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HIS ISSUE IS the very last issue of the Pater Newsletter. The publication which began as a couple of A4 sheets in 1977 will now change its title to Studies in Walter Pater and Aestheticism, and I sincerely hope that the new journal will have a long and glorious life ahead, with Walter Pater as its focal point, contextualized by whatever comes under the term ‘Aestheticism’. The organizers of the 2014 Pater conference in Paris generously granted us a slot towards the end of the programme to discuss the future of the journal, and it was extremely encouraging to sense the widespread support of the newsletter amongst the core of its readership. There was general agreement that we have moved beyond the term ‘newsletter’ and that some weightier title is called for in order to keep recruiting substantial contributions and for contributors to be given full scholarly credit in the research assessments of their respective countries.

The Paterian word ‘Studies’ seemed an obvious choice: open in its suggestiveness, with a rich cluster of connotations, yet putting us in the league of the many respected international journals which have the word ‘Studies’ in their title. So: SWPA will be our new acronym as of the summer of 2015, and we hope this change in title and scope will help us broaden the range of contributions and widen our readership. Let this also be an invitation to you, the readers of the journal, to propose submissions which fall under this new and broader title.

In the present issue a Paterian has surfaced after several years’ silence with an urgent request for us all to write stylishly about Pater, art, and aestheticism: in his ‘Letter to the Pater Newsletter’ Paul Barolsky reminds us of the grace and lightness of Pater’s prose and the discrepancy between much modern scholarly writing and Pater’s. He asks ‘might the true Paterian, inspired by Pater, not resist and overcome the conventions of academic prose sanctioned by prestigious universities, academic publishers, and journals – conventions that are driven by the pressures of the marketplace where “productivity” matters more than beauty?’
Might Paterian scholars not make the form of their own work more worthy of its matter? Let this be an exhortation to future contributors, but not a comment on any of the contributions in the present issue.

You will notice fewer, but lengthier, items on the Table of Contents than in the previous couple of issues. David Deutsch invites us to reconsider the subject of Pater and music far beyond the usual quotations from the Giorgione essay in a wide-ranging essay which takes us from Plato to music events at Balliol College in Pater's time to the imaginary portraits. Ana Varejo Padillo points us in the direction of the new journal by her very substantial, annotated edition of the letters and diaries of ‘Michael Field’ (Katharine Bradley and Edith Cooper) and their aesthetic circle, comprising Arthur Symons and John Miller Gray, in a thorough examination of references to Pater throughout this large body of material, some of which is previously unpublished. We get a new sense of the ways in which Pater’s texts circulated – with marginalia – among Pater’s admirers shortly after publication as almost sacred texts, and a figure like Gray, who has so far only taken a very peripheral position in Pater studies, emerges as a subject for new research.

The book reviews also reflect the slightly enlarged scope of Pater studies in the future. Davied Riede reviews my recent critical edition of the Imaginary Portraits, thus keeping the focus on our central character, while I review Hilary Fraser’s study of Victorian female art historians, many of whom were close friends and colleagues of Pater. This leads me to a call for papers for the second issue of Studies in Walter Pater and Aestheticism: inspired by Ana Padillo’s edition of the Field letters, we would like to make a special issue on Pater and women for publication in the winter of 2016. This is an under-researched area with plenty of interesting starting points: Vernon Lee, Emilia Pattison (later Lady Dilke), Mrs Humphry Ward, Hester and Clara Pater, ‘Michael Field’ as the most obvious ones, but other presences like Charlotte Symonds and the Robinson sisters might well be other focusing points. We imagine short essays of 4000 to 5000 words, and a deadline of 1 June 2015 for proposals with abstracts, sent directly to the Editor.

The journal remains a material object, printed and bound, at least for the next couple of years. In Paris the majority of our readers expressed a wish for a continuation of the present format, to be read in bed, taken along on trains and busses, or wherever Paterians choose to dip into or devour the newsletter. This is,
of course, a more costly way of distributing scholarship than in an online journal, and may I therefore remind you to remember to renew your subscriptions via the website, paternewsletter.org, where we have now also introduced ‘donation’ buttons for generous Paterians. Every little donation helps to keep the journal afloat. The typesetting and printing of the present issue were only possible because of the generous donation of a private sponsor.
To ‘ennoble and fortify’: Pater’s Oxonian Musical Ideal

From the late nineteenth to the early twenty-first centuries, a wide variety of commentators interested in Pater and music have focused on ‘The School of Giorgione’ in order to insist on his predilection for a musical vagueness and obscurity. In 1887, J. A. Symonds criticized Pater’s ‘questionable notion that the fine arts in their most consummate moments all aspire toward vagueness of intellectual intention’. In 1901, Ernest Newman, a prominent music critic, suggested that ‘if Pater argues that the highest art is that which resembles music in its vagueness’, this was because ‘Pater’s brain was more susceptible to vague than to specialised artistic emotion’. Both men impugn Pater’s sense of music and his intellectual aestheticism. With more philosophical sophistication and sympathy, twenty-first-century critics, conversely, often praise Pater’s vagueness, typically in the context of its resonance with late-nineteenth-century theories of the sublime and an aesthetic plenitude or transcendence. Brad Bucknell writes of ‘a certain vagueness’ in Pater’s musical ideal of plenitude and Angela Leighton observes an ‘abstraction or distraction from sense’ in Pater’s admirably time-expanding musical prose.

These assessments of Pater and music, however, frequently emphasize ‘The School of Giorgione’ or *The Renaissance*, overlooking his extensive commentary on music elsewhere in his canon. More recent work by Andrew Eastham and Elicia Clements has usefully begun to recoup Pater’s more sensual and subtle political contexts by investigating ‘The School of Giorgione’ in light of Pater’s larger musically-interested oeuvre. Eastham compellingly explores *Plato and Platonism* (1893) in terms of soundscape theory to identify Pater’s interest in music as a means to fulfill ‘the Utopian aspirations of the Victorian Aesthetic Movement’, but also to note Pater’s ‘anxiety about the public and political implications of aesthetic
organicism’, a highly coercive nineteenth-century political ideology. Examining *Marius the Epicurean* (1885) in terms of spatial sonorities, Clements argues that Pater uses ‘spatio-aural circumstances’ to delineate types of communities; this makes music, as she argues elsewhere, ‘an active art form – it does things’, if indirectly and subtly. These critics make clear that Pater’s use of music was more culturally aware and active than readers frequently take him to be.

Pater, indeed, frequently emphasizes the importance of retaining culturally and socially specific aesthetic subjects, particularly in literature. As he observes in ‘The School of Giorgione’, an ‘ideal’ musical poetry blends its form and matter ‘without a deduction of something from that matter’ and only ‘appears to depend, in part, on a certain suppression or vagueness of mere subject’ (TR p.108; my emphasis). An initial appearance of vagueness, Pater implies, is misleading and aesthetic critics must consider their subject closely. He clarifies the relationship between appropriate subject matter and aesthetic greatness in ‘Style’ (1888), arguing that literature fulfills the requirement of ‘[g]ood art’ by imitating musical principles. But to be ‘great art’, he argues, the ‘matter’ of ‘literature at all events’ must also work for ‘great ends’, it must ‘be devoted further to the increase of men’s happiness, to the redemption of the oppressed, or the enlargement of our sympathies with each other’ so that it ‘may ennoble and fortify us’ (Ap p. 38).

Pater connects these traits of ‘great art’ to musical contexts in *Plato and Platonism* (1893), ‘Denys l’Auxerrois’ (1886), and ‘Apollo in Picardy’ (1893), wherein he depicts music with literary tropes that push quite clearly for social reforms, intellectual honesty, humanistic moral codes, and, correspondingly, for toleration of sexual diversity. Reimagining contemporary intellectual, social, and moral applications of music in Oxonian academic circles, Pater uses music as an ennobling subject in his own ‘great art’ to encourage an enlightened, liberal, and more tolerant society. I want to trace the evolution of these ideals in *Plato and Platonism*, ‘Denys’, and ‘Apollo’ with special attention to the influence of late-nineteenth-century Platonic theory and Oxford’s musical culture on Pater’s liberal musical aesthetic.

From the 1850s onwards, Platonism became an increasingly important element of Oxford’s ‘Greats’ curriculum, largely under the auspices of Benjamin Jowett, Regius Professor of Greek (1855–1893), master of Balliol College (1870–1893), and Plato’s chief Victorian translator. As Plato’s cultural authority expanded, Platonic and, more broadly, Hellenic philosophies of music intersected
with the intellectual and social aspects of Oxford’s musical culture. This may seem surprising given Plato’s well-known wariness of the arts and his declaration in The Republic that overly complex or sorrowful arts must be ‘banished’ from his ideal city. Yet, while decrying the subversive potential of music, Plato also argues that some forms are integral to education as well as political and moral stability. These arguments were re-emphasized by Plato’s late-Victorian translators and critics.

As several late-nineteenth-century scholars note, Plato endows the concept of μουσική (music) with a much wider range of connotations than those deployed by its English equivalent. For writers of Plato’s era, as Richard Nettleship observes, ‘music’ connotes subjects such as ‘literature’ of various genres, ‘dancing’, ‘rhythm’, as well as ‘singing’, measured intervals, and sequences of sound. Plato, moreover, imbues music with such intense ‘sacred’ powers that Jowett suggests that he indulges in a ‘degree of exaggeration’ regarding its prominence even for ancient Greeks (1.3:liv). Plato certainly privileges music in The Republic: he bases the education system of his ideal city on its study. The training of youth, Plato argues, should consist of ‘two divisions, gymnastic for the body, and music for the soul’ (3.2:376). Subsequently, Plato promotes restrained musical modes associated with the god Apollo, which reinforce ‘the true simplicity of a rightly and nobly ordered mind and character’ and create ‘temperance in the soul’, while he censures ‘complexity’ and ‘panharmonic’ music associated with the satyr Marsyas, which encourage anarchic ‘license’, i.e. disorder and civic disruption (3.3:399–400, 3.3:404). Plato thereby endorses teaching divine Apollonian music to help citizens to be wise, spiritual, brave, and disciplined.

Plato places a particularly forceful emphasis on the capacity of music to affect citizens’ virtues in a practical, even physical fashion. As Pater remarks in Plato and Platonism:

The student of The Republic hardly needs to be reminded how all-pervasive in it that [musical] imagery is; how emphatic, in all its speculative theory, in all its practical provisions, is the desire for harmony; how the whole business of education (of gymnastic even, the seeming rival of music) is brought under it; how large a part of the claims of duty, of right conduct, for the perfectly initiated, comes with him to be this, that it sounds so well. (PP 71)
For Plato, music, with its broad and narrow connotations, promotes harmony among the spiritual, intellectual, and ‘gymnastic’ or physical elements of life. Both the intangible and tangible benefits of music are stressed because the musical movements of the heavens could influence musical education on earth, which in turn influences citizens’ behaviour. In *The Republic*, Plato imagines the cosmos as divine planetary voices ‘hymning’ in ‘harmony’ to create a perfectly balanced accord that guides earthly movements down below (3.10:617). Plato repeats this idea in the *Timaeus*, where he describes how ‘harmonious’ cosmic sounds can impart ‘a pleasure which even the unwise feel, and which to the wise becomes a higher sort of delight, being an imitation of divine harmony in mortal motions’ (3.80). This ‘divine harmony in mortal motions’ can help one to temper physical, spiritual, and emotional excesses, and to create a balanced, harmonious existence. In *The Republic*, too, Plato’s ideal guardian for the state is ‘he who mingles music with gymnastic in the fairest proportions, and best attempers them to the soul’, for he ‘may be rightly called the true musician and harmonist in a far higher sense than the tuner of the strings’ (3.3:412). A heavenly music of the spheres, Plato argues, can balance the minds and the bodies of individuals by tuning them to a divinely natural state of being. These healthy, earthly echoes of the harmony of the heavens create temperate citizens, whose intangible thoughts and tangible actions sustain a stable and harmonious political state.

A musical education, therefore, provides an aesthetic guide to recognizing and to correcting human deviations from a divine and natural harmony. The ‘rightly educated’ citizen, Plato argues, can perceive omissions or faults in art and nature, and with a true taste, while he praises and rejoices over and receives into his soul the good, and becomes noble and good’ (3.3:401-02). Plato intertwines, moreover, a good musical education with moral critique by declaring that ‘neither we nor our guardians, whom we have to educate, can ever become musical until we know the essential forms of temperance, courage, [and] liberality’ (3.3:402). As citizens work towards a musical state of existence, he insists, they must alter their faults to create an ethical aesthetic atmosphere by critiquing art and their world. This aestheticized existence can, likewise, help good citizens to educate others. Properly educated musical citizens consequently align the discordant society in which they live as closely as possible to the ideal harmony of the heavens.

Plato’s insistence that music provides an intellectual and moral force for social harmony was not lost on Oxonian intellectuals. Drawing inspiration from
Plato, Jowett turned to music to unify the social and intellectual culture of Balliol. In his annotations to The Republic Jowett admits that ‘[t]he power of a simple and characteristic melody on the impressible mind of the Greek is more than we can easily appreciate’, but he suggests a modern equivalence, namely that ‘[t]he effect of national airs may bear some comparison with it’ (1.3.liv). National airs, of course, were associated with the patriotic pride and moral fortitude that, as Linda Dowling argues, Jowett hoped to instill in his students as he prepared them to be Britain’s future ‘national and imperial leaders’ through the study of Plato.\(^9\) In 1885, Jowett put Plato’s musical theory into practice by persuading John Farmer, a music master who produced several song-books with national airs, to come to Balliol. According to Evelyn Abbott, who worked under Jowett, the Master hired Farmer to make ‘music an element of education and of social union in the College. For as the College grew in extent there seemed a danger of its falling into cliques, each keeping apart from the others in shy or rude isolation’ and Jowett hoped that music might bring together undergraduates from ‘different schools, different grades in society, and different homes’.\(^10\) Abbott reports that although ‘as a student of Plato’ Jowett had ‘been somewhat suspicious’ of music, he hoped that ‘under the spell of Farmer’s enthusiasm’ music might be ‘an elevating influence in education’.\(^11\) Jowett took from Plato what he found suitable, musically, and he personally purchased two new organs for the college to support Farmer’s efforts to unify and to harmonize the diverse Balliol undergraduates.\(^12\) Jowett also introduced the Sunday Balliol Concerts in 1885, despite those who protested the institution of a largely secular public event on Sundays.\(^13\) These concerts quickly became popular among undergraduates and opened up Balliol, temporarily, to a wider community.\(^14\)

Jowett’s concerts were a liberal, humanistic innovation that helped to legitimize secular Sunday entertainments, but they were also part of Oxford’s burgeoning and highly social musical culture. Susan Wollenberg notes, for instance, that university ‘Commemoration celebrations had acquired the distinctive character of a musical festival from the early eighteenth century’ and nineteenth-century celebrations benefited from ‘the increasingly important role’ of several new ‘[c]ollege, as well as university, musical societies’.\(^15\) Many ‘[n]ew university-based societies were formed partly in association with the trend to increase the academic value placed on music … and partly under the influence of the developments in concert life generally in Britain,’ which were increasing the respectability
of music. The concerts performed by these groups during Commemoration week and during their longer season continued to reinforce the intellectual and educational associations of music for dons, such as Jowett and Pater, as well as for Oxford students and townspeople. They also provided for socialization in an academic atmosphere: male students mingled with hired musicians, including female musicians, with female guests and with their intellectual guardians, as well as with students from other colleges.

The liberal musical humanism and socializing associated with Oxonian musical endeavours could extend to religious music, too. Although in the Victorian period many popular musical genres, such as cantatas and oratorios, were tied to religiously-themed texts, many audience members could appreciate music and its textual accompaniments from a fairly broad-minded aesthetic perspective. An Oxford Choral Society concert in 1877, for instance, offered its audience both a Protestant hymn by Mendelssohn and Rossini’s *Stabat Mater*. Noting this religious melange, a reviewer observed that, while from one perspective these works have ‘nothing in common’, Mendelssohn being ‘a German and a Lutheran’ and Rossini being ‘an Italian and a Roman Catholic’, nonetheless ‘[t]hose who can understand the beautiful, no matter under what phase exhibited, are in a position to appreciate the works of both masters’. This promotion of an aesthetic appreciation irrespective of dogma or creed could have been written by Pater himself.

Indeed, Pater seems to have appreciated religious music with a similarly liberal aesthetic perspective. Violet Paget, better known as Vernon Lee, once recounted an 1882 visit with Pater and his sisters, in Oxford, during which they ‘all took a walk in the town’ and then ‘heard the music at the Cathedral’ as part of their leisurely excursion. Considering Pater’s spiritual aestheticism, his fondness for seeking musical sensations in ecclesiastical settings seems hardly surprising. Edmund Gosse attributed Pater’s interest in ecclesiastical art to his ‘haunting sense of the value of the sensuous emblem, the pomp of colour and melody, in the offices of religion’. The music in Oxford’s chapels would have provided Pater with ample opportunity to enjoy the sensuousness of religious melodies. Pater long maintained an interest in religious music and encouraged this enthusiasm in others. F. W. Bussell, a good friend in later years and a Brasenose colleague, told students that he had taken a ‘great delight’ in the college chapel services. Bussell further reported Pater’s desire to have introduced ‘music into [Brasenose’s] monthly mid-day celebration’. This music would undoubtedly have provided one
more ‘sensuous emblem’, to use Gosse’s terms, of the chapel service for all to have enjoyed.

As in his life so in his writing Pater connects a broad spiritualism to a sensual appreciation of music. Similarly to Jowett, Pater enriches Hellenism, Christianity, and Europe’s musical culture by emphasizing their mutual, even interconnected, humanism. In Pater’s unfinished novel Gaston de Latour, for instance, Giordano Bruno, a monk turned pantheist, connects the music of the spheres to Christian hymns: “[t]he music of the spheres!” – he could listen to it in a perfection such as had never been conceded to Plato, to Pythagoras even … Yes! The grand old Christian hymns, perhaps the grandest of them all, seemed to blend themselves in the chorus, to be deepened immeasurably under this new intention.’ This musical blending causes Giordano to consider the ‘ghastly spectacle of the endless material universe’ with ‘the delightful consciousness of an ever-widening kinship and sympathy, since every one of those infinite worlds must have its sympathetic inhabitants’ (GdL pp. 311–2). Giordano expands the original import of both the ‘music of the spheres’ and the best Christian hymns by associating them in a refining merger that recalls a liberal Oxonian merging of Hellenic and modern European cultures. Just as Giordano uses music to imagine sympathies between worlds and religions to discover a richer ‘intention’ than could be discovered by the advocates of one culture alone, so Pater uses music to merge the sympathetic, yet often subversive, moral, intellectual, and social intentions that he found in Hellenism with those of his contemporary world to advance a tolerant modern humanism.

Pater’s ‘Giorgione’ essay urges a sympathetic ‘interpenetration’ between aesthetic ‘subject’ and ‘form’ and Gaston interconnects Hellenism and Christianity; in Plato and Platonism, Pater advances interconnections of late-Victorian and Hellenic theories on music, intellectual honesty, and an ethical aestheticism. Stefano Evangelista and Diana Maltz have usefully investigated how late-Victorian Hellenism and aestheticism could function, with varying degrees, as a reformist ethical social critique. Pater follows this trend fairly subtly yet concertedly in Plato and Platonism. Fundamentally, Pater appropriates the ancient philosopher as a prophet of humanistic ethical aestheticism. According to Pater, Plato ‘anticipates the modern notion that art as such has no end but its own perfection, – “art for art’s sake.”’ While this might seem to make art so self-involved as to be socially irrelevant, Pater insists that for Plato the ‘perfection’ of art encompasses a practical
significance. Pater’s Plato considers ‘the reality of beauty’ to have ‘importance’ within a ‘practical sphere’ in life: ‘[t]he loveliness of virtue’ can illuminate the ideal forms of ‘Temperance, Bravery, and ‘Justice’ and go beyond a ‘mere utility’, such as commercial marketability, to inspire admiration for and emulation of these virtues in an audience (PP p. 268). Pater uses Plato to argue that art can temper extreme judgments, help audiences to consider new ideas, and encourage a form of justice moderated by new perspectives. Plato's philosophy, as interpreted by Pater, anticipates the ideal aesthetic effects that Pater himself advocates in The Renaissance and in ‘Style’, namely a ‘multiplied consciousness’ and a devotion ‘to the increase of men's happiness’ and ‘to the redemption of the oppressed’ (TR p. 190; Ap p. 38).

Throughout Plato and Platonism, Pater stresses the role of music, in particular, in Plato’s harmonious, yet diverse, ideal society. Pater observes that in The Republic:

The proper art of the Perfect City is in fact the art of discipline. Music (μουσική) all the various forms of fine art, will [sic] be but the instruments of its one over-mastering social or political purpose, irresistibly conforming its so imitative subject units to type[.] (PP pp. 275–6)

Music, in this broad Platonic sense, serves as a model for individuals to imitate so as to improve society on a ‘political’ level, ‘conforming’ individuals into one ‘type’ or community, while simultaneously allowing for ‘variations’ within that community. An aesthetic ‘discipline’ enables balanced yet varied perspectives working towards one harmonious civic goal. This musical conception of unity amidst diversity echoes substantively Jowett’s reasons for starting the Balliol Concerts and for teaching Plato and, perhaps much more indirectly, the motivations for the social concerts of the college musical societies.

