The mid-nineteenth-century European revolutions (1848-51) are often overlooked or forgotten altogether in revolutionary histories; and yet the French and Italian revolutions (1848 and 1849 respectively) were key events in the lives of a number of writers, including Arthur Hugh Clough and Matthew Arnold.

Focussing on the French revolution, and to a lesser extent the Italian revolution, I aim to show the similarities and differences between the responses of Clough and Arnold. Clough, in particular, was fascinated by the 1848 revolution in France and his poetic career was bound to the wider revolutionary movement in Europe between 1848-51. Following Louis Napoleon’s coup d’état in 1851, Clough’s political and poetical involvement diminished considerably. For Arnold, the turmoil in France encouraged him to reflect on the role of the poet and his own role within the wider world. At first curious about the revolutions, he quickly turned against them and sought an escape through poetry, whilst also criticising Clough. However, through his relationship with Clough, Arnold continued to think and write about the revolutions, which he found troubling.

Keywords: Arnold, Clough, nineteenth-century revolutions, European revolutions, nineteenth-century poetry, nineteenth-century America, art and revolution

Author Bio:

Daniel Evers is a PhD candidate in English at the University of Bristol. He is undertaking a comparative literary study of British and American poetical responses to the mid-nineteenth century European revolutions. As well as Clough and Arnold, his thesis includes the works of Walt Whitman, Robert Browning, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Margaret Fuller, and Ralph Waldo Emerson. Daniel created and manages the postgraduate journal HARTS & Minds and the online literary magazine The New Union.

Author email: db9769@bristol.ac.uk
The 1840s and Early Political Involvement

The European revolutions of 1848-9 were key events in the lives of Arthur Hugh Clough and Matthew Arnold. Both poets lived through and responded to the revolutions during their formative poetic years. The outbreak of revolution was, therefore, a significant factor in determining the future direction of each poet’s work, which may be read in dialogue with each other. Clough, in particular, was fascinated by the 1848 revolution in France and his poetic career was bound to the wider revolutionary movement in Europe between 1848-51. His first major poem, *The Bothie of Toper-na-Fuosisich* (later changed to *Tober-na-Vuolich*), was written shortly after his visit to France in May 1848. *Amours de Voyage* followed in 1849 and was born of his experience in Rome during the French siege. Following Louis Napoleon’s coup d’état in 1851, Clough’s political and poetical involvement diminished considerably. For Arnold, the turmoil in France encouraged him to reflect on the role of the poet and his own role within the wider world. At first curious about the revolutions, he quickly turned against them and sought an escape through poetry, whilst also criticising Clough.

Clough’s first political involvement occurred at Oxford in the 1840s and it began with a personal crisis of faith. Clough struggled with his obligation as an Oxford student to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles. In 1843 he felt the burden of having to make such a decision but in 1844 he subdued his doubts and signed. However, in a letter dated November 1844 to John Philip Gell, an Anglican clergyman and a friend from Rugby, Clough wrote: ‘Without the least denying Xtianity, I feel little that I can call its power [...] Sometimes I have doubts whether it won’t turn out to be no Xty at all.’

In this passage Christianity has been graphically diminished, indicating Clough’s continued struggle. Between 1844 and 1848, Clough increasingly turned his attention to political matters, partly as a distraction from his religious malaise. In another letter from 1844 to Gell, he wrote: ‘I am considerably inclined to set to work at Political Economy, for the benefit of the rising generation;—and to see if I cannot prove “the Apostle of Anti-laissez-faire.”’

In 1846 he wrote a number of letters on political economy, which were published in *The Balance.* His political activity at this time was largely confined to anti-laissez-faire polemic, and in 1847 he wrote a pamphlet for the Oxford Retrenchment Association advocating an end to conspicuous consumption during the Irish famine.

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2 Mulhauser, To J. P. Gell, 13 July 1844, p. 130. ‘Apostle of Anti-laissez-faire’ is a reference to Thomas Carlyle who was one of the most influential cultural critics of laissez-faire policy during the 1840s.
By 1848 Clough had gained a reputation as a political radical and he was known as ‘the wildest and most écrivelé republican going’. His religious doubts also resurfaced at this time and he resigned his fellowship at Oxford. His freedom from the bondage of the Thirty-Nine Articles coincided with the outbreak of the revolutions. Clough’s personal revolution found its counterpart in Europe and inspired him to act. He wrote a robust response to ‘a remonstrance against his intention of resigning his Fellowship’: ‘No, but remember withal, that no man moves without having one leg always off, as well as one leg always on the ground. Your stationary gentleman undoubtedly has both for a basis, and much good may his double pedestal do him. — and — go shuffling along, lifting their feet as little as possible from the earth.’ The revolutions stimulated an aspect of Clough’s consciousness that had existed at Oxford and he declared: ‘If it were not for all these blessed revolutions, I should sink into hopeless lethargy’.

Arnold’s time at Oxford was also influential on his subsequent literary career. He too endured a crisis of faith as he questioned the conventional Anglican Christianity that had formed a significant part of his childhood. But unlike Clough, Arnold was largely silent on political issues in the years leading up to the revolutions. Edward Alexander writes that his silence ‘was so nearly complete as to offer evidence for the accusation that literary men, although they are bored by the tasks of reform, adore revolution; that they ignore the despair of their fellow men until it turns to rage and violence’. At Oxford, Arnold teased Clough for his radicalism and nicknamed him Citizen Clough. However, in April 1847, Arnold began to take an interest in politics through his work as private secretary to a leading Whig politician, Lord Lansdowne. Lansdowne was an elder statesman and Lord President of the Council in John Russell’s government. Arnold’s duties for Lansdowne were light, which allowed him time to pursue his literary career, but his experience also exposed him to the workings of aristocratic politics and informed his social and political thinking. Howard Foster Lowry writes that Arnold became attracted to ‘politics, London society, and high affairs’ following his appointment as Lansdowne’s secretary. Arnold felt the excitement of the impending revolutions and the uprising in France stimulated his thinking. Although more pronounced at first in Clough, Arnold shared his friend’s passion for social issues, and his exposure to political life revealed in Arnold tendencies that had remained subdued in the preceding years. However, Arnold’s response to the revolutions was ambiguous. Despite initially supporting the republican movement, Arnold found revolutionary action disturbing. And although he subsequently attempted to avoid political involvement, the

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4 Mulhauser, To Tom Arnold, 16 July 1848, p. 216. ‘Écrivelé’ in this context means something like ‘hare-brained’.
6 Prose Remains, To J.C. Shairp, Esq, 16 March 1848, p. 123.
immediacy of the European revolutions warranted a response. His letters and poems from 1848 reflect Arnold’s inner conflict.

