and chapels of this noble cathedral of song, here admiring a tender and touching picture, there gazing upon a scene of terror penciled in vivid colors, again drinking in the sweet and inspiring strains of its clear organ-tones, feels that beneath its solemn arches his soul may rest, for he is at home in his Father's House.¹

2. From the study of mediæval thought and aspiration we shall now turn to the study of a soul plunged in grief over the death of a friend, harried by the spirit of modern doubt concerning the unseen universe, and by means of Christian faith and Christian charity, attempting to reach the haven of rest attained by Dante and Thomas à Kempis. We shall seek the Spiritual Sense of Tennyson's "In Memoriam."

¹ The learned Dominican, Father Berthier, is at present issuing an illustrated edition of the Divina Commedia in which every passage is interpreted according to the spiritual sense, as it has been here outlined, and the interpretation confirmed, by numerous references and quotations from St. Thomas of Aquin. He also throws light upon many an obscure passage, by reproducing the paintings, mosaics, and frescoes that embody the traditional meaning. The work bids fair to be a minute and exhaustive study of the poet. See, for instance, Father Berthier's interpretation of "il veltro" (Inferno, i. 101) and the light thrown upon this interpretation by his reproduction of the frescoes attributed to Simone Memmi in the Spanish Chapel at Florence (La Divina Commedia con commenti secondo la Scholastica, del P. Gioachino Berthier, del Pred. vol. i. fascicolo 1, pp. 14, 15, 31, 32).

CHAPTER X.

SPIRITUAL SENSE OF IN MEMORIAM.

1. "In Memoriam" contains one hundred and thirty-one lyrics with a prologue and an epilogue. These lyrics, primarily commemorating the death of Arthur Hallam, are to all seeming simply what Tennyson himself has described them to be—

"Short swallow-flights of song, that dip Their wings in tears, and skim away."

1 Arthur Henry Hallam, the son of Henry Hallam, the historian, was born in London in 1811. When only nine years old he showed great precocity in learning modern languages and in writing ambitious tragedies. He studied at Eton till 1827, and afterwards passed eight months in Italy with his parents, during which time he became familiar with the works of Dante and Petrarca. In 1829 he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, and then began that memorable friendship with the Tennysons which is embalmed in the In Memoriam. He left Cambridge in 1832. In 1833 he accompanied his father to Germany, and on the fifteenth of September, 1833, he died from a sudden rush of blood to the head. His remains were brought to England and interred in the chancel of Clevedon Church, Somersetshire, January 3, 1834. He was engaged to be married to Tennyson's sister Emily. He was a brilliant young man, and endeared himself to all with whom he had relations. Lord Houghton and Dean Alford left pleasant reminiscences of him, and Mr. Gladstone pays him this tribute: "There perhaps was no one among those who were blessed with his friendship - nay, as we see, not even Mr. Tennyson - who did not feel at once bound closely to him by commanding affection "Though I since then have numbered o'er Some thrice three years."

And during the remaining eight years he revised, recast, arranged, and developed the poem to its present shape. "It is a fact," says Gatty on what seems to be Tennyson's own word, "that the poem was written at both various times and places: through a course of years, and where the author happened to be, in Lincolnshire, London, Essex, Gloucestershire, Wales, anywhere as the spirit moved him."1 During the seventeen years that it took Tennyson to compose and finish the poem, the subject grew upon him, and his intellectual vision extended far beyond the range of a mere dirge over a departed friend. He wove into the original lamentations the fears and doubts and struggles of the age with atheism and infidelity, its hopes also and aspirations, and transformed dreamy musings of sorrow and the mere expression of baffled selfishness into the history of a human soul groping through affliction and doubt towards the light. Tennyson has thus crystallized the thought of the and left far behind by the rapid growth and rich development of

"'All-comprehensive tenderness,
All-subtilizing intellect.'"

See Alfred Tennyson, His Life and Works, by Walter E. Wace, pp. 24-36.

¹ A Key to In Memoriam, p. 26, note.

his ever-searching mind; by his -

nineteenth century. It is our purpose to make a careful study of the poem, and by the application of certain solvents to test the character of the doctrine that pervades it. How far do its teachings coincide with Catholic dogma? Wherein do they differ? What is their intrinsic worth? Important questions these for every Catholic reader to know and to be able to answer. We shall bear them in mind while discussing the nature and structure of the poem and the author's point of view.