Pater, however, focuses much more explicitly on the material elements of Platonism to emphasize the philosopher’s insistence on the influence of music on a physical plane. Consistently, Pater turns to Plato’s insistence on the ‘reality of beauty’, in the ‘practical sphere’, manifested in ‘the virtues [‘Temperance, Bravery, Justice’] as a visible representation by human persons and their acts’ on earth. The ‘visible’ virtues of beautiful ‘persons’ and ‘acts’ embody, Pater argues, ‘the eternal qualities of “the eternal,”’ as in the eternally divine music of the
spheres, ‘[a]nd accordingly, in education, all will begin and end in “music,” the earthly representation of this divine music’ (PP p. 268). Moreover, a Platonic musical education, Pater insists, will help one ‘to find, or be put into, and keep, every one his natural place’; but, not ‘like little pieces in a machine! … No, like performers’ who help society to run with the moral harmony of a ‘perfect musical exercise’ (PP p. 273). Plato, as I have observed, believed that the movements of the spheres had physical repercussion on earth. In Plato and Platonism, Pater glosses this philosophy to present, perhaps somewhat idealistically, music as a model for imagining the ‘natural’ variations in human wills, desires, and even behaviors acting in a harmonious concert together for social peace.

Yet, Pater differs from Plato by using a seductive aesthetic concreteness to undermine the ancient philosopher’s censoriousness and preference for abstractions. Recalling Plato’s banishment of licentious artists, Pater wonders ‘what price would not the musical connoisseur pay to handle the instruments’, which Plato ‘banished’ for their ‘seductive’ effects, to discover what ‘pleasure’ they might offer (PP p. 275). Pater works against aesthetic suppressions by imagining the physical benefits of what Plato derides as immoral forms of musical expression. Instead, he endeavours to ‘enlarg[e]’ the ‘sympathies’ (to borrow his terms from ‘Style’) of Plato’s objective ideal by fleshing out and liberalizing what constitutes a ‘perfect musical exercise’. Perhaps, Pater implies, what Plato or society in general considers licentious had and still has certain social values.

While reacting against Plato’s censoriousness, Pater himself never advocates an excessive sensual license; in Plato and Platonism he frames his physical musical morality with a rhetoric of temperance. Pater even advances an inherently sensual music by representing Hellenic musical virtues, such as temperance, as being tangentially aligned with Christian virtues: ‘Order, harmony, the temperance, which, as Plato will explain to us, will convince us by the visible presentment of it in the faultless person of the youthful Charmides, is like a musical harmony, – that was the chief thing Pythagoras exacted from his followers … temperance in a religious intention, with many singular scruples concerning bodily purification, diet, and the like’ (PP p. 57). A ‘visible presentment’ of a musical ‘temperance’ or ‘purification’ meshes as well with Platonic and Pythagorean as with Christian tenets promoting bodily restraint and self-control. Pater furthered aligns a Hellenic musical moralism with Christianity by suggesting that both wanted the embodied soul to correspond to a divine harmonious heaven. Discussing influences on
Plato, Pater states that ‘if, according to his [Pythagoras’] philosophy, the soul had come from heaven, ... so the arguments of Pythagoras were always more or less explicitly involving one in consideration of the means by which one might get back thither, of which means, surely, abstinence, the repression of one’s carnal elements, must be one’ (PP p. 57). A divinely inspired ‘repression’ of desires for excessive physical pleasures, Pater argues, are Platonic and Pythagorean as well as Christian in character. While Pater himself maintained a strong faith in the value of Christian traditions, skeptically or liberally conceived, he perhaps also hoped that the echoes he emphasized between Platonism and Christianity would make his refined aestheticism more reputable in intellectual circles, such as Jowett’s, who also tried to effect reconciliations between contemporary religion and ancient philosophy.24

Pater’s notions of ‘temperance’ and ‘abstinence’, however, are much more welcoming of sensuality than those expressed by Plato or Jowett. Thus, while at times in Plato and Platonism Pater seems to promote creeds similar to those of the moral majority of his day, he often qualifies these creeds until he has endowed them with new significance. Although appearing to uphold temperance or abstinence, for instance, Pater observes that ‘curious questions’ exist regarding ‘the relationship of those carnal elements in us to the pilgrim soul’ (PP p. 57). Pater ties these ‘curious questions’ regarding ‘carnal elements’ first to a hermetic or even an unnamable love and subsequently to a connection of spirituality and physicality. He does so by linking Pythagoras to a love associated, at first, with secrecy, ‘that characteristic silence of which the philosopher of music was, perhaps not inconsistently, a lover’; subsequently, the philosopher’s beloved is not a covert ‘silence’, but a fixed object, as one must remember always in reading Plato – Plato, as a sincere learner in the school of Pythagoras – that the essence, the active principle of the Pythagorean doctrine, resides, not ... as with our modern selves too often, in the “infinite”, ... but in the finite’ (PP pp. 58–59). A Pythagorean-Platonic love, in Pater’s formulation, merges with something ‘finite’, even material. ‘Plato’s “theory of ideas”,’ Pater contends, is ‘an effort to enforce the Pythagorean πέρας [limit], with all the unity-in-variety of concerted music, – eternal definition of the finite, upon τò ἀπειρον, the infinite, the indefinite, formless, brute matter, of our experience of the world’ (PP p. 60). Platonic ideas, including the idea of love, Pater argues, define and harmonize ‘brute’ worldly ‘matter’. Pater distinguishes
this process through a forceful, physical music, which is itself matter presented in and sensuously refined by one's worldly experience.

Pater, finally, refines his notion of a material musical ‘temperance’ into a civically admirable homoeroticism by lauding the attractive, divinely natural ‘rhythm’ embodied by Greek statues of men. He suggests ‘that the perfect visible equivalent of such rhythm is in those portrait-statues of the actual youth of Greece’, namely ‘the quoit-player, the diadumenus, the apoxyomenus’, all statues of male athletes. Although these statues are ‘brute matter’ made marble, they are not simply a brutish homoerotic stimulus. Lene Østermark-Johansen usefully cautions against a ‘reductive reading’ that overly emphasizes Pater’s reaction to sculpture primarily through gendered or sexualized terms. Rather, as she demonstrates, Pater frequently uses sculpture as a ‘metaphor’ and this is true for the passage cited. For Pater, these statues are inspirational monuments of human bodies imbued with a cosmic rhythm. They are, moreover, representative of ‘that highest civic embodiment of the Dorian temper, like some perfect musical instrument, perfectly responsive to the intention, to the lightest touch, of the finger of the law’ (PP p. 72). Pater moves here from a repressive definition of temperance to a celebration of the inherently natural and moral ‘harmony’ of human and, more specifically, same-sex physical attraction. The personified ‘finger of the law’ touching the statues is a metaphor for human erotic longings motivated by a natural law and a harmonious divine ‘music’, with all of that word’s Hellenic implications. As such, Pater’s longing for the rhythm of these statues evokes a longing for divine yet natural human desires, which can motivate civic harmony. In Plato and Platonism, then, Pater uses music to promote a humanistic moral aestheticism that legitimates tolerance for social variations, particularly homoeroticism, because they evoke a harmony that benefits the state.

Pater’s use of music to promote social harmony by legitimizing homoeroticism was, for his time, fairly idealistic. Indeed, the ‘touch’ of his imagined cosmic laws was much more gentle than that of nineteenth-century British laws or conventions. This was proved personally for Pater by the backlash against his own brief romance with William Money Hardinge in 1874, which, as Billie Inman indicates, likely cost Pater his bid for the roles of the University Proctor in 1874 and Professor of Poetry in 1877. In Plato and Platonism, Pater nonetheless imagined reforms for Britain's sexual mores by presenting music optimistically as a trope for advancing a more tolerant, intelligent, humanistic, and overall harmonized society.
Still, Pater’s use of a Platonic musical cosmos to characterize homoeroticism as natural and even moral went far beyond accepted conventions. He drew on personal experience to examine both the advantageous and the more dangerous aspects of this politically, socially, and sexually liberal musicality in ‘Denys l’Auxerrois’ and ‘Apollo in Picardy’. In both texts, Pater uses the fantasy form of the imaginary portrait to explore in more explicit detail the benefits of increased socio-political freedoms for marginalized voices, but also the struggles that it often takes to secure these freedoms in a society redolent of, but not immediately identifiable as, late-nineteenth-century Britain, generally, and Oxford, more specifically. He uses this literary freedom to condemn conservative reactions against intellectual honesty and natural, even divinely-inspired homoerotic pleasures as inexcusably destructive.

In ‘Denys’, Pater reimagines Platonism and contemporary progressive uses of music to characterize the difficulty of enacting humanistic socio-political reforms in both the past and his present. Pater sets ‘Denys’ in Auxerre, a mid-thirteenth-century French town, at a time when the re-emergence of an aesthetic humanism accompanies struggles for a political liberalism. Recalling his Platonic philosophy and advances in Britain’s musical culture, Pater has Denys enter Auxerre to promote freedom of speech and hard-earned leisure through his musical influence. The villagers, ruled by an ‘old count’, find themselves surrounded by a new ‘political movement which broke out sympathetically’ across French towns, ‘turning their narrow, feudal institutions into a free, communistic life’ (IP pp. 172, 180). Denys encourages these socio-economic shifts as surrounded by ‘musical instruments’ he leads the townspeople of Auxerre in public celebrations and towards ‘individual freedom’ (IP pp. 171, 173). Denys incites individual liberties and popular challenges to established authorities as he leads ‘long processions, through which … “the little people,” the discontented, the despairing, would utter their minds’, while a ‘serf’ lays ‘at his ease at last’ (IP p. 177). Thwarting feudal powers, Denys embodies Dionysus, whom, Pater reported in 1876, was suspected ‘of a secret democratic interest’, although ‘he was a liberator only of men’s hearts’ (GS p. 22 n. 1). In ‘Denys’, Pater goes further and Denys/Dionysus becomes a temporary carnivalesque king (l’Auxerrois) who works through music to encourage more permanent freedoms of speech and leisure.

Denys’ musicality stimulates not only a more egalitarian society reminiscent of the ideal aesthetic society imagined in Plato, but also the liberation of a natural
diversity. He inspires the staging of a pagan ‘morality’ play that re-enacts the return of ‘the God of Wine’ in ‘the cathedral square’ and he takes the ‘chief part’, amidst ‘an intolerable noise of every kind of pipe-music’, which celebrates the god’s role as a ‘patron especially of the music of the pipe, in all its varieties’ (IP p. 178, 183). Pater is echoing his 1876 description of Dionysus’s divine rule over a diverse organic life, over ‘all the music of the reed, the water-plant, in which the ideas of water and of vegetable life are brought close together’ (GS p. 18). Pater uses the play’s inclusive ‘pipe-music’ to symbolize the ‘morality’ of cultivating nature’s diversity and of celebrating its variety of voices, so often framed as ‘intolerable’ by medieval churches. By celebrating these voices, Pater critiques the churches’ frequent intolerance of opposing perspectives (based upon their preference for spirit over matter). Pater justifies the re-born god’s disruption of feudal and ecclesiastical repressions through presenting the tolerance of a multiplicity of perspectives as a more divine and natural way of life.

Pater acknowledges, however, that cultural change is not easy; Denys’s push for social liberties results, initially, not in careful reforms but in aggressive disruptions of unjust conventions. His musical liberation erupts into ‘noisy’ ‘hot nights’ and, on occasion, it incites ‘horror’ in ‘timid watchers’ (IP p. 177). This ‘noise’ signals a coerced public recognition of estranged voices. Although reminiscent of the aural ‘unity-in-variety’ advocated in Plato and Platonism, this revelry moves from a rich harmony to an excruciating ‘coarseness of satiety’, as musical discord broadens into civil disobedience, anarchy, and a diminishment of human civility (IP p. 180). Yet, this ‘noisiness’ also foreshadows Denys’s violent sparagmos, the ritualistic sacrifice of the god necessary for revitalization, what Gerald Monsman calls his ‘rejuvenating death’, which makes him a ‘generative figure in the rebirth of higher culture’ (IP p. 76).

Consequently, Denys’s noisy immoderation represents an orgiastic climax necessary, Pater suggests, to enact new freedoms and the benefits of social cooperation over chaos. To illustrate this, Denys refashions the ‘savage din’ of his revolutionary music into an organ that can ‘express the whole compass of souls now grown to manhood’, with ‘the various modes of the power of the pipe’ grown ‘tamed, ruled, united’ (IP pp. 183, 184). Denys’s organ relies on the natural sounds of reeds or pipes, but refines these diverse elemental voices through a complex human art. This instrument represents an inclusive yet mature cultivation of natural diversity, a harmonious variety-in-unity. Richard Dellamora has pointed
to the homoerotic contexts in which Denys builds the organ, which signals the acceptance of ‘deviant sexuality’ amidst a prejudiced society. Pater expands this musical context of sexual tolerance to characterize more tolerant political proceedings in Auxerre. Following their anarchic uprisings, the people of Auxerre must entertain the young count of a rival town. Considering the age of Auxerre’s leader and France’s recent political movements, the young count’s arrival threatens political discord. Echoing, however, Platonic musical theories and late-Victorian associations of concerts with social unity, Denys’s music bonds disparate groups. The aristocrat arrives and duly offers to marry the count of Auxerre’s daughter, after which the people hear the organ ‘with various feelings of delight.’ The organ’s harmony helps to soothe political tensions and to encourage people to welcome ‘their future lord’, thereby enacting a communal reconciliation (IP p. 186). Denys’ music represents Auxerre’s rejection of both restrictive autocracy and anarchy for an orderly, mature civic diversity wherein various voices interact harmoniously.

The refined music of Denys’ organ signifies, then, a practical replication of the divine music of the spheres, the influence of which induces civic disobedience and subsequently civic peace after socio-political adjustments. Yet, lest the progressive power of music appear lost with the arrival of another potential autocrat, Pater reintroduces the subversive power of Dionysus. Following the civic festival, Denys heads a new ‘rude popular pageant’ only to have the populace rebel against him, killing him in a sacrifice representative of a coarse popular will (PP p. 186). Denys’ sacrifice violently recalls how human nature can break free from even the firmest of calming tendencies. Pater nonetheless leaves the reader with a balance of the dual Dionysian nature of chaos and harmony. In the portrait’s frame narrative, a modern traveler discovers Denys’ musical progressions in stained glass and tapestries kept near an organ, Pater’s emblem of progressive political reforms.

While in ‘Denys’ Pater fictionalizes the liberating influence of music on society, in ‘Apollo’ he reflects more individual struggles to live according to Hellenic musical principles in an intellectually and physically repressive scholarly community. Prior Saint-Jean grows exhausted by constricting himself to sterile abstractions while he tries to complete the ‘[t]welfth volume of a dry enough treatise on mathematics, applied, still with no relaxation of strict method, to astronomy and music’ (IP p. 272). Saint-Jean’s restriction of his intellectual work to desiccated, lifeless engagements with the physical cosmos makes him enervated and ill. Pater only allows Saint-Jean to recuperate when the prior learns to
combine, as Pater claimed Hellenic philosophers did, pleasurable corporeal and mental sensations. Sent to convalesce at his monastery’s country grange, Saint-Jean’s health improves when he and the young novice Hyacinth befriend Apollo in the form of the handsome musical young Apollyon, who introduces them to a fusion of body, mind, and spirit. Saint-Jean first encounters Apollyon when, under the influence of the ‘veritable music’ of a country night, he climbs to an attic and sees the ‘warm, white limbs’ and ‘gentle sweetness’ of the ‘godlike’ young man (IP p. 276). Apollyon, who conjoins music, beauty, and divinity, instantly attracts Saint-Jean and rejuvenates the monk’s engagement with mathematics and a ‘veritable’ celestial music from a detached scholarly exercise to a sensual spiritual experience.

Initially, Apollyon uses his music to improve the work and the lives of those around him, particularly Saint-Jean. His harping and singing help Saint-Jean in his ‘holiday task’ of building a barn for the grange both by keeping the ‘workmen literally in tune, working for once with a ready will’ and by attracting the physical ‘beams and stones into their fit places’ (IP pp. 279, 280). Apollyon’s music aligns, temporarily, earthly movements with the will of the heavens and thereby echoes Pater’s description in Plato of a virtuous celestial music as a means for everyone and even everything to ‘find, or be put into’, their natural place (IP p. 273). Pater uses this musical diversion of the barn-building as a metaphor for the holistic convalescence of Saint-Jean, for, as Pater notes, the ‘human body’ is also ‘a building’ (IP p. 281). Although Saint-Jean visits the countryside primarily ‘for the benefit of his body’s health’, Pater signals that Apollyon also revitalizes Saint-Jean’s mind and spirit (274). This occurs through Saint-Jean’s new experience-oriented methods of work and his new companions. Helping to construct the monastic barn allows Saint-Jean to merge his intellectual and spiritual interest in mathematics with their physical manifestations in architecture, ‘a sort of music made visible’ (IP pp. 280). This work also enables him to encounter physically robust individuals, as opposed to cloistered monks. In a Platonic fashion, this new community provides him with a salutary and uplifting balance between his mind and body, between music and gymnastics, with both educational elements working in tandem. Just as Apollyon’s musical presence helps the workers to compose the barn, it re-composes Saint-Jean’s body, the house of his intellect and soul.

Pater connects this accord of body, mind, and spirit to more successful academic work. Under Apollyon’s influence, Saint-Jean produces more meaningful work on his treatise. The monk breaks free from what Pater saw as the rigid ‘limits’
of a medieval epistemology and moves beyond astronomical and musical theories derived from cold abstractions (TR p. xxiii). He allows himself to be seduced by Apollyon’s experience-oriented, aesthetic approach to the universe, which allows him to ‘see … the deflexions of the stars from their proper orbits with fatal results here below’ and to ‘hear’ the ‘singing of the planets’. This practical aesthetic approach enables Saint-Jean to write now ‘truly and with authority’ on the natural influence of the heavens, i.e. the music of the spheres, on earth (IP p. 287). Saint-Jean’s new sensual experiences, Pater contends, lend greater accuracy and authenticity to his scholarship.

Pater also indicates, however, that because Saint-Jean’s supervisors perceive this research to be subversive, they vilify him and truncate his work; others imply that his work is comparable to that of ‘madmen’, and his writing offers a ‘wicked, unscriptural truth’ (IP pp. 273, 287). Yet, Saint-Jean’s evolving scholarship, directed by Apollyon, actually reveals ‘a hundred truths unguessed at before’, an ‘illumination’, set into “arrangements” that were like music made visible (IP pp. 272, 273). The Prior’s work thus becomes ‘an interpolated page of life’ and of his enlightened sensual growth (IP p. 273). His efforts become a textual analogue to those virtuous people or to the homoerotic Greek statues, which Pater describes in Plato and Platonism as embodying the enlightened and enlightening music of the spheres. In ‘Apollo’, Pater demonstrates the risk that Saint-Jean undertakes in acknowledging such expansive pagan virtues, for when authorities find Hyacinth dead after an accident, they blame Saint-Jean’s allegedly ‘dissolute living’ and confine him and his manuscripts within the monastery (IP p. 291). These unwanted interruptions force Saint-Jean to stop short his treatise ‘with an unfinished word’, signaling that he never finished his ‘notation’ of the spheres (IP pp. 273, 287). Attempts to ‘arrest’ on paper and to provide a ‘final transference to others’ of his knowledge remain deficient (IP p. 287). Thus Pater uses Saint-Jean to demonstrate the backlash and concomitant suppression of knowledge endured by individuals who advance beyond conventional intellectual and social mores.

Pater depicts this monastic censorship of Hellenic musical culture to critique indirectly repressive forces within nineteenth-century Oxford that obstructed both intellectual honesty and physical pleasure. Saint-Jean’s proscribed sensual scholarship recalls, as Linda Dowling and William Shuter have suggested, the disingenuous suppression of homoerotic knowledge within Oxford’s treatment of Hellenic culture and how this affected the work and the lives of Pater and J. A.
Symonds, whose official academic careers were curtailed, among others.31 Even Jowett, who deserves credit for preserving male pronouns in Plato’s homoerotic situations, suggested in his annotations to the Symposium that same-sex desire was the ‘greatest evil of Greek life’ and, paradoxically, a mere ‘figure of speech which no one interpreted literally’ (1.534). In correspondence with Jowett, Symonds replied that this latter claim, especially, was misleading: “Greek love” for both Plato and “for modern students of Plato” was no “figure of speech”, ‘but a present poignant reality’ (IP p. 102). Jowett’s annotations nonetheless indicate how established pedagogues allowed repressive moral traditions to silence intellectual inquiry. In response, Pater uses music and Hellenism in ‘Apollo’ both to critique Oxonian pedagogues’ deviousness and to advocate for more tolerant intellectual and spiritual perspectives.