Socialism and Working Class Revolution

In the immediate aftermath of the 1848 French revolution, Clough and Arnold both supported the cause of the French working class. However, their responses differed as Clough worried about the impact of a re-emergent bourgeoisie and Arnold suspected the revolutionaries of being ineffectual. The popular uprising also led the poets to reflect on the social situation in Britain. Arnold attended Chartist rallies in London, whilst Clough saw in the unity of the French people an example to follow. Clough wanted to write for the people, and to write about what he called ‘the actual, palpable things with which our everyday life is concerned’.9 At first his feelings remained largely confined to the pages of private correspondence.10 His early letters, written to an assortment of friends and family, betrayed Clough’s lingering doubts about the future of the revolution: ‘I fear I must stop and leave the Revolution to take its chance. Matt [Arnold] perhaps will send you later details but surely the republic will last a day or two.’11 Clough’s uncertainty was formed by his fear that the revolution had not done enough to change the structure of French society. At Oxford, Clough had been said to possess an ‘excessive regard for the more democratic and socialist tendencies of opinion, both here and in France.’12 He wanted the French to establish a republic based on principles of social progress but saw that ‘the Socialist people are all in the dumps.’13 He feared the emergence of a stronger bourgeoisie and wrote of his frustration: ‘Ichabod, Ichabod, the glory is departed. Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, driven back by shopkeeping bayonet, hides her red cap in dingiest St. Antoine. […] ‘Well-to-do-ism has taken the place of doing in this atmosphere of Donothingism.’14 Clough’s pessimism demonstrates how his state of mind was strongly linked to the fortunes of the revolutionary movement. As the state of the French revolution grew increasingly desperate, so Clough grew increasingly despondent. But he was disillusioned by the failure of the revolution, not its vision, and he remained hopeful. Upon returning to England, Clough used his experience of France to write The Bothie, an ode to the radicalism of 1848 and a critique of British society.

9 *Prose Remains*, p. 357. Like ‘revolution’ this term ‘the people’ had different connotations in Britain and America (as well as France).
10 One problem of only being able to evaluate Clough’s response to the revolution through his letters is that the context and intention of the letters makes such a difference. The content of Clough’s letters may have been determined by his sense of who he was addressing and one cannot, therefore, assume that his letters reflect everything he felt. However, they remain the only source of early insight into his thoughts on the revolutions.
13 Mulhauser, To Anne Clough, 14 May 1848, p. 204.
14 Mulhauser, To A. P. Stanley, 19 May 1848, p. 207. Well-to-do-ism and Donothingism are unmistakably Carlylean phrases.
In the immediate aftermath of the French revolution, Arnold initially shared Clough’s socialistic enthusiasm. However, as with politics, he had not taken much interest in social issues in the years before the revolutions. His time with Lansdowne had coincided with his employer’s work in Ireland during the famine, but the poet made no mention of the great hunger there until April 1848 when he condemned ‘Saxon landlords’ and ‘a Saxon Ch. Estabt’ and hoped that the English would not shed Irish blood.\textsuperscript{15} In Arnold’s letters about the French revolution there is curiosity and excitement but still no sign of a genuine political commitment. Arnold described the French upheaval as a bystander rather than a partisan and his ambivalent sympathies are evident by his fluctuation between ‘mob’ and ‘people’ as the appropriate term for the working class that he would later simply call ‘the Populace’. He expressed a hostile view of the French bourgeois regime: ‘I trust in God that feudal industrial class as the French call it, you [Clough] worship, will be clean trodden under’.\textsuperscript{16} Arnold does refer to the prospect of revolution reaching England, but his tone is far from solemn. In March 1848, Arnold wrote to his sister: ‘the spectacle of France is likely to breed great agitation: and such is the state of our masses that their movements now can only be brutal plundering and destroying’.\textsuperscript{17} But in another letter to Clough, he retreats into mock-seriousness: ‘Tell Edward I shall be ready to take flight with him the very moment the French land, and have engaged a Hansom to convey us both from the possible scene of carnage.’\textsuperscript{18}

Arnold reacted angrily to the fear amongst the people of London of a potential revolution: ‘I should be sorry to live under [a Chartist] government — nor do I intend to — though Nemesis would rejoice at their triumph. The ridiculous terror of the people here [in London] is beyond belief.’\textsuperscript{19} Arnold’s appetite for revolution was diminishing but in ‘To a Republican Friend’, written in March 1848, Arnold offers tentative support for French republicanism as a dedication to his radical friend Clough. The poem is cautiously optimistic even though Arnold remained troubled by the ‘repeated shocks’ of change in Europe.\textsuperscript{20} It was composed at the height of Clough’s own optimism, and Arnold offered his support for the French revolution: ‘God knows it, I am with you.’ But Arnold distinguished between desirable reforms and unrealistic expectations and offered his support only if the revolution made tangible progress tackling some of the most important social issues of the day. If the revolution could help ‘The armies of the homeless and unfed’ and prevent ‘The barren optimistic sophistries / Of comfortable moles’, then Arnold would also be a republican: ‘If

\textsuperscript{15}Lowry, London, early April 1848, p. 78.
\textsuperscript{16}Lowry, London, about 24 February 1848, p. 66.
\textsuperscript{18}Lowry, London, about 24 February 1848, p. 66.
\textsuperscript{19}Russell, To his Mother, Wednesday April 1848, p. 7. This is a good example of the problem with the term ‘the people’. Arnold refers to the ‘the people here’ (i.e. in London) but it is far from clear that this means ‘the common people’ and in fact it may mean the opposite: ‘people with something to lose’.
these are yours, if this is what you are, / Then am I yours, and what you feel, I share.' But Arnold warned that too few of the revolutionaries had the level of commitment necessary to achieve change: ‘Those virtues, priz’d and practis’d by too few’. Arnold may have deliberately set the bar too high because he suspected the revolutionaries of posturing. His concern increased in ‘To a Republican Friend, Continued’, a second sonnet written shortly after the first. Arnold had become ‘Rather to patience prompted, than that proud / Prospect of hope which France proclaims so loud’. He now warned that France was not an example to follow, returning to an old, anti-French stereotype: ‘France, fam’d in all great arts, in none supreme’.

