer to isolate and document by dates and specific events. The crisis in Clough's life that generated the Dipsychian poetry was not an external calamity but an internal crisis—a crisis of values. To understand this crisis of values it is necessary to examine Clough's unique mode of thinking and, therefore, the emphasis in this chapter falls upon the Dipsychian mind and the influences which formed it.

Clough's Dipsychian mind was more than a mind poised before decision, though it certainly was that. It will be seen in this chapter that the decision which Clough faced was of a special nature, and whereas the last chapter focused upon the poetry and the fact of decision present in that poetry, this chapter examines the elements of the central problem that called forth the Dipsychian mind. If Clough had been indiscriminately ambivalent on a large number of issues, one would be forced to admit that he was probably of an irresolute character. It is clear that Clough was far from being an irresolute individual, but in one area of thought, at one period of his life, he
faced a crisis of values that was insoluble for him at that time. It will be seen later in this chapter that the problem which he faced was essentially a question of whether moral obedience to God and service to others in this world could be rightfully reconciled. One side of the conflict was Clough's wish to remain morally pure and to escape the taint of impurity that he saw others receive through their contact with the world of men and affairs. Clough's idea that the world tends to corrupt those who mix with it could have been observed in a number of the poems that were previously examined. A prime example of that attitude is found in Clough's poem, "In the Great Metropolis." There, it will be recalled, he bitterly observed that the world in all of its contacts with man—from the time of being a schoolboy, throughout his business activities, until his old age and death—teaches the lesson of selfishness through the doctrine of competition, or as the refrain of the poem puts it, "The devil take the hindmost." In much the same way that the world teaches selfishness, Clough saw it bring other types of moral failure upon individuals, sometimes by temptation, sometimes by influences. The more intimate a person was in his involvement in worldly affairs, the more probable was his moral breakdown in one area or another. So it seemed to Clough that the only course open to one who wished to remain pure was to avoid contact with the world.

As Clough saw it, however, contact with the world was imposed upon man by God; that thought is the burden of Clough's poem, "Qui Laborat, Orat." Not only were men forced by their nature and circumstances to live in the world, they were seemingly prohibited from
bidding their time on the outskirts of the world of affairs. They could not properly withdraw from the furor of active life into the religious security of the monastery or the placid intellectual life of the university. Clough expresses this idea in *The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich*: "There is a Field-Marshal, my friend, who arrays our battalions; / Let us to Providence trust, and abide and work in our stations."  
Withdrawal was prohibited, Clough thought, by God's injunction that men should serve others. To Clough, service to others necessitated active involvement in the affairs of the world and men. As will be seen, Clough's sense of the significance of commonplace reality made it impossible for him to compromise his sense of the duty of service by any sort of withdrawal from active life---to serve others had to mean to serve them here and now and in the practical, common-sense ways. 

Clough's crisis of values was shaped by the inevitable conflict between this desire to maintain before God the greatest moral purity of which he was capable and, on the other hand, the God-imposed necessity of serving others in this world which would necessitate being tainted by the impurity of the world. Clough sincerely wished to serve God. Had he been less genuinely sincere, a compromise on either the side of service or on the side of moral purity could have been easily effected. But Clough, by training and disposition, was, he felt, in an insoluble moral dilemma---a crisis of values. 

In this chapter the aspects of his mind which formed that crisis will be seen to consist of three primary attitudes. The first is Clough's sense of the paramount importance of commonplace reality. Without that sense he would have been able to retreat to the university
life and so have avoided the tincture of immorality which he felt the world of business and practical affairs brought. The second attitude in Clough's crisis of values was his feeling of the necessity for moral purity and his idea that the world tends to corrupt the purity of those who come into contact with it. Had he not held that attitude, Clough would have been free to enter into the very heart of the business and commercial world and satisfy his duty to God by realistic service to others within the context of commonplace reality. The third element in Clough's crisis of values during the Dipsychian period was his sense of the duty to serve others. Without this element he could have maintained his purity of heart because he would not have felt a duty to mingle in the affairs of the world at all.

Following the above pattern of analysis of the Dipsychian mind, this chapter will illustrate in some detail how each of these three elements were present for Clough—his realistic view of life, his necessity for moral purity, and his duty to the service of mankind.

Clough's appreciation of the significance of activity within reality was grounded within his personality. Clough, both as a boy and as an adult, enjoyed active involvement with life. He was not a fragile weakling as Lytton Strachey suggested by his unqualified reference to Clough's weak ankles. As a very young boy Clough's ankles were weak but that did not stop him even then from engaging in athletic activities. He became a powerful swimmer and greatly enjoyed swimming throughout his life. After he had entered the upper forms at Rugby his ankles had strengthened so much that he enthusiastically engaged in the rough and tumble of the special kind of football that was named
for Rugby School. That the game of Rugby was much rougher than the modern American game of football can be ascertained by a study of Thomas Hughes' famous account of the game in *Tom Brown's School-Days*. Rugby was played without any protective padding by schoolboys of all ages who were thrown together in a colossal free-for-all of over one hundred boys. This mass of eager, thrashing youths often converged upon the goalkeeper, and Clough achieved a schoolboy's immortality as one of Rugby's two best goalkeepers. Clough's young friend, Thomas Arnold, Matthew's brother, recalls the stalwart figure of Clough guarding the goal. "He wore neither jersey nor cap; in a white shirt, and with bare head, he would face the rush of the other side as they pressed the ball within the line of the goalposts; and not seldom, by desperate struggles, he was the first to 'touch it down,' thus baulking the enemy of his expected 'try at goal'." Evidently Clough was not a weak young man disposed to retire before the challenge of reality. In college he was remembered in a poem as, "...lithe of limb, and strong as shepherd's boy." This love of the active life continued during Clough's later years as a Fellow of Oriel. As Osborne says, "His love of outdoor living was even beyond that of the usual Oxford man." Clough's involvement with sports and physical activity demonstrates that he was not only physically strong and self-reliant, but it shows that it was in his character to involve himself actively with reality and not to lose himself in dreams and retirement. This realistic attitude is a part of Clough's character that must not be overlooked. Naturally it showed itself in his poetry in other ways
besides its appearance in the active, realistic desire to engage in practical service that we find in the Dipsychian poetry. Outside of the Dipsychian poetry, probably the most striking poetic revelation of this realistic side of Clough's personality is found in his poem, *The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich*. It has earthy and sometimes humorous descriptions such as that of the corpulent young student, Hobbes, dancing a highland reel in his short kilts: "Him see I frisking, and whisking, and ever at swifter gyration/ Under brief curtain revealing broad acres--not of broad cloth."10 The settings in this poem are also presented with a clear eye for the reality they are to convey, such as the description of the reading parties' favorite bathing place in a stream near their cottage. This long description gives the reader a sense of actual presence on the scene as Clough describes the trees that surround the falls and the pool below, "...pellucid, pure, a mirror;/ Beautiful there for the colour derived from green rocks under;/ Beautiful, most of all, where beads of foam uprising/ Mingle their clouds of white with the delicate hue of the stillness./ Cliff over cliff for its sides, with rowan and pendent birch boughs,/ Here it lies."11 This short quote from Clough's much longer description can only suggest its realistic vividness but it is typical of the poem as a whole. It was noted before that Houghton says of this poem, "... the sense of actual life is so firmly created."12

Philip Hewson, the hero of *The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich*, can be seen as Clough's characterization of this realistic side of Clough's personality. Hewson was a poet, but, like Clough, he was in search of a way that would enable him to live a simple life in touch
with everyday reality. Hewson eventually chooses a highland country lassie for a wife and emigrates to Australia to take up farming. From the time that Clough was nearly eighteen he expresses in his poetry the high valuation, similar to Hewson's, that he places upon such a plain life. For example, in the early poem, "An Incident," Clough gives praise "Of home and homely duties met,/ And charities of daily life." This sort of desire finds its symbolic representation in the recurring symbol of the highland lassie and a picture of a life with her removed from the artificialities of life and the intellectualism that Clough sometimes felt impinged upon his life. One of Clough's mature poems which best expresses this longing for the plain life is "O eòs petà coò" in The Ambarvalia. There Clough writes about the type of plain life he yearns to live—a life closely in touch with natural reality: "With worldly comforts few and far, how glad were I to stay! I fall to sleep with dreams of life in some black bothie spent,/ Coarse poortith's ware thou changing there to gold of pure content,/ With barefoot lads and lassies round, and thee the cheery wife,/ In the braes of old Lochaber a laborious homely life." This longing for a plain life, close to reality, stayed with Clough to the end of his life. It appears, with its symbol, the highland lassie, in the very last poem that Clough wrote, "The Lawyer's Second Tale," in his Mari Magno. To get a sense of how close to his heart this longing was, one needs only to consider Mrs. Clough's picture of the last days before Clough's death when she was with him in Florence. During this time Clough returned to work on "The Lawyer's
Second Tale," which is the story of a man who loved a highland lassie and had a child by her but through a tragic mischance was separated from her and could not find her again until it was too late. When Clough began to recover a little just prior to his final relapse, "he insisted on trying to write it out," Mrs. Clough recalls of that painful time, "and when this proved too great an effort he begged to dictate it. But he broke down before it was finished, and returned to bed never to leave it again. A few days before his death he begged for a pencil and contrived to write down two verses, and quite to the end his thoughts kept hold of his poem."15 This aspect of his realistic view of life never found its full expression outside of his poetry. Always, to the very end of his life, the simple country life, symbolized by the highland lassie, eluded him.

Within his poetry, however, Clough's realistic attitude found expression in ways other than dynamic, active heroes, realistic description and symbolism of the plain rustic life. It was the personality core around which Clough formed certain aspects of his theory of art. It was Clough's contention that poetry lost much of its power of appeal for the readers of his time because it tended to deal only with certain conventionally acceptable subjects. Clough's sense of the importance of the commonplace realities of daily existence led him to urge the use of such material by the poets of his time. This view, which was derived from Clough's robust appreciation of all aspects of life, led him to posit a "social theory of art."16 Healthy art, from Clough's point of view, "draws upon the whole life of its environment."17 Armstrong believes that it was this theory that led Clough to deal with
contemporary problems. Probably, however, it was Clough's appreciation of the significance of reality that led him to formulate his "social theory of art" and his realistic attitude also led him to deal with contemporary problems. Because Clough believed that poetry grounded in the facts of common life would have a greater appeal to his audience, his appreciation of the significance of reality led him to enlarge the areas of acceptable poetic materials to include "these positive matters of fact, which people...are obliged to have to do with."  

Clough's positive attitude toward reality, however, also affected another part of his theory of art. Since a writer deals with both an objective and a subjective reality, Clough urged that a writer was obliged to be true to both. Not only must he represent external reality with a factual accuracy, but he should also be as scrupulously accurate in revealing his true self in his representation of subjective reality. Clough had apparently criticized Matthew Arnold for some failure to show his true self in his poetry. Though none of Clough's letters to Arnold have been preserved, we do have many of Arnold's letters to Clough, and in one place Arnold agrees with what must have been Clough's criticism of Arnold's literary sincerity. Arnold writes to Clough, "It is very true I am not myself in writing—but it is of no use reproaching me with it, since so it must be."  

For Clough the requirement for sincere and honest self-representation in his poetry presented both a problem and a challenge. The necessity for a writer to act in accord with his own internal reality in his chosen profession presents a perilous moral temptation. It is
so easy to use words to misrepresent facts, Clough believed, that even vocal prayers to God could be of questionable value. In a discussion with young Thomas Arnold one evening, Clough offered the opinion "That in view of the dangers of unreality and self-delusion with which vocal prayers were beset, it was questionable how far their use was of advantage to the soul." In the use of words, the danger which Clough sensed for himself as a writer was that he would become like other writers he had known who had become "so incapable of writing, or even speaking, except"'in character'...without giving you a chance of seeing what they really are off the stage... There! that is one of the mischiefs and miseries of authorship which deters me." This was not really some hypermoralistic pretense on Clough's part. He was always genuinely concerned that he should never deceive himself or others. Furthermore, as we have seen that Clough employed his writing to work out some of his own problems, it would obviously make such a process of personal problem-solving impossible if he began to "take a part" or in any way deny his inner reality when he engaged in writing. For his writing to continue as a psychological therapy, he had to maintain a strict sincerity in spite of the very real temptations in a contrary direction. This is what Clough referred to when he wrote to his fiancée, Miss Blanche Smith, toward the close of his Dipsychian period about a possible career as a writer: "I do soberly think it replete with temptations and probable mischief for me." 

There was an allied danger that Clough may well have felt if he had lapsed into insincerity in writing. Clough was peculiarly dependent upon his orientation toward reality. It was one of the corner-
stones of his thought that one should never accept any dogmatic position nor maintain an unexamined philosophy. We have seen this attitude expressed in the examination of his poem "The human spirits saw I on a day." It was this philosophical imperative to remain free from a settled creed which forced him to keep in constant and intimate contact with reality. Since his thought could not be orientated by some given system of abstractions, some creed or dogma, any particular problem could be argued endlessly pro and con unless he could resolve the question by the appeal to reality. For this reason Clough had to maintain a strict honesty in regard to the objective reality that he found around him. He had to be strictly accurate in his observation and reporting of his subjective reality. He had to remain true to himself because, in the long run, he had to depend only upon his own personal perception of truth as he found it within himself. Because he accepted no creed and would not commit himself to any authoritarian system of thought, Clough's attitudes and his own apprehension of the truth had to be the final arbiters in the philosophical and moral problems that he faced. It would be worse than immoral, it would be insane for him to muddy that clear water of truth and reality with the dirt of insincerity. This realization explains his often strong condemnation of all misuse of language such as, "...worldly-wise decorum's false proprieties/...And company, and jests, and feeble witticism,/And talk of talk, and criticism of criticisms."24 Such lines are wrongly taken if they are understood in the moralistic, pious sense that a Puritan would have intended if he had uttered them. Clough was a social man and a quick man with a memorable phrase. It was he that coined the phrase "The Broad Church" to
describe the liberal movement in the church at his time which would accommodate itself to all views. His humor and sprightly conversation made him acceptable as a friend and companion to men like Emerson, Carlyle, and Tennyson. Clough does not condemn humor or wit, but he is fully aware of the dangers of intellectual distortion and triviality that can arise from any misuse of language, especially the language that one uses for his subjective apprehension of reality.

But while Clough saw some dangers for himself in the temptation to insincerity which he felt every writer must face, he also responded to the challenge that sincerity forces upon a writer. His honest representation of his conflicting states of mind would not be half so moving if the reader did not sense that it represented the report of a genuine struggle within the author himself. Graham Greene paid this tribute to Clough's honesty in The Quiet American: "He was an adult poet in the nineteenth century. There weren't so many of them." Greene's observation is a recognition of the fact that Clough did maintain his sincerity. It is one of the qualities that accounts for Clough's growing appeal to a twentieth century audience of readers. V. S. Pritchett, in 1953, lists the quality of subjective honesty as important in Clough's present reputation. "His unofficial manner, his truthfulness about personal feelings, his nonchalance, his curiosity, even his bitterness and use of anti-climax are closer to the poets of the thirties than they were to his contemporaries." Clear-eyed recognition of reality was Clough's lifelong habit. As early as his fourteenth year, in a letter home, he
attempted, in the face of almost certain misunderstanding on the part of his patriotic parents, to be honest about his view of England, his native land, and finding himself frustrated by the fact that "truth is so concealed by the balarney of false patriotism that it is very hard to discover what are the real merits and demerits of England." Through Clough's lifelong concern for sincerity he maintained a clear perception of his inner reality and that honesty informed his poetry so that it is moving even today. "Clough thought first of his own sincerity when he wrote; he permitted himself no expression which would not render as truthfully as possible an emotion actually felt. He refused to heighten feelings, he loved reality." Clough faced and conquered the challenge which sincerity to his inner reality presented to him as a poet.