In addition to intellectual setbacks, Pater also depicts the physical and psychological pain caused by unhealthy repressions of natural instincts. Representing both Apollo, the god of order, and Apollyon, the destroyer, Pater’s god exudes an ‘untutored natural impulse’ that encourages Hyacinth to react too fervently to new pleasures and this lack of caution leads to the novice’s death (IP p. 282). Pater thus suggests the increased dangers of unguarded erotic pleasures in Victorian society. To emphasize Apollyon’s increasingly physical relationship with Hyacinth, Pater describes how the novice, encouraged by Apollyon, abandons an astringent monastic asceticism and becomes ‘really a boy at last’, ‘eyes, hands and feet awake’, as they ‘raced’ and ‘wrestled’ (IP p. 282). Hyacinth and Apollyon ‘played as young animals do’ and, advancing beyond animalistic instincts, they imitate Greek athletes by playing ‘quoits’, which, as Richard Dellamora notes, is likely a play on ‘coitus’ (288, 289).32 Inflamed by the exercise, Apollyon casts aside his ‘attire, and challenged the boy to do the same’ (IP p. 288). References to Greek games and nudity suggest both the triumph of homoerotic sensuality over caution and an excessiveness initiated by too sudden self-revelations. Human nature, too long repressed and uncultivated, overwhells restraint and the young men play perilously in the dusk ‘by guess and touch chiefly’ (IP p. 289). Relying on their senses, they continue until a discus thrown by Apollyon returns to earth and, echoing Ovid’s Metamorphosis, kills Hyacinth. Pater accentuates suffering as the scream of the musical god echoes like ‘the sound of some natural catastrophe’, signaling the discord between a divine will and this earthly tragedy (IP p. 290). Like the Platonic musical truths in Saint-Jean’s treatise but with a
greater violence, the intimacy between Hyacinth and Apollyon is cut short with a macabre literality. The perfect natural unity embodied in the harmonious ‘Dorian temper’ gets disrupted, as the ‘perfect musical instrument’ of the male-desiring male body gets dismembered. Saint-Jean and Hyacinth are both sacrificed to the deviant, repressive law of the day, an earthly law that Pater characterizes as being out of temper with a heavenly-inspired, humanistic natural order. Pater uses ‘Apollo’, I would suggest, and the musical god’s unmusical scream, to indicate the anguish created by his society’s decision to repress rather than to tutor or refine homoerotic instincts.

As I have demonstrated, Pater uses music in *Plato*, ‘Denys’, and ‘Apollo’ largely as an appeal and as a metaphorical neo-Platonic schematic for social harmony, which society too often rejects with violently destructive results. To make sense of these musical connotations, the reader must look not only to philosophies or theories of musical abstractions but consider how musical developments influenced intellectual and creative literary production in Britain and in Oxford, especially. Pater drew on these cultural trends for his own uses of music. In addition to serving as a philosophical encomium used to invoke metaphysical ideals, his musical imagery maintains several clearly articulated social functions. Pater presents music as a means to encourage intellectual honesty, social inclusion, and cultural harmony, and to promote new forms of a liberal sexual morality. In particular, he uses music to promote an ideal state or state-of-being founded upon the principles of a neo-Platonic ‘musical’ education and influenced by the social musical culture of Oxford. This musical education requires intellectual honesty, increased social liberties, and a sensual appreciation of the world and the pleasures of the body. As such, Pater frequently deploys music in both his criticism and his fiction not only as an abstract metaphysical ideal, but also to argue that art could refine nature and society into a more intellectually and physically tolerant state.

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___, *Plato and Platonism* (London: Macmillan, 1925)


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NOTES

7 Plato, *The Republic* 3.3:399; I use Jowett’s translations throughout.
8 Richard Nettleship, * Lectures on the Republic of Plato* (London: Macmillan, 1910), pp. 79, 118–19. As Carl Dahlhaus has shown, a narrower conception of ‘music’ as primarily ‘a sounding phenomenon and nothing more’ is relatively recent (p. 8).
11 Ibid., 247.
12 For Jowett’s purchase of the organs, see Burns and Wilson, p. 3.
13 For these protests, ibid., p. 4.
14 The Sunday concerts were open to ‘members of all colleges’ and to ‘towns-folk, provided they are
introduced by a member’; Jowett also invited ‘distinguished guests’. See ‘Memorial Concert to the Late
15 Susan Wollenberg, ‘The Oxford Commemorations and Nineteenth-Century British Festival
Culture’, *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, Vol. 3, ed. Peter Horton and Bennett Zon
p. 100.
19 For Pater’s spiritual or ‘Christian’ aestheticism in non-musical contexts, see Shuter, *Rereading Pater*,
pp. 47–52.
21 Ibid., 179.
22 See Stefano Evangelista, *British Aestheticism and Ancient Greece: Hellenism, Reception, Gods in
Exile* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 11–12; and Diana Maltz, *British Aestheticism
and the Urban Working Class, 1870–1900: Beauty for the People* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan,
2006), pp. 2–3.
23 See also Eastham’s convincing argument that Pater turns to Wordsworth to avoid a censorious or
coercive neo-Platonic organicism (p. 34). Pater’s expressed desire for banned instruments, I would add,
offers another solution against a coercive cosmic organicism.
24 For Pater’s Christian skepticism, see Shuter, *Rereading Pater*, pp. 42–4. For the correspondence of
Christianity and Hellenism in Oxford, see Dowling, *Hellenism*, pp. 70–1, 78. Jowett, according to
p. 9.
26 Ibid., p. 3.
27 For nineteenth-century legal repercussions for physical same-sex encounters, see Cocks, *Nameless
28 See Billie Andrew Inman, ‘Estrangement and Connection: Walter Pater, Benjamin Jowett, and
William M. Hardinge’, in Laurel Bake and Ian Small, eds., *Pater in the 1990s* (Greensboro: EL T
Press, 1991), pp. 7–8, 14; see also Richard Dellamora, *Masculine Desire: The Sexual Politics of Victorian
Pater*, pp. 255, 258.
29 Dellamora discusses Pater’s emphasis on ‘democratic politics’ and ‘economic equality’ in ‘Denys’, but
connects this to the ‘Pre-Raphaelite avant-garde’ (*Masculine Desire*, p. 181). Platonic theory and British
musical culture seem a more likely influence on ‘Denys’.
30 Ibid., p. 183.
192–3; Dellamora, *Masculine Desire*, p. 186.
32 Ibid., p. 187. This pun would obviously emphasize the physical relationship between Apollyon and
Hyacinth.
Ana Parejo Vadillo

Walter Pater and Michael Field: The Correspondence, with Other Unpublished Manuscript Materials

This article presents a new and expanded edition of the letters exchanged between Walter Pater and the poet and dramatist ‘Michael Field’, the joint pseudonym of Katharine Harris Bradley (1846–1914) and her niece, Edith Emma Cooper (1862–1913). In his Letters of Walter Pater (1970), Lawrence Evans included a total of seven missives sent by the writers. These were: one draft of a letter from Michael Field to Pater (dated 11 June 1889), and six letters from Pater to Michael Field (4 July 1889, 17 July 1889, 12 April 1890, 9 August 1890, late May 1892, and 1 March 1893). With the exception of two drafts of the same letter, published for the very first time in this essay, no further letters have yet surfaced. The documents reproduced here, however, are also evidence that even more letters were sent, most notably from Michael Field to Walter Pater, a fact that is corroborated by the women’s unpublished diary, ‘Works and Days’ (1888–1914). The letters were not returned to Michael Field after Pater’s death: either they were lost or perhaps destroyed by Pater’s sisters, Hester and Clara.

Other manuscript evidence provides a more detailed account of their relationship, their face-to-face encounters as well as their views on each other’s work. This project brings to light letters to and from John Miller Gray (1850–94; ODNB) and letters from Arthur Symons (1865–1945; ODND). In addition, also reproduced are two previously unpublished letters from Pater’s sister, Hester, and selections from ‘Works and Days’ in which Bradley and Cooper discuss Pater and his writings. The correspondence of Gray and Symons with Michael Field is rich in references to Pater. Gray was a bank clerk who became a self-educated art critic...
and, in 1884, director of the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland. His review of *Marius the Epicurean* set the tone for the reception of the novel in England, and he and Pater became good friends. Together with Robert Browning, Gray was one of the women’s closest friends.3 (They made Gray their literary executor, but he died unexpectedly, on 22 March 1894, three months before Pater.) Poet and aesthete Arthur Symons was also friends with Bradley and Cooper, although they were not as close to him as they were to Gray. Unfortunately, the letters from Michael Field to Arthur Symons have not been located, but his replies to Michael Field offer fascinating insights into Pater and Pater’s knowledge of Michael Field in the late 1880s and early 1890s.

The women’s joint diary, ‘Works and Days’, provides the key narrative for their relationship with Pater and his influence on their writing and thinking — even after his death. Dating from 14 April 1888 to 18 September 1914 (four days before Bradley’s death), the 30-volume diary covers 26 years of the women’s lives. There is nothing of the same length or literary interest that matches its documentary value for turn-of-the-century British literature. Created in the spirit of the ‘Journals’ written by the Goncourt brothers (1851–96), and composed with the aim of posthumous publication, the women confided to it all their aspirations, frustrations, literary gossip, and backbiting as well as the philosophy of their writings and of their lives. A combination of draft book, scrapbook, and polished narrative, it contains considerable information on Pater and his works: it documents not only the women discussing him but also their conversations about him with others, or that of others discussing him. Some of the entries concern Pater’s sisters, particularly Hester; they are not always portrayed in a positive light.

As a whole, these documents recreate Pater’s relationship with Michael Field and give a deeper account of what Pater and his writings meant for Field. The women read Pater’s works — and the reviews of his works — as they were being published. They studied him as writers and as scholars. Whatever publication they may have missed, they borrowed, and this sometimes meant reading Pater alongside annotations by Gray or Symons. His writings, as Michael Field put it, were registered (see letter C, 7 December 1889). Significantly, these documents are also useful in understanding fully Pater’s position in different aesthetic circles: they show how information about the man, his family life, and his writings, circulated among aesthetes. They intimate, in other words, how aesthetes absorbed Pater, allowing us to reflect today as to how (and how closely) Pater was read.
The letters show that Pater knew of Michael Field (although he had not read their work) before 1889. Michael Field had made a name for ‘himself’ writing lyric dramas, but in 1889 the women turned their hand to lyric poetry, the outcome of which was the book of Sapphic poems, *Long Ago* (1889). In Michael Field’s first letter to Pater, which accompanied a presentation copy of the book, they describe Pater as a writer who ‘has sympathy with attempts to reconcile the old and the new, to live as in continuation of the beautiful life of Greece’. Pater invited them to come to his home in Earl’s Terrace, London. They finally met on Monday, 22 July 1889. What they had most in common was their engagement with the past – Pater’s historical criticism and critical method are the common threads connecting the writers. Pater enjoyed *Long Ago*, the first Michael Field book he actually read, but was averse to poetic drama. (Apparently, they felt very keenly Pater’s unrefined, ‘anti-dramatic’ talk.) Thus Michael Field’s investment in lyrical drama made a difference in Pater’s appreciation of the women’s work. His views on Shakespeare were of tremendous importance to them because Michael Field was thought of as a Shakespearean dramatist by Pater and by writers very close to Pater, Symons and Swinburne most notably. It is for this reason, for example, that Symons forwarded to the women the copies Pater had sent him of his essays on Shakespeare (see letter dated 5 April 1889).

When did Michael Field first read Pater? Pater seems not to be mentioned or discussed directly by the women prior to 1886. But letters from the early 1880s between Bradley and Cooper suggest that they had read his *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1873). In a letter dated 23 August 1880, Bradley observes of a painting by Leonardo da Vinci:

> Through influence we saw pictures that the world sees not; – the most glorious Vandykes in the world […] and by Leonardo da Vinci – a fiend – a woman to match the ‘Mona Lisa’ of the Louvre […] with velvet eyes and face and vitriol underneath, – oh beautiful exceedingly to see caged; – but you can never cage that spirit! The voice will never be much about a whisper; but the whole creature is venomous, her sweetness is deadly, and her kindness doom.

In another letter from 1881, Bradley tells Cooper: ‘Winckelmann Consoles me.’ The first direct reference to Pater seems to be in the postscript to a letter dated
1886. The edition below begins with this postscript and ends with an entry in the women's diary from the 1901 volume, in which they are reflecting about the end of the 'Victorian' period.

Often, Pater scholars first come across Michael Field through the women's poetic tribute, 'Walter Pater', published in the *Academy* soon after Pater's death:

The freshness of the light, its secrecy,
Spices, or honey from sweet-smelling bower,
The harmony of time, love's trembling hour
Struck on thee with a new felicity.
Standing, a child, by a red hawthorn-tree,
Its perishing, small petals' flame had power
To fill with masses of soft, ruddy flower
A certain roadside in thy memory:
And haply when the tragic clouds of night
Were slowly wrapping round thee, in the cold
Of which men always die, a sense renewed
Of the things sweet to touch and breath and sight,
That thou didst touch and breathe and see of old
Stole on thee with the warmth of gratitude.7

This edition, which includes drafts of the poem, helps one to understand why Michael Field felt the impulse to write it. Pater is the 'red hawthorn-tree' that inflames the house of thought inhabited by many others. He is the muse and the genius upon whose work the fin-de-siècle generation of aesthetes and decadents built a new epistemology: a house of thought created out of sensoria. While transforming Pater's 'The Child in the House' into a sonnet, they created in the process the myth of Pater as both the Leonardo and the enigmatic Mona Lisa of their time.8 Indeed, the sonnet refers directly to Michael Field's poem from *Sight and Song* (1892) 'Leonardo da Vinci's La Gioconda', in which La Gioconda represents 'those vicissitudes by which men die.'9

This collection of documents also shows that Michael Field thought of Pater in other ways: the brother; the kind man with blue eyes; the mediocre speaker but radiant essayist; the Bacchant; the impressionist writer; the ascetic aesthete; the art critic; the Shakespearean scholar; and, last but not least Pater, the Plato of the fin de siècle.
Michael Field and Walter Pater were, above everything else, contemporaries. Rephrasing Cooper (see draft letter of March 1893), they were the moderns of a dead generation that lived as in the past, as in antiquity, yet were awakened to life through their interest in the present.

NOTES ON THE TRANSCRIPTIONS
All deletions and additions have been kept in the transcriptions. The beginning and end of insertions are indicated with carets: ^ ^ for insertions above the line of text, and † † for those below the line.

All underlining (including double underlining) has been maintained (and not changed to italics).

REGARDING AUTHORSHIP
(a) If a letter is signed by or addressed to Katharine Harris Bradley (or KHB) then Katharine Harris Bradley appears as its author/ addressee.
(b) If a letter is signed by or addressed to Edith Cooper, then Edith Cooper (EC) appears as its author/ addressee.
(c) If a letter is signed by or addressed to Michael Field, then Michael Field appears as its author/ addressee.
(d) If a letter is signed by Michael, then Michael Field appears as its author.
(e) In the diary selections, ‘E. C.’ denotes it is in the handwriting of Edith Cooper. ‘K. B.’ denotes it is in the handwriting of Katharine Bradley.

ABBREVIATIONS USED
BL British Library
Bod. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
E. C. Edith Cooper
HRHRC Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center
K. B. Katharine Bradley
MS manuscript
1886

[?] OCTOBER 1886
KATHARINE H. BRADLEY to JOHN MILLER GRAY
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS. 45853, fols. 124–5. No envelope.]

[...]

P.S. If you have it loose, I should greatly like to see your review of Marius the Epicurean & would promptly return it.11 KHB

9 OCTOBER 1886
JOHN MILLER GRAY to KATHARINE H. BRADLEY
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 45853, fols. 8–9. No envelope but the wax seal has been kept. Embossed address: 25 York Place/ Edinburgh]

9th Oct. 1886.

My dear Miss Bradley,

[...]

Enclosed is the review of “Marius” which you wished to see. I made it far too long, & it had to be cut down by the Editor, & suffered to some extent in consequence – though less than I should have expected. I also send you another notice of the book, which I did for an Edinb. newspaper, which you may perhaps like to glance over.12 Have you seen Pater’s article in this month’s Macmillan,13 I don’t think he is quite at his best in it – but no one can be always at his best.

Kindest regards to Miss Cooper & to the Wedmores14 when you see them from

Yours very sincerely

John Gray

13 OCTOBER 1886
KATHARINE H. BRADLEY to JOHN MILLER GRAY
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 45853, fol. 126. No envelope.]

Stoke Green15

Oct 13th (1886)16
Dear Mr. Gray,
Many thanks for your Review, & the Academy. I have just finished Marius, & I agree with nearly all your praise, – entirely with your selection of passages.

Sincerely yours, K. H. Bradley.

1888

12 SEPTEMBER 1888
ARTHUR SYMONS TO MICHAEL FIELD
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 46867, fols. 203–5. No envelope.]

21 Chandos Road
Buckingham

September 12th. 88.
Dear Madam

[...]

What is “Pater’s Ronsard”? Surely he has never written anything directly on Ronsard? Do you refer to a passage in the essay on Joachim du Bellay?17 I am an extreme devotee of Pater, and anything that concerns him has great interest for me.18

Sincerely yours,
Arthur Symons

20 SEPTEMBER 1888
ARTHUR SYMONS TO MICHAEL FIELD
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 46867, fols. 205–7. No envelope.]

21 Chandos Road
Buckingham

Sept: 20: 88-[sic]
Dear Madam

[...]

I am delighted to hear what you say about Gaston de Latour.19 I read the
first two chapters, which seemed rather tame, & since then I have not seen Macmillan. Mr. Pater has been wonderfully kind to me, & all the proofs of my vol. of poems are, at his own request, to go to him. Can it fail to be of service, to have the scrutiny of such an eye? I am sure you will be glad to know that he intends before long to issue in a volume those scattered essays on English poets & prose-writers – Wordsworth, Lamb, Coleridge, Shakespeare, &c. – which to my mind contain some of his very finest work.

30 NOVEMBER 1888
ARTHUR SYMONS TO KATHARINE H. BRADLEY
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 46867, fols. 210–12. No envelope.]

21 Chandos Road
Buckingham

30th Nov. 88.
Dear Miss Bradley

You see I am home again, & you may care to know that I have had my interview with Mr. George Macmillan & that it has passed off excellently. He agrees to everything, & I am an exacting person. Paper & binding are to be the same as that used in Pater's Imaginary Portraits – and it is the more kind of Macmillan to consent to this as the paper is more expensive than the quite white sort he had intend[ed] to use.

1889

2 JANUARY 1889
ARTHUR SYMONS TO KATHARINE H. BRADLEY
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 46867, fols. 216–18. No envelope.]

21 Chandos Road
Buckingham

Jan: 2: 89
Dear Miss Bradley
The last time I saw Pater, at Oxford, I had some conversation with him about M.F.24 Yes, I said, M.F. is a woman; but of course I said nothing further. He has not read any of her books – finds it difficult to read plays – but has heard a good deal about her, and “she must certainly be very clever. I should like to see her.”25 He is at work now on Gaston de Latour (of which only about a fourth has yet been published), on a new Portrait – Hippolytus Veiled,26 and in revising his uncollected essays for publication in the summer.27

I wish the “Field” circle a very happy New Year.

Sincerely yours
Arthur Symons

12 JANUARY 1889
KATHARINE H. BRADLEY TO JOHN MILLER GRAY

Blackberry Lodge.
Reigate, January 12th. 1889—
also my Poet’s birthday.28

Dear Mr. Gray,

[...]

Then there is the winter exhibition at Burlington House, where we can promise you a perfect feast of Watteaus.29 Pater’s essay ^Portrait^ connects so exquisitely with those courtly garden revels.30

One of the pictures is called A garden party,31 & the contrast between the stately creatures there moving about in the yellow sunshine, − & the bustling, awkward groups we make part of when we meet on summer afternoons strikes a cold shame to my heart. Why is all pomp, why is all grace gone from our days? I care nothing for the still grace of draperies & hangings; − but the sight of groups of happy creatures under noble umbrage would confirm one in one’s faith that the golden age runs through all the centuries, & is meant to be, in part, the lot of each. I do not miss the sadness that connects all Watteau’s work with “O Galuppi Baldassaro” [*sic*],32 but what impresses me just now is the lovely, animated leisure he depicts.
29 MARCH 1889
ARTHUR SYMONS TO KATHARINE H. BRADLEY
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 46867, fols. 221–3. No envelope.]

21 Chandos Road
Buckingham

March 29th 1889
Dear Miss Bradley

[...]

I wonder if there are 750 readers for me? After all, what you so kindly wish me – “the praise I shall most care for from the lips I most honour” – that is the main thing, and I have already had not a little of that. And as for reviews, after the one Pater wrote of me in the Pall Mall I feel as if I can care nothing what others may say, except only for the quite practical purpose of selling influencing readers to buy the book.

[...]