Arnold’s view of the French was typical of his inner conflict and mirrored his response to the revolution as a whole. However, his view of the French working class was positive. Arnold described the quality of the French people in comparison to the Chartists: ‘it is the intelligence of their idea-moving masses which makes them, politically, as far superior to the insensible masses of England as to the Russian Serfs’. In many of Arnold’s letters about the new French republic, he expressed approval and even enthusiasm for the idea of a social, and almost socialistic democracy. He put the French common people at the vanguard of revolutionary Europe because, unlike their English counterparts, they were moved by ideas rather than self-interest. French power lay in the suggestion that such ideas were the properties of a whole people, not just the ruling classes. The French, Arnold told his mother, had become ‘the most civilised of European peoples’ because they declared an ideal of citizenship that they were consciously trying to reach. In response to an article by the Times that severely criticised the new French government for socialistic schemes, and that not only ignored ‘the laws which […] govern human wealth and human labour’ but went ‘absolutely contrary to the laws of nature itself’, Arnold asked Clough: ‘Don’t you think the eternal relations between labour and capital the Times twaddles so of have small existence for a whole society that has resolved no longer to live by bread alone.’ The Times article suggested that socialistic promises were condemned to failure by ‘inevitable necessity’. But for Arnold there was no necessity in economic ‘laws’ any more than in other man-made institutions: ‘If there is necessity anywhere, it is in the Corruption of man’. A week later Arnold observed a riot in Trafalgar Square. He informed those that he met that the true object of their rage was not royalty but economic and social oppression: ‘I have been a constant attender on the emeutes here — endeavours to impress on the mob that not royalty but aristocracy — primogeniture — large land and mill owners were their true enemies here.’

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21 ‘To a Republican Friend’, in Poems of Arnold, p. 45, ll. 12; 5-6; 13-14; 2.  
23 Russell, To his Sister, 10 March 1848, p. 6.  
24 Russell, To his Sister, 10 March 1848, p. 5.  
25 The Times, 1 March 1848, p. 5; Lowry, 1 March 1848, p. 68.  
26 Lowry, 1 March 1848, p. 69.  
27 Lowry, 8 March 1848, p. 74.
Clough, too, supported the people and did not condemn them for the bloodshed of the June Days: 'The four days of June I dare say you have heard spoken of in a somewhat shrieky accent. But the cruelties are unquestionably exaggerated [...] I confess I regard it in the same light as a great battle, with, on the whole, less horror, and certainly more meaning, than most great battles that one reads of.' But whereas Arnold eventually turned against the people and their revolution, Clough continued to support the French ideas of solidarity and brotherhood. He saw in France a striving to unify the French people in an egalitarian society. He was inspired by the perceived social unity in France to write of social divisions that he saw in Britain. Clough used the French example to suggest how British society might learn from the revolution.

Although he rarely ventured outside his own upper-middle class social group, Clough attempted to identify with the working classes during the 1840s. His friend James Anthony Froude reported that 'Clough and I had come to the conclusion that we had no business to be 'gentlemen', that we ought to work with our hands, etc'.

Clough later alluded to popular republicanism, specifically Chartism, in his poetry including *The Bothie* in 1848 and 'Say not the Struggle Nought Availeth' in 1849. Unlike the 'democratic speech' of other young men at Oxford, Clough's avowal of 'Chartism' inspired 'more dread' because it was not merely 'a pastime'. He sympathised with popular radicalism in Britain as well as in Europe and Chartism held a certain attraction for middle and upper class intellectuals like Clough. Being of wealthy parentage, a sort of sin or bondage, found its remedy in inter-class love which offered liberation to the wealthy man.

In an early version of the 1849 poem 'Ho Thëos meta sou' [God be with you], Clough wrote of this idea in addressing 'my Highland lassie' (a relationship that, as we shall see, he had also written about in more detail in *The Bothie*):

Thrice blessed, oh, the life wherewith, new blood of strength
and health
Thy pure and democratic lips endue the child of wealth,
Oh blessed hundredfold, to hold enfranchised by thy kiss
The charter, and the freeman's fee of unfactitious bliss:
Of the lies of breeding, birth, and rank confession made, the grace
Of absoluition plenary to gain in they embrace.

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31 It is important to note that despite his upbringing and his education at Rugby and Oxford, Clough and his family endured mixed financial fortunes. Shortly after the end of the revolutionary period, Clough found himself desperate for an income so that he could marry his fiancée, Blanche. He travelled to America in 1852 after Emerson assured him that he would find work easy to come by. However, he found few opportunities and wrote many letters home worrying about his own financial situation and the future of his relationship with Blanche. He eventually admitted defeat and returned to England where his upper class friends had secured him a job.
Offering liberation to both rich and poor, Chartist and republican equality offered Clough an idea of social relations that *The Bothie*, and later *Amours de Voyage*, would interrogate through romantic love.

Philip Hewson is an embodiment of this idea in *The Bothie* which was a study, and in many ways a parody, of upper-class radicalism and intellectualism as well as a critique of British society. Clough was struck by the disparity between what he saw as the unity amongst social groups in France and the class divide in Britain. *The Bothie* imagines a model of social unity for Britain similar to that which he observed in France. Philip, the central figure of the poem, is a student, a poet, and a Chartist but he is also a threat to established social conventions because of his pursuit of working class Elspie. Clough thought of love as an emotion capable of challenging established social and political structures because, like the revolutions, it demanded a new concept of unity between individuals. His inspiration for Philip may have come from Matthew Arnold’s brother Tom. Clough read Tom’s ‘*New Zealand Letters*’ which were written at the end of 1847 and embodied the revolutionary point of view that Clough would adopt in 1848. Tom wrote: ‘I am one of the rich class. I have *servants* to wait upon me; I am fed and clothed by the labour of the poor, and do nothing for them in return. The life I lead is an outrage and a wrong to humanity.’

Tom lamented the established order of the class system because it replaced ‘*Freedom, Equality, [and] Brotherhood*’ with oppression. For Tom, and Clough, the revolution was a just cause because it attempted to destroy these artificial relationships: ‘It is not a class triumphing over class, but a whole people getting rid of a *sham*, trampling under foot a lie’. By promoting a relationship between two members of different social classes, *The Bothie* became a critique of established social order and a vision of social progress. Through Philip’s relationship with Elspie, Clough celebrated the possibility of love transcending class boundaries and bringing stability to an unstable social fabric. Their love was revolutionary because it penetrated the false social structure that would have denied them their relationship. Social convention is re-centred around Philip and Elspie’s inter-class marriage and Philip is able to transcend ‘the whole great wicked artificial civilised fabric’. Elspie’s ‘pure and democratic’ love is emancipatory for Philip who finds resolution to his political and social trials through his love for her.