Honesty to the reality that was within him, as well as honesty to objective exterior reality, was simply an aspect of Clough's general attitude that asserted the importance of the ordinary reality of everyday life. But most important, when this realistic facet of Clough's mind is brought to bear upon the crisis of values that formed the Di- psychian poetry, it can be seen that it was quite impossible for him to retreat from everyday reality in acting on the basis of his sense of duty to others. He rightly felt that if he must serve others, then he must serve them in the context of the reality of their daily lives. He was propelled by this point of view to enter upon some vocation that would operate for the good of others within the commonplace activities of the world. But it was his fear that such an intimate involvement with the world would lead him away from God's requirement for moral purity.
Even as a child Clough was observed to have inherited from his mother a certain seriousness. This seriousness was cultivated by his close contact with his mother during the years before he entered Rugby. Since his father was very frequently away from home for long periods because of the demands of his business in the cotton trade, Clough was influenced a great deal by his mother. She was a woman of stern integrity. She came from a Calvinistic family and though she loved her children, one senses in the description of her which Anne Jemima (Clough's sister) wrote that there was a certain distance between her and her children. Not that she did not love them and take a deep concern in their welfare, but it appears that she was not especially demonstrative of that love; at least she was not as demonstrative as their father. Anne Jemima says of him, "Our father was most affectionate, loving, and watchful over his children. It was from him that we received many of the smaller cares which usually come from a mother." Though Clough inherited a similar capacity for the tender care of others from his father, it was from his mother, with whom he was in most constant contact as a youngster, that he learned the necessity for moral probity that became one of the primary marks of his character. She read to her children often. "She was very fond of reading, especially works on religious subjects, poetry and history.... She loved what was grand, noble, and enterprising, and was truly religious.... She loved to dwell on all that was stern and noble." During his last years at home, before he went to Rugby, young Arthur was her constant companion, and since they shared a serious character and a love of reading, her influence upon Arthur was greater than upon any of the other children. "It was the
mother's tendency that relatives and friends were accustomed to find dominant in Arthur.  

And the most dominant characteristic in both Arthur and his mother was the love of the stern and noble, the aspiring concern for moral purity and uprightness.

The influences that Arthur Hugh Clough met with at Rugby only acted to reinforce his mother's training. One of the clearest indications of Clough's moral concern as a schoolboy is found in his letters to his brother, George. George was attending a different school in England and Arthur, in his letters to George, served as the helpful, older brother. In nearly every one of these letters the idea that one must devote one's self to moral purity before God occupies a large part of the correspondence. It is certainly quite unlikely that young George Clough was a rake or rowdy. The strongly moralistic character of Arthur's letters to George cannot be accounted for on the basis of some character flaw in George. Instead, the reason for Arthur's moralizing is that purity before God had become an overriding concern of Clough's at an early age. When Arthur was fifteen he wrote to encourage his thirteen-year-old brother to a more strenuously moralistic sort of life. "I should think that you are not so dependent upon God's help as on your own strength, which you know is nothing against Sin.... You must do everything to please God, or else you are not as you ought to be.... You must grow in goodness and not day after day go round the same duties no better today than you were yesterday." Though it sounds as if George were on the brink of moral disaster, the fact is that he had become irregular in his daily Bible readings and on one occasion had told a lie.
To avoid the risk of making young Arthur seem like a moralizing monster to a modern reader, it must be recalled that such thinking and talk were quite the staple of the earnest Victorians.

The prophets of earnestness were attacking a casual, easy-going, superficial, or frivolous attitude...and demanding that men should think and men should live with a high and serious purpose.... In the 1830's the most sensitive minds became aware that England was faced by a profound crisis. The intellectual world, the Christian Church, and the social order were all in grave peril, to be averted only by the most earnest search for saving ideas and the most earnest life of moral dedication.3^4

This attitude was widespread and since it accorded with Clough's early training, and because he was directly under the influence of Dr. Arnold who was one of the leading exponents of the necessity for moral earnestness and purity, it was only natural that Clough would respond by wholeheartedly adopting the idea himself. The letters to George indicate that Clough went so far as to become involved in the dangerous idea of moral perfectionism. In a letter of 1836 to George there is a clear suggestion that Arthur himself had tried to correct all his own bad habits at once and had been defeated in the process. Consequently, he advises George against a similar attempt.35 But this experience did not persuade Arthur that the attempt at all moral improvement was in vain. Instead, he tried to attack his faults one at a time. It is well to remember also that the moral faults that engaged his attention were not such gross lapses as drunkenness or thievery; rather Clough was seriously concerned about things like arguing with his brother and sister and his tendency toward procrastination.

Since it has been indicated that Dr. Arnold was an important exponent of Victorian morality and a major influence on Clough's thought,
it is necessary to indicate exactly how he had the opportunity and the
inclination to influence Clough toward moral purity. Dr. Arnold had
come to Rugby as headmaster only the year before Clough became a student
there. Upon becoming headmaster, Dr. Arnold began to institute many
reforms. As a schoolboy in the lower forms, Clough's relation to the
reforms that Dr. Arnold instituted was, of course, only passive. But
even then he was exposed to a close contact with the headmaster simply
by virtue of the fact that he lived for eight years in the Schoolhouse.36
There were several separate dwellings for the boys at Rugby and these
were under the administration of the several tutors, many of whom lived
in the same place with the boys. The Schoolhouse was under the direction
of Dr. Arnold and thus the Schoolhouse boys were more directly under his
supervision than were the remainder of the boys at Rugby. When it is
recalled that for most of the time while Clough was at Rugby his family
remained an ocean away in the United States and that Clough lived in
the same residence as did Dr. Arnold, it can be appreciated how natural
it was for Clough to turn to Dr. Arnold as a kind of surrogate father.
Clough often was invited into the Arnold family living quarters in the
Schoolhouse, probably because Mrs. Arnold felt sorry for the lonesome
boy who never had the chance to go home during the vacation periods.
As a result of being especially privileged in this way and because he
was a Schoolhouse boy, Clough fell more directly and personally under
the influence of Dr. Arnold than would have otherwise been the case.
A recollection of Clough and Dr. Arnold in class together suggests how
obvious to others Clough's close emotional ties to his teacher were.
An old friend of Clough's Rugby days recalls a schoolroom scene:
My seat was on the opposite side with my back to the South window of the Library, the full light from which streamed upon Clough's face when he raised his head.... The dark hair drawn across the white broad brow; beneath, the dark deep eyes, the long black lashes and the thoughtful countenance; and above all the almost feminine expression of trust and affection with which he looked up at Arnold in answering his questions or hanging on his words.37

This recollection of a daily scene demonstrates most clearly that Clough had come to be strongly influenced by the personality of Dr. Arnold.

Clough was not alone in falling under the great teacher's spell. It seems that the most brilliant of his pupils were often the most responsive to the character and the ideas of Dr. Arnold. A. P. Stanley, who wrote the first biography of Dr. Arnold, was so much affected by the personality of his teacher that it was not until he had left Rugby and had been for some years at Oxford that "Arnold had ceased to be his 'oracle,' he confessed, but he kept his reverence wholly."38 However, when Dr. Arnold came up to Oxford in 1842 to take the Chair of Modern History, he re-established his ascendancy over Stanley's mind. It was not until Arnold's death that Stanley continued his own mental development independently.39

Not all of Dr. Arnold's favorite students responded with such unqualified admiration. Gell, who was a good friend of Clough's, did not fall under the Doctor's spell because, Woodward suggests, Gell had trained himself to resist authority figures in his revolt against the rigid Evangelicalism of his own clergyman father.40 After Gell had left Rugby, however, he let himself grow closer to Dr. Arnold and so it was upon Dr. Arnold's recommendation that Gell was offered the opportunity of being appointed to establish a college in Van Dieman's
But Gell's emotional position was quite different from Clough's. As a schoolboy Clough was far from revolting against a father figure; instead, he was searching for one. His own father was seldom seen. His family was never present for him to fall back upon for emotional security. He quite naturally looked upon Dr. Arnold with much of the reverence and respect that he would have given his own father.

While Clough derived some emotional strength from looking upon Dr. Arnold in terms of a surrogate father, there was, however, some emotional insecurity generated by this. Dr. Arnold, as his teacher, stood before Clough as one who gave rewards for excellence in scholarship and high praise for morality. It was continually incumbent upon Clough to prove himself to such a father figure. His hard work upon his studies was largely motivated by his desire to please Dr. Arnold. It was observed earlier how hard Clough pushed himself in regard to his studies. It was only natural that Clough would try just as hard to win Dr. Arnold's moral approval. Just how far Clough succeeded in winning Dr. Arnold's approval can be judged by a letter Dr. Arnold sent to Clough's uncle, Alfred Clough, the Oxford don, upon the occasion of Arthur's matriculation at Oxford. Dr. Arnold wrote, "I cannot resist my desire of congratulating you most heartily on the delightful close of your nephew's long career at Rugby, where he was passed eight years without a fault...where he has gone on ripening gradually in all excellence intellectual and spiritual...and regarded by myself...with an affection and interest hardly less than I should feel for my own son." The cost to Clough for his success in winning the approval of Dr. Arnold was that he developed a certain sense of emotional in-
security, together with an excessive attachment to moral probity. The attitude of insecurity toward father figures can be observed in "The Lawyer's First Tale" in Mari Magno which Clough wrote during the last year of his life. Many of the Lawyer's experiences and attitudes are the same as those Clough had as a young man. It is revealing to observe, moreover, that the Lawyer, like young Clough, looked upon older men with a sense of insecurity. The Lawyer says that he "Looked to their father still with fear/ Of how to him I must appear." Clough's sense of insecurity in his hard won approval from his surrogate father, Dr. Arnold, would naturally act to make him try even harder. From all of this it can be seen that there was a great deal of energy generated within Clough during his Rugby years to cause him to strive for a high moral character. Consequently, the necessity for moral purity became deeply ingrained in his personality.

It was, of course, Dr. Arnold's deliberate and continual aim to cultivate a high moral character in his pupils and the primary source of that morality was placed in religious training. As Dr. Arnold expressed it, "Physical science alone can never make a man educated; even the formal sciences...invaluable as they are with respect to the discipline of the reasoning powers, cannot instruct the judgment; it is only moral and religious knowledge which can accomplish this." Dr. Arnold did not separate religious training from other matters, but instead, incorporated it into all the other matters. Thus he created a pervasively religious influence at Rugby "which often made it impossible for his pupils to say in after life, of much that had influenced them, whether they had derived it from what was spoken in
school, in the pulpit, or in private." This was only to be expected because it was one of Dr. Arnold's deepest convictions that any separation of the sacred from the secular was inimicable to both theology and morality. The final attitude that Dr. Arnold sought as the fruit of his moral training was that his pupils would develop a kind of unconscious tendency toward good. He did not so much strive against particular vices, simply to check their outbreak, but he castigated individual sins in an attempt to create a more generalized attitude of "abhorrence of evil" within his students. And while he used every opportunity in school and in private, as Stanley pointed out, the clearest expression of Dr. Arnold's moral training available for examination by a modern scholar is found in his sermons. Houghton applies this description to Dr. Arnold's sermons: "A passionate and sustained earnestness after a high moral rule, seriously realized in conduct, is the dominant character of these sermons." It was Dr. Arnold's intention to bring "every thought, and word, and deed, into the obedience of Christ."

Given Dr. Arnold's attitude toward a rigorous moral life, and Clough's intimate exposure to Dr. Arnold's personality and teaching, Clough's emphasis in his letters to his brother, George, upon a similar moral purity under God becomes more understandable. One area of that morality which may properly be singled out for specific attention is the matter of lying. This will be profitable not only as an example of how Dr. Arnold treated moral questions, but primarily it will illustrate how Clough responded to Dr. Arnold's moral teaching. The question of honesty is also important because it brings together Clough's
attitude toward moral purity and his response to reality. It was shown earlier that Clough felt that he must keep his poetry in constant contact with both the objective, daily realities of common life, and that he must report his subjective experiences, his inner reality, with complete honesty. This is an important element in any consideration of Clough's poetry, particularly his Dipsychian poetry.

In Clough's letters to George the temptation toward lying is singled out for treatment more often than any other of the possible temptations to which schoolboys may fall victim. Outside of George's one lapse in this regard, there is no evidence that it was a special failing of his and certainly no one ever attributed dishonesty to Arthur Hugh Clough. Thus the reason for its so frequent treatment is probably not to be found in any tendency toward dishonesty on the part of either of the schoolboy correspondents. However, Arthur writes George, "You say you are tempted every hour. I do not know what to in particular. But I should fancy that lying was a very general fault of schoolboys." What led Arthur to assume that lying was a general fault among schoolboys would, in part, be his own experience with other boys, but also Dr. Arnold had placed a particular emphasis upon the sin of lying while at the same time his goal of creating a general "abhorrence of evil" in his schoolboy charges often filled his sermons with the perils of the "little sins" such as lying. So it seems that one reason for Clough's insistent treatment of this particular sin in his letters to his brother is found in the emphasis that Dr. Arnold had given to it. "Lying, for example, to the masters, he made a great moral offence; placing implicit confidence in a boy's assertion, and then, if a falsehood was discovered,
punishing it severely." Stanley also adds that this general attitude of trust and severe punishment for obvious lapses worked well. "There grew up in consequence a general feeling that it was a shame to tell Arnold a lie."50 Since Dr. Arnold had made so much of this sin, it is not surprising that it should appear in Clough's poetry as well as in his letters to his brother, George.

In Clough's mature poetry the lie becomes a symbol for all self-deception because for Clough it was one sin that by its very nature destroys man's relationship with his environment. When a man lies, he denies what he knows to be true of reality and, consequently, is in danger of getting out of touch with reality should he continue to lie. Since Clough's enjoyment of active involvement with reality and his sense of the significance of reality have been examined earlier and it has been seen that Clough had more than a moralistic concern with truth and language, it is only to be expected that Clough would take so seriously the sin of lying. His contact with reality was a basic touchstone for truth with him. Clough often expressed his dependence for certainty upon his sense of reality with the half humorous phrase, "Reconcile what you have to say with green peas, for green peas are certain."51 In his sonnet "Yes, I have lied, and so must walk my way," Clough brings out the idea that lying and its concomitant self-deception destroy one's relationship with the world around him. He opens the poem showing that the immorality of the lie alienates one from God. "Yes, I have lied, and so must walk my way,/ Bearing the liar's curse upon my head."52 But the punishment for the sin is that the curse divorces one from an intimacy with reality. Clough used the lost enjoyment of nature to
symbolize this. "Therefore for me sweet Nature's scenes reveal not/
Their charm."53 But Clough further recognizes that the lie corrupts
the enjoyment of art and the relationship with other people, "...sweet
Music greets me and I feel not;/ Sweet eyes pass off me uninspired;"54
All avenues of contact with reality are corrupted by the lie.

In another poem from Ambarvalia Clough examines the matter in
a more Dipsychian fashion, examining the advantages and disadvantages
of being true to his inner reality. The issue is whether one should
accept a conventional view of things, which would be true to one's self,
or whether one should be true to one's own inner apprehension of reality.
The basic imagery is that of music and the poet phrases the problem in
terms of the dance. "Why should I...dance about to music that I hear
not?" The answer is obvious: unless he does, he "Shall be shoved and
be twisted by all he shall meet."55 But with a typical Dipsychian turn
of the argument Clough opens the possibility that if he remains true to
his own inner music, soon he may perceive the whole truth, the whole
melody to which others are now dancing, and then he would be in complete
accord with them. "And I anon, the music in my soul,/ In a moment read
the whole;/ The music in my heart,/ Joyously take my part,/ And hand in
hand, and heart with heart, with these retreat, advance."56 That kind
of complete accord that might come from remaining true to one's own
sense of inner reality seems then too great a hope to lose by a present,
premature assertion of his own sense of the music and so, perhaps after
all, he should remain true to himself.