5 APRIL 1889
ARTHUR SYMONS TO KATHARINE H. BRADLEY
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 46867, fols. 224–5]

21 Chandos Road
Buckingham

April 5: 89
Dear Miss Bradley

Pater’s review is now chez Ellis: he will send it on to you. Meanwhile I enclose something else which you may care to see of his: he sent it to me a few days ago. It is from Scribner’s Magazine. It seems to me a very original handling of a theme difficult to say anything fresh about. In writing him yesterday, by the way, I enclosed one of the Long Ago leaflets.
I thought you would like the English Kings, & especially those final sentences. One ought ^not^ however to take Richard II as a model of dramatic composition; if dramatic is to include theatrical. I have scolded my friend Frank Marshall for underrating that play, in his Shakespeare (the Irving) but no doubt he, a practical playwright, is correct in saying that as an acting play Richard II is one of the very weakest Shakespeare ever wrote.38 […]

I recognize the hand of the master in a tiny notice of Raffalovitch’s new book of poems in yesterday’s Pall Mall.39 I daresay you know the name of the young Russian.40 Pater told me a very interesting tale of him & his doings. His own view is that Raffalovitch should write French & prose.

Am I right in imagining that you think highly of Jules Lemaître?41 If so, you will be scandalized to hear that I have induced Pater to give up his first intention of including an Essay on him in his next volume.

[...]

10 MAY 1889
ARTHUR SYMONS TO KATHARINE H. BRADLEY
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 46867, fols. 228–9. No envelope.]
And here is something you must read – Pater’s essay on the Bacchanals of Euripides in Macmillan’s Magazine – by far the finest essay he has done for years, full of vivid & magnificent colour, & with a spirit of deep enthusiasm.\textsuperscript{42} He told me that his “Imaginary Portrait” of “Hippolytus Veiled” will probably be thought goody-goody, as it is all about a good little boy!\textsuperscript{43}

Sincerely yours
Arthur Symons

MAY 1889
JOHN MILLER GRAY TO MICHAEL FIELD\textsuperscript{44}  
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 45853, fols. 52–3. No envelope.]

Sunday.

Dear Michael Field,

[...]

You have seen the recent Pater magazine papers have you. What say you to his views on “Style”? Do they suit the impetuous Michael?\textsuperscript{45}

11 JUNE 1889
MICHAEL FIELD TO WALTER PATER  
[DRAFT OF LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 46804B, fols. 3–4 (E. C.).]\textsuperscript{46}

Blackberry Lodge\textsuperscript{47}  
Reigate  
Surrey

June XI, 1889

Dear Sir,

Ever since the issue of my little volume \textit{Long Ago}, I have had the intention of pleasing myself by offering a copy to you: circumstance alone has intervened.\textsuperscript{48} I feel I have a hope that you will understand the spirit of my lyrics – you who have sympathy with attempts to reconcile the old and the new, to live as in continuation of the beautiful life of Greece. Renaissance is the condition of man’s thought which seems to have for you the most exciting charm. What I
have aspired to do from Sappho’s fragments may therefore somewhat appeal to your sense of survival in human things – to your interest in the shoots & offspring of elder literature.

Sincerely yours,
Michael Field.

4 JULY 1889
WALTER PATER TO MICHAEL FIELD
[LETTER. Source: Walter Pater Collection, HRHRC MS 3185]
Envelope: To / Michael Field Esq. / Blackberry Lodge / Reigate. Postmark: Paddington JY4 89

12 Earl’s Terrace,
Kensington, W.

July 4th.

Dear Sir, (I suppose I must say,) how ungratefully long I have been in acknowledging the choice copy of “Long Ago”, which I was much pleased to receive from you, a true poet, as I know I feel it would take me a long time to exhaust their calm Attic wisdom – their sweetness of mind – which has struck me, in pieces like that on page 48, for instance, as their leading characteristic – a golden calmness, which has determined a similar quality in rhythm and expression. I suppose this is the mood proper to our minds in returning, by conscious effort, to distant worlds of thought or feeling; the more so, if that mood be itself unconscious.

I can but congratulate you on this charming addition to your work; having, too, something of that dramatic aim and power, by which you won your laurels.

It is natural to wish to meet those whose work interests one, and I must therefore add that it would give me great pleasure to see you here, if I had the good chance some day.

With sincere thanks,

Very truly yours

Walter Pater.
5 JULY 1889
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46777, fol. 81v (E. C.)]

An exquisite letter from Walter Pater.

17 JULY 1889
WALTER PATER TO MICHAEL FIELD
[LETTER. Source: Walter Pater Collection, HRHRC MS 3185]53
Envelope: To / Michael Field Esq. / Blackberry Lodge / Reigate. Postmark: Kensington KZ JY 17 89 W

12 Earl's Terrace, W.
July 17th

To Michael Field.

Many thanks for your letter. Alas! I shall inevitably be away on Saturday; but shall be at home, about tea-time, 5 o'clock, on Monday, and hope you may be able to give me the pleasure of a call then, as I have a good many engagements in the short time that remains before I leave town.

Very truly yours
Walter Pater.

[18] JULY 1889
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46777, fol. 86 (K. B.)]

Mr. Walter Pater hopes we shall be able to call on him about tea-time at 5 o'clock [sic] on Monday.54

24 JULY 1889
MICHAEL FIELD TO JOHN MILLER GRAY
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 45853, fols. 220-5. K. B. No envelope.]55
Blackberry Lodge
Reigate

July 24th. 1889
Dear Mr. Gray
[...]

You will be interested to hear Mr. Pater, in acknowledging a copy of *Long Ago*, which he praised for its attic calm, expressed a wish to see Michael. We twain went, as appointed, “about tea-time”, to Earl's Terrace last Monday & had a profoundly interesting interview with our host. Do you remember introducing me to *Marius the Epicurean* – leaving me with it on the sofa – while “younger strengths” mounted Carlton? 56 Alas, then it seemed to me evenly tedious – I have been reading it a second time the last few weeks with heightened appreciation* - , so the years, it is comforting to think, have brought other changes than grey hairs. But it is not really wonderful to see “Peter plain” – his blue eyes not glancing kindness – but lying there permanent pools of kindness in the midst of his sober, deliberating face? I must now simply stay to tell you that that intricate flower – love-in-a-mist – his ^sister's^ triumph, grown in his own “garden” – was on an exquisite little table in his drawing-room.57

[...]

You may say freely anything you like about our work: in case the Horne rejections (let us refer Mr. Horne to Sapphic XXIX [Pater's favourite by the way]) are not to your taste– I add a new & I fancy significant poem of Michael's *Little Lettuce*. 58

*It is a book for trouble – one of our dear books now.

[...]

31 JULY 1889
JOHN MILLER GRAY TO KATHARINE H. BRADLEY

31 July 1889.
Dear Miss Bradley,
[...]

I was much interested with your account of the visit to Pater. & wish you had told me more about it. So No. XXIX is his favourite. I like it too greatly, but my enjoyment is much interfered with by the awful rhyme in first verse (harm & calm)].59 One can stand – & has to – a few things of this sort in a long poem by Keats: but in a three-verse poem every sound tells, & tells vitally. See how frankly & severely I speak, as though the piece were written by myself – would it were! Could friendship do more?

4 AUGUST 1889
KATHARINE H. BRADLEY TO JOHN MILLER GRAY
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 45853, fols. 226–9. No envelope.]

Sunday night. August 4th 1889.
[...]
How do the two Pater articles affect you?60 I am wicked enough to laugh merrily at that phrase – “in that eating & drinking she had found so beautiful.” Neither must Mr. Pater write about “the nice black head deep in the fleecy pillow”61 – but how full of psychic divination that sentence in Bruno – “Amid such artificial religious stillness the air itself becomes generous in under-tones”,62 & Edith says, how finely is the sea-side death of Hippolytus is given. Don’t you feel to realize the life of that Amazonian Mother as securely & definitely as Mrs. (old Mrs.) Ruskin’s life from Praeterita?63 This is Imagination become a grand arm, & knitting stockings by the fire; & “it is marvellous in our eyes”64 [...]
Sincerely yours,
K. H. Bradley.

4 AUGUST 1889
ARTHUR SYMONS TO KATHARINE H. BRADLEY
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 46867, fols. 230–3. No envelope.]

21 Chandos Road
Buckingham
Sunday
Aug: 4: 89

Dear Miss Bradley

I hear from Ellis that you have been to see Pater: himself – Pater – I did not see when I was in town a week since. What are your impressions of the man? I should like to know. And of his house – which is to me, of all the houses I have seen, the most perfectly at one with its inmate. I wonder if you noticed, in the drawing-room, some remarkable work – done in I know not what kind of fine stitching – by Miss Pater. It is over the fireplace nearest to the door. Opposite, but in at each side, two very striking pictures which you may have noticed are by Simeon Solomon – two of the finest works I know of that fascinating & unhappy painter. I suppose you saw the two Miss Paters.

[...]

I wonder if you have recognized Pater’s hand and mine in yesterday’s Athenaeum. We have each a review (wh. I leave you to guess) – my first, his second. You will see I have induced Macmillan to advertise my poems a little more: they are not selling at all.

[...]

10 AUGUST 1889

JOHN MILLER GRAY TO KATHARINE H. BRADLEY

[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 45853, fols. 59–60. No envelope. Embossed address: 28 Gayfield Square/ Edinburgh]

10 Aug 1889.

Dear Miss Bradley,

[...]

I was most interested in what you say about Browning, & your remarks on Pater’s two last. With you, I don’t think them quite of his best: but I greatly like the death of Hippolytus; & especially, that passage about the youth clearing out the fountain of Artemis, “the sacred spring, set free from encumbrance, in answer to his willing fingers ministries murmurs again under the dim vault in its marble basin – work of primitive Titanic fingers – flows out through its rocky channel, filling the whole township with chaste thoughts of her.”
31 August 1889
Michael Field
[Diary. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46777, fol. 90v (K. B.)]71

Aug 31st. Wednesday.
I must hasten to chronicle our visit to Mr. Pater.

Monday July 22nd. A serious man, quiet – with blue – constantly kind eyes.

17 September 1889
Arthur Symons to Katharine H. Bradley

21 Chandos Road
Buckingham

Tuesday
Sept: 17: 89
Dear Miss Bradley

What you say about Pater is, I think, very subtly true. I am sorry, however, that there were others there when you call: it is so much nicer to see people alone – as in this case, I always have, except, once or twice, for the sisters. What do you think of the Hippolytus? There is, to me, something delicately morbid about it, not without charm, but in comparison with Denys it is nowhere. The Bruno chapter of Gaston de Latour, published in the Fortnightly, I am only now about to read: another chapter, a side-view of St. Bartholomew, will probably appear there.

[...]
22 OCTOBER 1889
KATHARINE H. BRADLEY TO JOHN MILLER GRAY
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 45853, fols. 245–8. No envelope]

St Regalus Private Hotel,  
St. Andrews.  
Oct 22nd 1889.72

Dear Mr. Gray
[…]
We are reading your Paters with much gratitude.
[…]
Sincerely yours,
Kath. H. Bradley

9 NOVEMBER 1889
KATHARINE H. BRADLEY TO JOHN MILLER GRAY
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 45853, fols. 253–5 (K. B.)]

Blackberry.

Nov 9th: 1889
Dear Mr Gray,
[…]
I saw Mr Ellis yesterday.73 He said the reason The Child in the House is not
re-published is it is autobiographical, & Pater will make, possibly, a book of it.74
I, for my part, am sorry – he can never get back again into the red-hawthorn
mood.75
[…]
Sincerely yours,
K. H. Bradley

2 DECEMBER 1889
KATHARINE H. BRADLEY TO JOHN MILLER GRAY
[CARD. Source: BL Add MS 45853, fols. 256–7. No envelope.]
Dec. 2.1889
Blackberry Lodge
Reigate

[...]
Anticipate the sight of a lovely new bronze at the British – a bronze that will make you desire to live near it for ever. Mr. Murray got it from a sponge merchant [.] It comes from an island near Rhodes. The subject is the marriage of Dionysos [sic] & Ariadne. Perhaps Mr. Pater could say what ought to be said about the grace & subdued majesty of the god. It is comforting to think how long ago true religion was known, how passionately happy that old writing must have been in the “happy-making” sight of his deity!

[...]
Edith is working terribly at Appreciations. She hopes to return your Pater articles in a few days. With kindest regards
K. H. B.

c. 7 DECEMBER 1889
EDITH COOPER TO JOHN M. GRAY
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 45853, fols. 271–3. No envelope.]

Blackberry Lodge
Reigate –
Dec. 1889.

Dear Mr. Gray,

I have kept your valuable Articles a shamefully long time – but please, mark they are registered now – a little tribute on my part to their rarity, & I hope a safe-guard against their vanishing. I return the Scharf letters, wh: have been duly abstracted; & of the seven Pater articles behold four: - Gaston de la Tour [sic], The Marbles of Ægina, & The Beginnings of Greek Sculpture I am keeping a short while longer. The new vol. of Appreciations is beautiful as an Egyptian papyrus with minute & mystic writing – my annotations from the original documents, side by side with the revisions. I will not challenge you to treat your copy like mine, for my effort has been superhuman, & therefore according to Macbeth’s reasoning, not to be dared or done by the wise. But in all gravity I enjoyed the labour entailed by the Coleridge. One has such malicious
pleasure in seeing Mr. Pater become “good” before one’s very eyes – all his scepticism, all his epicureanism, all his humanism are modes of yesterday, i.e. of the Youthful Article in The Westminster. I am really amazed to find ‘the Pagan’ an exile under ban in the new version. For the rest, to be with Walter Pater’s book, as it were in converse, is a [“]liberal education”. Most of the changes in the text assure greater clearness of thought & exactitude of expression, & ever firmer use of grammatical forms.

I am anxious to finish my work on the volume, & should get on but slowly & painfully at the British Museum.

Could you be good enough to send me your other Articles, included in Appreciations – viz. Wordsworth, Charles Lamb, Sir Thomas “Love’s Labour Lost”, “Measure for Measure” 80 – & to tell me in what vol. of the Oxford & Cambridge Magazine I shall find Aesthetic Poetry; 81 and also where to find the Essay on Rossetti, wh: is not to be discovered in my Ward’s English Poets, where I looked for it. 82 I enclose 1/- for postage of the Articles, if you can allow yourself to part with them for a short space.

We are hoping to visit Mr. Pater on Monday, unless his door is snowed up.

The letters from La Mortola are energetic & sunny. 83 It is wonderful what the South is doing for Amy. With us, time is somewhat solid – a thing to be hewn through, no longer a fluid, hastening presence. This does not much matter as long as Mary the Queen rises into shape & life, but when there comes a pause in Michael’s occupation he grows dull for a little play & finds the country abominable. 84

Thanking you for the kind trouble you have taken about Whitting[e]-hame Castle, & for the loan of the delightful & interesting articles & letters.

I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

Edith Cooper.

9 DECEMBER 1889

JOHN M. GRAY TO EDITH COOPER

[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 45853, fols. 69–70. No envelope. Embossed address: 28 Gayfield Square/ Edinburgh]
Dear Miss Cooper,

Thanks very much for the Scharf letters & the four Pater articles, which you were so kind as to send me. I have now the pleasure of sending you enclosed “Measure for Measure”, “Loves [sic] Labour Lost,” & my laborious MS copy of “Rossetti” (it came out only in the second edn. of Ward’s Poets after Rossetti’s death); also volume with “Wordsworth”, & volume with Charles Lamb &c. You will notice that the paper on “Romanticism”, in the latter volume, has been used for the “Postscript” of Mr Pater’s new volume.85 The “Æsthetic Poetry” then is the first part of a Review of Morris’s works in Westminster Review, the latter part having finished the final chapter of the “Renaissance” book.

You must have had a great time over the markings of the new volume. I have annotated exhaustively in my copy the “Æsthetic Poetry” & the “Postscript”, & mean to go on with the others.

Yes, it is curious to – as you so quaintly put it – watch Mr Pater becoming “good” before one’s very eyes. There are very curious hints of it in “Æsthetic Poetry”, – even to the adding substituting of a capital “S” in the word “sacrament”.

I hope the weather today did not prevent you going to Mr Pater’s, & that you had a good afternoon. Tell me about it sometime.

[...]

9 December 1889
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46777, fol. 119r (E. C.).]

Afternoon. We went to call on Walter Pater.86 He was out. We were staidly received by Hester – she made tea for us with deliberation – “long is art”.87 She was anxious not to pour into the cup a single drop too much of cream lest the tea should become “white all over”. Every now & then an archaic smile tempered her features. The company was uninteresting, worldly, & the noiseless Hester seemed ashamed of it.
11 DECEMBER 1889
KATHARINE H. BRADLEY TO JOHN M. GRAY
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 45853, fols. 258–9 (K. B)]

Thursday night. Dec 11. 1889
My dear Executor,88
[...]
Mr. Pater was not at home on Monday; but that does not matter – nor anything else, save what is happening at Venice.89
[...]

14 DECEMBER 1889
KATHARINE H. BRADLEY TO JOHN M. GRAY
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 45853, fols. 262–3. No envelope.]

Saturday Morn.
Dec 14. 1889
Dear Mr Gray
[...]
There is a good chapter in the Athenaeum, they say, on Pater’s prose;90 but the thought of Pater & his phrase is abhorrent to me. No: he can never be “tremendous” the shadow of the great rock lies no more on the land.91
Sincerely yours.
K. H. B.

23 DECEMBER 1889
KATHARINE H. BRADLEY TO JOHN M. GRAY
[CARD. Source: BL Add MS 45853, fols. 264–5 (K. B.)]

23 Dec 1889
Monday night.
[...]
Oh - & please Edith is reproached she did not acknowledge those extracts. She is working at Pater to the point of peril.
[...]
K. H. Bradley
23 FEBRUARY 1890
MICHEL FIELD TO JOHN MILLER GRAY
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 45854, fol.14 (K. B.). No envelope]

Sun, Feb 23rd – 1890
Dear Mr. Gray,

Mr. Bell suggests Queen Mary should be squeezed[.]. What poets have to bear!
The title is still wanted. Swinburne’s Mary – The Queen, is we fear, copyright.
So wd. be Pater’s “The Tragic Mary’. [I rather like this last title]

5 MARCH 1890
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46778, fol. 21r (E. C.)]

Among his [Herbert Horne] treasures he has the unique drawing of Walter
Pater, taken by Solomon about the time of the publication of the Renaissance.
Sim exclaimed “What a pity he ever grew a moment older” wh: made the [sic]
Horne and Image laugh. But the face is almost beautiful with the large, clear
eyes, that have the reticence of all true limpidity – the fine moulding about the
mouth and cheeks now lost, and the sober, pendent brow.

24 MARCH 1890
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46778, fols. 23v–24 (E. C.)]

We went on to a dull lunch at Miss Swanwick’s – afterward to the Paters:
Walter was not at home, wh: was unfortunate, as we wished to ask his permission
to use his phrase the Tragic Mary as our title. The sisters could not help us to
track this phrase to its article or essay in their brother’s works. They were both
soberly kind in their friendship. I was never with such slow minds, that creep
over a subject as snails over leaves, and yet with a certain comeliness in the unhurried direction they take. Sim says well that Hester & Clara are like Walter in a third or fourth state – borrowing her simile from Rembrandt & his fellow-etchers.

5 APRIL 1890
KATHARINE H. BRADLEY TO JOHN MILLER GRAY
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 45584, fols.19–23 (K. B). No envelope.]

Good Friday
1890
Dear Mr. Gray,
[…]
Now about The Tragic Mary.
We went to Pater believing this was his excellent phrase; & asking leave to take it for our title. He was not at home; the sisters did not know of its existence.* Pater has not written; & we begin to think it is a coinage of your own brain. Will you be good enough at once to search? It was you who first drew our attention to some good phrase of Pater’s concerning Queen Mary:*7 we find you at the heart of this fault. Extricate us: we must justify the title – permanently.
* Are not the sisters just like 2nd. or 3rd. states of Mr. Pater himself?
[…]
K. H. Bradley.

12 APRIL 1890
WALTER PATER TO MICHAEL FIELD
[LETTER. Source: Walter Pater Collection, HRHRC MS 318598
Envelope: Michael Field Esq. / Blackberry Lodge/ Reigate. Postmark: Kensington BX AP 12 90 W

12 Earl’s Terrace

Dear Mr. Michael Field,

I don’t think I can claim any property in so slight a phrase; but if so, shall be proud that you should adopt it for the title of your new work; also the
quotation for the note. I shall look forward to the appearance of your play with much interest, and am

Very sincerely yours

Walter Pater.

22 JULY 1890
MICHAEL FIELD

[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46778, fols. 94–7 (K. B.)]

English Souvenirs
Yesterday, Monday July 21, we were suddenly summoned to Mrs. Chandler Moulton’s last “at home” in Weymouth Street. […]

I [K. B.], from far, recognised Oscar Wilde, &c, desiring to make his better acquaintance, found him by my side talking easily. […]

There is an Oscar Wilde smiling ironically at his namesake the aesthete, smiling with almost Socratic doubt. “There is only ^one^ man in this century who can write prose.” “You mean Mr Pater.” Yes – take Marius the Epicurean any page. We spoke of the difficulties of writing prose, no good tradition – he had almost quarrelled with Watts because he wanted to write the language of the gods – & Watts sought to win him to prose….