*The Bothie* was written shortly after Clough’s return from revolutionary France and it speaks positively about contemporary radical politics. Through Philip, the Chartist sympathiser, Clough transposed his observations of the French revolution onto British politics. Philip is described as:

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34 *New Zealand Letters*, p. 217.

35 *New Zealand Letters*, p. 69.

The poem uses common themes of Chartist poetry, such as the dependence of the rich on the labour of the poor, and Philip subtly attacks the conspicuous consumption and oppressive practices of the upper classes (much as Clough had done in his pamphlet for the Oxford Retrenchment Association). In one scene, Philip satirises the ‘flattering nobles’ who fail to grasp the irony of his language: ‘Yet I myself have little claim to this honor of having my health drunk, / For I am not a game-keeper, I think, nor a game-preserver.’ But Philip also articulates Clough’s uncertainty and introduces one of the poet’s most important metaphors, that of the night-battle. Philip, ‘the radical hot’, declares:

If there is battle, ’tis battle by night: I stand in the darkness,
Here in the melee of men, Ionian and Dorian on both sides,
Signal and password known; which is friend and which is foeman?
Is it a friend? I doubt, though he speak with the voice of a brother.

*The Bothie* attempts to harmonise the themes of politics and love by connecting the ideal with the world of the real. Clough’s doubts about the actual application of political action are counteracted by the ideals of social equality. Philip’s friend Hobbes explains that Philip’s marriage is ‘an allegory’ for the ‘duality, compound, and complex’ that unites ‘one part heavenly-ideal, the other vulgar and earthy’ in all spheres of human endeavour, including politics.

**Politics and Poetry**

Arnold never became a partisan radical but he was also unable to entirely escape the influence of the revolutions. In September 1849, over a year since the start of the French revolution, Arnold wrote to Clough of ‘these damned times—everything is against one—the height to which knowledge is come [...] light profligate friends, moral desperadoes like Carlyle, our own selves, and the sickening consciousness of our difficulties’. Unable to avoid the revolutions, Arnold determined to focus on poetry and by doing so believed that he would remain uncontaminated by the ‘strange disease’ and ‘sick hurry’ of ‘modern

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37 The Bothie, I, p. 205.
38 The Bothie, I, p. 206.
40 The Bothie, IX, pp. 255-56.
41 Lowry, 23 September 1849, p. 111.
Arnold wanted to keep politics and poetry separate because he believed that involvement in political action would debase poetry. He warned that a political poet might 'lose his self-knowledge, and talk of his usefulness and imagine himself a Reformer'.\(^{43}\) He was deeply curious about the political events of 1848 but determined to resist the danger of political writing: 'I was myself tempted to attempt some political writing the other day, but in the watches of the night I seemed to feel that in that direction I had some enthusiasm of the head perhaps, but no profound stirring. So I desisted.'\(^{44}\) Clough's admission that 'If it were not for all these blessed revolutions, I should sink into hopeless lethargy' supported Arnold's belief that a poet might 'imagine himself a Reformer' and become distracted from the pursuit of poetry. Arnold thought that for men like Clough, 'revolutions and bodily illnesses are fine anodynes when he is agent or patient therein: but when he is a spectator only, their kind effect is transitory.'\(^{45}\) His reluctance to become a wholehearted partisan of the revolutions arose from his conviction of the limitations of political action and of its tendency to distract men from their proper study and Arnold from his proper vocation. He looked upon those who spiritually immersed themselves in revolution as people seeking to escape self-knowledge and the real, inward struggle of life through the distraction of action for its own sake.

However, as we have seen, Arnold's attempt to avoid political writing failed in the first months of the French revolution during which time he wrote 'To a Republican Friend' and 'To a Republican Friend, Continued'. Both were written in March 1848 and it was through writing poetry that Arnold was able to understand the revolution and its spiritual limitations. In the second sonnet, Arnold wrote that a regenerated world would not come about by human action, but by divine transcendent action, or the apocalypse:

Nor will that day dawn at a human nod  
When, bursting through the network superpos'd  
By selfish occupation—plot and plan,  
Lust, avarice, envy—liberated man,  
All difference with his fellow man compos'd,  
Shall be left standing face to face with God.\(^{46}\)

Arnold declared that change would not occur in the mortal world. Only a god could influence the course of history, like Zeus (or Jove) who nodded to confirm the decrees of fate.\(^{47}\) The sonnet undermined the positive assertions made about the French revolution in the first and demonstrated Arnold's lack of belief in the power of the people to change the world. Arnold's transcendentalism, or

\(^{42}\) 'Scholar Gipsy', p. 224.  
^{43}\) Lowry, 1845, p. 59.  
^{44}\) Russell, To his Sister, 10 March 1848, p. 5.  
^{45}\) Lowry, 1 March 1848, p. 68.  
^{46}\) 'To a Republican Friend, Continued', p. 45, ll. 9-14.  
^{47}\) An example of this can be found in Porphyry's On the Philosophy to be derived from Oracles, p. 238; 'Zeus nods on high to fix the changeless doom.'
quietism, also formed the basis of his later poems including ‘The World and the Quietist’. He concluded that political action was futile in a world where humanity had little influence over its own future. Despite certain commendable qualities of the French and the promise of their reforms, Arnold did not believe ‘that these people in France have much dreamed of the deepest wants of man, or are likely to enlighten the world much on the subject.’

The Bothie demonstrated an aesthetic that troubled Arnold and he addressed Clough in many of the poems that he wrote between 1848 and 1849 because Clough remained sympathetic to the revolutions. ‘The World and the Quietist’ presented a debate between a quietist speaker and a republican, Critias, generally accepted to represent Clough. The poem criticised the European revolutionaries for pursuing power with ‘passionate will’ and declared that for both the ‘rugged Labourer’ and the ‘Great King’, ‘omnipotence’ was an illusion because the rotation of ‘Life’s mighty wheel’ would continue to alter the balance of power. In ‘Revolutions’, Arnold warned existing and emerging Empires, including those of Britain and America, about the ever-changing course of history:

And Empire after Empire, at their height
Of sway, have felt this boding sense come on.
Have felt their huge frames not constructed right,
And droop’d, and slowly died upon their throne.

He wrote of the ‘inextinguishable sense’ that ‘Haunts’ mankind because ‘he has not made what he should.’ Arnold did not believe that the revolutionaries would be able to stop ‘life’s mighty wheel’ from turning. Instead, by focussing on poetry, Arnold believed that he could elevate himself above the status of a ‘Reformer’. As he stood amongst the Chartists in England and looked towards France, Arnold questioned his place in the world and attempted to address the issue through poetry. He believed that true understanding required the suppression of the urge for practical involvement in the affairs of the world in favour of detachment from human activity. The philosophy of the speaker in Arnold’s political poems led to what Clough called ‘an over-educated weakness of purpose’ and suggested an inability on the speaker’s part to discover meaning in the events that were occurring around him. Despite attempting to separate politics and poetry, Arnold continued to dwell reluctantly in Clough’s revolutionary ‘Time Stream’ as he attempted to make sense of the wider world and his place within it.