Then in a style that Clough has made one of the keynotes of his
Dipsychian poetry, he turns the whole argument around upon itself and
challenges the basic assumption of the whole poem in the very last lines. He presents the possibility that tortures every independent thinker. What if what he believes is so true turns out, in fact, to be only his imagination and not reality at all? Clough sets this idea apart from the rest of the poem in, what for him, is a rather amateurish fashion. After nine lines that have been given to an energetic description of the dance as he imagines it would be if his own inner music should soon accord with that of others, then Clough interrupts the gay picture by repeating three times, "alas!" This device serves to mark the final turn in this Dipsychian poem—the questioning of the premise itself. "Alas! alas! alas! and what if all along/ The music is not sounding?" With that striking twist in the thought of the poem, not only is the truth of his own inner truth brought into question, but Clough's suggestion that there may not be any music at all implies that all the dancers are simply dancing to accommodate each other. No one has responded to truth. None are in accord with reality. And even the truth that the poet feels within himself may be only a species of self-deception after all. This would finally mean that nothing is possible except a lie. And so this poem presents a double Dipsychian balance. Then Clough, by his ending to the poem, presents the second set of alternatives. Is it possible to be true to reality or not? This poem, beyond being a clever example of Clough's Dipsychian poetry, serves to illustrate how far Clough's thought has progressed beyond Dr. Arnold's simple morality in regard to the matter of lying.

That Clough moved beyond Dr. Arnold is only to be expected. Most of Dr. Arnold's pupils did the same. The typical pattern, as
Woodward examines it in her study of several of Dr. Arnold's most prominent pupils--Clough among them--is that these students, as they developed to manhood and old age, took aspects of Dr. Arnold's thought far beyond where he himself had taken it. Of course, this can be partly accounted for by the fact that Dr. Arnold died before he reached fifty years of age. Presumably, if he had lived longer, he might have developed his thought in much the same directions that his pupils did. But since he died quite early in life, his pupils were free to think of him as he had seemed to them while they were schoolboys, and, perhaps a bit unfairly, they did criticize his thought and his method of teaching.

Clough, perhaps because he was actively engaged in education throughout his life, found some fault with Dr. Arnold's method of teaching. Even while Dr. Arnold was alive many people found fault with his method of putting a heavy responsibility for the morality of the schoolboys upon the older students. They complained about his "forcing youth into manhood." This was not the ground of objection that Clough took. Clough's principal objection was that Dr. Arnold put too heavy an emphasis upon the moral character of young boys. Clough wished that Dr. Arnold had placed less emphasis upon moral purity and had allowed more freedom from moral evaluation. In the "Epilogue" to Dipsychus Clough puts this type of an objection into the mouth of the old Uncle when the Uncle objects to the Rugby students by stating, "They're all so pious." And the Uncle adds that the reason that he objects to this piety is that it makes boys so trained unfit to engage in the active life of worldly reality when they become men. "They're so full of the
notion of the world being so wicked and of their taking a higher line, as they call it. I only fear they'll never take any at all.⁶⁰ That Clough shared this view which he put into the mouth of the character of the old Uncle is apparent when it is observed that Clough says the same thing in a book review that he wrote about the same time.⁶¹ In that "Review of Mr. Newman's The Soul" Clough raises the same objection to a too rigorous boyhood moral training because it makes an involvement with worldly affairs in manhood unnecessarily difficult.

When one examines the situation with a strict logic, however, it becomes more apparent that an emphasis upon moral purity does not in itself mean that people would feel they could not maintain their purity if they actively engaged in a life of close contact with commonplace, worldly reality. They could feel that they would remain pure, for example, if they felt that the world did not tend toward the corruption of their principles. Clough did not feel so. His mentor, Dr. Arnold, also felt that the world was full of the tendency to corrupt morality. "My sense of the evils of the times, and to what prospects I am bringing up my children, is overwhelmingly bitter. All in the moral and physical world appears exactly to announce the coming of the 'great day of the Lord,' i.e. a period of fearful visitation to terminate the existing state of things."⁶² This apocalyptic vision is thoroughly within the orthodox tradition of Christianity and it would not be necessary to pursue its evident presence in Dr. Arnold's thought because Clough could scarcely have avoided the idea that the world was evil. He had learned much the same idea from his mother earlier. These attitudes toward the evilness of the world and the need for moral purity were deepened through his contact with W. G. Ward.
Ward was not only Clough's tutor at Oxford, he was for several years his intimate friend. Their intimacy was so close that others of Clough's friends tried to counsel Clough to sever his relationship with Ward. At this time Ward was using his keen mind to probe the possibility that his own religious perplexities could be solved by adopting the kind of rigorously moral religion that Whately and Dr. Arnold were promoting. He used the Rugby boys who came to Oxford to try out their ideas, "finding in them 'a sort of flesh and blood argument for the powerful living force of Arnold's religion.'"\(^3\) Clough was the most Arnoldian of the Rugby boys at Oxford and Ward was drawn to him as much by his enjoyment of Clough's character as by his embodiment of Arnoldian principles. It was generally admitted that Ward's influence upon Clough upset Clough at the time and Ward himself, in a letter to Mrs. Clough many years later, reproached himself with the damage that he supposed he had done to Clough's religious development.\(^4\) He had forced Clough to question everything but, as Woodward observes, if Ward had not done it, someone else would have.\(^5\) The tendency to question was part of Clough's character and his capacity to see both sides of a question as if he fully believed each side is the source of his Dipsychian poetry. But in one important matter Ward's influence supported that of Dr. Arnold and Clough's own early training. Ward's retreat into the Roman Catholic Church, even before Newman made a similar move, was caused not only by his search for a religious authority to quell the swelling doubts of his relentlessly logical mind. Ward entered the Roman Catholic Church also because this move offered him a retreat from the dangers he envisioned in an involvement with the world. Ward thought that "Worldli-
ness, under the specious appearance of knowledge of the world, or under the plea of common sense, would often obtain a footing which might afterwards grow until the spirit of this world had altogether expelled the Spirit of God." Ward thus encouraged in Clough the idea that involvement with the world, from no matter what innocent motives, left one open to what he called "the circuambient poison" of worldliness.

That Clough maintained this notion in his later life appears from salient references in his poetry such as Claude’s reference to the "taint of the shop" in The Amours de Voyage (Canto I, Section VI) and in such lines in Clough’s lyrics as these quoted below where he is repelled by the idea of entering business because one is compelled "To stoop and pick the dirty pence, / A taint upon one’s innocence." That Clough held such an attitude can also be partly accounted for by his singular ignorance of business. He never had much contact with his father’s business. Clough recognized his ignorance of the real world around him and admitted as much in his letter to Shairp: "Actual life is unknown to an Oxford student, even though he is not a mere Puseyite and goes on jolly reading parties." Clough lived his early years at Rugby and at Oxford, insulated from the life of business and worldly affairs. It was only at University Hall that he first had any genuine contact with the world beyond academia. Consequently, he could never really sympathize with the bourgeois ethos. "Bagehot says that Clough could not understand a shopkeeper who had been carefully brought up." The distance that Clough felt between himself and the middle class mind was partially a result of his having had too little contact with these minds and because he had been involved almost exclusively with the upper
class and the intelligencia. A more important cause of Clough’s alienation from the middle class, however, was the fact that he held moral purity in so high an esteem. Anyone who aspires to maintain the very highest degree of moral purity must necessarily examine all the small ethical acts of business with particular care and, because of his extreme moral sensitivity, he will find shocking moral failures where another person would only see ordinary business practice. Clough recognized this sensitivity within himself and expressed it with his usual candor. "Now, the over-tender conscience will, of course, exaggerate the wickedness of the world." Thus it was not only the direct teachings of his mother, Dr. Arnold and W. G. Ward, all of whom believed the world tends to corrupt those who become too actively involved with it, but also Clough’s own acceptance of a necessity of moral purity which caused him to see impurity in the world around him.

Probably Clough’s most complete expression of the idea that the world tends to corrupt morals is to be found in one of his essays entitled "The Beneficial and Harmful Effects of Foreign Trade." Here he discussed all trade, not just foreign trade. Yet he devoted only one sixth of the essay to the possible benefits of trade. And even there the benefits are closely hedged about with restrictions until only one possible benefit emerges and that benefit, characteristically, is trade’s potential for service. But the restrictions he attached to the benefits of trade prevent one from seriously thinking that Clough believed much service to man could come from commerce because his first requirement is that selfishness (i.e., profit and competition) should be eliminated. "Could we once deprive Commerce of its selfishness, its natural vigour
and activity in the service of noble and disinterested feelings would
work effect beyond hope or calculation."^73 How far Clough feared that
one would be propelled toward a jeopardy of one's moral probity by in-
volvement with trade is shown by the very next sentence. "The dangers
of such Pursuits are doubtless most terrible."^74 The basic danger which
Clough had outlined earlier in the essay was that of moral corruption.
"What wonder if the maxim of men's conduct should now ʃin a rich, com-
cmercial societyʃ become Seek money first and Virtue after: and if they
themselves should be ready to sacrifice self-respect and affection,
kindly feelings and noble impulses of all kinds in obedience to this
new Principle."^75 Such sentiments are just such as would be expected
from a person with Clough's training with its emphasis upon moral purity
and the rampant evils of the world which corrupt that moral purity.

In light of the discussion of Clough's essay about the moral
dangers of trade, it is necessary to point out that neither Clough nor
his instructors in morality saw trade as the only corrupter. Trade
was simply the more obvious part of the world which corrupted. The
ultimate corrupter was the world itself. Any active engagement with
it was suspect and probably dangerous to the moral sense. Clough makes
the point of the general corrupting influence quite clear in one of his
most poignant, dramatic monologues, "Sa Majesté TrèsChrétienne." In
this poem, the speaker is a French king following the time of Luther
and since there is a marginal note (L. XV) in the manuscript, it is
reasonable to assume that Louis XV is indicated.^76 Apparently, how-
ever, this poem is not intended as a historical description of that
monarch because Clough has suppressed the actual identity of the king
in the text of the poem.
This poem was probably intended by Clough to put forward, in a poetic fashion, the Dipsychian tension that has been so far examined. Sa Majeste' is caught in much the same dilemma that Clough suffered when he felt pulled toward involvement in the world through his sense of the significance of reality. The dilemma, of course, was that life insisted upon action and involvement but Clough was convinced that such an involvement would lead to moral corruption. In the poem, this modest king, speaking to his confessor, expresses the situation beautifully in the dramatic monologue. As a king he was forced into worldly involvement; there was no other way. Though he yearned for some means of avoiding it, he could not. "What could I do? and how was I to help it? ...I would I were, as God intended me, A little quiet harmless acolyte." And as the king ponders the fate that condemned him to action, he observes that the means of grace which the Church offers are of small help in staving off the tendency toward corruption which action in the world engenders. The Church is of little genuine assistance because the sins which his enforced involvement with the world give rise to "Have, in despite of all the means of grace, Submission perfect to the appointed creed, And absolution-plenary and prayers, Possessed me, held, and changed." Tainted by sin if he should act, and believing that the Church cannot help him avoid that contamination, the only solution that appears is inaction. "If aught there be for sinful souls below/ To do, 'tis rather to forbear to do." He appears perplexed, turning in his thought first one way and then another, but there is no solution. God had made him a king and so he must act. But action invites sin. The confessor apparently suggested that one
might yet act but in conformity to God's commandments. The confessor's interruption is only suggested in the poem, of course, since otherwise it would not be a true dramatic monologue. The confessor's suggestion of action in obedience to the commandments receives the obvious rejoinder—it is impossible to completely obey them. Every realistic necessity forces their compromise and their meanings are far from clear in any context of real life. In response to his confessor's suggestion, Sa Majesté laments, with the weariness of a sincere soul, "'Thou knowest the commandments'—Yes indeed,/ Yes, I suppose. But it is weary work;/ For Kings I think they are not plain to read;/ Ministers somehow have small faith in them." There is no way out of the dilemma. Moral purity cannot be reconciled with action, and for kings, at least, there is no retreat from the world and no retreat from engagement with action in that world. Neither was Clough able to allow himself any retreat into inaction.

The same dilemma that faced Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne was forced upon Clough when he recognized that his duty to the service of others must, of necessity, lead him into an intimate contact with the world. This necessity of service, this duty of involvement in reality for the sake of others, becomes the motivating force in stirring Clough's moral dilemma to its peak of intensity as embodied in his Dipsychian poetry. Thus Clough's apprehension of duty becomes the last aspect of the Dipsychian mind that takes part in the internal tension which caused Clough to create his Dipsychian poetry. The study of Clough's attitude toward duty will be much simplified by material covered in the earlier discussions of his sense of reality and his desire for moral purity.
The importance of Clough’s attitude toward duty can also be better appreciated after the earlier discussions because Clough’s sense of duty was the final factor that brought him to the realization that he had to express and perhaps work out in poetry the tension between purity and involvement with the world. Sa Majesté was forced into involvement with the world by his position as a king but Clough felt forced into such involvement by the duty to serve others.

Since Clough received his early moral training from his mother and her character has been indicated earlier, it is not surprising that she was also the first source in building Clough’s attitude toward duty, as Osborne observes. In laying an emphasis upon the necessity of duty, Mrs. Clough was only doing what many other Victorian mothers were doing. "In all religious quarters, children were brought up to hear such constant emphasis on duty and self-sacrifice...that they were under the necessity not only of being actuated by noble motives but of not being actuated by any which were selfish, mean or destructive." The stories that Mrs. Clough read to her children reflect her own attitude toward doing one's duty as well as the fact that she actively taught her children to do the same. "Leonidas at Thermopylae, and Epaminondas accepting the lowliest offices and doing them as a duty to his country; the sufferings of the martyrs, and the struggles of the Protestants, were among her favourite subjects." Veyriras comments on the effects which her training in morality and duty may have had upon Clough. "Il tient de sa mere une rigueur morale et un sens du devoir qui risquent ses entreprises." Whether, in fact, it ultimately prevented Clough from undertaking some actions that he should
have undertaken must remain an open question, but the tension that such training brought Clough probably did provide much of the stimulus for his Dipsychian poetry.

Clough's training in duty included more than admonitions during the years he spent at Rugby. A key element in Dr. Arnold's method of education was to allow most of the school's discipline to be handled by the boys themselves—the older boys being responsible for the younger ones. Though Dr. Arnold was not the innovator of the system, he was its ardent advocate, particularly as it was practiced at Rugby. The primary innovation that Dr. Arnold introduced into the Rugby system was that the school authorities gave explicit responsibility to the sixth form which was the oldest class (comparable to Senior High students in the United States). These older students were made to feel this formally authorized responsibility for the school's discipline in many ways. In sermons given before the entire school Dr. Arnold made clear that the authority of the sixth form grew as much out of their showing a good example as it did from their more mature age and the support of the school administration.