[…]

We agreed – the whole problem of life turns on pleasure. Pater shows that the hedonist – the perfect hedonist is the saint. *“One is not always happy when one is good; but one is always good when one is happy[^*]*[^*]“[^*]101 […]

He has a theory[,] it is often genius that spoils a work of art – a work of art that should be so intensely self-conscious. He classed the Brontes [sic], Jane Austen[,] George Sand, under the head genius. This was when I said to him there was one sentence of Mr. Pater’s wh: I would not say I could never forgive, because I recognised its justice; but from wh. I suffered – or wh. was hard to bear – that in wh. he speaks of the scholarly conscience as male – adding I did not remember where the passage occurred. “Yes” he said “it is in Appreciations, on the essay on Style, page 7 – left-hand side – at the bottom – & in all this memory the one tiny error was that the page is page 8.
23 JULY 1890
MIchael Field to John Miller Gray
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 45854, fols. 40–4 (K. B.)]

Tuesday ^Wednesday^ Morning

Dear Mr. Gray

[...]

My part of folly was in having seven copies bound by Zaehnsdorf for gift copies. They have not reached me; but I expect them to-day or to-morrow – the delay means that as yet neither Meredith, Pater, or any of the writers who care for our work have had their copies.

[...]

Sincerely yrs

Michael.

9 AUGUST 1890
Walter Pater to Michael Field
[LETTER. Source: Walter Pater Collection, HRHRC MS 3185]

Envelope: Michael Field Esq./ Blackberry Lodge/ Reigate. Postmark: Kensington X AU 9 90 W

12 Earl’s Terrace,

Aug: 9th.

My dear Ladies,

How kind of you! The beautiful book has reached me safely. I have been very busy, and also away from home; otherwise, should have thanked you more promptly. Beautiful it looks, and worthy to contain what I have seen enough of the interior to be assured is a sterling piece of literary work. I feel, however, that I don’t deserve this handsome present; being, I suppose, too little a lover of great art, to read dramatic poetry very readily. I look, nevertheless, for great pleasure in reading your work in this form you have made your own after so distinguished a fashion. I am just leaving England for some weeks in hope to see some places, old favourites of mine, in Italy, and, with sincere thanks, am
Very truly yours
Walter Pater.

23 AUGUST 1890
KATHARINE H. BRADLEY TO JOHN MILLER GRAY
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 45854, fols. 52–6]

Saturday even
Dear Mr. Gray,

[.]
I will never forgive Mr Pater for a word of clumsy praise of the T. M. in wh. the word “sterling” occurs. I am not pleased with anybody (Edinboro excepted) save with Oscar Wilde who finds the dear Queen alive to her finger-tips.

[.]
There was a poet of your own name of whom Matthew Arnold averred that “he never spoke out”. Do not be like him, but say how it seems to you Michael shd. continue. And remember it interests us to hear any frank criticism of the T.M. Nothing offends us except Mr. Pater’s ‘sterling’.

[.]

Sincerely yours,
K. H. B.

25 AUGUST 1890
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46778, fol. 108v (E. C.)]

[Herbert] Horne came in, & told us that Pater is going to foreswear holiday & finish Gaston de la Tour [sic] – a longer book than Marius. He has struck out the Essay of on^ Aesthetic Poetry in Appreciations (^for no.^ 2 – Ed) because it gave offence to some pious person – he is getting hopelessly prudish in literature, & defers to the moral weaknesses of everybody – Deplorable!
6 OCTOBER 1890
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46778, fol. 115v (E. C.)]

Oct. 6. Tues. ^Mon.^ Sim sought The Paters – in vain; Walter at Oxford, Clara in bed – Hester out, but met. They have had but a drear holiday, through their brother’s will to finish Gaston & give up Italy. Hester was warm in pressing a happier visit & in appreciation of the T. M.

17 NOVEMBER 1890
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46778, fol. 116v–18v (E. C.)]

Sim & I started off in mist to see the New Picture in the National Gallery – […]

I read Pater’s remarks on Romanino & Moretto before the pictures. Moretto’s Altar-piece with the 3 mitres. Wonderful types: S. Bernardino, the austere, limited ascetic monk: the large-hearted S. Francis liberated by the love & poetry of his nature from asceticism – above him S. Nicholas, the bishop – authority on his handsome face, the stamp of responsible office & station: S. Jerome, the self-absorbed & savage hermit: S. Joseph, the layman, with his natural development & generous lines – his green & red clothes, his loving adoration of his spouse in the far heavens.

Romanino. San Gaudioso – Round face with firmly-closed mouth, the more beautiful for its firmness – a very rare quality. A severe dimple in the chin; oval cheeks, softly-modelled nose; eyes pure, beautiful in unrelenting youth, straight & shapely brows. Behind him the most wonderful sky in the Gallery – that distance of clear blue in an Italian sky, & white clouds detached almost from the blue in their inviolate clearness.
San Filippo Benizio – The white clouds are lower & the meek head rises into untraversed depths of blue; the reverent fingers touch the old book sacredly –
that touch is worthier of note than the pages or vellum cover.

San Alessandrio. The stuff of a martyr in that earnest young head – as yet a
soldier’s merely – with round, inexperienced features, fearless eyes, & short hair.
The great crimson banner is encumbering to his energy. He is a veritable ‘Black
Prince’ of the Cross in his jet-black pieces of armour.

NOVEMBER 1890
MICHAEL FIELD TO JOHN MILLER GRAY

[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 45854, fols. 57–62 (K. B.)]

Monday eve.
Dear Mr. Gray,
[…] Do you not want to come?114 – & Pater is to lecture at the London Institute,
5. p.m. Monday – & David Cox – is he not being excellently exhibited in
Birmingham ^wh. is half way to me^115 We are all going to Pater. We have
never seen him since that first call. His sisters are delicious-cloistered maenads.
[…]

Sincerely yours,
Michael

24 NOVEMBER 1890
MICHAEL FIELD

[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46778, fols. 119v–
20 (E. C.)]

Monday – 24th [November].
In heavy mist Sim & I stepped into a cab & reached the station, two bundles of
shawls – but a great pleasure drew us on through the weather to town – Pater’s
lecture at the London Institution on Prosper Mérimée.116 Till the appointed
hour we took refuge in the National Gallery, simply guessing at the outlines of
the new pictures, & divining the old ones by memory.

Yet so perversely human were we that we started to Finsbury Circus a
little after four, though we had come to town early only to be in time & knew
that the doors opened at 4.30. To gain time we drove for some distance by the
Embankment – the merest block of building, the commonest trailing barge were a soft wonders in the mist. After all we had good seats – at first beside Mrs. Barrington. Selwyn Image came up & told us there was a great opportunity we must not miss – Orfeo at the Italian Opera – he had spent all his money on it – Horne sat by Lionel Johnson – a learned snow-drop, (his friends say he is so old he has become a child again)[.] He is quite young, quite pale, drooping under book-lore, with curved lips, nearly as fine as Keats’ Hyperion’s. Oscar Wilde to our left gave to the tiers of faces his lambent eyes. A. S[ymons]. was the last to enter. He was charming to watch, with the crossness of isolation on his brows & mouth. His colour dazzles, even from a far distance ……”but I love his beauty passing well”!!

Pater entered without looking anywhere, & immediately read his “slips” with no preface & into the midst of movements & coughs that had not settled. He never gave his pleasant blue eyes to his audience – there was a weight of shyness athwart them – Above his eye-brows the light so fell as to throw up two ridges above them, with strange effect. What determination – almost brutality (in French sense) there is about the lower part of his face; yet it is under complete, urbane control. His voice is low, & has a singular sensitive resonance in it – an audible capacity for suffering. I always feel that, like every Epicurean, his courteous exterior hides a strong nature, not innocent of barbarism. There is something of Prosper in him – & a strain of “Denys l’Auxerrois” wh: he has expressed in the Creation of that northern Zagreus. Would ‘nt one give much to surprise the Bacchant in Walter Pater! The even flow of his reading went on – save for a break when the same voice asked if all could hear. Oscar was ‘visibly delighted’ when Mérimée regretted the decay of assassination. The lecture ended, as it began, abruptly through disregard for any popular customariness.

NOVEMBER 1890
MICHAEL FIELD TO JOHN MILLER GRAY
[LETTER. Source: BL MS Add 45854, fols. 63–4, K. B.]

Wednesday.
Dear Mr. Gray,
I am so sorry for everyone not there – I must write a line to say how
excellent it was to be there.

– Such a glorious literary following! such young, ardent faces – souls there who would, one felt sure, lay down their lives for art; – & the central figure, now mysterious, &, in spite of a sombre, almost repulsive exterior, how attractive! I say repulsive, because the beautiful, kindly blue eyes were not once given to the audience.

Of Prosper Merimée’s work the record was so full of allure the first thought in Michael’s double breast was to order straight Columba; & the 2nd thought was not to look at Merimée’s work until this 10th century drama is out of his 4 hands, - lest men should say we had stolen. Columba (o) is apparently a work of the same fibre as our little drama: & it is safest & best to hold on to the Heaven - & not trust to any middleman for inspiration.

We saw at the lecture your friend Mr. Image in a glow of happiness at having been & going again to Orfeo: & Horne of the Hobby horse, was there, with by his side Lionel Johnson—interesting to us as a reviewer – whom I call a learned snowdrop – he looks so much like an inscribed pale flower.

[...]
M. F.

DECEMBER 1890
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46778, fol. 133 (E. C.)]

Much of Pater, of Villier de L’Isle-Adam’s “Contes Cruels” – of Browning & Shakspere re-read.

1891

23 APRIL 1891
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46779, fols. 35–6 (E. C.)]
At half-past-three Fitz-roy Street. [...]
There is defect in every inch of Horne’s face, and yet what pleasant defect, – it is used by sensitiveness so well that it becomes interesting & has a kindly appeal. Tennyson writes much in bed, and as he composes his nailed fingers destroy the sheets – a whole sheet-end has been known to be demolished thread by thread. Pater advises Horne to write for two hours in bed before rising. […]

[Bradley and Cooper meet at Herbert Horne’s Lionel Johnson. He tells them the following story:]

The night before Pater gave his Essay on Mérimée, he read “Wordsworth” at Toynbee Hall. On his way by Underground he met Lionel, but could not walk him to the hall, on account of his need of recueillement. He went to a dark city church & remained half-an-hour steadying nerve and mind!

20 MAY 1891
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46779, fols.42–43 (E. C.)]

Wednesday. May 20.
[…]
He [Bernard Berenson] tells me of the beech-woods of Russia – where he was born – I tell him of Mr. Pater’s love of beeches & of how I have discovered that the beech is the tree most sensitive to the ideal influence of the seasons: for it holds the sunlight of May as no other foliage does till it is “more gold than gold”, & again in autumn the smouldering passion of the year burns itself out through its red branches into extinction.

14 DECEMBER 1891
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46779, fol. 146 (E. C.)]

We end our day at the Paters – they have changed their re-ceiving day &
The Pater Newsletter 65

& have & not let us know in offence at our non-appearance during the summer & autumn. They were chill for this reason – a blessed, encouraging chilliness; then delightful: all our talk was of pictures. Walter is hard at work on Gaston – he will be seen on Saturdays, if we will come then. Tottie is very wicked when she returns from Italy – she welcomed my word “scantness” used of an Italian landscape.

1892

c. 28 JANUARY 1892
KATHARINE H. BRADLEY TO JOHN M. GRAY
[CARD. Source: BL Add MS 45854, fols.112–13]

Monday. Jan. 1892
[...]
Oh the great shut past!¹²⁸ One goes to see Pater, & he rubs his dusty eyes & thinks one lives at Reading.¹²⁹ Melodrama he thinks the best thing for the stage – Shakespeare impossible – He even ventured to talk the cheap nonsense against Henry VIII. Then Michael [K. B.] spoke forth clearly for the great scenes.

One incomparable story. Mabel Robinson – after the dusky stout one – had referred to Greek plays as “boring” (note the exquisite breeding of all this anti-dramatic talk before Michael!) – replied “Well Mr. Pater I am coming to see one – I am coming to see the Frogs.”¹³⁰ Then I hope you will come to see me, & look upon me as one of the frogs he rejoined.

But I have a better story of Edith. She turned round suddenly this morning, & said – “I would rather be a devil than Mrs. Humphry Ward”. “Because”, she added, “a devil sees more into the truth of things.” If you still think you deserve to be biographer, you may tell that story.
[...]
Sincerely yours
K. H. Bradley.
5 FEBRUARY 1892
MICHAEL FIELD

[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46780, fols. 40r–40v (E. C.)]

[W]e meet Arthur S. Where are his roses? The creams of his complexion persist – but the roses! And his curls are short, his outlines thinner, & a freshness is lost to audacious candour: […]

We told him the perfect “mot” of Pater, concerning ho heard by Sim last Saturday when she visited him. He had been inveighing against Greek dramas as boring. “Nevertheless I am going^coming up^ to see one – The Frogs” says Mabel Robinson. “O then you must come & see me & look on me as one of the Frogs” – is the reply. Perfect! One expects him to come into the room with solemn leaps; his countenance & weight of form are so resembling, & yet he is so classic a frog – one of Aristophanes’.

27 FEBRUARY 1892
MICHAEL FIELD

[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46780, fol. 49v (E. C.)]

Sat. Feb. 27th:
We start to town with our M.F. valise full of evening clothes, wh: we deposit at the University Club – We prowl for golf gloves, & return to a quiet lunch & a card from our Little One, confessing how ill she has been. At Elkin’s we buy the Reprint of Modern Love & drive off to Pater’s; as usual it is the house of Pater with the part of Pater left out – he was ^is^ not there. Tottie^131 with a calm, that is just too mannerly to be grim, received several women & a vast male creature (…) Macoll or Mackail – I did not hear wh: – who was ^is^ dark, flippant, empty, with uncomfortably impressive limbs. Tottie makes most excellent coffee, with the slowness that successful process always demands – also apart in a little with drawing-room, like a priestess at her spells.

Back to the dear, little Club for dinner – dressing, cloaking & ^then^ Fitzroy Street.132
The men achieved a ladies’ cloak-room, but no adequate reception – the guests wandered (...)
we join Tottie & at last find the room where the harpsichord stands – the Studio.

A man with large hair & panther eyes moves about – we agree with Tottie it must be Dolmetsch. The discord, the untidy business of tuning-up, is distressing; distresses the ear peculiarly & seems to take longer than is usual.

At last the six viols & harpsichord make their ancient, novel music, so to say. How strange the tone of these old instruments – what far-off, tinkling youthfulness!

30 MARCH 1892
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46780, fols. 62r–62v (E. C.)]

The Reply to Meredith
Dear Mr. Meredith,
Yes: in April it will be far happier; should we at present visit you we should be those ordinary women afflicted by a cold in the head of your bitter simile. We are stricken and prostrate. But, unless you would mar our perfect anticipation of that April day you must not think of unhappy impressions; You will make us correspondingly sensitive.

It is surely not the poet who judges by moments – it is Mr. Pater.
It remains to invoke your own South-West Wind. Very sincerely yours,
M.F.

2 APRIL 1892
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46780, fol. 68v (E. C.)]

Pater has Catholic blood in his veins & is reverting to type.
May 1892

MICHAEL FIELD TO JOHN MILLER GRAY
[CARD. Source: BL Add MS 45854, fol. 124 (K. B.)]

May 1892

[...]
Saturday is Pater’s at home day & now he is often there. Take up your scallop-shell & go. Tell him – not Tottie – Michael is hoping to come & see him. Don’t miss seeing him.

[...]
Sincerely yrs Michael

19 MAY 1892

MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL MS Add 46780, fol. 90 (K. B.)]

This evening inscribed in green ink, addressed in green ink, tied with green string 6 copies of the book have been sent forth –

  to B. B.\(^\text{134}\)
  George Meredith
  Walter Pater
  J. M. Gray
  Miss Browning\(^\text{135}\)
  Alice Trusted\(^\text{136}\)

P. has written a beautiful letter to Walter Pater\(^\text{137}\). I have jerked a few remarks to George Meredith; We both feel acute – more as if we had dropt our book into a bottomless gulf than sent it forth to be kicked, welcomed, quarrelled about, reviewed, & menaced.

I have said to Meredith “It is as when one plucks some door side cluster for a friend, waiting for the solemn, garden roses to unfold that Michael offers – Sight & Song.”
MAY 1892
WALTER PATER TO MICHAEL FIELD
[LETTER. Source: Walter Pater Collection, HRHRC MS 3185]138

Brasenose College,
Oxford.

Dear Miss Cooper & Miss Bradley,

Your letter of May 18th has been transported to me here; “Italian Pictures” remaining, I doubt not, safe at Earl’s Terrace, where I shall look forward to find it on my return, a short time hence, to London. Sincere thanks for the gift of it, and for the kind expressions in your letter; which, however, I feel I don’t deserve. I read almost no contemporary poetry: have, alas! almost no
time to do so: know, however, from past experience, how well worth time and reading is whatever comes from your hands.

Very truly and gratefully yours

Walter Pater.

2 JUNE 1892

MICHAEL FIELD

[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46780, fol. 101 (E. C.)]

Thursday – June 2. Read Pater’s Lacedemon at the Club.
26 JANUARY 1893
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46781, fols. 6v–7 (E. C.)]

My Love & I meet over Tomatoes & our Club chops, & then drive to the Athenaeum, 73, Tottenham Court Rd. It is crowding – we get places that front the press of people that who enter. Among them Arthur, much the same in looks. He shakes hands & passes on. So does Selwyn Image. George Moore avoids us. He shines like the inside of an oyster-shell on the pretty woman who is with him. We are desperately alone in this world that shuns us. What can it be! Stephania cannot be responsible for it all. We are boycotted in the papers, by the men (Pater, Meredith, Hutton) to whom we have sent our book, & by even literary society. It is mysterious.

24 FEBRUARY 1893
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46781, fols. 22–3 (E. C.)]

The Masterbuilder
Ibsen takes his types from the few, not as most dramatists do from the many. Curiously enough, the very force & image of the Present of the truly contemporaneous are found in the few. Of the millions of people who live to day most belong in their aims, hopes, sanctions and morals – in everything but their mere animal life – to yesterday. The remainder, the moderns, live by ideas, sensations & action resonant with novelty. The millions can no more understand them than understand the course of comets, they see with their own eyes & are yet powerless to explain.

Such men & women, such flashing, ominous existences, Ibsen presents in his dramas. Hilda is one of them, Hedda is another, Vera is another. His men are not so often moderns as the women – indeed Stockmann & Gregers, Dr Wangel anger struggle, & –
through conversion are almost the only examples of men acting on new lines. A woman's mobility is in her favour, when once she is awaked to life, also her eagerness for experience, that raw material of had, which has been selected for her & limited grudgingly through ^the^ centuries. A true modern not only feels the zeitgeist but acts on its contagious motives, without wasting a moment in delay.

Here I must use some eloquent words from Pater's Plato & Platonism:

“Mobility: We do not think that a necessarily undesirable condition of life, of mind, of the physical world about us. "T'is the dead things, we may remind ourselves, that after all are most entirely at rest, and might reasonably hold that motion covers all that is best worth being. And as for philosophy, – mobility, versatility, the habit of thought that can most adequately follow the subtle movement of things, that, surely, were the secret of wisdom of the true knowledge of them. It means susceptibility, sympathetic intelligence, capacity, in short. It was the spirit of God that moved, moves still, in every form of real power, everywhere.”

Hilda is so completely modern that she is the type of the Younger Generation on its feminine, that is its prompt, impressionable, ideal & exciting side: Ragnor, the man, is only the type of the Younger Generation on its material, grasping, scientific, retributive side. It is often tauntingly said that though women believe there with them lies the moulding of the new world, their ideas on the subject are “dreadfully vague”. True, they have no reasoned, fixed plan of dealing with the life of their day – but they know that they have far greater mobility than men – & “that means susceptibility, sympathetic intelligence, capacity in short.” They thrill to the movement of their time, they act on its promptings, & therefore they believe they will be keep abreast of change while men, clogged by their more stable natures, lag drop behind.

1 MARCH 1893
WALTER PATER TO MICHAEL FIELD
[LETTER. Source: Walter Pater Collection, HRHRC MS 3185]

12 Earl's Terrace, March 1st.

Dear Miss Bradley and Miss Cooper,
I have been unwell, and able to read and write very little. I hope this may excuse my long delay in thanking you for your beautiful book.148 With sincere thanks for that, and its predecessor, I have asked Macmillan to send you a book of mine on Plato, some of which I hope you may like, if you have time to look at it. Don't be troubled to answer this, and believe me,

Very truly yours
Walter Pater.

MARCH 1893
MICHAEL FIELD TO WALTER PATER
[DRAFT LETTER. Source: Bod MS ENG. lett. d. 120, fols. 9–10 (E. C.)]149

[FIRST DRAFT]
Dear Mr. Pater
We hope to be able to
Thank you from both of us for Plato. In all sincereness, we enjoy my the lectures. It is long since. We are more vitally en rapport in this on with their critical method than when we first read your Renaissance or Appreciations.