As with Arnold, the European revolutions led Clough to consider his role as a poet. However, Clough betrayed Arnold’s idea of the correct relationship between the poet and society and actively used the revolutions as inspiration to experiment with poetic style and form. He wanted to revolutionise the way in

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48 Russell, To his Mother, Wednesday April 1848, p. 7.
51 Prose Remains, p. 372.
which poetry was written and received, and it was poetry that provided him with the required tools to bring the revolutions to expression. For Clough, the relationship between politics and poetry was important, but he was not as consciously concerned as Arnold claimed to be. However, in July 1848, Clough wrote to Tom Arnold: ‘Matt was at one time really heated to a very fervid enthusiasm, but he has become sadly cynical again of late. However, I think the poetism goes on favourably.’ 52 Clough’s observation suggests that the revolutions did not affect Arnold’s poetry as much as Arnold himself protested. But the revolutions had a more positive effect on Clough and inspired him to revolutionise the form and content of his poetry. Clough praised language as being ‘democratic’ and as a ‘new and living instrument’ for the poet and his culture. Clough developed a form to which politics was intrinsic. Clough’s language enacts the radical significance of the thematic content of his poetry. Only by experimenting was Clough able to find a form that would fit his radical views. His most successful experiment was *The Bothie*, and through the revolutions Clough was able to consider the world in which he lived. He believed that politics and the ordinary, everyday occurrences of life were valuable poetic subjects. The revolutions provided Clough with the inspiration to think of poetry in a revolutionary way. They also provided the material capable of bringing the complex contemporary situation to expression. For Arnold though, *The Bothie* exemplified the negative consequences of making poetry political. He wrote a fierce assessment of the poem and thought that it had fallen captive to the rage that many had felt in the aftermath of the French revolution. Arnold believed that it served only to satisfy a need for superficial topicality.

*The Bothie* concludes by apparently questioning the effectiveness of political action as Philip decides to emigrate to New Zealand with Elspie. Tom Arnold had made the same journey and it seems that both he and Philip had resolved to avoid revolutionary action. But perhaps it was simply their radical integrity that made evasion seem like the only credible solution to a troubling political situation. Clough wrote that in amongst the ‘infinite jumble and mess and dislocation’ of the revolutions, ‘Let us get on as we can, and do the thing we are fit for, / Every one for himself, and the common success for us all’. 53 Clough’s conclusion seems to reject the idea of political action but for Philip (and Tom Arnold) emigration was a rational response to ‘the futility of all individual efforts to stem the stream’. 54 In July 1849, Tom wrote to Clough: ‘I always said before leaving England that I would return at once if there was a revolution; and so I would’. 55 However, Clough is a great ironist, and, given he was aware of Tom Arnold’s views as early as 1847, it seems fair to suggest that he may have been targeting him, by accusing Tom of abandoning the cause. Whilst Tom saw emigration as the only possible course of action, Clough thought he had taken the easy way out. If Tom had pledged to return ‘if there was a revolution’, why did he

52 Mulhauser, To Tom Arnold, 16 July 1848, p. 215.
54 *New Zealand Letters*, p. 217.
55 *New Zealand Letters*, p. 124.
not do so in 1848? And although he later realised that he was not cut out to be a revolutionary, in 1848 Clough felt that it was necessary to witness the French revolution for himself.

By February 1849, Clough’s own enthusiasm for the revolutions had cooled and he wrote to Tom: ‘I think we rash young men may learn from the failure and discomfort of our friends in the new Republic. The millennium, as Matt says, won’t come this bout, I am myself much more inclined to be patient and make allowance for existing necessities than I was.’ However, he also realised that ‘The very fighting of the time taught one that there were worse things than pain, and makes me more tolerant of the less acute though more chronic miseries of society; these also are stages towards good, or conditions of good.’

Clough understood that the revolutions were an important step towards achieving social equality and he was prepared to be patient. Emerson thought that *The Bothie* was a ‘bold hypothetical discussion of the most serious questions that bubble up at this very hour in London, Paris, and Boston’.

As was true for political poets to follow, the French revolution provided tangible examples. Alphonse de Lamartine was instrumental in the foundation of the republic and was, some said, responsible for the revolution itself because of his well-known book, *Histoire des Girondins* [*History of the Girondists*], published in 1847. Arnold’s employer, Lord Lansdowne, commented that ‘Poets should hold up their heads now a Poet is at the head of France.’ But any pride Arnold may have felt was superseded by his belief that Lamartine had become ‘more clergyman than Poet’ and the Frenchman became an example of the threat that political action posed to poetry. Arnold saw that the value of the French revolution was ‘always not absolute but relative’ and he preferred ‘to read their relative not their absolute literature. Which last is tiresome […]’

Seditious songs have nourished the French people much more than the Socialist: philosophers. Lamartine was a cautionary example, but no French writer represented more of a threat to Arnold’s pure aesthetic than Pierre-Jean de Béranger. At one time Arnold enjoyed reading Béranger but the ‘chansonnier’ soon came to embody all that Arnold believed had repeatedly forced France into political turmoil. Béranger’s seditious songs indulged the French people’s penchant for political action. Like Lamartine, Béranger took a position, albeit reluctantly, in the newly formed National Assembly and thus became part of the political system that Arnold rejected. By autumn 1848, Arnold was ‘getting tired’ of Béranger and wrote to Clough that he thought there was ‘something “fade” about the French poet.’ Béranger was one of the ‘prophets’ whose songs had helped to initiate the revolution of 1830 and which remained inspirational to many in 1848. Arnold’s frustration with Béranger was mirrored in his dissatisfaction at the French revolution of 1848 and which remained inspirational to many in 1848. Arnold’s

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56 Mulhauser, To Tom Arnold, 15 February 1849, p. 243.
58 Lowry, 1 March 1848, p. 69.
59 Lowry, 1 March 1848, p. 69.
60 Lowry, 8 March 1848, p. 74.
61 Lowry, 29 September 1848, pp. 92-93.
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revolution. For Clough, meanwhile, reading Béranger was an important part of his formative poetic experience and the influence of the chansonnier's work is evident in his poetry. He was drawn to Béranger because he saw a poetry that was able to transcend class divides and that articulated the frustrations of the people.