I.

1. It is now conceded that the structure of the poem, as regards its form, follows the metre used by Lord Herbert of Cherbury.¹ The poet made a happy selection. This form gives him great freedom. He is not tied down to any set number of stanzas. He can always stop when the inspiration ceases. It has become in his hands a most pliant instrument for the expression of many and various notes.

2. As regards its matter, "In Memoriam" takes color and tone from the sonnets and odes of Petrarca upon the death of Laura. In Petrarca are to be found the same clear vision of life beyond the grave, the same hope of being once more with the

¹ Mr. J. Comyns Carr, Cornhill Magazine for February and July, 1880. Here is a specimen stanza:—

"Oh! no, beloved, I am most sure
These virtuous habits we acquire,
As being with the soul entire,
Must with it evermore endure."

However, see Jenpings' Lord Tennyson, p. 125.

friend who has passed from earth, the same pangs of grief upon beholding scenes and incidents connected with the memory of the dear departed one, the same dreams in which the absent one returns and consoles the yearning friend - all told in the same subdued and polished verse. But here the likeness ceases. Petrarca had but one refrain, the burden of which was Laura. He envied the earth that clasped her mouldering body; he envied the heavens that received her chaste soul; he was unwearied in singing the glow of her eyes, the sheen of her hair, the perfect shaping of every limb, and her graceful bearing. He loved to recall when she smiled and when she frowned. He drew from all that is beautiful in earth and sky the wherewith to show forth her virtues and her perfections. He followed her in spirit to her heavenly abode. She came to visit him in his dreams; she came to visit him in his waking hours. With pleasure and with no slight edification does the reader notice trace after trace of the earthly love drop from the poet as his thoughts and affections become spiritual; and when at the close Petrarca addresses that noble hymn to the Virgin Mother of God: -

"Vergine santa, d'ogni grazia piena;
Che per vera et altissima umilitate
Salisti al ciel, onde miei preghi ascolti;
Tu partoristi il fonte di pietate,
E di giustizia il Sol, che rasserena
Il secol pien d'errori oscuri e folti,"—1

¹ Holy Virgin, full of all grace, who through thy humility, so true and noble, didst ascend to heaven, where thou hearest my prayers; thou didst bring forth the Fount of Mercy and the Sun of Justice, which enlightens this world full of darkening errors. Canzone viii, stanza iv.

SPIRITUAL SENSE OF IN MEMORIAM 187

the reader feels his heart lifted up and he also would have all that is weak and sinful in him consumed in the love of Jesus through the intercession of Mary.

3. Tennyson is no less untiring in sounding the praises of his dear Arthur, the friend of his bosom, the more than brother to him, who had he lived would have been one of the makers of the world's history:—

"Becoming, when the time has birth, A lever to uplift the earth And roll it in another course." ¹

But Tennyson adds other and weightier matters than personal feelings of love and admiration to the burden of his song.

4. The lyrics of "In Memoriam" have also something in common with the sonnets of Shake-speare. It was the Shakespeare of the sonnets that the poet had in his mind's eye when he wrote:—

"I loved thee, spirit, and love, nor can The soul of Shakespeare love thee more."

And that he made a thoughtful study of the sonnets while working out his conception of "In Memoriam" is evident from many a turn of phrase common to both. A surface-reading reveals this much in common: that both series of poems express intense love of man for man; that in both is this love analyzed, probed, expounded; that both ultimately assert the self-abnegation of love; that both confess to the inadequacy of words to express the deeper feelings and the true worth of the object of their love.²

¹ In Memoriam, exiii. 4.

² Cf. Ibid. lxxv. 2, and Sonnet lxxxiii.