By the earnest, courageous Christian faith which Dr. Arnold demonstrated in his life as well as in the pulpit, his sermons were just the type to appeal to schoolboys. Woodward suggests that Tom Brown's Schooldays communicates the spell of life at Rugby in the most lively way. In one section of that book Hughes describes a Sunday afternoon chapel service with Dr. Arnold preaching to rows of quiet boys as twilight deepened into darkness and the light at the pulpit focused their attention on the sermon given by a man whom they all respected. Duty--
and courage in that duty—was a frequent sermon theme and often this exhortation was directed to the boys in the sixth form, providing them with a moral support for their responsibilities toward their younger charges. On one occasion, for example, Dr. Arnold's sermon turned to this subject: "I cannot deny that you have an anxious duty—a duty which some might suppose was too heavy for your years...but that you are capable of bearing, without injury, what to others might be a burden, and therefore to diminish your duties and lessen your responsibility would be no kindness, but a degradation—an affront to you and to the school." What teenage Rugbian would not respond to such a show of confidence in his maturity and judgment?

Dr. Arnold regularly addressed his sixth form on the subject of their duties, usually at the beginning or at the end of the half year. Since they were his own class with whom he met daily, his tone was naturally more intimate, but his urging that they undertake their duty in all seriousness was no less dynamic than it was in the chapel addresses he gave. Stanley records one such address presented to the sixth form. "Speaking to you, as to young men who can enter into what I say, I wish you to feel that you have another duty to perform, holding the situation that you do in the school; of the importance of this I wish you all to feel sensible, and of the enormous influence you possess, in ways in which we cannot, for good or for evil, on all below you." On another occasion Dr. Arnold told the sixth form, "You should feel," he said, "like officers in the army or navy, whose want of moral courage would, indeed, be thought cowardice." All such frequent admonitions toward duty were not lost upon
Clough. He had come to Rugby from a home in which he had heard the same injunctions from his mother. Furthermore, Clough's position at Rugby was one of special responsibility. During his two years in the sixth form he was also the head of the Schoolhouse which housed about sixty students. That meant that he had to carry the duty of keeping order in the most populous dormitory, directly under the eye of Dr. Arnold who also lived there. As if this were not enough, his closest friends had left Rugby to attend the university and the members of the sixth form with whom he had to work lacked the experience and stature that were necessary to give him adequate support. At about the same time, the system of discipline that was used at Rugby came under public attack in the newspapers. This placed an added pressure upon Clough. He thoroughly believed in the school and its system of discipline and he felt particularly compelled, in the face of public attacks upon it, to demonstrate to everyone that the system would work well.

In a situation as difficult and, he felt, as important as this was, Clough assumed his duties with a remarkable courage and determination for a sixteen-year-old boy. He gave to his responsibilities all the time that he had beyond his studies and, of course, he worried a good deal about his successes and failures in meeting these responsibilities. This complex and trying situation provides the context which must be used to understand Clough's letters at this time. Some of the commentators on Clough seem to think that these letters show a priggish element in his character. They commonly choose as an example of his priggishness a section of a letter which, when viewed in the context of Clough's difficult situation, shows him not to be a prig but rather
a determined, duty-bound young man. A section of a letter frequently chosen states: "I verily believe my whole being is regularly soaked through with the wishing and hoping and striving to do the School good, or rather to keep it up and hinder it from falling in this, I do think, very critical time, so that all my cares and affections, and conversation, thoughts, words, and deeds look to that involuntarily." Far from being a priggish pretension, this letter is an honest reflection of Clough's realization of the duties of his situation and of his rather remarkable selflessness in meeting those duties. At this young age Clough had accepted duty in a far more real sense than simply mouthing platitudes about it. He undertook to do his duty as head of the School-house and his duties as a member of the sixth form with little support from others and at great personal cost in time, without the companionship and advice of his close friends who had left the school. The two years that Clough carried these responsibilities illustrate far more than some of the abundant quotations from his later poems and essays, that he genuinely accepted the code of duty and accepted it so far as to put it into practice under striking difficulties.

During his first years at Oxford Clough did not undertake any such arduous responsibilities as he had assumed while in Rugby. He devoted himself to a program of self-discipline while at the same time he went about his studies with what, for him, was a rather relaxed manner. During Clough's years at Oxford it became incumbent upon him to refine his conception of duty. While at Rugby, duty had been a simple thing to understand, though arduous enough in its execution. Dr. Arnold had given direction to Clough's sense of duty and the tasks which Dr.
Arnold set, it was one's duty to carry out. The clearly formulated duties set before Clough were the maintenance of order, morale and morality among the schoolboys. But having come to Oxford Clough no longer had Dr. Arnold to delineate the tasks of duty and, therefore, Clough had to define his arena of duty himself. The many responsibilities that had filled his life at Rugby were suddenly removed. Dr. Arnold, who had served as the guide in Clough's responsibilities, was no longer present. His comparative listlessness in his studies at Oxford came not from a great perplexity about the religious questions that were stirring Oxford at this time but came largely from this sudden lack of specific duties which had filled his Rugby years. "At Oxford, lacking responsibility, and prevented by the system of things from acquiring it, he lacked interest in doing things, lacked therefore things to do, and the few things that he did, did rather badly." It was this internal situation that was primarily behind Clough's failure to take a "first" in his Oxford examinations.

The Oxford Movement confused many, and, as we have seen, it did affect Clough as a result of his contact with Ward which served to heighten his sense of the need for moral purity. The Oxford Movement did not, however, overwhelm Clough as it did so many others. In his letters his references to Newman, for example, certainly show him not to be greatly tempted toward Tractarianism. When writing to his friend, Gell, who was leaving for Van Dieman's Land, Clough humorously urged his friend to come to Oxford to see Newman.

It is also advisable that you should see the Arch-Oxford-Tractator before you leave this part of the world, that you may not be ignorant
on a topic doubtless interesting even to the remote barbarians in Van D'd Id. It is said that Romanists are increasing, Newmanists increasing, Socinians also, and Rationalists increasing perhaps, all other kinds of men rapidly decreasing; so that on your return to England perhaps you will find Newman Archbp. of Canterbury and father-confessor to the Queen; Lord Melbourne (if not burnt) excommunicated, and philosophers in the persons of the Apostles' apostolically ordained successors fairly and platonically established as Kings. The seeds of which contingent revolutions it is requisite to come and contemplate in Oxford.93

This letter was quoted at length so that the tone would be quite apparent. After reading such a letter it is obvious that Clough could not have been seriously tempted toward Newman's position or he would not have presented the Oxford Movement in such a tone of easy banter. In fact, in an earlier letter Clough specifically rejects the idea that he had accepted Newmanism. "I found that at Rugby I had been quite set down among theological gossips as a Newmanist; but the impression was pretty well removed by the time I came away."94

Since Clough was no longer subject to Dr. Arnold's authority to give direction to his sense of duty, and since he could not accept the Roman Catholic Church as his authority as many of the Newmanites were later drawn to do, Clough was forced to search within himself for the direction his impulse to duty should take. His first response was self-discipline and that engaged his attention to a degree during his undergraduate days, but it was not really a satisfactory solution for a man of Clough's temperament because it tended to focus his attention upon himself and he felt that such attention to one's self was a sort of sin, a kind of pride. "Self-hood was continually on Clough's mind,
but he could write of it in 'subjective' verse only by making his own experience a parable for the edification of others.” This kind of sublimation of his feelings was quite natural to Clough because the idea of the duty to influence others to their betterment was a cardinal point in his duties at Rugby. Now that he was on his own at Oxford he quite naturally developed the old Rugby idea of the duty of service to others to fit his larger sphere. This development of Clough's conception of duty during his years at Oxford, and particularly during his years as a Fellow at Oriel, is of central importance to the understanding of the Dipsychian mind.

Osborne observes that about one-half of the poetry Clough wrote during the period he was at Oriel was introspective verse that treated the question of duty. Later, by the beginning of the Dipsychian period (1848), Clough had evolved a solution to the question of duty's function, which was to serve others. Timko observes that Clough's poems which illustrate this active function of duty are seldom cited by those who portray Clough as one who would rather wait out his life than take action. Clough's final resolution to the question of what constituted the proper goal of duty was that one should take an active part in life, active in the service of his fellow men. Timko lists five major poems in which this theme is developed by Clough. It is important to add that all of them were written during the Dipsychian period. It is scarcely surprising, considering his Rugby experience, that Clough should look upon service to others as his duty. What is surprising is that it took him so long to arrive at the complete and definite recognition that, for him, this was the primary objective of duty.
Probably the basic obstacle to Clough's non-realization much earlier of what duty should mean to him was the various constructions often placed upon the concept of duty during his time. The primary opposing view of duty was the idea of conventional duty—the idea that one should do as one was expected to do. In Victorian society generally, and especially in the upper circles where Clough moved, the idea that one should do the "proper thing" was thoroughly entrenched and Clough met with it at every turn. This was the first misconception of duty which Clough castigated in his poetry and probably the clearest expression of his disapproval of it is found in his poem "Duty—that's to say complying." In the early part of the poem he clearly shows that he is treating such a conventional sense of social duty. A few lines will serve to illustrate this. "Duty—that's to say complying/ With whate'er's expected here.../ Upon etiquette relying,/ Claims of manners honour still." Armstrong points out, quite properly, that Clough's objection to this form of duty was that it restricted intellectual and moral freedom. The lines which show this most clearly are in the second part of the poem where Clough says of this conventional type of duty, "'Tis the stern and prompt suppressing,/ As an obvious deadly sin,/ All the questing and the guessing/ Of the soul's own soul within." Clough concludes that the result of adopting such an idea of duty is "Moral blank, and moral void,/ Life at very birth destroyed." The moral life of the individual is certainly destroyed by the total, unquestioning acceptance of a social code of duty because that code will cause most of his future moral decisions to be a matter of routine for any person adopting it. The capacity for active, personal decision will be dead.
There was, however, a second and more subtle perversion of duty that Clough had to deal with which is portrayed in his poem "Bethesda," subtitled "A Sequel." It is the sequel to a poem mentioned earlier, "The human spirits saw I on a day." It will be recalled from the discussion of "The human spirits saw I on a day" that the spirit which apparently had the most satisfactory life was the one who took duty as his philosophy. In "Bethesda," on the contrary, the spirit of duty appears no better off than any other of the human spirits. As Clough had done many other times, he put alternate points of view in separate poems, thereby achieving a Dipsychian effect when the two poems are taken together. Several examples of this practice have been noted previously, such as "Easter Day" and "Easter Day II." As the poem "Bethesda" opens, all the human spirits are "huddling in blankets" around the pool of Bethesda waiting in their sickness of soul for the waters to be stirred so that the first one entering can be cured. The poem as a whole is influenced by the Biblical story of Jesus healing a man who was similarly waiting for an angel to stir the waters at the pool of Bethesda (John 5:1-16). Among the human spirits waiting for healing in Clough's poem is the spirit that in "The human spirits saw I on a day" poem who had thought duty to be the best philosophy; now he is as sick as the others. He has lost his health because he has lost the proper conception of duty. The danger of that loss was implicit in the earlier poem because the spirit of duty did not seem to have an object for his duty. He did not urge duty for the good of others or duty to God—he simply urged duty. Now in "Bethesda" he reaps the result of his pointless pursuit of duty. His philosophy of duty has become meaningless, or,
rather, the meaninglessness of his philosophy has become painfully apparent. It is this that the poem suggests when the spirit of duty is unable to recall even the name of that philosophy to which he had earlier devoted himself. "What was that word which once sufficed alone for all,/ Which now I seek in vain, and never can recall?" The only alternative for the spirit of duty now is a pointless subservience to the materialism of the world. "Will do for daily bread, for wealth, respect, good name, the business of the day." Clough then alludes to the New Testament story of Jesus' healing, suggesting that the proper dimension for duty is a service to others under God. Clough wonders if Jesus might come to this sick human spirit of duty "And breathing hope into the sick man's face,/ Bade him take up his bed, and rise and go." The idea of duty to others under God would obviously be the only fully satisfactory philosophy of duty for Clough.

The concept of duty without a specific goal would be a dangerous perversion of duty, but, when we remember Clough's early situation at Oxford, it becomes clearer that Clough may have temporarily drifted into just such a view. Having come from Rugby where duty had been much more than a mere philosophy to him—it had been a way of life and Dr. Arnold had determined its direction—Clough now found himself in Oxford without any defined opportunity or need to serve others. He still fully endorsed the idea of duty but there was no established avenue for its expression. During his early years at Oxford Clough may well have found himself in the position of the human spirit in the "Bethesda" poem, faced with a seemingly pointless existence and in somewhat of desperation, considering the usual materialistic goals of men, "for daily bread, for
wealth, respect, good name." But such goals would naturally not be satisfactory to a person of Clough's idealistic character and training, and he would recognize that a religious orientation was necessary for his own sense of duty. As Clough expressed it in "Bethesda," "Some more diviner stranger passed the door/ With his small company into that sad place,/ And breathing hope into the sick man's face,/ Bade him take up his bed, and rise and go."

Clough's ensuing concept of duty in service to others found frequent expression in his prose and poetry. There was, however, sometimes no direct reference to the religious aspect of that duty to others because Clough was often chary of the stereotyped concepts of God and he recognized that his own religious views took a more liberal turn than would have been acceptable to much of his audience. To a perceptive reader, however, the religious overtones are usually present in any of Clough's admonitions to the duty of service to mankind. For example, Adam the tutor, in The Bothie of Tober-na-Vualich, says, "We have all something to do, and in my judgement should do it/ In our station." On the surface this may seem to be simply a humanistic attitude toward duty tinctured with conventionalism, an attitude which omits God entirely. However, Philip, the student to whom Adam is speaking, divines the tutor's (and Clough's) whole meaning when he re-expresses the tutor's remark in the more usual orthodox theological formulation. "Ah! replied Philip, Alas! the noted phrase of the prayer-book,/ Doing our duty in that state of life to which God has called us." Adam had obviously implied that the duty of service rested in a religious context. Timko was aware of this religious orientation
in Clough's idea of duty. "His idea of duty as service takes on a positive quality.... It is, obviously, his attempt to make religion meaningful in one's life."\(^{109}\)

It is precisely here that the duty to service under God brings forth the Dipsychian tension. Clough insisted that under God, service to others should be rendered through the ordinary course of life. This is nowhere more clearly stated than in his "Review of Mr. Newman's The Soul." In that review Clough recognized that after devotions to God, after prayers, prayer meetings and the sacraments, one rose from his knees with an earnest desire to serve God, asking, "What shall I do?" Clough specifically rejected the usual stereotype religious expression of service such as District-visiting, society-management, or school attendance because these activities have only the most arbitrary connection with the desire to truly serve God. Clough's sense of the genuine importance of reality now comes to the forefront. If man was truly to serve God, Clough believed, it must be within the ordinary context of daily life and not in mere conventionally acceptable or in impersonal, institutionalized service. "We are here," Clough wrote, "However we came, to do something...to live according to Nature, to serve God. The World is here, however it came here, to be made something of by our hands."\(^{110}\)

In summation, the concept of duty to serve others which for Clough was grounded in devotion to God, leads inexorably to direct, personal involvement with the world. His sense of reality, however, did not permit him to retreat to mere devotional exercises and his sense of duty did not allow him to abandon the whole question entirely.
Man must serve man, Clough felt, and the arena for that service had to be within the ordinary commonplace life around one. But the question of moral impurity immediately appeared. If one was to serve God and man as a banker's clerk, for example, one became tainted by having to collect usurious interest from the poor. Or if one engaged in business, competition could well force one to compromise the purity of his moral principles. This was the tension—to serve others under God in daily life, in the commonplace of worldly affairs and yet to maintain one's moral purity which, he felt, was impossible when one became involved in that very world in which he was to serve. This tension temporarily immobilized Clough and his efforts to examine the problem of how to actively participate in the world and yet remain morally pure gave rise to the flood of Dipsychian poetry that dominated the years from 1848 to 1852. The poem *Dipsychus* fitly stands as Clough's masterpiece and *Dipsychus* gives the fullest expression to this tension which generated the other Dipsychian poems as well.
NOTES

1Clough, Poems, p. 170.