America and Nation Building

Although Clough and Arnold primarily used the French revolution to consider British problems, they also took America as a focal point for thinking specifically about revolutionary action. In the post-colonial nineteenth century, American and British ideas had formed in uneasy parallel but America was a key example of a republican experiment that, although flawed, remained the only successful model for establishing a republican government in the wake of a revolution. Clough and Arnold had very different ideas about America and these varied responses were indicative of their different responses to the European revolutions. Arnold viewed America suspiciously and thought of American culture as inferior to European models. He rejected American ideas of violent revolutionary action in favour of Burkan ideas of social reform. As the European revolutions were unfolding, Arnold feared ‘a wave of more than American vulgarity, moral, intellectual, and social, preparing to break over us.’ He called Richard Rush, the American ambassador to France, a ‘vulgar fussy Yankee’. Rush congratulated the French provisional government on behalf of the American government and expressed his joy that American principles had been implemented in France. Arnold’s opinion of American civilisation was equally harsh and he bemoaned its philistinism. He viewed it as a threat to the educated world with the intolerable laideur [ugliness] of the well-fed American masses, so deeply anti-pathetic to continental Europe.’ Arnold reflected with disdain on what he thought of as the morally beleaguered young men of Oxford who had turned to Ralph Waldo Emerson for guidance. He did not like Clough’s American friends and criticised their influence on his poetry which he believed had contributed to ‘a growing sense of the deficiency of the beautiful in your poems’. Arnold often teased Clough about his childhood home in South Carolina, referring to the Americans as ‘your brothers’ and repeating Jules Michelet’s characterisation (Arnold calls it ‘superb’) of ‘La dure inintelligence des Anglo-Americains [The stark stupidity of Anglo-Americans].

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62 Clough directly quotes from Béranger’s song ‘Ma grand’mere’ in Dipsychus: Eh?/What do those pretty verses say?/Ah comme je regretted/Mon bras si dodu/Ma jambe bien faite/ Et le temps perdu/ Et le temps perdu.
63 Russell, To his Mother, 7 March 1848, p. 5.
64 Lowry, 1 March 1848, p. 69.
65 Russell, To his Sister, 10 March 1848, p. 6.
66 Lowry, 24 February 1848, p. 66.
67 Lowry, 24 February 1848, p. 66.
Clough, however, saw America as a place of ‘Transatlantic new life’. He ignored Arnold and used America as a reference point for his developing political thought. He remained fond of America throughout his life and often compared ‘the young, and hopeful, and humane republic [America], to this cruel, unbelieving, inveterate old monarchy [Britain].’ Clough was particularly fond of Emerson, who became a major influence on his poetry. Clough later observed that ‘Emerson is the only profound man in this country [America]’, and the two poets spent time together in England and France in 1848. Shortly before he wrote The Bothie, Clough met with Emerson before the American returned home. Clough complained that ‘Carlyle has led us all out into the desert and he has left us there’. In response, Emerson ordained Clough ‘Bishop of all England’ and gave him the task of going ‘up and down through the desert to find out these wanderers and to lead them into the promised land.’ Emerson hoped that Clough would become a sort of poet-prophet to safeguard the future of poetry in Britain and he found The Bothie to be an excellent start to Clough’s task. Other American readers also admired The Bothie, something that Clough noticed when he travelled to America in 1852: ‘Here, in Boston, I am the celebrated author of The Bothie,’ a whole edition of which was printed and sold, they say, here! Clough felt at home in America and his poetry seemed more agreeable to American tastes: ‘it is an immense thing to feel that you really are in all likelihood wanted, whereas in London one was wasted in occupying a place which some one else wished for.’ Emerson later wrote that he thought of Clough as ‘the best American’. Clough spent time looking for work in America so that he could stay, but he was eventually unsuccessful and returned to England. ‘I like America all the better for the comparison with England on my return’, he wrote. For Clough, America was a symbol of New World potential and social equality: ‘No sort of real superiority of breeding or anything attaches as it does in England to the rich.’ He knew that America offered him an escape if things did not work out in England: ‘England, we who know America agree, is more endurable because of one’s knowledge of America as a refuge.’ It was ‘the

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70 Letters and Remains, Letters written from America, 9 March 1853, p. 250.
71 Emerson later recalled this meeting to Edward Everett Hale and this text is taken from Hale’s ‘James Russell Lowell and His Friends’, in The Outlook (1898), p. 46.
72 Emerson wrote to Clough in January 1849 praising The Bothie: ‘I cannot tell you how great a joy to me is your poem [The Bothie]. […] For this poem is a high gift from angels that are very rare in our mortal state. It delights and surprises me from beginning to end. I can hardly forgive you for keeping your secret from me so well. […] It is a noble poem. Tennyson must look to his laurels. It makes me & all of us richer’.
75 Emerson-Clough Letters, Letter 34 Emerson to Mrs Clough, 14 January 1862.
77 Letters and Remains, Letters written from America, 9 March 1853, p. 250.
happiest and best country going’ and Clough’s letters are full of positive reports of American life and politics: ‘I really am very comfortably settled, on very easy terms with the American world in general, and have nothing to complain of; ‘Still I like America best’; and ‘I could not venture with any comfort without the prospect of America beyond.’\(^{79}\) It was a place of renewal and reinvigoration, and although Clough was sometimes ‘overpowered by the burden and weight of European metropolitan life’ he was ‘driven in spirit to the solution of Transatlantic new life’.\(^{80}\)

The 1848 revolution was an example of this ‘new life’ in the Old World. It also provided an example of how European communities were attempting to unify disparate peoples into single nations (much as the Americans had attempted to do through the creation of the Union). The Italian Risorgimento was another of the most important political movements of the nineteenth century and was a key element of the 1849 Italian revolution. These events were exemplary for Clough who observed tensions between England and the Celtic nations. The Bothie, as well as discussing social issues, examines ideas of cultural identity and nationalism. Italy was perhaps the prime example of nation building in Europe and The Bothie was a poem about the anxiety of nationhood and the future of Britain and Europe in a time of constantly shifting national and local boundaries. One observer noted of mid-nineteenth century France that ‘every valley is still a little world that differs from the neighbouring world as Mercury does from Uranus. Every village is a clan, a sort of state with its own patriotism.’\(^{81}\) The French revolution attempted to unite the people of France in one socially egalitarian republic and The Bothie is a reflection of the cultural and political developments that it explores but of which it is also a part. It embodies nationalist hopefulness and although Clough’s commitment to the issue is often ambiguous, The Bothie encourages the reader to understand and engage with it.