6. But there is another influence working through "In Memoriam." In June, 1821, Shelley wrote "Adonais," which he had caused to be printed in Pisa. In 1829, when Arthur Hallam entered Cambridge, he brought with him a copy of this slender volume. It was read by Tennyson and his circle of friends, and so greatly was it admired, "it was then issued at Cambridge, at the instance of Lord Houghton (Mr. Richard Monckton Milnes) and

SPIRITUAL SENSE OF IN MEMORIAM 189

Mr. Arthur Hallam." Little did young Hallam think when making known this poem on the premature death of Keats that he was laying the foundation of a similar monument to be erected to his own memory. But so it came to pass. The "Adonais" is not more interpenetrated with Bion's elegy on Adonis, Moschus's elegy on Bion, and Milton's "Lycidas," than is "In Memoriam" interpenetrated with the "Adonais." True, Tennyson has assimilated few or none of the ideas or sentiments of Shelley in the sense in which Shelley absorbs his predecessors. The two poets have this in common: that each mourns a spirit snatched from earth in the bud and bloom of springtide promise; each finds in nature a reflection of the desolation that fills his soul on the death of his friend; each rises above his dream and sings a pean rejoicing in the friend's triumph over the grave. When Milton sang:-

> "Weep no more, woeful shepherds, weep no more, For Lycidas, your sorrow, is not dead,"

his was the strong faith of the Puritan believing that the soul of his friend Edward King would survive the decay of the grave; his was the Christian idea of a future life. But when Shelley exclaims:—

"Peace, peace! he is not dead; he doth not sleep,"

he holds views far different. His is the belief that the soul of his friend has been merged in the universal Soul of Nature, and that "he is a portion of the loveliness which once he made more lovely."

¹ Introduction to the Philosophy of Shakespeare's Sonnets, p. 6.

¹ W. M. Rossetti, The Adonais of Shelley, p. 39.

"He is made one with Nature. There is heard
His voice in all her music, from the moan
Of thunder to the song of night's sweet bird.
He is a presence to be felt and known
In darkness and in light, from herb and stone,
Spreading itself where'er that Power may move
Which has withdrawn his being to its own;
Which wields the world with never wearied love,
Sustains it from beneath and kindles it above." 1

7. This doctrine Tennyson considers to be "faith as vague as all unsweet." He believes that the human soul will retain its identity and individuality through all eternity. He has no sympathy with the pantheism of Shelley. And if in one of his closing lyrics he sings of his Arthur as a "diffusive power" in star and flower, whose voice is heard in the wind "and where the waters run," it is only as a memory ever-present and ever-cherished. In another of his most significant lyrics he for a moment dreams himself to be such a poet as Shelley. Nature has grown sterile, yielding only the remnants of dead myths and allegories of bygone poets; he feigns himself wandering through the wood of the errors of skepticism and pantheism, wearing a crown of thorns, in consequence of which, with Shelley his brow was "branded and ensanguined," 2 and he was an object of mockery until he became relieved and comforted by faith.3

8. Tennyson, like Shakespeare, while apparently dealing with personal impressions and personal experiences, rises to a meaning that is of universal

application. The love which Arthur inspires is, like the love inspired by Beatrice and Laura, chastening and ennobling. Like Petrarca, the poet lingers lovingly upon the past and recalls the various scenes and incidents in which his friend figured; like Dante, he soars far away into regions of speculation, and grapples with the problems of the age. Matters of religion and morality and science are all touched upon with the reverence and gravity becoming the occasion. Although Tennyson has neither the grasp, force, fullness, nor burning intensity of expression that we find in Dante, we may in some sense call "In Memoriam" a miniature "Divina Commedia." The poem is religious, it is mystical, it is philosophical. To a certain extent it is autobiographical. It is a psychological analysis of sorrow through all its moods, from that of an overwhelming sense of bereavement which will not be comforted to that of cheerful resignation soothed and nourished by Christian faith and Christian hope.

9. Indeed, the poem may be not unfitly called a lyrical drama of the soul. It may be divided into certain cycles or periods through which run two distinct currents of thought, namely, the emotional and the intellectual. The diverse periods are separated by chorus-poems 1 which allude to the season of the year, or revert to the thoughts and emotions of a previous cycle. It is only by surveying the

¹ Adonais, xlii. See Tennyson's In Memoriam, by John F. Genung, pp. 32-40.

² Adonais, xxxiii, xxxiv. ⁸ In Memoriam, lxix.