The historical method that inspires your work, is as for mine vital living We are in a feeling a special harmony with the critical method on wh. it is based.
& harmonise
The Heraclitean chapter has had special:

[SECOND DRAFT, also by E. C.]
Dear Mr. Pater,
Accept our best thanks for your
Thank you from both of us for your gift Plato. In all sincerity we enjoy the lectures & care to follow you as you become the contemporary of Plato & draw us with you. Yes thus Your contemporaneous historical method of criticism is in deep harmony accord with our newly awakened interest in the Present - as the point whence life flashes into meaning & the attempt to seize the vitality of its own present-
in any moment of the past is of kindling interest of & next to is the pleasure & to write into the Present the pleasure of thinking & acting as a modern of dead generation of those who once have lived as in antiquity. & the pleasure of entering into the present of those who lived long ago as only less in degree than that of thinking & acting as a true true modern in one’s own life-age.

We are hoping shall soon to start for start for Italy, it would but as before setting out we should like to speak with you of Heraclitus and Spe- face [?] damon before we go. & therefore we hope to call at Earl’s Terrace on Saturday next. on the chance of.

6 MARCH 1893
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46781, fols. 24r–24v. (E. C.)]

We start for Littlehampton, trusting in Walter Pater’s praise of what it was. We need ozone to bring back to us our souls. We are dead of physical strain.

1894

30 JULY 1894
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46782, fol. 99v (K. B.)]

On Monday, July 30th. Walter Pater dies.
- It is a bright day. Miss Molly & I walk together through the fields in sunshine.

I have just sent this sonnet to

The Academy

Walter Pater
(July 30th. 1894)
The freshness of the light, its secrecy [sic],
Spices, or honey of sweet-smelling flower,
The harmony of time, love’s trembling hour
Struck on thee with a new felicity:
Standing, a child, by a red hawthorn-tree,
Smitten with pressure of the crimson shower,
The perishing, small petals’ flame had power
To cleave a magic road in memory:
And, doubtless, when the tragic clouds of night
Were slowly wrapping round thee, in the cold
Of all all men must die, a sense renewed
Of the things, sweet to touch, & scent, & sight,
That thou didst touch, & breathe & see of old,
Stole on thee with the warmth of gratitude.  

11 AUGUST 1894
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46782, fol. 102 (K. B.)]

Walter Pater
The freshness of the light, its secrecy,
Voices heard singing in the morning hour,
Scent of green Winds from sweet gardens after rain could dower
Thy spirit with devout felicity.
Standing, a child, by a red hawthorn-tree
The perishing, small petals’ flame had power
To brighten with a glow of ruddy flower
A magic roadside in thy memory.

And haply when the shapeless clouds of night
Were slowly wrapping round thee, in the cold
Of which all men must die, a sense renewed
Of things so sweet to breath & touch & sight,
That thou didst breathe & touch & see of old,
Stole on thee with the warmth of gratitude
Joyously finished by Field & Logan Pearsal [sic] Smith\textsuperscript{152} in sight of the sun-dial
Saturday, August 11\textsuperscript{th}. 1894

c. 15 AUGUST 1894
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from \textit{Works and Days}. Source: BL Add MS 46782, fol. 104 (E. C.)]\textsuperscript{153}

[I]n the smoke room, Logan & I had some good conversation on Pater, on the joy of words, & on the Pater sonnet.

14 OCTOBER 1894
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from \textit{Works and Days}. Source: BL Add MS 46782, fol. 129\textsuperscript{v}. (K. B.)]

For that moment only

This is the new title discovered by me for the short, prose impressions. Henry – about to write to Watt – calls in Amy to help find a title to tie up the bundle of prose-pieces. We repeat – with groans of envy – \textit{La Lanterne Sourde[.]}\textsuperscript{154}
But we cannot call our pieces – “The Bull’s Eye[”]. We think of gleams, flashes, & fire flames. Lanterns, & lights, & rays, & the gamut of time.
Finally I take up Pater & read–

“Every moment some form grows perfect in hand or face, some tone on the hills or the sea is choicer than the rest; some mood of passion or insight or intellectual excitement is irresistibly real & attractive for us, – for that moment only”

\textit{The Renaissance. Conclusion.}
249.
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At my breast there is a deep red rose-bud,
Literally officious in its fragrance. 155

29 OCTOBER 1894
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46782, fol. 131’ (E. C.)]

October 29.
The Bequest-books are come from Edinburgh156 – Amy’s Pacchiarotto,157 Sim’s “Essays & Fiction” of Pater, collected so lovingly by the Little Hero158 – & my Effiges [sic] lovingly bound – M. S. & printed form.159

31 OCTOBER 1894
W. R. MACDONALD160 TO KATHARINE H. BRADLEY
[LETTER. Source: BL Add MS 45584, fol. 228]

31 Oct 1894
Dear Miss Bradley

I am delighted to find the Pater volumes please you so much – certainly they contain more of Gray himself than the others. 161

[...]  

9 NOVEMBER [1894]
HESTER M. PATER TO MICHAEL FIELD
[LETTER. Source: Walter Pater Collection, HRHRC MS 3185]

6 Canning Place
Kensington Gate
Nov 9th 162

My dear Michael Field

I write to thank you for your kind letter of sympathy which has been so long unanswered.

We have really had so much to do in all ways, so much business writing,
and all the trouble of finding, and settling, in a new home that that must be my excuse. The loss of our dear brother has made a hole in our life that one feels can never be bridged over. So much that gave pleasure seems now unmeaning and all the satisfaction and happiness gone out of it.

We hope to see our friends in a little time as we are now pretty well settled.

My sister desires her kindest remembrances

Believe me

Affectionately yours

Hester M. Pater.

20 DECEMBER 1894

MICHAEL FIELD

[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46782, fol. 141r (K. B.)]

List of the ^dead^ people who more or less hailed Michael – Browning, Pater, Symonds, Arnold †(scarcely)†, Gray, Phip. Marston, Augusta Webster.163

1897

19 JUNE [1897]

HESTER M. PATER TO MICHAEL FIELD

[LETTER. Source: Walter Pater Collection, HRHRC MS 3185]

6 Canning Place

June 19th164

Dear Michael Field,

In answer to your kind letter, there were very few copies of the “Essays upon the Guardian” printed as we did not wish them to be publicly known.165 They were written without signature and not revised and our publisher for many reasons thought it was not desirable.

If I ever hear of one to be had I will let you know.

I hope you will come and see us in the Autumn when we shall be at home.

With kindest remembrances to Miss Cooper,
Believe me,
Yours very sincerely
Hester M. Pater.

1898

3 APRIL 1898
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46787, fol. 17’. (E. C.)]

When Aubrey Beardsley died we read Pater’s Epilogue and thought he was ten years old when Callirrhoe came out.

3 DECEMBER 1898
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46787, fol. 127 (E. C.)]

December 3rd.
[…]
Holmes is a good, good-tempered creature with a native gift of fun, & a mind & wit that are portions of stars that have broken off from Ricketts’ sun. He gives us the sense of that banter in the midst of wh: Pater lived at Oxford; & tells how at a service in the Chapel of Brasenose Pater thought he wd. slip out after the Bishop of Oxford (I have forgotten what Bishop) who was going to the vestry to prepare for celebration. Suddenly the Bishop turned & bowed to the altar – the bow was returned by Pater.
1899

16 APRIL 1899
MICHAEL FIELD

[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46788, fol. 56v (E. C.)]

April 16th. Father’s Birthday. 169

His last birthday we keep in his old house. He wd. have been 81. There are roses round his face; & the old new flower among the many little blossoms round his photos upstairs in the bedrooms is the grape-hyacinth. Michael & I read together, weep together, cling very close. She reads to me the exquisite chapter in Pater Sunt Lachrymae with that sentence in it that is very truth of very truth as the years steal on us: “In the mere clinging of human creatures to each other - - - even amidst what might seem absolute loss, I seem to touch the eternal.” 170

10 JUNE 1899
MICHAEL FIELD

[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46788, fol 73v (E. C.)]

We told him [Charles Ricketts] 171 we had an ebony casket for midnight food – a cheese – or, he suggests, “the cold cherry-tart, Pater’s one concession to comfort in his bedroom”.

15 JUNE 1899
MICHAEL FIELD

[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46788, fols. 74v–75r (E. C.)]

But our young men are not true – though Shannon remembers David in the Father’s Tragedy. 172 Ricketts thinks even he represents what is esteemed young manhood, not the truth. Woman & her psychology have occupied this century – perhaps the next century will receive the confession of adolescence & enter
into its secrets – that are secrets even between men. They are as perfectly frank
to each other about their relations with women there is, of course, nothing that
they hide; but they will never speak of their youth. Pater lied about youth – it is a
whole new world for Art.¹⁷³

1901

27 FEBRUARY 1901
MICHAEL FIELD
[DIARY. Extract from ‘Works and Days’. Source: BL Add MS 46790, fols.
32v–32r (K. B.)]

Wednesday. February 27th. (The morning after Dolmetsch concert.)
[...]
The room was full of faded Victorians, but not my Victorians – mine were of the
season before last. Not an Image, not a Horne, not a “little Arthur”. One felt that
Pater was buried very deep.

Birkbeck College, University of London

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Ward, Mrs Humphry, 174

Ward, Mrs Humphry, 174

Ward, Mrs Humphry, 174


___, ‘Lyrics and Ballads by Mrs. Margaret L. Woods’, *Athenaeum*, 3223 (3 August 1889), 157–8


Ward, Mrs Humphry, 174

Ward, Mrs Humphry, 174

Ward, Mrs Humphry, 174

NOTES


2 There is no mention of Pater in Michael Field’s correspondence with Browning. They met Pater just after the death of Browning.


4 See Bradley, letter to E. C. (Monday 23 August 1880) in Sharon Bickle, ed., *The Fowl and the Pussycat:*

5 See Bradley, letter to E. C. (September 1881) in Bickle, 48. The women read Greek at college. Bradley may be referring to G. H. Lodge’s translation of Johann Joachim Winckelmann’s History of Ancient Art Among the Greeks (1850).

6 ‘Walter Pater’, Academy, 46 (11 August 1894), 102.


8 Michael Field, Sight and Song (London: Elkin Mathews and John Lane, 1892), 8.

9 The date of this letter, ‘Oct. 1886’, is not in the hand of E. C. or K. B.

10 John Miller Gray’s review of Marius appeared under the title ‘Literature’ in the Academy, 27 (21 March 1885), 197–9.

11 Gray’s second review of Marius was published by the Edinburgh Courant (4 April 1885), 3.


13 Critic Frederick Wedmore (1844–1921), a friend of Pater. The women were friends of the family, particularly of his daughter, the poet Millicent Wedmore.

14 Bradley and Cooper lived in Stoke Green, Bristol from March 1884 to April 1888.

15 (1886) is a later addition to the letter and is not in the hand of K. B. or E. C. It might have been added by the poet T. Sturge Moore, their literary executor.


17 Symons and Pater met for the first time on 7 August 1888. See BL Add MS 49522, fol. 242.

18 Pater’s unfinished second novel Gaston de Latour was serialized in the June to October 1888 issues of Macmillan’s Magazine. Pater, ‘Gaston de Latour’, Macmillan’s Magazine, 58.1 (June), 152–60; 58.2 (July), 222–9; 58.3 (August), 258–66; 58.4 (September), 393–400; 58.5 (October), 472–80.

19 Symons’s first volume of verse, Days and Nights (London: Macmillan, 1889), was dedicated to Pater.

20 These essays were collected in Pater’s Appreciations: with an Essay on ‘Style’ (London: Macmillan, 1889).

21 On 23 November 1888 Symons writes to Bradley confirming he and Havelock Ellis would be coming down to see them (BL Add MS 46867, fol. 208).

22 Walter Pater, Imaginary Portraits (London: Macmillan, 1887). Michael Field was meticulous about the physical aspect of their books, hence his comments.


24 Pater could have found out from his neighbour and friend, the poet A. Mary F. Robinson. Michael Field came out to Robinson in 1884.


26 Pater’s Appreciations (1889).

27 Edith Cooper, born on 12 January 1862, was celebrating her 27th birthday.

28 The Old Masters Winter Exhibition at the Burlington House attracted a large crowd of aesthetes. Among the Watteaus exhibited were The Garden Party in the Champs Élysées, The Music Party, and Le Rendezvous de Chasse. They were lent by Sir Richard Wallace and Alfred Rothschild; today, they are part of the Wallace Collection.


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31 The first line of Browning’s ‘A Toccata of Galuppi’ in *Men and Women* (1855). The speaker in the poem imagines life in eighteenth-century Venice through his response to the music of eighteenth-century Venetian composer Baldassare Galuppi. Michael Field, like Symons, considered Browning to be an aesthetic poet.
32 Symons’s *Days and Nights* (1889) had a print run of 750 copies.
33 Pater’s unsigned review, ‘Mr. Arthur Symons’s Days and Nights’, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 49.7493 (23 March 1889), 3.
34 The sexologist Havelock Ellis.
35 Pater had sent to Symons his *Scribner’s Magazine* essay on ‘Shakspere’s English Kings’, adding that he ‘should be grateful if, at your leisure, you would point out any thing that strikes you as behind actual Shaksperian [sic] criticism therein, as I intend to include it in my next volume.’ See letter to Symons [1? April 1889] in Evans, 93.
38 On 25 May 1884, soon after the publication of Michael Field’s first book, *Callirrhoë / Fair Rosamund* (1884), Marc André Raffalovich, aged 19, wrote them a fan letter: ‘If you are young you will easily understand my writing to you: and in any case, I am rash enough to risk being misunderstood. […] There are so many things I should like to say to you that I had better not write them. But if you are in London, may we not meet one day? I am sure we have mutual acquaintances – in the literary world, at least.’ (BL Add MS 45851, fols. 67–8). On 16 November of the same year, he wrote in dismay: ‘I thought I was writing to a boy, to a young man of my age, whose work I appreciated it – and then I learn on [sic] the very best authority that I had been mistaken.’ (BL Add MS 45851, fols.72–72). Their correspondence thus ended. In 1892, Symons introduced Raffalovich to the poet–turned–priest John Henry Gray, author of *Silverpoints* (1893) and Wilde’s model for *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891); they became very close. After the women’s conversion to Roman Catholicism, in 1907, Bradley and Cooper became good friends of Gray and Raffalovich. It was Gray who baptised Bradley.
39 Rpt. in Evans, 96. The MS number given by Evans is no longer valid. Note: Evans’s transcriptions do not include cancelled elements of the text.
41 Although written in 1878, ‘The Bacchanals of Euripides’ was first published in *Macmillan’s Magazine*, 60 (May 1889), 63–72.
43 This is a thank you letter from John Miller Gray to Michael Field, for the gift of their 1889 volume *Long Ago*.
44 Pater, ‘Style’, *Fortnightly Review*, 44, n.s. (December 1888), 728–43. Gray highlights some of the more fundamental issues raised in the poetry of Michael Field at the fin de siècle.
45 Rpt. in Evans, 96. The MS number given by Evans is no longer valid. Note: Evans’s transcriptions do not include cancelled elements of the text.
46 Michael Field lived in Blackberry Lodge, Reigate from April 1888 to 3 March 1891.
47 *Long Ago* was published on 20 May 1889 (London: George Bell and Sons). On 1 June 1889, Cooper’s mother, Emma Harris Cooper, suffered a heart attack; she died 20 August 1889.
48 Rpt. in Evans, 97–8.
49 Pater is indicating to Michael Field that he is aware ‘he’ is not a man.
50 Pater is reading Michael Field’s *Long Ago* in the context of his essay on ‘Style’. Pater praises poem XXIX, ‘When through thy breast wild wrath doth spread’.
51 In Evans, 98: ‘thought and feeling’. MS reads ‘thought or feeling’.
52 Rpt. in Evans, 98.
This short entry appears right after an entry for 12 July 1889. The correspondence suggests it must have been written c. 18 July. The following entry in the diary is dated 19 July. July 22 was a Monday.

The letter, signed by ‘Michael’, is in the hand of K. B.

Bradley and Cooper were keen lovers of flowers, as was Pater. See diary entry for 20 May 1891.

Herbert P. Horne, artist, illustrator and editor of the art journal The Hobby Horse. In a letter dated 8 June 1889, John M. Gray tells Bradley that he had suggested ‘to the Editor of the “Hobby Horse” that he should have something on Long Ago. (BL Add MS 45853 fol. 55v). Michael Field sent Horne three pieces: ‘Mid-age’, ‘A Cuckoo’ & ‘Rue & Roses’. To Bradley’s astonishment, they were rejected. Though asked to contribute, Pater never published in The Hobby Horse. See Pater’s letter to Horne in Evans, 76–77. Michael Field did eventually publish poetry in the magazine. See Michael Field, ‘Ravogli: Del Dolor L’Ora e Venuta,’ The Hobby Horse 6 (1891), 35–38.

The first stanza states: ‘When through thy breast wild wrath doth spread/ And work thy inmost being harm, / Leave thou the fiery word unsaid,/ Guard thee; be calm.’


‘Hippolytus Veiled’, 301.


John Ruskin, Præterita: Outlines of Scenes and Thoughts Perhaps Worthy of Memory in My Past Life, 3 vols (1885–9).

Mark 12:11. ‘It is the Lord’s doing; it is marvellous in our eyes.’

Describing Pater’s home in Oxford c. 1885, Mrs Humphry Ward observes that ‘the framed embroidery of the most delicate design and colour’ was ‘the work of Mr. Pater’s elder sister’, Hester. Ward, A Writer’s Recollection, 2 vols (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1918), I, 165.


‘Hippolytus Veiled’, 300.


An advertisement for Symons’s Days and Nights, with a series of excellent reviews, including Pater’s, appears in the same number. See Athenaeum, 3223 (3 August 1889), 148.

Gray quotes verbatim from Pater, ‘Hippolytus Veiled’, 300.

This unfinished entry documents the women’s first meeting with Pater, which occurred on Monday 22 July 1889. This was an unusually late entry as Cooper’s mother (and Bradley’s sister) was very ill.

A letter entirely in the hand of K. B., except the year, ‘1889’, which was added later (in E. C.’s hand).

Havelock Ellis.


This phrase refers to the key moment in Pater’s essay ‘The Child in the House’. Florian Deleal finds himself in front of a great red-hawthorn tree in full bloom that provokes in him a sensual awakening to art and beauty. For the responses of Gray and Field, see Gray’s letter to Bradley, 19 June 1888. On the first folio Bradley writes, in the left hand margin, ‘Red Hawthorn Bush.’ The writing is in black ink but the underlining is in red, which represents in Michael Field’s work both art and beauty. Gray, writing about his new home, complains that his garden has been too ‘exquisitely kept’ yet notes: ‘I had the joy of discovering today – a Red hawthorn bush, large, old, red you may call it, or, at least ruddy, – pink say at least, the colour running up among its witheredness like a blush over a wrinkled, weather-browned face’ (BL Add MS 45853, fol. 37–8).
Alexander Stuart Murray (1841–1904), Head of the department of Greek and Roman antiquities at the British Museum, and author of the influential *History of Greek Sculpture* (1880‒3).


Appreciations, *with an Essay on Style* was published on 15 November 1889; a second edition, in May 1890.


Cooper was asking for ‘Poems by William Morris’, *Westminster Review*, 34.90 (October 1868), 300‒12. See Gray’s reply: letter dated 9 December 1889.


Cooper’s sister, Amy, was on holiday in Liguria, Italy. A famous garden, La Mortola sits on a promontory overlooking the Mediterranean.

The working title of Michael Field’s next poetic drama, eventually entitled *The Tragic Mary* (1890).

‘Romanticism’ (*Macmillan’s Magazine*, 35 [November 1876], 64‒70) was republished as the ‘Postscript’ to *Appreciations* (1889).

This would have been Michael Field’s second visit to Walter Pater. After the death of Cooper’s mother, the women went to Scotland to do research for *The Tragic Mary*, based on the life of Mary, Queen of Scots.

Hippocrates: ‘Art is long, life is short’.

Gray was Michael Field’s literary executor.

Their friend Robert Browning was dying in Venice.

Arthur Symons’s unsigned review of *Appreciations* appeared in the *Athenaeum*, 3242 (14 December 1889), 813‒14.

Bradley is thinking of Robert Browning, who had died two days earlier, 12 December 1889.

Ernest Bell (of George Bell & Sons), their publisher.

The letter and its postscript are in Bradley’s handwriting and signed by ‘Michael’. The bracketed sentence [‘I rather like this last title’] is, however, in Cooper’s hand.

The women were visiting the studio of Séwlyn Image and Herbert Horne in Fitzroy Street, London, to discuss the cover art for *The Tragic Mary*.

Simeon Solomon, *Walter Pater* (1873; pencil on paper). The drawing is now housed at the Museo della Fondazione Herbert Percy Horne, Firenze.

Bradley’s nickname, short for Simurgh, Simorgh, Simurg or Simoorg, is the name of a benevolent, mythical flying creature possessing the knowledge of all the ages.

The sentence derives from the essay on ‘Dante Gabriel Rossetti’, in *Appreciations, with An Essay on Style*, 240.