4Passage, p. 529.

5Thomas Hughes, Tom Brown's School-Days (New York & London, 1911), pp. 87-112.

6Chorley, p. 17.

7Ibid.

8Ibid., p. 3.

9Osborne, p. 57.

10Clough, Poems, p. 443.

11Ibid., p. 132.


13Clough, Poems, p. 442.

14Ibid., p. 39.

15Clough, Poems and Prose Remains, I, 53.


17Ibid.

18Ibid., p. 15.
\textsuperscript{19}Clough, \textit{Selected Prose}, p. 145.

\textsuperscript{20}Arnold, \textit{Letters to Clough}, p. 135.

\textsuperscript{21}Waddington, p. 139.

\textsuperscript{22}Clough, \textit{Poems and Prose Remains}, I, 173.

\textsuperscript{23}Clough, \textit{Correspondence}, I, 303.

\textsuperscript{24}Clough, \textit{Poems}, p. 75.

\textsuperscript{25}Houghton, \textit{Poetry of Clough}, p. xii.

\textsuperscript{26}Victor S. Pritchett, \textit{Books in General} (London, 1953), p. 6. The italics are my own.

\textsuperscript{27}Clough, \textit{Correspondence}, I, 5.


\textsuperscript{29}Palgrave, p. 528.

\textsuperscript{30}Clough, \textit{Poems and Prose Remains}, I, 8.

\textsuperscript{31}\textit{Tbid.}, I. 9.

\textsuperscript{32}Osborne, p. 13.

\textsuperscript{33}Clough, \textit{Correspondence}, I, 10.


\textsuperscript{35}Clough, \textit{Correspondence}, I, 50.

\textsuperscript{36}Chorley, p. 22.

\textsuperscript{37}Veyriras, p. 65.

39Ibid., p. 39.

40Ibid., p. 76.

41Clough, Correspondence, I, 65.

42Clough, Poems and Prose Remains, p. 380.


46Houghton, Victorian Frame of Mind, p. 231.


48Clough, Correspondence, p. 11.

49Woodward, p. 16.

50Stanley, p. 89.

51Woodward, p. 137.

52Clough, Poems, p. 29.

53Ibid.

54Ibid., pp. 29-30.

55Ibid., p. 21.

56Ibid., p. 22.

57Ibid.

58Woodward, p. 27.
59 Veyriras, p. 41.

60 Clough, Poems, p. 295.

61 Clough, Selected Prose, pp. 280-281.


63 Woodward, p. 137.


66 Ward, p. 69.

67 Ibid., p. 70.

68 Clough, Poems, p. 402.

69 Clough, Correspondence, p. 284.

70 Chorley, p. 213.

71 Ibid., p. 214.

72 Clough, Poems, p. 294.

73 Clough, Selected Prose, p. 207.

74 Ibid.

75 Ibid., p. 206.

76 Clough, Poems, p. 484.

77 Ibid., p. 69.

78 Ibid., p. 72.

79 Ibid., p. 70.
80 Ibid., p. 71.

81 Osborne, p. 12.


84 Veyriras, p. 15.

85 Woodward, p. 4.

86 Hughes, pp. 141-143.

87 Stanley, p. 96.

88 Ibid., pp. 94-95.

89 Ibid., p. 95.

90 Osborne, p. 22.

91 Clough, *Correspondence*, p. 35.

92 Osborne, p. 42.

93 Clough, *Correspondence*, p. 91.

94 Ibid., p. 90.


96 Osborne, p. 67.

97 Timko, p. 54.

98 Ibid.

99 Clough, *Poems*, p. 27.

100 Armstrong, p. 19.
101 Clough, *Poems*, p. 27.
102 Ibid., p. 28.
103 Ibid., p. 53.
104 Ibid., p. 54.
105 Ibid.
106 Ibid.
107 Ibid., p. 128.
108 Ibid.
109 Timko, p. 53.
CHAPTER III: AN APPLICATION OF THE THEORY

This final chapter can serve to illustrate how Clough's concern for the maintenance of moral purity in a life of active involvement with the world expresses itself in a single Dipsychian poem. In Chapter One, the description of Dipsychian poetry and the discussion of Clough's purposes in writing in that manner were necessarily laden with references to, and analysis of, his poetry. The study of the basic sources of the moral tension that generated Clough's ambivalent poetry was supported in Chapter Two by numerous references to his poetry as well as to biographical and critical sources. It may seem, therefore, that a chapter devoted to illustrating the expression of the Dipsychian mode is not strictly called for. It does seem worthwhile, however, to devote a short chapter to the exclusive study of a single Dipsychian poem with the aim of illustrating how the previous discussion can provide a helpful point of view for the analysis of Clough's ambivalent poetry. In spite of its considerable length, the seventy-four-page poem, Dipsychus, is a natural choice for such a study because it is probably Clough's master work and its Dipsychian character is certainly unquestionable, as even the title indicates.

Clough, as has been previously shown, entered upon a period of moral crisis which extended through the four-year period from 1848 to 1852. The basic issue behind that crisis was the problem of how he could maintain moral purity and at the same time enter upon an active involvement with worldly affairs. This problem reached a climax
during this period because circumstances had placed Clough in a position where he had to personally face such a moral problem. In order to properly understand *Dipsychus*, one must observe what had happened to him during the years immediately before he began its composition. When one considers Clough's life between 1848 and 1850 in the light of his previous training in morality and duty, then Clough's immediate motives in writing *Dipsychus* become clearer and the theme of moral tension in his long and complex poem stands out in sharp relief.

In 1848 Clough had left his position as a Fellow and tutor at Oriel College, Oxford, because he felt that he could no longer subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles in a way that would satisfy his conscience. He had earlier frankly expressed his doubts to Edward Hawkins, the Provost of Oriel who held that all of the tutors must maintain their subscription to the Articles whether they were directly engaged in the teaching of theology or not, as Hawkins then explained in a letter to Clough. In itself the difficulty with subscription would have been enough to cause Clough to decide to leave Oxford. Clough's basic objection to the necessity of subscription was typical of his questioning mind. In one of his letters to Hawkins, Clough states that basic objection: "My objection...to Subscription would be that it is a painful restraint on speculation." But in addition to the problem of intellectual conformity which that subscription presented, Clough was also brought to leave Oxford by a complex of personal reasons. He was growing more and more to feel that Oxford was out of touch with the active life of the time and he had suggested as much to his friend, Shairp, in a letter, an excerpt of which, though quoted earlier, bears
repeating here: "Actual life is unknown to an Oxford student, even though he is not a mere Puseyite and goes on jolly reading-parties." Furthermore, Clough would not be permitted to marry if he remained at Oxford because at that time the regulations allowed only the Heads of Colleges and a few Senior Members to have wives. Clough recognized that he was not the type of man to live out his life without the emotional security and companionship of a wife and family. Thus it was that in April of 1848 Clough resigned his tutorship at Oriel and later in the year gave up his fellowship as well. He left Oxford with no immediate prospects of income and with certain limited financial obligations toward his widowed mother and his sister. This rather dramatic move was made primarily on the basis of his reluctance to acquiesce to religious conformity and on his knowledge of his own character and needs. His resignation, however, brought him to a direct confrontation with the need to become involved in practical concerns of the world—the inevitable need to earn a living.

The moral question of conformity to the world now became a pointed personal question. Clough increasingly came to recognize that every teaching position he might seek to fill would probably make more stringent demands upon his conscience than Oriel had. In the fall of 1848 the Council which directed the affairs of University Hall suggested Clough as a possible successor to Francis Newman who had been the first Principal of the newly founded residence hall for students of University College, London. Francis Newman had resigned the Principalship after only a few months and before any students had arrived. Since University Hall was founded by the Presbyterians and Unitarians, Clough's
appointment was delayed while the Council of University Hall tried to determine whether his religious views would present a problem. This issue was temporarily solved by the Council's determination to appoint a chaplain to conduct religious services in the Hall, a task they had earlier allotted to the Principal but one that Clough had properly refused to undertake because he could no more, in conscience, teach Presbyterian creeds than he could fully endorse Anglican creeds. Thus it was not until January, 1849, that Clough was actually appointed Principal of University Hall; his duties were not to begin until fall, approximately a whole year after his resignation from Oxford.

The latent moral tension generated by Clough's early training reached a peak during the period from 1849 to 1852. Although the immediate problem of finding a position had been solved for him without a great deal of effort on his part, nevertheless he was brought to recognize that his limited capacity to fit into the economic structure was a fact and he was painfully aware of the possibility that perhaps his tender conscience would cost him more than he could afford to pay. Men of independent means could afford independent religious views, but Clough came to realize that he was scarcely in a position to assert his independence. He was indeed well suited to be a college teacher but his refusal to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles had made him suspect by all the orthodox institutions in England. Principally for this reason he seriously considered joining his friend, young Thomas Arnold, who was organizing a projected college at Nelson, New Zealand, but Clough doubted that he was prepared to teach the kinds of subjects that would be required there. Clough expressed this doubt in a letter to
Thomas Arnold early in November, 1848. By the end of that month, however, negotiations for the University Hall position had become firm enough to cause Clough to dismiss any idea of joining his friend at the Antipodes. Thus in the fall of 1849 Clough began his duties as Principal, haunted by the recognition of his economic insecurity which caused him to acquiesce to the growing dictatorialness of the University Hall Council.

Clough's sense of economic insecurity, coupled with the Council's intrusive supervision of his activities as Principal, partly generated Clough's "attitude of critical irritation and semi-boredom" in his position. The "semi-boredom" was a facade to cover his sense of insecurity and the mood of "critical irritation" was largely caused by the annoyance the Council presented Clough. Over Clough's objections, the Council insisted on certain popularly orientated religious courses. They had also so far intruded on the Principal's authority as to interfere in the management of the servants of the Hall. In a letter to the Council that was almost certainly never sent, Clough indulged in a vein of sarcasm that would have been impossible for a man like Clough if he had not been frequently subjected to petty interference. While the tone of this letter does not show Clough in the best light, it provides the most eloquent testimony to the bitterness that his treatment by the Council had generated.

You will forgive me, I daresay, for suggesting to your consideration a little point of etiquette. Would it not be more expedient if members of the Committee and Council and officers of the Society should forbear to communicate with the servants of the Hall without first addressing themselves to the Principal.... I must beg you not to suspect me of thinking myself competent to conduct the household affairs without the constant super-
vision of the Committee and advice and assistance of individual members. But when neither the Committee or Council are sitting, the Principal must be, of necessity, master of the household.

Such a nagging interference, coupled with Clough's own feeling that he had to retain this position at least until he should be fortunate enough to find some other employment for which his religious views did not disqualify him, served to force upon Clough a feeling of his ineptness in worldly affairs. Earlier it was noted that Clough was lacking in experience in business affairs and that he did not really understand the middle class mind, yet now he was forced to engage in the business affairs of the Hall and to cooperate with its middle class and primarily Unitarian Council. Moreover, since the University Hall project was only in its beginning stages, it called for someone who would energetically solicit future students. When, in October, 1851, the Council asked Clough what proposals he could offer to attract students to reside at University Hall, Clough's overly casual reply suggests that, though he did have proposals, he did not think that they were likely to lead to the dramatic results that he supposed they wanted. Clough must have misunderstood their middle class, businessmen's drive, however, and thought that it was really an ill-concealed suggestion that he had not been active enough in his task of soliciting support of the Hall. That, no doubt, accounts for the singularly uncooperative tone of Clough's reply. He told the Council that for a successful project "The Principal...has to state to the Chairman of Council that he is unable to offer any suggestion to the Council in the present occasion. No measure that he can think of could, he believes, have more than a
very gradual effect in the way of increasing the number of students." The Council, on their side, must have misunderstood Clough's casual reply. They apparently thought that he was suggesting that the whole University Hall project was a failure and, consequently, the Council prepared to close the institution. Out of this whole episode grew Clough's eventual dismissal from University Hall—a year after *Dipsychus* was written. He already knew that the Council judged him neither very capable of business affairs nor very energetic in the pursuit of those affairs. Crabb Robinson, a prominent member of the Council and one of Clough's early supporters, had written as much to his brother, saying that Clough was a "very agreeable man, though not the very best man for his position; he wants energy and vivacity." The necessity for a practical business sense in organizing and running the Hall called for a talent that Clough's genius did not include. Certainly Clough was poorly placed as Principal of University Hall.

The Council had spent several months prior to Clough's undertaking the Principalship in weighing his religious views. This indication of their intolerance was confirmed by subsequent events. Clough was obliged to be present at the daily prayers that he had flatly refused to conduct and which he had also requested that he not be required to regularly attend. In a letter to Thomas Arnold in the fall of 1849, when Clough had begun his duties as Principal, Clough expressed an apprehension about his ultimate dismissal because of the Council's religious intolerance and his disillusionment at finding that intolerance was probably stronger in the middle class orientated University College than it had proved to be at Oxford. As Clough considered his
position, he found himself "believing that in the end I shall be kicked out for mine heresies' sake.... For intolerance, O Tom, is not confined to the cloisters at Oxford...but comes up like the tender herb--partout. And is indeed in manner indigenous in the heart of the family man of the middle classes." Goldie Levy points out that Hutton characterized Clough as "that enigma to Presbyterian parents, a College head who held himself serenely neutral on all moral and educational subjects interesting to parents." It was this serene neutrality, which constituted the heart of Clough's religious views, that he had lightly referred to as his "heresies" in his letter to Thomas Arnold.

The core of Clough's religious views, as they apply to Dipsychus and to his relations with the authorities at Oxford and University Hall, was that objective, externalized, logically consistent statements about religious matters were as apt to be false as they were apt to be true. Thus such statements as are found embodied in creeds reflect only the partial apprehension of the religious truth of which man is capable. Clough states this view explicitly in his "Notes on the Religious Tradition" where he says, "I do believe that strive as I will I am restricted and grasp as I may, I can never hold the complete truth." Though Clough held such a view, he did not for that reason think it fit to halt all further search for religious truth. He did not rest in a despairing agnosticism, but rather, he insisted on examination of religious views in the light of science and the criticisms of history. The reference to the criticisms of history included, of course, the so-called New Criticism of the Bible from a historical point of view that has been earlier mentioned in reference to Clough's view of Biblical interpretation, a point of view which found one of its poetic expressions in Clough's
"Epi-Strauss-ium." He also asserted that the seeker for religious truth should not neglect "those pulsations of spiritual instinct which come to me from association...with Unitarians...Calvinists...Episcopalian, and Roman Catholics." His idea is that all possible sources of religious truth constitute what he denominated "The Religious Tradition" and all such sources of truth should be examined by the individual; the seeker after truth should appropriate for himself whatever religious truth he finds, wherever he may find it. Furthermore, Clough believed each individual was so constituted as to be able to accept only certain aspects of truth from the Religious Tradition. "Each of us is born with a peculiar nature of his own, a constitution, as it were, for one form of truth to the exclusion of others—that we must each look for what will suit us, and not be over solicitous for wide and comprehensive attainments."15

If one were to put this total approach into a common modern simile, then the Religious Tradition would be like a supermarket of religious truth and each person would select those items that met his needs until his shopping cart was full or his wallet was empty. But no one would be able to purchase the whole store of truths, nor would he want to. From this point of view, any individual's religious views are partial and would also reflect his own individual capacity to absorb religious truth. Remembering this, it is not difficult to see how the Council of University Hall should think that Clough was suggesting that religious matters are only a question of taste, like one's table manners or one's choice of waistcoat styles. Clough promptly replied to the Council saying, "I wholly repudiate the notion of such con-
victions or sentiments being simply a matter of taste."