¹ Attention was first called to the existence of a series of chorus-poems by Dr. John F. Genung in his very charming and very sympathetic volume *Tennyson's In Memoriam*.

poem in all its bearings that one can form a clear conception of its real strength and greatness. Men are only too apt to rest content in the enjoyment of particular fragments of the poem. An admirer of Tennyson writes: "Every mourner has his favorite section or particular chapel of the temple-poem, where he prefers to kneel for worship of the Invisible." We shall respect the mourner searching through the poet's pages for the expression of sorrow that suits his mood; that the poem can soothe and comfort under such circumstances is evidence of its power; but it shall be our task to consider the poem as a whole under both its emotional and its intellectual aspect.

II.

1. The poem may be naturally resolved into two parts, and each part may be subdivided as follows: *Prologue*.

This lyric sums up the poet's musings and impressions. It constitutes his final act of faith. It is to the whole what Petrarca's Hymn to the Blessed Virgin is to his sonnets and lyrics on Laura, or what Dante's last Canto is to the whole of the "Divina Commedia."

Introductory Lyric. - i.

This lyric contains the argument of the whole drama.

PART I.

Group I. - ii. - xix.

These lyrics record the poet's feelings during the

SPIRITUAL SENSE OF IN MEMORIAM 193

period between the death and the burial of his friend Arthur Hallam.

Chorus-poems. - xx., xxi.

Group II. - xxii. - xxvii.

In this group the poet asserts and justifies his grief. In xxiv. 2, the line,—

"Since our first sun arose and set,"

originally read, -

"Since Adam left his garden yet."

One of the group is speculative (xxiii.).

Chorus-poems. Christmas of 1833. — xxviii. – xxx.

Group III. - xxxi. - xxxvi.

Musings on the life beyond the grave.

Three are speculative (xxxiii., xxxiv., xxxv.).

Chorus-poem. - xxxvii.

The poet discusses the propriety of speculation upon matters of Faith. The line,—

"And dear to me as sacred wine,"

formerly read, -

"And dear as sacramental wine."

Group IV. - xxxviii. - xlvii.

Surmises regarding the life beyond the grave. Lyric xxxix. first appeared in the edition of 1872–73. Lyric xlvii. is speculative.

Chorus-poem. - xlviii.

The poet would have it understood that these brief lays are intended rather to soothe his own sorrow than to allay the grave doubts proposed throughout the poem.

Group V. - xlix. - lvi.

Gropings as to the state of the soul in the future life

¹ Roden Noel, Contemporary Review, 1885, p. 223.

194 PHASES OF THOUGHT AND CRITICISM

This group contains many of Tennyson's inmost opinions.

Chorus-poem. - lvii.

The poet would rest in a settled peace of soul and a calmer hope.

PART II.

2. The poet emerges from the dark weeds of his first intense and merely human sorrow, and dons a brighter and more hopeful garb.

Introductory. - lviii., lix.

Lyric lix. is supplemental to lyric ii. In the earlier poem, the poet indulges in a violent sorrow that would not be comforted. In the later poem, he asks Sorrow to live with him as a comforter and a helpmeet. This poem was added to the fourth edition in 1851.

Group I. - lx. - lxxi.

The poet analyzes his dreams and impressions, and makes surmises as to the present relative attitude of Arthur towards him.

Chorus-poem. - lxxii.

This lyric commemorates the first anniversary of Hallam's death. Cf. Dante, "Purgatorio," xi. 91-106.

Group II. — lxxiii. - lxxvii.

The poet discusses Hallam's kinship with the great ones of earth. The fleetingness of fame is touched upon — even of the poet's verses. Cf. lxxvii. and Petrarca's sonnet xxv. in "Morte di Laura."

Chorus-poem. - lxxviii.

Christmas chorus of 1834.

Group III. — lxxix. -lxxxii.

The poet shows wherein his love was more than

SPIRITUAL SENSE OF IN MEMORIAM 195

brother's love, and how the real bitterness of death is in the interruption of communion. Cf. lxxxii. 2, and Dante, "Purgatorio," x.

Chorus-poem. - lxxxiii.

The poet begs the New Year not to tarry, but to bring with it a renewal of hope.