Clough muses on the unification of people and nations through language and culture, focussing particularly on the relationship between England and Scotland. He imagines how French aspirations towards democratic national unity might be applied to Britain. The dinner scene at the opening of The Bothie is a microcosm of the existing social order, and personal relationships between Philip and his various love interests are allegories for political arrangements. For example, Philip’s involvement with Katie is an experiment in ‘that confounded égalité, French manufacture’.\(^{82}\) But Katie is not a good match and Philip eventually chooses Elspie, saying ‘Only let each man seek to be that for which Nature meant him.’\(^{83}\) Philip’s relationship with Elspie is not only between two different classes but also between ethnic groups. Elspie compares Philip’s presence in Scotland to Spanish colonialism in South America and Clough

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\(^{80}\) Letters and Remains, Letter to Charles Eliot Norton, 21 September 1853, pp. 263-64.

\(^{81}\) Quoted in Peter Marsden, The Decline of Politics: Governance, Globalization, and the Public Sphere (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2003), p. 127.

\(^{82}\) The Bothie, II, p. 212.

\(^{83}\) The Bothie, IX, p. 251.
Elspie defends herself from Philip's imperialist incursion and the invasion of English culture into Scotland. Her reference to Spanish imperialism makes Philip and his group seem threatening and potentially violent but she settles into an acceptance of a mixing of 'life-juices of all the world and ages' that Philip can help to convey. Clough does not celebrate or reject cultural imperialism, instead he offers a solution for unification through Elspie's relationship with Philip, but reminds the reader of the potential for the annihilation of one culture by the aggressive politics of another. Elspie eventually unites with Philip but never fully overcomes her objections: 'a revulsion again came over the spirit of Elspie / When she thought of his wealth, his birth and education'.

Clough's use of language is also part of the discourse on cultural identity. He comments ironically on language by making each character talk like an Oxford undergraduate. Even the working class Scots talk as if they are upper class English students. His use of language in *The Bothie* is a commentary on the unbalanced and often oppressive relationship between England and Scotland and the wider issue of colonialism and cultural identity. By reshaping established conventions of poetry using an American model (Clough's contemporary inspiration for his use of hexameters was Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Evangeline*) Clough was able to liberate poetry from the cultural expectations of the English intellectual classes. But although Elspie's speech may be just as

85 *The Bothie*, VIII, p. 245.
powerful as Philip's, his class superiority and his English cultural heritage mean that Elspie is not perceived as being his intellectual equal. The poem examines how ethnic differences make a particular group seem socially superior or inferior and how this exerts pressure on its own members and those of a competing group. The generic use of language in The Bothie (or rather a lack of distinct dialects or patterns of speech) leads to the loss of an authoritative voice.

Beyond the French Revolution

Shortly after Clough had published The Bothie in November 1848, Arnold wrote to him to announce his withdrawal from the ‘Time Stream in which [Clough and his friends] plunge and bellow.’ Arnold wrote: ‘I became calm in spirit, but uncompromising, almost stern […] and refuged myself […] against your Zeit Geist.’ Clough later countered Arnold’s criticism by accusing him of ‘turning and twisting his eyes, in the hope of seeing things as Homer, Sophocles, Virgil, or Milton saw them’. After the June Days Arnold wrote to Clough, ‘What a nice state of things in France. The New Gospel is adjourned for this bout. If one had ever hoped any thing from such a set of d——d grimacing liars as their prophets one would be very sick just now. I returned and saw under the sun etc. — but time and chance happeneth unto all.’ The last line, taken from Ecclesiastes, shows that Arnold was seeking old, or rather different, sources of stability amidst the revolutionary turmoil. In ‘To a Friend’, another poem addressed to Clough, Arnold turns to the classical literary past for inspiration. The poem contains an admission that the French revolution had forced Arnold to question his place in the world: ‘Who prop, thou ask’st, in these bad days, my mind?’ The answer is Homer, Sophocles, and Epictetus who provided comfort from the ‘bad days’ of the revolutions. Arnold warns that resisting the revolutions is imperative to following the proper study of mankind.

Arnold looked to the past for comfort in uncertain times. Clough, despite dealing directly with the revolutions, also turned to the past. He shared an interest in the resurgence of classical forms, as demonstrated by The Bothie, and he believed that engagement with the past fuelled poetic intervention in the present. Clough’s second important poem of the revolutionary period was Amours de Voyage, written after his experience in Rome during the French siege of 1849. Amours shows how Clough was moving away from an optimistic involvement in the revolutions towards Arnold’s detachment from political action. When Clough wrote Amours he had become increasingly disillusioned with the revolutions and his own involvement. He writes of the isolation and dislocation felt by Claude (the poem’s protagonist) in an ending that was

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86 Lowry, 15, 22, or 29 November 1848, p. 95.
87 Prose Remains, p. 368.
88 Lowry, Thursday late June or early July 1848, p. 84; Ecclesiastes 9:11: ‘I returned, and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all.’
considered unsatisfactory by many readers, including Emerson who had found *The Bothie* so agreeable. In *Amours*, Clough deals with knowledge and experience. He distinguishes between realism and idealism as Claude looks at ‘real, palpable things’ and realises that his actions can change nothing. Claude’s submission to knowledge and inaction (realism) emphasises the life that he has forsaken, namely one of love and political commitment (idealism). Claude bids ‘farewell’ to politics and Rome repeatedly throughout the poem. In his final letter he writes ‘Politics, farewell’, calling it ‘things o’er / Which I can have no control’ and he describes himself as dead to art, having ‘no heart [...] for any marble or fresco’.\(^90\) Over the course of the poem, Claude comes to the realisation that love, politics, and art are ‘factitious’ realms of falsehood and deception.\(^91\) He renounces politics and sees the ‘vanity’ of Rome.\(^92\) However, in an ironic twist (in keeping with Clough’s continued uncertainty) Claude’s obsession with falsehoods actually exposes his devotion to the very things that he seeks to renounce. In describing the factitiousness of republican politics, Roman art, and the love of Mary Trevellyn, Claude continues to ponder each subject in turn. He may collapse under the weight of his experience in a politically fraught world, but the poem harnesses this knowledge to provide a critique of the world that produced it:

So go forth to the world, to the good report and the evil!
Go, little book! thy tale, is it not evil and good?
Go, and if strangers revile, pass quietly by without answer.
Go, and if curious friends ask of thy rearing and age,
Say, ’I am flitting about many years from brain unto brain of
Feeble and restless youths born to inglorious days:
But,’ so finish the word, ’I was writ in a Roman chamber,
When from Janiculan heights thundered the cannon of France.’\(^93\)