Religious matters were genuinely important to Clough and were not lightly adopted or discarded. But the middle class Dissenters that formed the Council were no happier with Clough's anti-creedalism than the authorities at Oxford had been. Clough felt that he was subject to the pressures of religious intolerance no matter where he chose to teach. His appraisal of the Council's intolerance was reflected in his actions. "Clough did not care to offend the Committee by publishing his Amours de Voyage, the long poem he had written in Rome during the summer of 1849, and which expressed some of his religious views." His recognition of their intolerant attitude had forced Clough into an unhealthy circumspection.

In view of Clough's situation at the time that he was writing Dipsychus, it is not surprising that the major theme of that poem is the vocational question of how he could fit into the practical world of affairs. His long period of unemployment and the difficulties that he confronted after he became Principal of University Hall caused him to wonder if it would be possible for him to engage in practical life without any compromise of his moral principles. The intolerance he found both in Oxford and University Hall accounts for the presence of the religious theme in Dipsychus. This religious theme is certainly secondary in the poem and there is very little in the poem itself to suggest actually what Clough's religious views were. The treatment of the religious theme, like the vocational theme, is colored by Clough's immediate situation. When religious matters are brought up, it will be seen that they are treated in a context of intolerance. For example,
in Scene VII after Dipsychus recited his "Easter Day" ode, the worldly Spirit complains about the vagueness of the views presented: "Well, now it's anything but clear.... That's a great fault; you're this and that...and nothing flat." Furthermore, Spirit counsels Dipsychus to drop his questioning attitude and to conform to accepted religious views. Spirit says, "That in religious as profane things/ 'Twas useless trying to explain things;/ Men's business-wits the only sane things,/ These and compliance are the main things." Compliance was worldly counsel. Certainly Clough recognized that compliance would make him more acceptable to the University Hall Council.

Compliance, however, meant moral compromise to Clough. But his situation at University Hall clearly showed him that compliance in religion and in practical affairs seemed to be the way of the world. His present problem, then, was whether he should submit. This is the central theme of Dipsychus, the poem that he wrote at this time. He had not resolved the question and therefore Dipsychus is necessarily ambivalent. The poem is the lengthy examination of the issue from both sides; it is the psychological drama of the mind poised before a decision, a mind that thrusts and turns the question first one way and then another. Clough was seeking resolution of the question and was also using the poem to give vent to his feelings on the alternate sides of the question. It has been shown that there was a realistic side to Clough as well as an idealistic side. He could see a certain justice in the necessity of submission to the world's way of life, but his overriding concern for moral purity made any merely practical solution of his dilemma impossible. The basic tension that has been
shown to be grounded in his earlier experience as a child and schoolboy became a live problem to Clough because of his situation at University Hall.

That the basic tension of Dipsychus is substantially as it has been described above is generally recognized by critics. Badger says that the conflict in Dipsychus is between the tender conscience and the world. Armstrong suggests that the conflict is expressed by a tone which suggests defeated submission to the world in contrast to an objective assertion of the victory of the idealistic side. Houghton sees Dipsychus as a record of a youthful "moral passion for personal integrity and dedicated action" which must be sacrificed "to the conventional mores and self-centered goals of adult life.... The struggle to maintain them [the idealistic views] and their ultimate defeat is the theme of Dipsychus." Though these critics can be observed to agree that the subject of the poem is found in the tension between idealism and worldly compromise, it can also be observed that they do not agree on which side the poet intended to be victorious. Obviously Houghton feels that Clough intended to record the defeat of idealism, but another critic, Ryals, like Armstrong, asserts, "Nothing in the poem suggests that Dipsychus is led to defeat, that in the end he makes a wrong choice; on the contrary, he is applauded for accepting the course which common sense dictates."23

This kind of disagreement about the final outcome of the conflict is surprising in the face of the general agreement about the central tension of the poem. The situation can be clarified, however, when one applies a suggestion made in Chapter One. It was there main-
tained that an essential quality of a Dipsychian poem was its ambiguity, and that such ambiguity was not resolved within the poem. Furthermore, Clough was shown to structure the Dipsychian poems in such a way as to allow each reader to examine the question for himself and to arrive at his own solution to the question. Apparently that is what has happened. But the poem itself did not suggest a resolution. Levy says, "It is really a long debate with no conclusive ending." Dickinson agrees that *Dipsychus* does not suggest a resolution: "The obvious criticism of the poem is that it is diffuse and that the conflicts in it are never resolved." The thoroughgoing ambivalence of the poem confirms its Dipsychian character.

In Chapter One it was stated that the period between 1848 and 1852 was Clough's period of greatest personal stress and also the period of his greatest poetic production. It can be easily understood how, for a man like Clough, such a situation as that in which he found himself at University Hall would cause considerable stress. Moreover, the year just prior to the composition of *Dipsychus* was "the worst year of his life." In another of his intimate letters to his friend, young Thomas Arnold, Clough describes the year 1850: "My situation here under a set of mercantile Unitarians is no way charming." The two words "mercantile" and "Unitarian" will suggest the basic tension of this period to someone who has become aware of the fact that the tension consisted first of all in pressure to conform to middle class, worldly standards, and also to avoid the intolerance around him by a religious compliance. The intensity of Clough's inner struggle is indicated by a couple of sentences found in the letter just quoted:

...
"Nothing is very good, I am afraid, anywhere. I could have gone cracked at times last year with one thing or another, I think—but the wheel comes round." As Clough looks back, he recalls the crisis he endured in 1850 and then he asserts that he had gotten over the worst of it by 1851. Part of the method that Clough had used to resolve his crisis of values was to work them out in an objective form in the poem Dipsychus.

When the organization of Dipsychus is examined from the point of view of Clough's use of poetry to solve some of his personal problems, some interesting observations can be made. First, the basic organization of this very long dramatic poem is a bipartite structure where, in the first seven scenes, "the question raised by the tension between the protagonists is whether or not Dipsychus is to adopt the standards of the world." The question in the second half of the poem (Scenes VIII-XIII) is "whether Dipsychus is to adopt a worldly vocation.... The second question is simply a special case of the first." Therein lies the unity of the poem; it deals, as a whole, with the question of submission to the world. But when we remember that Clough often used his poems to work out his problems, the heavy emphasis upon the vocational aspects of the question of submission to the world obviously develops out of the fact that it was precisely at that point that Clough himself faced this problem. It can be observed, furthermore, that the temptations to adopt worldly standards in the other areas which are treated in the first half of the poem are generally rather easily resisted by Dipsychus. On the other hand, the question of whether he is to adopt a worldly vocation is not easily answered at all. The poem reflects Clough's own psychology as he faced this problem himself.
There are only two characters in *Dipsychus*. They stand at opposite poles on the question of submission to the world. Spirit is worldliness incarnate, but Dipsychus is an exaggerated picture of the idealist. Thus, when Garrod objects that Clough overdoes the idea of moral purity, Dipsychus should stand as the prime example of that excess of moral probity. Even though Palmer objects to Garrod's later assertion that Clough "liked a hero who would not bring his resolution to the sticking point," there is a measure of truth in the assertion. But especially in Dipsychus such a hero served Clough's purposes admirably. Since Clough is using the poem to examine his own ambivalence in regard to his place in the practical world of affairs, he makes Dipsychus irresolute on this issue. Thus Clough can imaginatively examine the problem for himself. It was not so much that Clough "liked" his irresolute hero as it was that such a hero served Clough's purposes in the poem.

One may recall that Clough used extremes in his Dipsychian poetry so as to allow the reader to freely make his own decision on the question which the poem treats. An attitude of open-mindedness is induced by the use of extremes on each side of the question. The extremely "pure" Dipsychus and the coarsely worldly Spirit were designed to prevent the reader from fully identifying with either side. The presentation of Dipsychus and Spirit as extremes of purity and worldliness respectively, would make both extreme views of the question of involvement with the world unacceptable to a thoughtful person; the reader is thereby free to form some compromise of their views which is appropriate for himself. It is not surprising that critics would dislike Dipsychus' character since he is presented in terms of a moral extreme. He is
hyper-fastidious—intellectually, socially and morally. But Clough, as an artist, recognized that he could not make his only two characters completely unacceptable to the imagination of the reader. Both Dipsychus and Spirit have their redeeming virtues but these virtues are not such as would compromise their functions to serve as extremes in regard to the basic question of the poem. Though Dipsychus is overly conscious of his moral purity, he is intriguingly thoughtful. His mind plays over the central question of the poem with a brilliance that reveals the question in various lights and he has the perception to see the manifold ramifications of his possible courses of action. Dipsychus' intellectual brilliance serves to make him more appealing and it promotes the function of the poem because it makes possible a fuller examination of the problem. Thus Clough's personal purposes are better served because he can use Dipsychus to see deeply into the problem that Clough was facing, and Clough's purposes in regard to his audience are better served because the readers will have a fuller statement of the idealistic side of the question from which to form their own personal resolutions of the question. Because Clough's purposes in his Dipsychian poetry involve the examination of a question, it is not surprising that critics, like Shackford, point out that a major appeal in his poetry is its appeal to thought.33

Dipsychus' name is used to emphasize the hesitant, questioning attitude that is one of his most prominent characteristics. Clough, who was a Greek scholar, could have transliterated the word from the Greek but it was probably partially suggested to him by his reading of the New Testament. It is used only twice in the New Testament, both
times in the Book of James (1:8 and 4:8) though it appears more frequently in some other early Christian literature, notably the first and second books of Clement and in Hermas. In James and elsewhere it is used to mean doubting, hesitating, and, more literally, double-minded.  

It is translated as "double-minded" in the new English translation of the New Testament in both places where it appears in James. The first use of the word in James gives an idea of the connotations of the term. In Chapter One of the Book of James, at the beginning, the author is asserting that God will give wisdom to those who ask in faith, without doubting, "for the doubter is like a heaving sea ruffled by the wind. A man of that kind must not expect the Lord to give him anything; he is double-minded, and never can keep a steady course." In James, Chapter Four, the author is again talking about prayer and castigates those who pray for worldly things: "Have you never learned that love of the world is enmity to God?" And a few lines later James urges a greater closeness to God and suggests that moral purity is important in that regard. "Sinners make your hands clean; you who are double-minded, see that your motives are pure." The contexts in James are suggestive of the character of Dipsychus who was vacillating and who was also concerned for the purity of his motives.  

Veyriras points out that the term "dipsychus" often appears in Newman's sermons to describe those people who are divided between religion and the world. Veyriras offers the possibility that Clough became acquainted with the term from some of Newman's lectures or sermons. It is likely that Clough's attention was called to the term through Newman, but since its use in James is so appropriate for Clough's use
here, it is very probable that Clough was aware of the passages in James when he wrote Dipsychus. This likelihood of a predominantly Scriptural source is increased when it is observed that Spirit, in Scene XIII of Dipsychus, also chooses his name from the New Testament.

Dipsychus, after his submission to the world with reservations, at the end of the poem, asks what Spirit's name is. Spirit replies that he has a score of names, Mephistopheles among them, but the name Spirit seems to think appropriate is "Cosmocrator." Dipsychus then recites a line of Greek: "Toûs koiμoκρατοπας toû aîwvos toutou." The line was taken from Ephesians 6:12 and is familiarly translated in the King James Version of the Bible as "the rulers of darkness of this world." The surprising thing is that Dipsychus had omitted the word for "darkness" in his recital of the Greek line so that the line as Dipsychus recited it would mean that he saw Spirit not as darkly evil, but simply as the spirit of this world. Spirit himself calls attention to this omission when he identifies the text Dipsychus had recited: "Ephesians, ain't it? near the end/ You dropt a word to spare your friend./ What follows, too, in application/ Would be absurd exaggeration." What does follow in Ephesians 4:13 is the well-known section in the King James translation where Paul urges the Ephesians to take the "whole armor of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all to stand." St. Paul goes on expanding the metaphor and emphasizing the Christian's struggle against the evil in the world. To Spirit, who is suave and worldly himself, Paul's admonitions would certainly sound like "absurd exaggeration," but Dipsychus is repelled by this forceful revelation of Spirit's evil side.
It would do a grave injustice to the picture of Spirit which the poem presents to view him simply as the power of evil which he pretends to be at the end of the poem. Throughout Dipsychus Spirit appears as an urbane voice of worldly common sense. Armstrong suggests that Spirit shows the sort of reasonableness that is characteristic of natural man and that this reasonableness is not without considerable force. His flippant rhymes and neat couplets demonstrate his rationality and his characteristic energy.\(^{41}\) He is naturally at his best when he is devastating some idealistic view; thus he can be expected to shine when he offers his answer to Berkeley's philosophical idealism:

"These juicy meats, this flashing wine,/ May be an unreal mere appearance;/ Only—for my inside, in fine,/ They have a singular coherence."\(^{42}\)

Spirit's philosophical appeal in this argument, be it observed, is to one's sense impressions which the realistic common-sense person would hardly doubt, and his ironical acceptance of philosophical idealism in the next stanza is scarcely more than an urbane joke: "This lovely creature's glowing charms/ Are gross illusion, I don't doubt that;/ But when I pressed her in my arms/ I somehow didn't think about that."\(^{43}\)

It is worth observing, in view of the nature of the humor in the lines just quoted, that such humor presented an obstacle to a wide acceptance of Clough's poetry during his own age. Badger points out that for the Victorians, Clough's humor was rejected as mere flippancy but, in fact, Clough actually used humor, as he did above, to serious ends.\(^{44}\) Spirit's nonchalant dismissal of a serious philosophical question shows the dangerous shallowness of thought that may be concealed under "common-sense views."
Clough's understanding of Spirit's common-sensical mind with its strengths and its weaknesses finds its source in the realistic aspect of Clough's own character which was examined in Chapter Two. Clough's enjoyment of the active life as it revealed itself in Rugby was continued throughout his life. Clough always enjoyed travel and change of scene. For a man of his means he traveled a great deal—through Europe as far as Greece, several times in France, frequently to Scotland, once to Germany, and he visited New England for a year. It will be recalled that Clough's realistic side extended beyond a taste for active life and travel. He placed a high value on the portrayal of ordinary daily life in his poetry and always maintained a realistic honesty with himself. Clough's uncompromising realism gave him the insight to portray Spirit with considerable understanding because Clough knew that realistic common sense can easily unite with a materialistic value system within a single personality. At least the realistic side of Spirit was as familiar to Clough as one aspect of his own mind and so Clough's own realistic point of view enabled him to present Spirit with an attractive, practical side. In fact, Spirit's sound common sense has so disarmed critics that Garrod, at least, feels that the reader should be completely on the side of Spirit.

Spirit's appeal consists in more than his common sense, however. His humor also engages the reader when it is coupled with Spirit's honest appraisal of reality, as it usually is. Almost every reader must find himself agreeing with Spirit when, for example, he sings,

They may talk as they please about what they call pelf, And how one ought never to think of one's self,
And how pleasures of thought surpass eating and drinking—
My pleasure of thought is the pleasure of thinking
How pleasant it is to have money, heigh ho!
How pleasant it is to have money.