Group IV. - lxxxiv., lxxxv.

Musings as to what Hallam might have been to the poet. Lyric lxxxv. takes up the refrain of xxvii.:—

"'Tis better to have loved and lost, Than never to have loved at all."

and touching tenderly upon his friend's death, considers the good influence of his memory. Cf. lxxxv. and Petrarca, sonnet xi. in "Morte di Laura."

Chorus-poem. — lxxxvi.

Group V. - lxxxvii. - ev.

Some of the most remarkable lyrics in the poem are in this group. Lyric xev. 9, 10 formerly read,—

"His living soul was flashed on mine, And mine in his was wound —

instead of the present reading, -

"The living soul was flashed on mine, And mine in this was wound."

Lyric c. formerly read "I wake, I rise," instead of the present opening "I climb the hill." Lyric xci. is a continuation of lyric xcix. commemorating the second anniversary of Hallam's death. Lyric cii. records the fact that Tennyson's family quit their native Lincolnshire. Lyrics civ., cv. speak of Christmas—the Christmas of 1835. But it is spent in a strange land, therefore held solemn to the past. Cf. Petrarca, in "Morte di Laura," sonnets xlii, xliv.

Chorus-poem. - cvi.

This is a New Year's lyric, one of the noblest in any language.

Group VI. - cvii. - cxiv.

In cvii. the poet celebrates Hallam's birthday. His sorrow assumes a more cheerful aspect. In cx. the line which originally read,—

"While I, thy dearest, sat apart,"

now reads, -

"While I, thy nearest, sat apart."

cxiv. is speculative. In cxiii. the line which originally read, —

"With many shocks that come and go,"

now reads, -

"With thousand shocks that come and go."

Chorus-poem. - exv.

Spring wakens in the author's breast.

Group VII. - exvi.-exxx.

Retrospection. Lyrics exviii., exx., exxiii., exxivare all philosophical. Tennyson sings a pæan of joy and hope that through Love he shall not lose his friend in the future. Through Doubt and Darkness he has risen to the pure light of Faith.

Final Lyric. - cxxxi.

This poem contains the key to the poet's successful struggle with Doubt and Sorrow and his rising into the clear light of Faith. No amount of reasoning will lead to Faith. This from a rational being requires, above all, an act of the will. Cf. the poem named Will.

Epithalamium.

This lay was written about 1842, on the occasion of

SPIRITUAL SENSE OF IN MEMORIAM 197

the marriage of a younger sister, Cecilia Tennyson, to E. L. Lushington. He is the "true in word, and tried in deed," to whom Tennyson speaks in lyric lxxxv. 2. The whole poem is written in a pleasant key. The poet can rejoice with those he loves — even while not forgetting his deceased friend.

III.

1. Such is the poem in barest outline. In order to interpret it aright we should know the environment in which it was produced. What was the state of thought in England during the seventeen years that Tennyson was engaged upon this poem? In 1833 Arthur Hallam died. In 1833 Newman began to feel within him the first stirrings of reform; groping after the light of duty, he wrote that beautiful invocation, "Lead, Kindly Light." While Tennyson was maturing his poem Newman had run his course in the Anglican Church, had moved the flower of English minds to great depths of religious thought, and had brought to a haven of rest in the bosom of the Catholic Church many noble and beautiful souls. Maurice and Arnold were influencing religious minds in the direction of Broad-Church liberalism. The volume entitled "Essays and Reviews" was sowing broadcast seed of infidelity and free-thinking among educated Protestants. Carlyle was infusing a decoction of German transcendentalism into the thinking body, and weaning young men from the spiritual life of purely dogmatic Christianity. Strauss had forged his mythic theories concerning the Life of our Lord, and was attempting to undermine the stronghold of Christian faith. Darwin was cruising in "The Beagle" and maturing those theories that were to revolutionize the study of natural history. Faraday was making captives of the thunderbolts of heaven and pressing them into the service of man. The spirit of political reform was in the air. O'Connell had only recently wrung Catholic Emancipation from an unwilling ministry. Cobden had been equally successful in bringing about a repeal of the corn-laws. The people were beginning to think for themselves. Woman's position in society was growing in importance, and discussion upon it was broadening. There was a general awakening throughout the body, religious, social, and political. It was amid the eddies and currents of thought set in motion by all these agencies that Tennyson wrought out the life-drama of "In Memoriam."