The poem tries to redeem the ideals that Claude cannot embrace, such as republican politics in ‘inglorious days’, and art and love at a moment of revolution. Before visiting Rome, Clough wrote mockingly of the ‘glorious anniversary of the great revolution of 48’ which had reduced France to another dictatorship under Louis Napoleon as the ‘great powers’ attempted to ‘restore the Pope, and crush the renascent (alite lugubri) Roman republic’.\(^94\) The tragic ending of *Amours* refuses to find solace elsewhere as the sentimentality of *The Bothie* is removed. For Claude, neither love nor politics nor art has the power to rescue the world from its own corruption. Set in ‘Rubbishy’ Rome, which ‘disappoints’ Claude, Amours is intensely unsentimental.\(^95\) It negotiates the ideal

\(^{91}\) ‘Factitious’ is repeated throughout *Amours de Voyage*. The first mention of the term is in Canto II, Letter XI, Claude to Eustace, p. 289.
\(^{92}\) *Amours de Voyage*, Canto I, Letter I, Claude to Eustace, p. 269.
\(^{93}\) *Amours de Voyage*, Canto V, Epilogue, p. 316.
\(^{94}\) *Prose Remains*, To Tom Arnold, 24 February 1849, p.121.
\(^{95}\) *Amours de Voyage*, Canto I, Letter I, Claude to Eustace, p. 269.
and the real in a way that refuses sentimentality and embraces the Arnoldian
'spirit of withdrawal and seclusion from, and even evasion of, the actual world'.
Amours demonstrates an awareness of the barriers that prevent republican
ideals from being realised, but it is also aware of the problems embedded in the
ideals themselves. The poem combines idealism and realism, and critically
engages with republicanism as well as the world in which democracy was trying
to establish itself.

Amours, unlike The Bothie, emphasises the distance between the ideal and
the real. Claude is Philip Hewson's opposite as he is condemned to live in a world
of experience. Where Philip joined love and politics in celebration, Claude
renounces both politics and love: 'I have slunk from the perilous field in / Whose
wild struggle of forces the prizes of life are contested.' Claude is forced into the
role of war correspondent, a role he does not want: 'I, who avoided it all, am
fated, it seems, to describe it.' A political awakening ensues:

I, who nor meddle nor make in politics,—I who sincerely
Put not my trust in leagues nor any suffrage by ballot,
Never predicted Parisian millenniums, never beheld a
New Jerusalem coming down dressed like a bride out of heaven
Right on the Place de la Concorde,—I, nevertheless, let me say it,
Could in my soul of souls, this day, with the Gaul at the gates shed
One true tear for thee, thou poor little Roman Republic.98

For a moment, Philip's harmony of art, love, and politics seems within Claude's
reach. However, Clough describes Claude's disengagement from politics as he
recants his belief that politics 'have something / Generous — something organic
Creative and Art-like in them' and attributes 'the fervours / Of my republican
heat' to being 'in love'.99 Claude sees republican politics and love as 'delusion, of
course, as the rest'.100

The second and longest canto in Amours is devoted to the arrival of the
French and the Roman victory on 30 April. Claude is at first moved by the
republican enthusiasm around him, as the 'Marseillaise' rings in his ears, and he
dreams of a sword at his side and a battle-horse underneath him. But in
answering his own question ('Whither depart the souls of the brave that die in
the battle / Die in the lost, lost fight, for the cause that perishes with them?') he
sees the end for Italy and the revolution, and cannot see their rebirth:

I care not for Rome nor
Italy; feebly and faintly, and but with the lips, can lament the

96 Prose Remains, p. 318.
97 Amours de Voyage, Canto V, Letter V, Claude to Eustace, p. 311.
98 Amours de Voyage, Canto II, Letter I, Claude to Eustace, p. 280.
99 These lines were omitted in later edited versions. The original lines can be found in The Poems of Arthur
100 Poems of Clough, Mulhauser, 516.
Wreck of the Lombard youth, and the victory of the oppressor.
Whither depart the brave? — God knows; I certainly do not.\textsuperscript{101}

He puts away thoughts of dying for the cause, attractive though the idea once seemed: ‘Sweet it may be and decorous, perhaps, for the country to die; but, / On the whole, we conclude the Romans won’t do it, and I sha’n’t.’\textsuperscript{102} He also does not know whether he would risk his life to defend the honour of the Trevellyns, something that chivalry would have demanded: ‘Am I prepared to lay down my life for the British female? / Really, who knows?’\textsuperscript{103} Claude is not an entirely autobiographical figure. He travelled to Rome as a tourist, whereas Clough travelled to witness a revolution. However, the meditation on death in battle in the poem began life as a self-standing poem in the voice of Clough rather than a letter from Claude. The poem also shows Clough weighing up the pros and cons of political action. Claude travels to Rome with no political interests, he had never been a radical like Clough. However, he soon defends Mazzini’s Republic and even glorifies it. But he realises that his support for it is worthless and his commitment to the cause is superficial. In the poem we can detect Clough’s own mind. He left Oxford as a radical, believing that justice demanded a fundamental reconstruction of the economic and social institutions of Europe. By 1849 he had witnessed two revolutions firsthand and discovered that he was unwilling to fight on the barricades and felt hypocritical for calling for a revolution given his unwillingness to fight. In Claude’s words:

\begin{verbatim}
Farewell, Politics, utterly! What can I do? I cannot
Fight, you know; and to talk I am wholly ashamed. And although I
Gnash my teeth when I look in your French or your English papers,
What is the good of that? Will swearing, I wonder, mend matters?
Cursing and scolding repel the assailants? No, it is idle;
No, whatever befalls, I will hide, will ignore or forget it.
Let the tail shift for itself; I will bury my head. And what’s the
Roman Republic to me, or I to the Roman Republic?\textsuperscript{104}
\end{verbatim}

Henceforth, Clough was willing to work within existing political parameters. He had moved closer to conceding that Arnold was right: change would not occur at a human nod.

\textsuperscript{101} \textit{Amours de Voyage}, Canto V, Letter VI, Claude to Eustace, p. 313.
\textsuperscript{102} \textit{Amours de Voyage}, Canto II, Letter II, Claude to Eustace, p. 281.
\textsuperscript{103} \textit{Amours de Voyage}, Canto II, Letter IV, Claude to Eustace, p. 282.
\textsuperscript{104} \textit{Amours de Voyage}, Canto III, Letter III, Claude to Eustace, p. 295.
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