And exactly inasmuch as the reader feels within himself the force of
such arguments quickened by Spirit's humor, the reader is thereby en-
able to feel the real problem that Dipsychus, with his high sense of
morality, must face in his confrontation with the world. Spirit's views,
though presented with a touch of humor, are too sound to be simply re-
jected out of hand, and the Uncle in the Epilogue to Dipsychus felt
their soundness too. When the "poet" in the Epilogue is commenting on
Spirit's speaking in the poem, the Uncle interjects his own views on
Spirit's speaking: "'Well, said my uncle, 'why should he? Nobody asked
him. Not that he didn't say much which, if only it hadn't been for the
way he said it, and that it was he who said it, would have been sen-
sible enough.'" Clearly, if this "Spirit" is intended to be the devil,
Clough does not intend that he be all black because if Spirit's argu-
ments could be simply and summarily dismissed, then the central tension
of the poem would be weakened. In fact, it is questionable if the Spirit
is to be taken as the devil at all. The "poet" in the Epilogue tells
his Uncle, "'But, sir,' said I, perhaps he wasn't a devil after all.
That's the beauty of the poem; nobody can say.'" This is certainly
one aspect of the ambivalent Dipsychian character of the poem because
if Spirit could be dismissed as unquestionably evil, then the tension
of the poem would be resolved: if Spirit were unquestionably the devil,
then certainly Dipsychus would have done wrong in submitting to him and
Dipsychus' entire period of irresolution would have reflected only moral
weakness and hypocrisy. In short, if the Spirit were unquestionably evil, the central question of the poem would have been resolved before the poem opens and the reader would have been merely beguiled into thinking that there was a genuine question at stake. Clearly, that is not what Clough intended. Spirit must be seen as at least partially correct. There is a certain justice in Spirit's point of view. Every reader feels it, just as did the Uncle in the Epilogue. "That's the beauty of the poem"—it is ambivalent right to the end.

The central Dipsychian tension in Dipsychus has been examined as it reveals itself in the structure and through the major characters of the poem, and the expression of that tension between moral purity and common sense realism has been discussed in terms of the function and sources of Dipsychian poetry as discussed in Chapters One and Two. It remains to examine the climactic portion of the poem to observe how Clough's concept of duty plays in with the other elements in order to bring the poem to maximum intensity for the reader and also to make it fully expressive of the Dipsychian tension that existed in Clough himself.

The climactic tension is found in the second half of the poem and can be examined by a consideration of Dipsychus' submission to Spirit. The early part of the poem, however, functions as a sort of background to the question of submission which is treated in the second half of the poem. An examination of one section from the first part of the poem may serve to illustrate the typical pattern of worldly temptation by Spirit and Dipsychus' resistance to that influence which is characteristic of the whole first half of the poem.
The issue in the first half of the poem is whether Dipsychus will take a worldly attitude regarding certain moral questions. Scenes II and IIIa show Dipsychus rejecting a worldly attitude toward sex. Spirit calls Dipsychus' attention to the many girls in the crowd in the Public Gardens of Venice. "What lots of pretty girls, too, hieing/ Hither and thither--coming, going,/ And with what satisfaction showing,/ To our male eyes unveiled and bare/ Their dark exuberance of hair." Dipsychus' rejection of that appeal is strong--excessively strong. His response reveals him in a flood of moral indignation, overreacting to Spirit's rather natural interest in the ladies. Notice how violently Clough portrays Dipsychus' reaction: "Off, off! Oh heaven, depart, depart, depart!/ Oh me! the toad sly-sitting at Eve's ear/ Whispered no dream more poisonous than this!" The palpable hyperbole in Dipsychus' reply is apparent because the toad at Eve's ear precipitated the fall of mankind, and at this point all Spirit is doing is trying to engage Dipsychus in a little "girl watching." Veyriras points out that the imagery in other parts of the poem suggest that Dipsychus is a sort of moral baby. For example, in one place Spirit says of Dipsychus, "Don't I see you still,/ Living no life at all? Even as now/ An o'ergrown baby." Certainly such excess of moral purity as Dipsychus shows does seem childish. The early sections of the poem, however, are designed to show Dipsychus as the extreme example of moral purity. His childish excess of purity is sharply contrasted with Spirit's urbane worldly views. Later Spirit goes considerably beyond simply suggesting that Dipsychus enjoy looking at the girls by suggesting that Dipsychus should take one to his room. Naturally Dipsychus refuses after a momentary hesitation and then severely
rebukes himself for even that brief moment of hesitation. "O moon and stars forgive! And thou, clear heaven,/ Look pureness back into me."54

Spirit's more "adult" and worldly view of sexual matters is the precisely right foil to show that Dipsychus presents an excess of purity. Spirit explains that from his point of view, Dipsychus overexaggerates the importance of sex: "O yes, you dream of sin and shame.--/ Trust me, it leaves one much the same."55 Spirit's excess of worldliness is as apparent as Dipsychus' excess of purity and the first half of the poem is devoted to showing this contrast in the course of several worldly temptations which Spirit offers Dipsychus.56

It was illustrated how the contrast between Spirit and Dipsychus is portrayed in Scenes II and IIa in regard to sexual experience and much the same contrast is seen in Scene III where the temptation is to a superficial life in good society. Spirit holds that good society is pleasant and that good manners make one think well of one's self. Dipsychus, however, believes that society calls for one to wear a mask of politeness that denies the reality of one's feelings and that for all of its pleasant appearance, society is impure underneath. In Scene IV the temptation is to economic exploitiveness. There Spirit sings his song, a stanza of which was earlier quoted, proclaiming how pleasant it is to have money. Dipsychus carries his attitude of moral purity—even beyond the duty to help others with his money—to such excess of moral feeling that he cannot enjoy any money because he thinks of "Our slaving brother set behind!"57 In Scene VI the temptation is to aggressive action. Dipsychus had been insulted by a German and Spirit urges that Dipsychus should take action to avenge the insult, but Dipsychus
passes if off as unnecessary to his pride and contrary to his personality. All of these temptations follow the same pattern. The moral purity of Dipsychus is confronted by the views of the world and is repelled by them. At the same time, there is always a certain justness in the worldly views that Spirit presents. It is important not to overlook this because the tension of the whole poem depends upon the element of reasonableness in Spirit's worldly views as mentioned earlier. The reasonableness of some of Spirit's views can be seen in the temptation to sexual experience that has been treated as typical of the rest of the temptations. After Spirit portrays his gross worldly view of sex by characterizing seduction and prostitution as an "innocent a thing/ As picking strawberries in the spring," he then goes on to offer a bit of advice with a realistic appeal. Houghton remarks that "This second and more insidious appeal, common as it is in life, has rarely been expressed in English poetry."\(^{58}\) Spirit points to a commonly observed aspect of human nature, that people tend to pay too much attention to sins that they have not tested. They imagine the sin is more alluring than, in reality, it truly is. He urges that unless Dipsychus does indulge himself in some actual sexual experience, he will go on thinking about it always: "...this itch will stick and vex you/ Your live long days till death unsex you--/ ...you cannot rest, I'm certain,/ Until your hand has drawn the curtain./ Once known the little lies behind it,/ You'll go your way and never mind it."\(^{59}\) This rather reasonable view, and the chance it offers Dipsychus to get the matter of this sin off of his mind, is a stronger temptation to Dipsychus because of its realistic attitude toward human psychology. Spirit represents reality in part and hence Spirit's temptations are
not easily dismissed. Although Dipsychus does not abandon his moral purity in this temptation or in any of the other early ones, he is not a saint who is vanquishing temptations of the flesh; instead, he is a hypermoral young man who finds it difficult to distinguish between worldly reality and the evil that so readily mixes with that reality.

The poem reaches its climax in the second half because the Spirit now presents Dipsychus with a moral problem that cannot be resolved by a retreat from action. In the earlier temptations, as with the temptation to sexual indulgence, for example, it was possible for Dipsychus to maintain his moral purity by not engaging in those actions. Now Spirit presents Dipsychus with a situation in which Dipsychus must act. The issue that opens Scene VIII is the question of what Dipsychus is to do in the world. How is he to earn his living? Spirit suggests a rich marriage and when that is rejected, he suggests the law. Dipsychus' first reaction to the legal profession can be predicted. He finds it is morally reprehensible to involve himself in the messy situations that are the stuff of law suits. "The Law!" Dipsychus expostulates, "'Twere honester, if 'twere genteel,/ To say the dungcart." But that first reaction, brought about by his excessive moral probity, is given an added complexity when, as Dipsychus continues his monologue on this subject, it becomes apparent that he had hoped by inaction to remain pure. "Action, that staggers me. For I had hoped,/ 'Midst weakness, indolence, frivolity,/ Irresolution, still had hoped; and this/ Seems sacrificing hope." As he continues in his monologue to evaluate the possibilities of waiting longer before engaging in action, he sees moral danger in waiting too. Dipsychus recognizes that "Contamination taints the idler
first."62 If he waits or if he acts, either way he is condemned to moral impurity, as he says, "If I stay, I am not innocent; nor if I go—/
E'en should I fall—beyond redemption lost."63 Convinced of the impurity of either course, the practical necessity for action becomes the deciding factor. Dipsychus soon recognizes the practical necessity of work and expresses it in these practical, common-sense terms: "Other folks do so \[\text{work}\]; ... And are paid for it./ For nothing else we can be. He that eats/ Must serve; and serve as other servants do."64 Because of necessity, then, Dipsychus submits.

No heroism is involved in Dipsychus' bending to necessity and therefore he does not feel any sense of pride. Neither does Dipsychus feel any pride in any of his previous moral victories over the temptations offered by Spirit, although in those cases it might seem that Dipsychus was demonstrating a large measure of moral strength. In his earlier victories over the temptations of lust, avarice, or anger, Dipsychus never felt a sense of exaltation because he seemed to feel that he was merely doing what he had to do. He was doing his moral duty. The lack of any sense of moral exaltation is apparent also when Dipsychus decides that he must enter upon some kind of work. There is no sense of eager anticipation of a new life or any sense of moral victory because what he has decided to do is again only what he simply has to do. He really does not freely make a decision; rather, a decision is forced upon him. The necessity to enter the world was, as we have seen from the brief study of Clough's own life, also forced upon Clough at this time. Dipsychus' character reflects Clough's mood in 1850 by this grudging but dutiful submission to the world. Sidgwick says of Clough
that he is "a man who cannot suit himself to the world nor the world to him, who will neither heartily accept mundane conditions and pursue the objects of ordinary mankind, nor effectively reject them as a devotee of something definite." While that is a fair characterization of Clough's mood during this period of moral crisis, it certainly was not always true of him.

The absence of the heroic tone and its reflection of Clough's own mood at the time merely reveals the fact that Clough was writing this poem in complete fidelity to his own experience during that period of his life. Osborne observes that Dipsychus lacks drama because it is "an attempt to represent the essential conflict of life just exactly as it really is." Clough was representing the conflict exactly as he felt it but the lack of drama is partly a question of what one expects. What Osborne associates with drama is a romantic intensity and passion that certainly Dipsychus does not have. However, to a current generation trained in the appreciation of drama of the commonplace, such as one finds in Arthur Miller's Death of a Salesman, there may be some complaint about the lack of action at the end of Dipsychus, but there is no want of drama. Houghton shows that the issues present in the last half of the poem are full of the conflict that is the heart of drama. "For the question is no longer whether Dipsychus will do this or do that, but whether he will live his own life or submit to 'serve as other servants do; and don the lacquey's livery of the house' (IX, 138-39). In a very real sense his soul is at stake." Drama is definitely present and Clough can feelingly respond to it because at the time of writing Dipsychus it was his own personal problem. Furthermore, Clough's own indecision, in the face of this conflict, is embodied in the character
of Dipsychus. Fairchild points out that the only possible solution to the conflict in Dipsychus is compromise but Clough oscillates.68

This vacillation, which is the hesitation before Clough's own decision, is also the cardinal characteristic of Dipsychus and so, like the ocean waves that St. James associates with his name in the New Testament, Dipsychus, in Scene X, retracts the submission to the world that he had given in Scene IX. Dipsychus has reconsidered the matter in Scene X and has seen that if he does submit to a life of active involvement with the world, he stands to lose the peace and occasional sense of oneness with himself and God that is a part of his present life. Moreover, if Dipsychus is to submit to an active life, he will no longer be allowed the leisure to continually change his mind. The characteristic that is the most important element in his personality will have to be given up. There is no room for double-mindedness in a life of action. In terms of the poem itself, submission involves Dipsychus' denial of himself. His sense of self and his soul are at stake and this is surely enough to constitute a most dramatic crisis.

If Dipsychus were the hero of a tragedy he would meet such a crisis by a stern resolution of will. The tragic hero could resolve to sacrifice himself either by a masterful entry into the arena of action, or, more likely, by a firm resolve to follow his idealism to his own destruction. Dipsychus is, by his very nature, incapable of either course because he lacks the necessary firm resolution either course would demand. Dipsychus is not a noble character any more than is Willy Loman in Death of a Salesman, but Dipsychus' situation is nonetheless significant even though he lacks the resolution to master his fate. He is in
the hands of a fate that is the common experience of all men. Dipsychus, like other men, must face the problem of a practical necessity for moral compromise, and, like most men, he lacks the heroic stature to resolve the problem by a movement of his own will. Left to himself, Dipsychus would vacillate forever; but the world will not allow that. Scene XI is devoted to Dipsychus' realization that practical necessity will force him to submit to the world. His first full recognition of that remorseless necessity as it sweeps over him, he expresses thus: "It must be then. I feel it in my soul;/ The iron enters, sundering flesh and bone,/ And sharper than the two-edged sword of God./ I come into deep waters—help, O help!/ The floods run over me."69 Spirit then presses his advantage with a long mocking speech that clearly shows Dipsychus that he cannot avoid the necessity of submission to the world. Any employment that Dipsychus might wish to pursue, such as writing or teaching, will require compromise with the world and submission to its ways and hence, finally it is a stern necessity, not some resolution of his own, that brings Dipsychus to submission. He can no longer delay; he must submit. But like a drowning man grasping for straws, Dipsychus wishes that there were even a few moments left before he must submit. "Is the hour here, then? Is the minute come—/ The irretrievable instant of stern time?/ O for a few, few grains in the running glass,/ Or for the power to hold them!.../ It must be then, e'en now."70 The nearly Elizabethan cadences and diction in this section bring some elements of nobility to the submission of Dipsychus before necessity. His is not the nobility of a strong-willed hero, but the nobility of the ordinary person whose young man's dream of an idealistic life has been wrenched from him--the lost
dream that each man must lose. Dipsychus may not be heroic but he certainly is a widely representative figure—the idealist unwilling to sacrifice himself for an ideal that may be but an empty dream, yet forced by the world to compromise his idealism.

The next to the last scene of Dipsychus brings a latent dimension into focus. In Scene VII the recital by Dipsychus of Clough's poem "Easter Day" show that Dipsychus believes that the conventional, personal God of Christian orthodoxy is lost through the demythologizing of Strauss and the New Testament higher critics. Scene V had also portrayed the bleak pointlessness of life without God; Dipsychus dreamed of what life without God would be. Certainly hedonism would then be a freely available option, but hedonism offers only a shallow existence. As Dipsychus says in this dream song, "Wine has dregs; the song an end;/ A silly girl is a poor friend/ And age and weakness who shall mend?" And then, more to the point of the vocational issue in the last half of Dipsychus, he recognizes that daily labor in a life without God would not be compelled by God, but neither would it provide any satisfaction to the laborer. Dipsychus says, "Do, if you like, as now you do;/ If work's a cheat, so's pleasure too;/ And nothing's new and nothing's true." After this dream Dipsychus wakes in light and thinks that perhaps the loss of God was only a dream; perhaps the blank, empty life that he had dreamed of would not become his living reality.

In Scene XII Dipsychus dreams again. After his submission to the iron necessity of reality, he dreams of voices from the light of God that offer help while one struggles with this life. The angelic voices in this dream sing of aid that will be rendered in this life,
even when a person is caught in the toils of necessity: "When the panic comes upon thee, When necessity seems on thee,/ Hope and choice have all foregone thee,/ Fate and force are closing o'er thee,/ And but one way stands before thee--/ Call on us!" Encouraged, even though it too is only a dream, Dipsychus now takes a different attitude toward his necessary submission to worldly reality.