2. He saw these various currents; he studied and calculated the flow of some; he drifted into the influence of others; but what is his own point of view upon the great issue of life and death that is the burden of his poem? To begin with, greatly as he admires and exults in the progress of the age, he does not find mere knowledge the road to all excellence. He can solve more problems of life by making appeal to Christian faith and to the primary instincts of the human heart, rather than by mere speculation. He distinguishes between knowledge and the deeper wisdom that regulates intellect and heart and conduct. The distinction is

SPIRITUAL SENSE OF IN MEMORIAM 199

fundamental with Tennyson. He had already written:

"Knowledge comes, but Wisdom lingers, and he bears a laden breast.

Full of sad experience, moving towards the stillness of his rest."1

In the present poem he shows how worse than helpless — how destructive — is knowledge without wisdom. He looks upon it as a thing

"Half-grown as yet, a child, and vain —
She cannot fight the fear of death.
What is she, cut from love and faith,
But some wild Pallas from the brain

"Of Demons? fiery-hot to burst
All barriers in her onward race
For power. Let her know her place;
She is the second, not the first.

"For she is earthly of the mind, But Wisdom heavenly of the soul." 2

In these words we have the clue to Tennyson's attitude towards all speculation. Though placing knowledge second, the poet does not belittle it.

"Who loves not Knowledge? Who shall rail Against her beauty? May she mix With men and prosper! Who shall fix Her pillars? Let her work prevail."

Herein he differs from his great contemporary and brother poet, with whom all knowledge is only a thing relative, and who holds that what man calls knowledge to-day, he may call ignorance to-morrow.

¹ Locksley Hall.

² In Memoriam, exiv. 2, 3, 5.

3. Another fundamental doctrine in the poet's creed is that in the relations of good to evil all things shall turn to good. He says:—

"Oh yet we trust that somehow good Will be the final goal of ill." 2

Is not this also the teaching of Browning? Does he not tell us that somehow, through ways and means that are beyond our ken, all will end for the best?

"My own hope is a sun will pierce
The thickest cloud earth ever stretched;
That after Last returns the First,
Though a wide compass round be fetched;
That what began best, can't end worst,
Nor what God blessed once, prove accurst."

This doctrine of the ultimate triumph of good over evil is with Tennyson not a dogma, but a trust, an instinctive feeling, a hope. He does not know; he is not sure:—

"Behold, we know not anything;
I can but trust that good shall fall
At last — far off — at last, to all,
And every winter change to spring." 4

And with touching pathos he thus alludes to man's helplessness in the presence of this great mystery:—

SPIRITUAL SENSE OF IN MEMORIAM 201

"So runs my dream: but what am I?

An infant crying in the night:

An infant crying for the light:

And with no language but a cry." 1

4. It is evident to the poet that everything in life has an aim, which it has, and that nothing in life misses its aim, which were true did each of God's creatures act according to the laws and limitations set down by the Creator in pursuing its aim. But the human will enters into all calculations of human action. And that will is free. The poet had stated, as one of the mysteries of our nature for which we cannot account, that our wills are ours to make them one with the will of God. Now while wills are free and at the same time prone to evil — and we all of us know that we are free to do right or wrong - there must needs be deviations from the well-known and clearly formulated will of God, and therefore from the ultimate aim of the Supreme Good for which all men were created. So great, so awful is the respect in which God holds man's will, He even permits man to damn himself rather than that by Divine omnipotent interference man's free will should be destroyed.

"The greatest gift that in his largess God Creating made, and unto his own goodness Nearest conformed, and that which He doth prize

Most highly, is the freedom of the will,
Wherewith the creatures of intelligence
Both all and only were and are endowed." ²

¹ Browning, Parleyings with Certain People (Francis Furini).

² In Memoriam, liv. 1.

⁸ Apparent Failure.

⁴ In Memoriam, liv. 4.

¹ In Memoriam, liv. 5.

² Dante, Paradiso, v. 19-24, Longfellow's translation.