Rpt. in Evans, 110.

Michael Field quoted from the passage in which the title appears in an endnote, p. 261.

Louise Chandler Moulton (1835–1908), an American poet and critic, resided for long periods in London.

‘When we are happy we are always good, but when we are good we are not always happy’. See Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (London: Ward Lock & Co, 1891), 115.
The date of the letter is inscribed at the top of fol. 40 r, but it is neither in the handwriting of Bradley nor Cooper.

Two different bindings of *The Tragic Mary*, both designed by Selwyn Image (a friend of John M. Gray), were printed: one with a brown cover illustrated in black was printed by George Bell, and an edition deluxe in vellum engraved in gold by the London printer Joseph W. Zaehnsdorf. Oscar Wilde thought the latter was the second-most beautiful book cover of the nineteenth century (the first was Dante Gabriel Rossetti’s *1873 Poems*).

The date on this letter is not in the handwriting of Bradley or Cooper.

‘Sterling’ is a word associated with silver; Pater was sent the edition deluxe, which was bound in vellum with decorations in gold.


Arnold, ‘Thomas Gray’, *The English Poets: Selections with Critical Introductions*, ed. Thomas Humphry Ward (1880), III: 302–16. “He never spoke out.” In these four words is contained the whole history of Gray, both as a man and as a poet. […] He was in his fifty-fifth year when he died, and he lived in ease and leisure, yet a few pages hold all his poetry; “he never spoke out” in poetry. Still, the reputation which he has achieved by his few pages is extremely high.

The letter contains the MS poem ‘From Verlaine’ signed M. F.

‘Art Notes in North Italy’ was published in the *New Review*, 3 (November 1890), 393–403. Around 1890 Bradley and Cooper began to study assiduously works of arts and to write poetry on poems in the manner of D. G. Rossetti, although under the influence of art critic and connoisseur Bernard Berenson. This entry confirms the influence of Pater.


This description corresponds to the panels of Girolamo Romanino’s c. 1524 *High Altarpiece, S. Alessandro, Brescia* (National Gallery, London).

This letter, in Bradley’s handwriting, is signed by ‘Michael’.

This letter by Bradley concerns the reception of the *Tragic Mary*; she is seeking advice with a view to revising the volume.

Birmingham painter David Cox (1783–1859), a precursor of Impressionism.

The lecture was published in *The Fortnightly Review*, 48.54 (December 1890), 852–64. A decadent poet and member of the Rhymer’s Club; he introduced Lord Alfred Douglas to Oscar Wilde.


Cooper is quoting from Alfred Tennyson’s ‘The Sisters’ in *The Lady of Shalott, and Other Poems* (1833).

Published in *Macmillan’s Magazine*, 54 (October 1886), 413–23 and rpt. as the second story in *Imaginary Portraits* (1887).

Field’s poem ‘Dionysus Zagreus’ is a study of this figure; see *Dedicated* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1914).

This letter in in the handwriting of Bradley, but signed ‘M. F.’

Prosper Mérimée’s short story ‘Colomba’ first appeared on 1 July 1840 in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.


This short entry appears in the final pages in this diary, in a section entitled *Books read–1890*. The entire page is written in red ink.

Herbert Horne’s studio.


In the earlier part of the card, Bradley is remembering their friendship with Browning.
The women had moved to Reigate in 1888, where they lived for a decade.

The novelist F. Mabel Robinson, sister of A. Mary Robinson. Aristophanes’ comedy *The Frogs* tells the story of the god Dionysus, who in despair at the state of tragedy in Athens travels to Hades to bring back from the dead the playwright Euripides.

Hester Pater, also known as ‘Tottie’.

Arnold Dolmetsch (1858‒1940) and Herbert Horne had invited the women to a concert of viols (accompanied by the lute and harpsichord). The program of music included pieces written by various sixteenth- and seventeenth-century composers. The Paters had been invited too. Dolmetsch was a key figure in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century revival of interest in early music.

Bradley and Cooper had been invited to see water-colour drawings done in Italy by Charles J. Watson at the Rembrandt Head Gallery in Vigo Street, where they met John Lane and Lionel Johnson. The four then went on to Edward Onslow Ford’s studio to see his new sculpture of Shelley.

The art critic Bernard Berenson, with whom Cooper was in love.

Robert Browning’s sister.

One of the women’s closest friends.

‘P.’ or ‘Puss’ was one of Cooper’s nicknames. The location of this letter is unknown.

The working title of *Sight and Song* (1892). Pater’s copy, which was then acquired by Logan Pearsall Smith, is in the Mark Samuel Lasner collection. I would like to thank Mark Samuels Lasner for bringing his copy and the inscription to my attention. A follower of Pater, Pearsall Smith, himself a poet and critic, was the brother of Alys (first wife of Bertrand Russell) and Mary Berenson, wife of Bernard Berenson, and a very close friend of Bradley and Cooper. Pearsall Smith was recognised as an authority on the English language. He befriended Virginia Woolf, who used him as a model for the character of Sir Nicholas Green in her novel *Orlando* (1928).

Ch. 8 of Pater’s *Plato and Platonism* (1893), first published in the *Contemporary Review*, 61 (June 1892), 791‒808.

They went to J. T. Grein’s ‘At Home’, a literary event to promote Grein’s Independent Theatre. It started with the performance at 2.30 pm of André Raffalovich’s *Roses of a Shadow* followed by Henrik Ibsen’s *Ghosts* at 3.30 pm.

*Stephania: A Trialogue* (London: Elkin Mathews and John Lane, 1892).

Ibsen’s 1892 play opened in London at the Trafalgar Square Theatre on 20 February 1893, with Herbert H. Waring in the name part and Elizabeth Robins as Hilda. The English translation was by theatre critic William Archer, a friend of Michael Field.

Characters in these plays by Ibsen: *Hedda Gabler* (1890), *An Enemy of the People* (1882), *The Wild Duck* (1884), and *The Lady from the Sea* (1888).


*Rt. in Evans, 138.*

*Stephania: A Trialogue.*

These two drafts, written in pencil, are for the most part illegible. Nonetheless they illuminate Michael Field’s intellectual affiliation with Pater. The drafts are also interesting for the way in which the women perceive Pater’s leadership at the *fin de siècle*.

Draft of the poem published in the *Academy* (11 August 1894), 102, rpt. in *The Literary World* 8 (September 1894), 280. See also fols. 99‒100 for additional drafts, all authored by K. B.

Although in the hand of K. B., this record is a transcription of another version of the poem co-written by Cooper and Pearsall Smith. It was composed on the same day that Michael Field’s poem was published in the *Academy*.

The poem was privately printed as Michael Field and Logan Pearsall Smith, *Walter Pater* (Stanford Dingley, Berkshire: Mill House Press, 1964), 1st ed. Wrappers. 4 pages. Inscribed: ‘One of 18 copies on special paper, & with its ornament by Reynolds Stone RGH’. It states: ‘The text of this sonnet is preserved in a manuscript inserted into a copy belonging to Logan of Walter Pater’s *An Imaginary
Portrait, printed at the Daniel Press in 1894. It is in Field’s hand-writing, except that Michael signed her name, and also added in her own hand this note: – Victoriously finished by Field and Logan Pearsall Smith, within sight of the sundial in the garden of Friday’s Hill, on an August morning of 1894. Friday’s Hill was a house rented by Logan’s parents. The printed version reads: ‘The freshness of the light, its secrecy./ Voices heard singing in the morning hour,/ Scent of green gardens after rain could dower/ Thy spirit with devout felicity./ Standing, a child, by a red hawthorn-tree,/ The perishing, small petals’ flame had power/ To brighten with a glow of ruddy flower/ A magic roadside in thy memory:/ And haply when the shapeless clouds of night/ Were slowly wrapping round thee, in the cold/ Of which all must must die, a sense renewed/ Of things so sweet to breath and touch and sight,/ That thou didst breathe and touch and see of old,/ Stole through thee with the warmth of gratitude.’

This record has no date, yet was clearly written after 11 August 1894. This is Cooper’s account of the women’s trip to Haslemere, Sussex, including their visit to Pearsall Smith’s home at Friday’s Hill.


‘The reference is to Pater’s ‘The Child in the House’.

Michael Field was one of the ten friends entitled to have a choice of a book from Gray’s library. Gray included in this bequest Cooper’s sister, Amy.

Presumably Browning’s ‘Pacchiarotto, and How He Worked in Distemper’ (1876). This comic poem, loosely based on the role of Renaissance painter Giacomo Pacchiarotti in the Sienese resistance, is one in which Browning attacks his critics.


Bradley chose Gray’s collection of Pater’s books.

No date appears on this letter, but it must be 9 November 1894.

Art critic and author John Addington Symonds (1840–93); poet Philip Bourke Marston (1850–87); and poet Augusta Webster (1837–94).

This letter must be from 1897. See footnote below.

Essays from ‘The Guardian’, a selection of Pater’s book reviews, was published privately on 6 October 1896; only 100 copies were printed. See R. M. Seiler, ed., Walter Pater: The Critical Heritage (1980; Abindgon: Routledge, 1995), 18. Thomas Mosher sent Michael Field a copy of his re-edition of this work.

Presumably the ‘Conclusion’ to the Renaissance.

Aubrey Beardsley (21 August 1872 –16 March 1898). Callirrhoë (1884) was their first play as Michael Field.

Charles Holmes, manager of Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon’s Vale Press, where Michael Field would publish most of their work in the late 1890s.

Cooper’s father died in a mountaineering accident in 1897. The women celebrated the birthday of their beloved ones even after they had passed away.

This passage is from Marius the Epicurean (London: Macmillan, 1885), 182.

The painter and book designer Charles Ricketts. He and his partner, Charles Shannon, were described by Michael Field as their ‘male doubles’.

Michael Field, Ricketts, and Shannon are discussing Field’s young male characters.

All of these ideas are by Ricketts; Cooper is reproducing their conversation in the diary.
A Letter to *The Pater Newsletter*

I have been reading the *Pater Newsletter* ever since it was first published. Doing so for decades now, I have often pondered the strange, if not surprising gap that exists between Pater’s prose and that of so many Paterians who seem indifferent in their own writing to what Pater refers to as ‘artistic quality’ and ‘aesthetic charm’. They do not seek to capture the ‘lightness’ of touch or ‘delicacy’ that they find in the writing of Pater. Should Pater only be the subject of academic interest and not be an example to be followed?

For Pater the way in which one writes about one’s subject matters crucially. Writing about art and literature should be a kind of artful ‘performance’. Writing has the potential to bring works of art to life. I have often wondered why it is that Paterians do not aspire to the ‘elegance’ and ‘grace’ of Pater’s literary art, since these are virtues that they presumably recognize and enjoy in his writing. (I am not suggesting slavish imitation, which would be ridiculous.) Pater both feels and renders the ‘charm’ of his subject by recreating it artfully. He elicits the ‘pleasures’ of the text or the work of art – pleasures that are echoed in the beauty of his exemplary prose.

As one of the great prose stylists in the history of English literature, Pater should be a potential inspiration to all Paterians in their own prose. And yet when one reads essays in the *Pater Newsletter*, not to mention books or essays about Pater in other journals, one is left to ask oneself: what would Pater have thought of the prose of the highly accomplished scholars in the Walter Pater Society? He would presumably have missed in their work a significant literary ambition. Pater was a scholar and literary artist. Paterians, dare I say, are scholars who happen to
write. Although their writing is often highly informative, the style of their prose is not of central concern. But I ask, might the true Paterian, inspired by Pater, not resist and overcome the conventions of academic prose sanctioned by prestigious universities, academic publishers, and journals – conventions that are driven by the pressures of the marketplace where ‘productivity’ matters more than beauty? Might Paterian scholars not make the form of their own work more worthy of its matter? Is it not possible for Paterians to engage Pater through the qualities of their own prose?

Gone are the days when a small number of scholars huddled together under the umbrella of the Pater Newsletter, a few modest pages assembled with convenient and informative reports about essays or books concerning Pater. The newsletter has grown impressively over time, as has the whole field of Pater studies, thanks to the tireless labors of many scholars. The design of the newsletter has evolved from its very humble origins to the point where the recent Fall 2013 issue, with its elegant, understated black cover, handsome proportions, and elegant format, is beautiful and thus worthy of its subject. The Pater Newsletter, indeed all scholarly writing about Pater, will finally be worthy of its subject, however, only when it is written in a beautiful prose that is proportional to that of Pater. This is the ideal to which the Pater society might still more vigorously apply itself. Otherwise, the work of Pater scholars will remain something, as Pater might have said, of ‘merely antiquarian’ or academic interest. Is that enough?

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When Walter Pater published Imaginary Portraits in 1887, the volume included just four portraits, all recently published in Macmillan’s Magazine: ‘A Prince of Court Painters’, ‘Denys l’Auxerrois’, ‘Sebastian van Storck’, and ‘Duke Carl of Rosenmold’. Lene Østermark-Johansen’s new edition scrupulously edits the texts as they were first published, notes the significant changes from the magazine versions to the volume, and helpfully contextualizes and annotates both the individual portraits and their joint publication in 1887. Along with the editor’s perceptive and lucid general introductions and splendid introductory essays for each portrait, this would make for a welcome and valuable new edition of one of Pater’s most neglected yet important books, but since the editor prints not four, but ten imaginary portraits, the present volume is clearly something other than and more than simply a new critical edition. Some of the works added were written early enough that Pater could have included them in the 1887 volume: ‘Diaphaneite’ was the earliest (composed in 1864, for the Old Mortality Society, but not published in Pater’s lifetime); ‘The Child in the House’ was published as Imaginary Portraits 1: The Child in the House in Macmillan’s Magazine in 1878, and ‘An English Poet’ was written in 1878 or 1879 as Imaginary Portraits 2: An English Poet, but was published posthumously only in 1933. The others, ‘Hippolytus Veiled’ (1889), ‘Emerald Uthwart’ (1892), and ‘Apollo in Picardy’ (1893) were, of course, written too late for inclusion.
If he had published a new edition of *Imaginary Portraits* towards the end of
his life, Pater very well may have added some or all of these texts. Nevertheless, he
specifically chose to suppress the works originally designed as imaginary portraits
and evidently meant for the 1887 volume to have a different shape than he had
once conceived. Some may, and probably will, argue that printing these ten works
under the title Pater used to designate only four of them is misleading, or disturbs
Pater’s publication history, and even violates the artistic integrity of the 1887 text.
I sympathize with this purist view, but since all of the texts are unquestionably
imaginary portraits, this new book, whether or not it should be called a new
edition, is an invaluable and even necessary addition to Pater studies.

Perhaps initially, it is a bit startling to find ten portraits where one expected
four, and arguably there are even eleven if the selection from *Laecedaemon*
may be read as an imaginary portrait of ‘a young Lacedaemonian […] of the
privileged class’ (p. 315). Arguably even more works could be included since,
like the portrait of the ancient Greek man, nearly everything Pater wrote ‘mixes
cultural history with myth, philosophy and art history in an unmistakably Paterian
way’ (p. 315). Temperamentally, the young Lacedaemonian is closely akin to the
subject of another portrait, Emerald Uthwart, so the list of unmistakably Paterian
elements that go into the idiosyncratic form of the imaginary portrait should
be expanded to include biography and autobiography, not to mention actual
portraiture. Like his Leonardo, Pater was a ‘lover of strange souls’, and it is not
too much to suggest that the representation of such souls in imaginary portraits
is the form taken by the great bulk of his writings, including most of the essays in
*The Renaissance* as well as *Marius the Epicurean* (1885) and the unfinished *Gaston
de Latour*. Characteristically, Pater chooses strange souls rather like his own and
so disengages and isolates his own distinctive temperament, his melancholy and
ascetic aestheticism.

Not surprisingly, then, the most clearly autobiographical of his portraits, ‘The
Child in the House’ and ‘Emerald Uthwart’, share essential qualities with the
first and last of his portraits, ‘Diaphaneité’ and Abbot Saint-Jean of ‘Apollo in
Picardy’. As many have recognized, Pater adumbrated his whole life’s work in his
first important study, ‘Diaphaneité,’ fittingly the name not of a character, but of
an aesthetic temperament, a ‘mind of taste’ (p. 79) peculiarly able to rescue itself
from the ‘play of circumstances’, the ‘collective life, pressing equally on every part
of every one of us, [reducing] all of us to the level of a colourless uninteresting
existence’ (p. 80). Many readers of Pater first come to know him through *The Renaissance* and its notorious ‘Conclusion’, in which the same call for an aesthetic temperament to rescue us from the flux of circumstances is made in such beautiful and vibrant prose that we are likely to miss the bleakness of Pater’s vision, the sense of empty existence that makes aesthetic rescue so necessary. In ‘Diaphaneité’, the aesthetic mind is rather morbidly characterized as ‘a relic from the classical age, laid open by accident to our alien modern atmosphere’ (p. 80). The morbidity adds a distinctively melancholy note to this portrait, but the passage also foreshadows a use of the redemptive corpse motif that is surprisingly common as of the ‘Winckelmann’ study (first published in 1867), and finds its ghastly culmination in ‘Duke Carl of Rosenmold’, who appears almost as a relic after he stages his own funeral and struggles to catch hold of life at least sufficiently ‘to make the hours just noticeable as they slipped away’ (p. 191). Echoing the Duke’s mode, Pater opens the portrait by pondering the bones of the Duke’s disinterred corpse. The redemptive power of both the relic and the aesthetic ‘mind of taste’ is an explicit theme of Pater’s critical theory and of his portraits: ‘past ages, could one get at the historic soul of them, were not dead but living’ (p. 280). The bleakness of Pater’s vision, the demoralizing transience of experience, the slipping away of life into nothingness, and the close association of beauty with death, are abundantly evident in all of the portraits, and nowhere more strongly than in ‘The Child in the House’ and ‘Emerald Uthwart’. For the eponymous ‘child’, Florian Deleal, ‘this desire of physical beauty mingled itself early with the fear of death, the fear of death intensified by the desire of beauty’ (p. 93). Similarly, for Emerald Uthwart, it is only after he has stared into his own coffin and as he approaches death that he becomes exquisitely sensitive to the physical world. Despite the notorious accusations of hedonism and materialism hurled at Pater, the keynote of the characters in the portraits is actually a harshly disciplined ascetic temperament, which may take the shape of a hieratic disposition as in the case of Florian (p. 96), an adherence to strict ritual, as in the case of Duke Carl (p. 191), or of strict submission to military discipline as in the case of Emerald Uthwart.

The publication of these ten portraits all in one place should make inevitable a thorough reassessment of Pater’s work and may even change our understanding of Aestheticism generally by bringing into focus the melancholy and ascetic components of Pater’s character and thought. This new version makes the complex and many-sided imaginary portrait of Paterian temperament available – but more
than that, it makes the portraits accessible through the lucid, highly original, and perceptive critical introductions and the useful, often necessary annotations. This is an essential text for students of Pater and Aestheticism.