The attitude of duty under God which Clough developed explicitly, as we have seen in Chapter Two, in his "Review of Mr. Newman's The Soul," now comes to the fore. One's duty, Clough thought, is to serve God in this world and to look to this world to discern how one is to serve. Clough wrote, "We are here...to live according to Nature, to serve God .... Not by prayer, but by examination; [[by]] examination not of ourselves, but of the world, shall we find out what to do, and how to do it." Duty and service to God become important to Clough, as Timko points out, because they enable him "to solve the dilemma of connecting religion and daily life." Thus it is natural that Dipsychus suggests duty to God as an explanation of his necessity of defiling himself with the world. He sees himself as sent by God into the evil and filth of life in order to serve God. "Not for thy service, thou imperious fiend," Dipsychus proclaims to Spirit, "Not to do thy work, or the like of thine;/ ...But One Most High, Most True, whom without thee/ It seems I cannot." And with duty's resounding voice, this earnest Victorian character thinks to have quenched the fiery darts of the spirit of the world that plagues him with the necessity to enter the world and thereby taint him with the contamination of moral compromise. Duty seems a possible way to solve the problem which the Spirit has set before Dipsychus, but there are
difficulties with such a solution. The main difficulty is that God thus becomes a cruel and somewhat evil master because He forces His servants to such a compromising course of action. Fairchild comments on Dipsychus' situation at this point in the following terms: "God wants him to act for the good of mankind; he cannot so act on any effective scale without money and power; he cannot obtain money and power without adopting the Machiavellian tactics of the Spirit; he cannot use these tactics without being corrupted." Dipsychus realizes that a God who commands such action is certainly cruel, for he says, "O, who sent me though?/ Some one, and to do something, O hard master!/ To do a treachery." If Dipsychus is sent by his God to do treacherous service to the spirit of the world, such a God seems to compromise Himself by the nature of the task that He sets His servant. Nevertheless, Dipsychus draws on Clough's own apprehension of the importance of duty and, in Dipsychus' closest approach to heroic stature, Dipsychus determines to play out this foul game to its end, an end which will involve his own destruction. He pictures himself as Samson, "Whom these uncircumcised Philistines/ Have by foul play shorn, blinded, maimed and kept." And like Samson, Dipsychus thinks that he will destroy his enemies even though he destroys himself as well. He says, "Wait, then, wait, O my soul! grow, grow, ye locks,--/ Then perish they, and if need is, I too." If the poem had ended on this note of heroism, it would not be a Dipsychian poem because the basic issue would have been resolved. Dipsychus would have taken a positive position and the author's tone would have suggested his own endorsement of that position. Of course, there would have had to have been some earlier preparation for such an
ending. Specifically, Clough would have had to have shown earlier in the poem some indication that Dipsychus had enough strength of character to be able, at this point, to take such a strong-willed position. The poem, of course, does not end at this point and Dipsychus has not been shown with sufficient strength of character to take upon himself a hero’s mantle.

The lack of strength of will in the character of Dipsychus, as he had been earlier shown to the reader, is the reason that the heroic posture he takes at the end of Scene XII is unbelievable. His own heroic speech seems to mock him. There has been little to suggest such courage previously and consequently his heroic speech rings very hollow indeed. Houghton dismisses this outburst of heroics as mere bravado on Dipsychus’ part. It is not quite that, however. Spirit was closer to its true significance when he mocks Dipsychus speech as a rationalization, saying, "A truly admirable proceeding! Could there be finer special pleading/ When scruples would be interceding?" If Dipsychus is only rationalizing in Scene XII, then the entire view of service to others under God can be seen as only a hypocritical veneer laid over a decayed will which crumbled beneath the pressure of the world. Dipsychus' heroics are completely quenched, and Clough himself, who always feared factitiousness, may have wondered, when he confronted his own problem in the imaginative terms of this poem, whether he too may have sometimes used the concept of service to God in the world as a justification of his own position.

After the pact with Spirit is concluded in the beginning of Scene XIII Dipsychus again relates his position to God but in a much
milder and more ambiguous vein. He asserts, "I can but render / to Spirit/ what is of my will,/ And behind it somewhat remaineth still." What is it which Dipsychus feels is out of Spirit's reach because even Dipsychus cannot will it to Spirit's service? The answer is not explicit in the poem. It seems that Dipsychus feels that it is impossible for a man to completely sell his soul to the spirit of the world. Dipsychus says, "Yet know, Mephisto, know, nor you nor I/ Can in this matter either sell or buy;/ For the fee simple of this trifling lot/ To you or me, trust me, pertaineth not." This constitutes the weakness in the pact as Dipsychus sees it. These "reservations," as Spirit calls them, are one of the elements that must be considered in an examination of the Dipsychian ambivalence in the ending of the poem.

The ambivalence of Dipsychus has two aspects. We have examined the balance between Spirit and Dipsychus and have seen how evenly the balance was maintained. Both characters and the ideas they represent are presented with a careful attention to the truth on both sides. Sidgwick, in writing about Clough, comments on Clough's capacity in this regard: "He was philosophic in his horror of illusions and deceptions of all kinds.... He was made for a free-thinker.... His skill lay in balancing assertions, comparing points of view." While Clough is struggling to come to a resolution of a problem, because of this Dipsychian mind within him, the poems that he wrote in an attempt to resolve that problem must be necessarily ambivalent. The ambivalence of Dipsychus is found not only in the balanced action and argument of Dipsychus and Spirit, but it is also found in the fact that there is no resolution of the problem at the poem's end. If the tone
of grand heroic self-sacrifice which ended Scene XII had been prepared for earlier and developed in the concluding scene, there would have been a resolution that would have been acceptable to most readers of a romantic cast of mind but it has been shown that this was not done. Nor is there a resolution in a naturalistic vein with the author accepting the idea of necessity as a sufficient reason for submission. Spirit cannot be said to have won a victory, partly because of the reservations that Dipsychus mentions as inherent in his submission. But there is a more obvious indication that Spirit's victory is at best only marginal. The sort of attitude that Spirit intends by "submission" is a common-sense, practical attitude: it is the attitude of a man who sees a problem as challenge and then takes positive action to resolve the problem in immediate, pragmatic terms. At the end of the poem, however, Dipsychus has not become such a man, nor is there any genuine likelihood of his ever becoming such a man. Spirit's recurring chant throughout the last scenes prior to Dipsychus' final submission is "'Tis Common Sense! and human wit/ Can claim no higher name than it./ Submit, submit!" Whatever happens, at the end of the poem, Dipsychus has not become the practical man who refuses to look beyond common sense for sanctions to his actions. For all of the tone of confidence that Spirit maintains at the end, Dipsychus is not transformed to Spirit's image. At best, Spirit's victory is not complete and there is a possibility that somehow he may be more of a loser than he now scorns to admit when he mocks Dipsychus with the words, "A child like you to cheat Mephisto!/ ... But time, my friend, has yet to show/ Which of us two will closest fit/ The proverb of the Biter Bit." Time will show, perhaps, but the
poem does not carry us into that later time. At present Spirit's victory, in his own words, is not confirmed.

That Dipsychus did not win a victory in this engagement with the spirit of this world either is abundantly clear. As an idealist Dipsychus was forced by necessity to a noisome compromise with the evil world. His moment of heroism fades in Scene XII with the genuine possibility that it was an idealistic rationalization for an unpleasant necessity. In Scene XIII Dipsychus is forced to make a pact with Spirit on Spirit's own terms. Spirit will permit Dipsychus to profit only from a small portion of the money that he will make and Dipsychus is broken to the point of dull acquiescence, saying, "Be it then thus—since that it must, it seems./ Welcome, O world, hence forth; and farewell dreams!" Osborne comments on this mood when he says that Dipsychus accepted the necessity of action "bitterly and hopelessly." Osborne further indicates that no happiness is expected, nor security, nor accomplishment.

It might be expected that Clough himself could have provided some resolution of the poem by a comment or tone which would endorse the necessity for such a compromise as Dipsychus is brought to, but that sort of resolution is also absent. Houghton quotes Emerson's comment on this fact that Dipsychus offers "'no conclusion fitted to satisfy either the artist or the moralist, and, after a series of powerful but discordant utterances, leaves a sense of deep dissatisfaction behind.' So it does, and in one meaning of the word, was meant to." It was meant to because, as Houghton observed at this point, Clough was examining the dark side of human existence. From the previous examination of Clough's purposes in writing Dipsychian poetry and from his
own personal situation, it is obvious that not only is Clough examining the dark side of human experience, but he is trying to deal with his own gloom and perplexity during this period of his life when Dipsychus was written. The situation in which Dipsychus found himself is not incapable of a resolution but Clough could not at that time bring himself to any such resolution. As Sidgwick puts it, Clough's "poetical utterance was connected by an inner necessity with his personal experience."92

The lack of a resolution in a poem is discomforting to a reader and it is sometimes unnerving to a critic, but many critics agree with Osborne that the ending is not conclusive.93 Fairchild, for example, joins Osborne in asserting that it cannot be determined how Dipsychus resolved his problem.94 When a resolution has been attempted by a critic, as Veyriras attempted to do, appeal is made to material outside the scope of the poem. Veyriras, for instance, tries to build a case for a resolution of the poem on the fragment of "Dipsychus Continued."95 But even that, especially in its incomplete state, could be used to argue for a resolution on either side or, more probably, no resolution at all. The poem must remain a Dipsychian poem; an unresolved examination of the human predicament. Necessity does not offer sufficient justification for submission to the world, nor does duty to God offer sufficient vindication of such a submission. The dilemma of the idealist, caught up in the necessity to act in this corrupt world, must be solved by each person for himself. In Dipsychus men are offered a searching examination of the problem that all people must face at some time, and that most people must face daily. If the
issue is not resolved, the reader can be thankful for such a full and perceptive examination of the problem. Furthermore, the fact that no simplistic resolution is offered by the poet provides each reader with the opportunity to reach his own resolution, a resolution in harmony with his own circumstances and his individual personality.

Several writers and critics, such as Graham Greene and V. C. Pritchett, have testified to the contemporary relevance of Clough's poetry as was indicated in Chapter Two. The primary function of this discussion has been to remove one of the stumbling blocks that many modern readers encounter in the poetry of Clough. When the average reader is confronted with the Dipsychian ambivalence, he is initially puzzled and if he is the kind of reader who is seeking authoritative answers, he will reject the whole body of Clough's writing because of the frustrating ambivalence of the Dipsychian portion of it. Not all of Clough's poetry is characterized by this ambivalence, as Timko points out throughout his book, The Innocent Victorian, but there is enough ambivalent poetry to have given Clough his frequent characterization as a poet of doubt and to have set much of the tone of negative criticism of Clough. It was therefore important that the purposes which the Dipsychian poetry served for their creator were thoroughly examined. The sources of the basic personal disharmony which generated the Dipsychian poetry needed to be examined to illustrate exactly how Clough's tension between the realistic and the idealistic sides of his nature came to the forefront of his attention during certain stressful periods of his life. Thus armed with an understanding of Clough's
background and training, the reader can perceive the Dipsychian poems for what they really are. They are not the disconsolate outpourings of a religious sceptic, but the searching examinations of an idealistic and basically religious man who was aware of the eternal problems that men must face when they confront the world about them, and who was most poignantly aware of these problems because he brought himself to face them in his own life. Clough's Dipsychian poetry is the record of that confrontation, and the honesty which is apparent in his confrontation is at once a testimony to both Clough's idealism and to his realism. He could see himself as he was—with a realism that did not flinch before the examination of his own weakness. And what was that weakness? Was it the idealism that was trained into him by his mother and Dr. Arnold, or was it the coolly realistic nature that found expression in sports and travel, and gave him the capacity to see himself and his situation in the world with uncompromising honesty? The Dipsychian poetry offers each reader the opportunity to examine that question for himself and in the process, not only will he come to understand this subtle, honest, and complex man, Arthur Hugh Clough, but there is every chance that he will approach a fuller understanding of himself and the battle each man must face—and resolve—alone.
NOTES

1 Martha Hale Shackford, "The Clough Centenary: His Dipsychus," The Sewanee Review, XXVII (October 1919), 404.

2 Clough, Correspondence, I, 192-194.

3 Ibid., I, 196.

4 Ibid., I, 284.

5 Osborne, p. 90

6 Clough, Correspondence, I, 223.

7 Chorley, p. 212.

8 Ibid., p. 224.

9 Clough, Correspondence, I, 294.

10 Chorley, p. 226.

11 Clough, Correspondence, I, 293-294.

12 Levy, p. 122.

13 Clough, Selected Prose, p. 293.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 Clough, Correspondence, I, 232.

17 Levy, p. 123.

18 Clough, Poems, p. 263.
19 Ibid., p. 264.

20 Badger, p. 50.

21 Armstrong, p. 16.

22 Houghton, Poetry of Clough, pp. 158-159.


24 Levy, p. 201.


26 Osborne, p. 130.

27 Clough, Correspondence, I, 290.

28 Ibid.

29 Houghton, Poetry of Clough, p. 177.

30 Ibid.


32 Francis W. Palmer, "Was Clough a Failure?" Philological Quarterly, XXII (January 1943), 62.

33 Shackford, p. 403.


36 Ibid., p. 394.
37 Ibid.
38 Veyriras, p. 135.
39 Clough, Poems, p. 293.
40 Ibid.
41 Armstrong, p. 30.
42 Clough, Poems, p. 241.
43 Ibid.
44 Badger, p. 53.
46 Garrod, p. 125.
47 Clough, Poems, p. 244.
48 Ibid.
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid., p. 227.
51 Ibid.
52 Veyriras, p. 395.
53 Clough, Poems, p. 286.
54 Ibid., p. 229.
55 Ibid., p. 230.
56 Ibid.
57 Ibid., p. 239.

59 Clough, Poems, p. 230.

60 Ibid., p. 269.

61 Ibid., p. 270.

62 Ibid., p. 272.

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid., p. 273.


66 Osborne, p. 139.


68 Fairchild, IV, 511.

69 Clough, Poems, p. 283.

70 Ibid., p. 287.

71 Ibid., p. 248.

72 Ibid., p. 249.

73 Ibid., pp. 288-289.

74 Clough, Selected Prose, p. 285.

75 Timko, p. 87.

76 Clough, Poems, p. 289.

77 Fairchild, IV, 515.

78 Clough, Poems, p. 289.
79 Ibid., p. 290.
80 Ibid.
82 Clough, *Poems*, p. 290.
83 Ibid., p. 292.
84 Ibid., p. 291.
85 Sidgwick, p. 65.
87 Ibid., p. 292.
88 Ibid., p. 291.
89 Osborne, p. 151.
90 Ibid., p. 152.
92 Sidgwick, p. 63.
93 Osborne, p. 151.
94 Fairchild, IV, 515.
95 Veyriras, pp. 397-399.
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VITA

George Donald Haich was born February 27, 1928, at Evanston, Illinois. After graduating from Phelps High School in June, 1946, he entered military service and was stationed in Korea. Upon his discharge from the army, he pursued his undergraduate studies at the University of Rochester, graduating in June, 1952. He was employed in Sears, Roebuck and Company management in Rochester, New York, prior to entering Concordia Theological Seminary in 1956. Following graduation and ordination in 1961 he taught at Concordia College for six years during which time he received the Master of Arts from the University of Nebraska. He enrolled in the Graduate School of the University of Florida in 1967. He worked as an interim instructor in the Department of English until June, 1968, and as a graduate assistant until June, 1969, when he received a Graduate School Fellowship to complete the work toward the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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This dissertation was prepared under the direction of the chairman of the candidate's supervisory committee and has been approved by all members of that committee. It was submitted to the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was approved as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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