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Fraser, Hilary, *Women Writing Art History in the Nineteenth Century: Looking Like a Woman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

One of the most beautifully bound copies of Pater’s *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1873) can be found in Brasenose College Library, Oxford: brown crushed Levant morocco leather, gilt and elaborately tooled with fillets and arabesques, with scarlet silk end papers. On handling it, one wonders which Paterian devotee could have gone to the expense of having the volume so lavishly enshrined, whether for immediate pleasure or with the aim of preserving it for posterity? The date ‘1898’ is stamped on the inside of the binding, and the half-title page reveals it as a presentation copy. Inscribed in Pater’s hand, ‘From the Writer. Emilia’, the book was given to none other than one of Pater’s sternest contemporary critics, the art historian Emilia Pattison (1840‒1904), then married to Pater’s friend Mark Pattison, Rector of Lincoln College. Emilia Pattison’s criticism of Pater’s use of the term ‘History’ in the title of his book has become a commonplace among Pater scholars, and a frequently quoted reason for his change of the title in the second (1877) and all subsequent editions of the book published during his lifetime.¹

Pattison’s vivid image of Pater’s concept of the Renaissance as something detached and suspended in isolation, ‘as if it were indeed a kind of air-plant independent of ordinary source of nourishment’, is witty and curiously evocative of Pater’s idiosyncratic style and method. Yet, she also acknowledges his ability to ‘detect with singular subtlety the shades of tremulous variation which have been embodied in throbbing pulsations of colour, in doubtful turns of line, in veiled words’ and to ‘match them for us in words, in the choice of which he is often so brilliantly accurate that they gleam upon the page with the radiance of jewels’ (Seiler 72). The review reflects a critic with a keen visual imagination,
an eye for style, and a rigorous perception of art historical method. For a long time, I have been wanting to know more about the woman who could be at once fiercely critical, yet fully discerning of Pater’s discriminating powers of aesthetic judgement, as well as alert to the incisive precision of his prose. Emilia Pattison would go on to produce her own volume on *The Renaissance of Art in France* in 1879, together with more books on French art later in the century, as a clear testimony that the Victorian interest in the Renaissance as both a historical period and a cultural phenomenon was not an exclusively male domain, presided over by the usual suspects: Ruskin, Pater, and Symonds.
It is high time such learned Victorian female writers on the Renaissance and other historical periods were given a monograph of their own, and Hilary Fraser’s much-awaited new book positions some three generations of female art historians firmly within the centre of Victorian culture. Skilfully, she unearths a plethora of new material relating, not just narrowly to art history as a discipline, but to the many other disciplines and literary genres in which text and image, past and present, meet: poetry, fiction, painting, photography, translation, criticism, history, journals, letters, guide books, and biography, to mention just the most obvious ones. This is a stylish book, in more than one sense: written with spirited elegance, precision, and an infectious enthusiasm for its subject matter, it makes for a wonderfully good read, at the same time as it also directs the reader’s attention to literary styles of writing art history. With the subtitle ‘Looking like a Woman’, the book does not grant much space to the male gaze, as we move from ‘The profession of art history’, ‘The art of fiction’, to ‘Girl Guides: travel, translation, ekphrasis’, ‘Women’s periods’, and the ‘Feminine arts’. But then, one might well argue, the male gaze has had its heyday in theory and criticism in the twentieth century, and a widening, perhaps even a challenging, of the gendered gaze is called for. In spite of its playful chapter headings, which may seem to appeal primarily to a female readership, the book addresses all scholars of Victorian literature and art, irrespective of gender, and the downplaying of the male gaze and of the male aesthetes is part of the development which characterizes much recent research on aestheticism. We move into a stereoscopic female gaze in Fraser’s discussion of Michael Field’s (Katharine Bradley and Edith Cooper’s) binocular gaze at the Old Masters in the European galleries, transformed into *Sight and Song* (1892). Vernon Lee and Kit Anstruther-Thomson’s double gaze in their experiments with empathy and anthropocentric aesthetics in front of sculptural works in the museums forms a neat counterpart: for them, looking like a woman would involve powerful corporeal responses to artworks, such as imitation of postures and careful monitoring of changes in the spectator’s breathing. It is hard to imagine Walter Pater engaging with such corporeal aesthetics, but important to be aware that the Pattisons, the Fields, and Vernon Lee and her companions were all part of the inner social circles of the Pater household from the late 1860s onwards, whether in Oxford or in London. Pater sits as a central figure in Fraser’s book, although not referred to specifically many times. As an authority – to love, hate, imitate, rebel against or try to please – his presence is felt, whether Fraser is discussing
the inner circles of female art historians in immediate contact with Pater, or the wider circles such as Julia Cartwright, Maud Cruttwell, or Mary Costelloe (later to become Mrs Bernard Berenson), all of whom would have been familiar with his texts and his ideas, if not actually with his person.

Generations and networks of female art historians inhabit this book – as solitary presences, in twos or threes, in the company of husbands or brothers, or as travelling companions – all engaged in the acts of looking, writing, or painting, collaboratively or alone, often translating from one medium into another, from sight into song, or vice versa. Working between the lines – in more than one sense – by necessity or by choice is part of the condition of looking like a woman in the nineteenth century: Fraser eloquently frames her female art historians within the male discourse on art, represented by such well-respected authorities as John Ruskin, Giovanni Morelli, or Bernard Berenson, and the frame is not always a flattering one. Ruskin's dismissal of Anna Jameson as someone who 'has some tact & cleverness & knows as much of art as the cat' (quoted on p. 2) or Berenson's conceited confession to his future wife that 'Vernon [Lee] said something worthy of me yesterday... she somehow makes you feel that she is intelligent' (quoted on p. 2) do not exactly make for encouraging reading for the modern female art historian; the remarks, carefully culled as they are, nevertheless give us an awareness of some of the challenges encountered by the highly professional and prolific Victorian female art critics, as they became increasingly articulate in the course of the century. Pater's interest in and esteem for Emilia Pattison and Vernon Lee leave him in a slightly better light than Ruskin and Berenson, although his correspondence with Michael Field might confirm some of the disrespect for women of which Virginia Woolf accused him in the 1930s. His holidays and spare time would have been spent in great part in galleries with Hester and Clara; I, for one, would give much to be the proverbial fly on the wall during one such gallery visit. Would Walter have been lecturing to his sisters, or were the three Pater siblings all discussing art on an equal footing, one wonders?

One of the strengths of Fraser's book is the vast range of different material discussed; extracts from private journals and letters appear alongside published poetry, fiction, and guide books, drawing our attention to the many genres and voices in which women were engaging with the visual arts. So many of Pater's female contemporaries were, like him, exploring the boundaries between criticism and fiction, enjoying the freedom of fiction for a no less serious discussion of
the visual arts. The diversity of methodologies and styles of art writing which we encounter in the book inevitably sharpens our awareness of interart relations such as *ekphrasis* and literary/visual portraiture. The often experimental forms explored in the book testify to generations of women writers who may have been reading and writing between the lines; they were nevertheless pushing the field of art writing into quite new territories, perhaps precisely because of their own interlinear positions as wives, daughters, and sisters in the established male world of letters. The female networks which emerge, whether linked to periodicals, artistic circles or locations dense with artworks and art historians like Paris and Florence, form interesting counterparts to the old boys’ clubs, often centred at the institutions of Oxford or London.

Women writing art history in the nineteenth century were leaving their own distinctive mark on the field, as indeed Emilia Pattison left hers on Pater’s canonical first book, some four years after his death. Its lavish and feminine exterior goes directly against the blue-green simplicity of Pater’s own carefully supervised volumes issuing from Macmillan’s, and I find it difficult to believe Charles Dilke’s explanation of the binding in his ‘Memoir’ prefacing his late wife’s *Book of the Spiritual Life* (1905): ‘It was perhaps in penance for this article [the *Westminster Review* essay], though she did not repent its doctrine, that, after Pater’s death, she bound the copy of his Renaissance, which he had presented to her, more beautifully than any other volume in her collection, and reverently placed within it a portrait of the author.’ Before becoming part of the Sparrow bequest at Brasenose College, the book became a treasured object among male book lovers: bought by Paul Grinke of Quaritch Antiquarian Booksellers, London, in 1966, it was sold on to John Sparrow, Warden of All Souls’ College, in 1967. In March 1988 Grinke wrote to Sparrow requesting him to sell it back: ‘Of all the books that have passed through my hands in the last quarter-century that one still comes back to mind. You have enjoyed it for twenty years, so why don’t you sell it back to me?’ Fortunately, Sparrow had already bequeathed his Pater collection to Brasenose College, where both male and female readers may contemplate Emilia’s last dialogue with Walter Pater.3

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3 See the documents relating to Emilia Dilke’s copy in Brasenose College Archives PP1 A6/8.
Eells, Emily, ‘Viewing the Mona Lisa “under a strange mixture of lights”’, in Locating Italy: East and West in British-Italian Transactions, ed. by Kirsten Sandrock and Owain Wright (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013), pp. 95‒108.

Grounding her analysis on Walter Benjamin’s concept of ‘aura’ – that is, something emanated by an object and associated with its unattainability – Eells proposes an exploration of the Mona Lisa as a means of cultural exchange between Britain and Italy, with France representing a privileged channel of mediation in the transmission. This type of exchange, and the consequent creation of the Mona Lisa myth, began in the nineteenth century among French art historians and continued in Britain with Pater’s ekphrasis of the painting in ‘Leonardo da Vinci,’ which largely employed the Italian Vasari as a source. More than anybody else, Pater paved the way to the wide twentieth-century fame of La Gioconda and to many of its subsequent critical re-readings, first among them Wilde’s in ‘The Critic as Artist.’ A focus of intricate intercultural crossings, the Mona Lisa has become the most famous, and most reproduced, painting in the world. As such, it is generally perceived as familiar, although its vicinity and even banality have not erased the atmosphere of distance it still radiates. A constitutive feature of Benjamin’s aura, and of Georges Didi-Huberman’s objet auratique, this paradoxical coexistence of closeness and remoteness was firstly and indelibly fixated in Pater’s interpretation of Leonardo’s masterpiece.

Elisa Bizzotto

Gillard-Estrada considers Pater’s Provence to be a culturally hybrid place in which a tradition originating in classical Greece resurfaces within the Middle Ages and draws new strength from its manifestation in subsequent epochs. Accordingly, Pater’s exploration of Provençal poetry both draws attention to the Greek and pagan elements in Medieval culture and legitimizes contemporary Pre-Raphaelite and Aestheticist artists.

Pater’s first representations of the Provençal Middle Ages, in ‘Poems by William Morris’ and ‘Aucassin and Nicolette’, delineate a period marked by fear, grief, and antinomian tendencies. On the other hand, in the Morris essay he insists that such features are constitutive of Pre-Raphaelite art as well. Keeping faith with this vision, in the later ‘Romanticism’ essay Pater emphasizes what he terms the ‘romantic’ traits in Provençal poetry, including the vision of nature as a mirror for human emotions: a transhistorical notion, close to Ruskin’s pathetic fallacy, that Pater detects in Greek religion but also in Pre-Raphaelite poetry. This is even more evident in *Appreciations*, in which ‘Poems by William Morris’ appears to be revised in order to establish connections with the essay on Rossetti. The two artists are actually construed as ‘romantic’ poets in the Provençal tradition of artifice and sad love in a way that contradicts Ruskin’s disparagement of the poets’ mature works as well as the negative views of such contemporary critics as Robert Buchanan and Harry Quilter. Pater’s appropriation of Provence, Gillard-Estrada concludes, allows him to historically endorse what he terms ‘aesthetic poetry’ and the poetics related to it. Even more importantly, it paves the way for his conception of the Renaissance.

*Elisa Bizzotto*
In the fourth chapter of this invaluable volume, Guy and Small – themselves established scholars and editors of nineteenth-century literature – argue that ‘traditional rationales of copy-text tend to break down when dealing with nineteenth-century non-fictional prose’ particularly that of Pater, Arnold, and Wilde, and that ‘these failures bring to the fore a series of tensions in the way it is identified and valued’ (96). In the process, Guy and Small draw on a number of specific editorial problems underlying the textual and publication histories such as of Pater’s *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* in parallel with other editions or formats, Arnold’s *Essays in Criticism* in the context of R. H. Super’s eleven-volume variorum edition, and Wilde’s *Intentions* in relation to his Shakespearean essays. These texts are problematic for modern editors because the three Victorian authors were not only frequent contributors to then-contemporary journals, but at the same time variously revising, republishing, and recycling their texts into book form or periodical form. Consequently this would lead to two distinct and contradictory genres in non-fictional prose: namely a ‘literary’ identity and a ‘documentary’ identity, as Guy and Small suggest in reflecting upon a possible evaluative criterion of Pater’s *Renaissance* (108). For, ‘an interest in periodical culture tends to prioritize the interconnection between a number of views or voices, rather than the rhetorical development over time of a single voice’ (104). In this way, Guy and Small illustrate the bewildering complexity of integrating such textual conditions and voices into coherent editorial principles, and deliberately foreground the significance and inevitability of literary value in non-fictional prose.

*Daichi Ishikawa*

Optical Impersonality traces the aesthetic consequences of a nineteenth-century shift in Western understandings of vision: springing from physiological inquiries into optics, this move turned away from a Cartesian belief in stable, objective forms that are perceived by a discrete, rational subject, and instead posited a complex dynamic in which vision, the body, and the viewer are ineluctably intertwined with the objects of perception. Christina Walter’s first chapter details the importance of Walter Pater as a forerunner of the modernist ‘impersonal aesthetic’, a reconfiguration of subjectivity from the stable Romantic ego that arose by way of this new consideration of vision (28). Walter begins by suggesting that The Renaissance challenges ideals of stable subjects and objects of vision. For example, in its concern with surpassing the divisions between art forms, Pater’s notion of Anders-streben exemplifies the instability and mutability of what Walter calls the modernist ‘imagetext’, works that trouble the traditional binary between the reified image and the acts of reading and rational interpretation. Moreover, by including discussions of copies and misattributed paintings in his exploration of the ‘Giorgionesque’ in ‘The School of Giorgione’, Pater demonstrates his indifference to Victorian scholarly conventions of artistic and historical attribution, thereby positioning even the artist himself as an imagetext, a slippery function that is subject to change. In ‘Style’ and ‘Prosper Mérimée’, Walter contends, Pater offers a model of impersonality based not on stable identity but on ongoing performance and a ‘desire for the unattainable’, which she clarifies as ‘the need to perceive and represent impersonal subjectivity, while also acknowledging the impossibility of ever fully doing so’ (55). The final section of the chapter turns to the ekphrastic poems in Michael Field’s Sight and Song, in which Walter locates a highly politicized extension of Pater’s impersonal aesthetic that unsettles Victorian identities of gender and social hierarchy.

Amanda Paxton
The posthumous publication of *Greek Studies* (1895), collected by Pater’s friend and literary executor Charles Shadwell, was particularly timely for establishing Pater’s lasting contribution and reputation. Because of the three-decade timespan over which the essays were published separately in journals, from the mid-1870s to the mid-‘90s, the collection seems to confirm the view of Pater as evolving from a youthful aesthetic writer to a moralistic author, even reconciled to Christianity – from caring primarily for style to becoming more intellectually substantial. And yet, Evangelista argues, the resurfacing of Pater’s 1876 essays on Greek myth in book form in the midst of the tumultuous 1890s had a surprising effect. The early essays on Dionysus and Demeter, in which ‘Pater struggles to find a language to speak about irrationality and the unconscious’, accumulate new meaning when received by readers who in the meantime have become familiar with Nietzsche and are on the threshold of Freud’s *Interpretation of Dreams* (1899). The historical impact of Shadwell’s edition may be felt in as great a work as *De Profundis*, wherein Oscar Wilde, from Reading Gaol, can be seen to grasp onto Pater’s notion of Dionysian sorrow to explain the fundamental wisdom of suffering at the heart of being human.

*Adam Lee*

In this essay Evangelista demonstrates how Pater and J. A. Symonds exploit ‘Goethe’s high status among English critics in order to turn him into an ante-litteram advocate of art for art’s sake’ (188), transforming Goethe from a genius to be worshiped into a model of the aesthetic life to be imitated. As Evangelista points out, this recovery of British aestheticism’s debt to Goethe complicates our received understanding of the Victorian Goethe as a cult hero established by Carlyle then codified by George Henry Lewes. Furthermore, recovering this late Victorian Goethe reorients our conception of the English Aesthetic Movement since it has ‘traditionally [been] understood as having its roots in France rather than Germany’ (182). Evangelista shows how Pater and Symonds draw from works by and about Goethe, Winckelman, and Schiller, but focuses his analysis on Pater and Symonds’s subversions of the previous Victorian appropriation of a line from Goethe’s poem ‘Generalbeichte’ (1804): ‘Im Ganzen, Guten, Schönem, / Resolut zu leben’ [In wholeness, good, beauty, / Resolutely to live]. Earlier in the century, Carlyle had made these lines famous even as he misquoted them, substituting ‘Wahren’ for ‘Schönen’, ‘truth’ for ‘beauty’, in effect suppressing Goethe’s endorsement of the aesthetic life. Pater, however, recovers in his essay on ‘Winckelmann’ and in the ‘Conclusion’ to *The Renaissance* the affirmation in Goethe’s poem of the sensual attractions of the material world and the critique of the ‘philistines who forsake all this for the sake of dry spirituality’ (187). Even though Pater’s ‘Winckelmann’ essay sustains Carlyle’s misquotation, Pater implicitly links Winckelmann’s affinity with classical culture to the German art historian’s homosexual desire through ‘a network of allusions’ to Goethe’s essay on Winckelmann (189). Similarly, J. A. Symonds draws on these lines by Goethe in his essay ‘The Genius in Greek Art’, published in *Studies of the Greek Poets* in 1873 – the same year Pater’s ‘Winckelmann’ appeared in *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*. Yet, whereas Pater’s challenge to Victorian homophobia depends on the English reader’s knowledge of Goethe’s then-untranslated essay, Symonds establishes ‘a much more immediately legible connection between art for art’s sake and homosexual desire’ (189). In his development of Goethe’s notion of a life lived
‘in wholeness’ (or, in Pater’s words, ‘in the whole’), Symonds draws on Schiller’s philosophical effort to overcome ‘the dichotomies between body and soul, passion and reason’, embracing a ‘harmonious development of the individual in all directions, including the drives towards pleasure and sexual impulses’ (190). This article provides a companion piece to Evangelista’s earlier article ‘The German Roots of British Aestheticism: Pater’s “Winckelmann”, Goethe’s Winckelmann, Pater’s Goethe’ (2004). By establishing the mediating force of German classicism for the Aesthetic Movement’s reception of Greek antiquity, these two articles also provide an important supplement to Evangelista’s British Aestheticism and Ancient Greece: Hellenism, Reception, Gods in Exile (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

Kit Andrews


This essay focuses on Pater as cultural historian. In conceiving of culture as a continuum, a cumulative process of ‘translation’ linking one form of cultural production to another across all time and space, Pater anticipates the viewpoints of later thinkers such as Freud, Jane Harrison, Walter Benjamin, and Aby Warburg. Rippl argues that ekphrasis is Pater’s primary mode – and the ‘imaginary portrait’, the ideal genre – with which to express this vision of cultural continuity. She begins with a brief reading of Pater’s Mona Lisa as a metaphor for his notion of culture and cultural memory, and then turns to an extended reading of ‘Denys L’Auxerrois’. In that imaginary portrait, the nineteenth-century narrator engages with the cultural past via an ekphrastic rendering of Gothic tapestry and stained glass, those objects themselves representing the reappearance in medieval France of ancient Greek culture and its god Dionysus. The essay ends with a section on Pater’s treatment of ancient Greece, arguing that Pater emphasizes the darker, anti-Apollonian side of Greek antiquity in order to demonstrate the cultural continuity between pagan and Christian culture. Rippl makes a number of other suggestive points along the way, arguing, for instance, that Pater’s literary portraits are meant to counter or resist the growing popularity of portrait photography.

Kenneth Daley
Essays with Notable References to Pater


Scholarly discord over the relation between music and poetry can be traced back to antiquity, culminating in Pater’s well-known statement in ‘The School of Giorgione’: ‘All art constantly aspires towards the condition of music’. Through a detailed analysis of the roles of song in print within and without Shakespeare’s plays (especially *Measure for Measure* and *1 Henry IV*), this essay offers a revisionist account of the contested relationship between music and poetry in the context of early modern print culture. In contrast to recent scholarly emphasis on performance dominant in his field, Mattison argues that ‘songs in print constitute a distinct nonmusical (and nonperformative) genre’; and then also that ‘print history and performance history point toward starkly different interpretations, opening up the possibility of a literary Shakespeare well removed from spoken and singing voices on stage’ (51). Careful attention to the multiple functions of Shakespearean songs in printed forms, Mattison suggests, inevitably reveals a genetic shift from the musical to the unmusical, from the theatrical to the literary or the poetic. Mattison’s interpretation of Pater’s ‘condition of music’ in comparison with, and in favour of, the material conditions of Shakespeare’s songs manifests itself in his alluring coda: ‘In Shakespeare, music aspires to – or at least acknowledges the inevitability of – the condition of literature’ (73). While it seems Pater’s role in this article is mostly subsidiary and shadowy, and Paterians might regret that Mattison does not refer to Pater’s other important essays on Shakespeare, even Pater’s relative absence here functions as a significant stepping-
stone to a possible way of reading Shakespeare’s texts as materially, rather than musically, as his literary listeners could do.

Daichi Ishikawa


This essay examines a recurring use in Victorian art and literary criticism of moral and characterological vocabulary to describe aesthetic and stylistic elements of artworks and texts. Sussman argues that critics like Ruskin, Arnold, and Pater – to each of whom a significant section of this essay is devoted – adopted this rhetorical strategy from eighteenth-century belles-lettres and classical Aristotelian models in order to articulate an appreciation of art and literature that could on the one hand be distinctively formalistic and aesthetic, and on the other hand could also be distinctively ethical. He thereby aims to contradict the literary-historical commonplace that critics like Pater and Wilde advocated for a strict separation of aesthetics from ethics. Sussman’s reading of Pater specifically, which includes discussions of The Renaissance, Marius the Epicurean, and Appreciations, demonstrates how Pater makes use of the above-mentioned critical discourse in order to define and advocate for a non-normative, non-utilitarian form of ethics. According to Sussman, Pater redefines ethical virtue as a form or style (that is, as an authentic way of being or thinking or feeling) rather than as a content (as an abstract moral value, a particular view of the world, a particular action or desired outcome, or a desired social arrangement – the more commonly-conceived notion at that time). For Pater, Sussman concludes, aesthetic forms and aesthetic experiences are therefore coextensive with an ethical imperative, rather than with the amoral hedonism or autonomy that Pater’s critics often, mistakenly, present.

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**Thomas Albrecht**, an Associate Professor of English at Tulane University in New Orleans, teaches Victorian literature, comparative literature, and literary criticism and theory. He is the author of *The Medusa Effect: Representation and Epistemology in Victorian Aesthetics* (2009), the editor of *Selected Writings by Sarah Kofman* (2007), and has contributed several short pieces to the *Pater Newsletter*. Currently he is writing a book about the relationship between ethics and aesthetics in the work of George Eliot.

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