

THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION  
OF THE COMPLETE FICTION OF  
HENRY JAMES

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HENRY JAMES

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HENRY JAMES  
*The Outcry*

EDITED BY  
JEAN CHOTHIA



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Thanks, too, to Lindsay Braine and Erica Butler and to Cyrus, Tom and Lucy Chothia: this edition is for them.

## ABBREVIATIONS

### *The Outcry*

- 1911 *The Outcry* (London: Methuen and Co., 1911 [New York: Scribner's, 1911]) the copy text for this volume

### Other Works by Henry James

- 1909 longest and earliest extant typescript of the play 'The Outcry', 1909 (MS Am 1237.12. [3], Houghton Library, Harvard University)
- AA *The Awkward Age* [1899] (New York: Scribner's, 1908)
- Amb *The Ambassadors* [1903] (New York: Scribner's, 1909)
- B *The Bostonians* (London: Macmillan, 1886)
- BS *The Better Sort* (London: Methuen, 1903; New York: Scribner's, 1903)
- CN *The Complete Notebooks of Henry James*, eds. Leon Edel and Lyall H. Powers (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985)
- CP *The Complete Plays of Henry James*, ed. Leon Edel (London: Hart-Davis, 1949)
- CP1949 cut version of 1909 (MS Am 1237.12. [1]), published, Edel ed. *Collected Plays*
- CTW2 *Collected Travel Writings: The Continent: A Little Tour in France, Italian Hours, Other Travels*, ed. Richard Howard (New York: Library of America, 1993)
- DBF *Dearly Beloved Friends: Henry James' Letters to Younger Men*, eds. Susan E. Gunter and Steven H. Jobe (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001)
- E *The Europeans* [1878] (New York: Scribner's, 1907)
- EH *English Hours* (London: William Heinemann, 1905)

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 ABBREVIATIONS
 

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- EL *Essays in London and Elsewhere* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1893)
- Emb *Embarrassments* (London: William Heinemann, 1895; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1896)
- FG *The Finer Grain* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1910)
- GB *The Golden Bowl* [1904] (New York: Scribner's, 1909)
- HJEWL *Henry James and Edith Wharton, Letters 1900–1915*, ed. Lyall H. Powers (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1990)
- HJL *Henry James Letters*, 4 vols., ed. Leon Edel (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1974–84; London: Macmillan and Co., 1974–84)
- IH *Italian Hours* (London: William Heinemann, 1909; Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909)
- LC2 *Literary Criticism: French Writers, Other European Writers, the Prefaces to the New York Edition*, eds. Leon Edel and Mark Wilson (New York: The Library of America, 1984)
- LHJ *The Letters of Henry James*, 2 vols., ed. Percy Lubbock (London: Macmillan and Co., 1920)
- LL *Henry James: A Life in Letters*, ed. Philip Horne (Harmondsworth: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1999; New York: Viking Press, 1999)
- N1903–11 *Novels, 1903–11, The Ambassadors, The Golden Bowl and The Outcry*, edited with introduction and brief notes by Ross Posnock (New York: Library of America, 2010)
- NSBMY *Notes of a Son and Brother and The Middle Years: A Critical Edition*, ed. Peter Collister (1914, 1917; rpt. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2011)
- NYE *The New York Edition of the Novels and Tales of Henry James* (New York: Scribner's, 1907–9)
- PC *The Princess Casamassima* [1886] (New York: Scribner's, 1908)
- PE *The Painter's Eye: Notes and Essays on the Pictorial Arts*, ed. John L. Sweeney (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1956)
- Pol *The Portrait of a Lady* [1881] (New York: Scribner's, 1908)
- SA *The Scenic Art, Notes on Acting & the Drama: 1872–1901*, ed. Allan Wade (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1948)

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 ABBREVIATIONS
 

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- SBO*      *A Small Boy and Others* (London: Macmillan, 1913)  
*SL*        *Henry James, Selected Letters*, ed. Leon Edel (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987).  
*T&F*      *Theatre and Friendship: Some Henry James Letters*, ed. Elizabeth Robins (London: Cape, 1932; reprinted Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1969)  
*TM*        *The Tragic Muse* [1890] (New York: Scribner's, 1908)

***Secondary and Related Works***

- Baedeker      *London and Environs*, 15th Revised Edition (Leipzig: K. Baedeker; London: Dulau and Co.; New York: C. Scribner, 1908)  
*C20th World*      Adeline R. Tintner, *The Twentieth Century World of Henry James* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana University Press, 2000)  
*CWJ*            *The Correspondence of William James: William and Henry*, eds. Ignas K. Skrupskelis and Elizabeth M. Berkeley, 3 vols. (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1992–4)  
*Enc Brit*        *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edn (New York: Encyclopaedia Britannica Company, 1910)  
*Museum World*      Adeline R. Tintner, *The Museum World of Henry James* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1986)  
 Partridge      Eric Partridge, *Slang Today and Yesterday* (London: Routledge, 1933)

## GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

The Cambridge Edition of the *Complete Fiction of Henry James* (hereafter *CFHJ*) has been undertaken in the belief that there is a need for a full scholarly, informative, historical edition of James's work, presenting the texts in carefully checked, accurate form, with detailed annotation and extensive introductions. James's texts exist in a number of forms, including manuscripts (though most are lost), serial texts and volumes of various sorts, often incorporating significant amounts of revision, most conspicuously the so-called New York Edition (hereafter *NYE*) published by Charles Scribner's Sons in New York and Macmillan & Co. in London (1907–9). Besides these there are also pirated editions, unfinished works published posthumously and other questionable forms. The *CFHJ* takes account of these complexities, within the framework of a textual policy that seeks to be clear, orderly and consistent.

This edition aims to represent James's fictional career as it evolves, with a fresh and expanded awareness of its changing contexts and an informed sense of his developing style, technique and concerns. Consequently, it does not attempt to base its choices on the principle of the 'last lifetime edition', which in the case of Henry James is monumentally embodied in the twenty-four volumes of the *NYE*, the author's selection of nine longer novels (six of them in two volumes) and fifty-eight shorter novels and tales, and including eighteen specially composed Prefaces. The *CFHJ*, as a general rule, adopts rather the text of the first published book edition of a work – unless the intrinsic particularities and the publishing history of that work require an alternative choice – on the ground that emphasis on the first context in which it was written and read will permit an unprecedented fullness of attention to the transformations in James's writing over five decades, as well as the rich literary and social contexts of their original publication.

There are inevitably cases where determining 'the first published book edition' requires some care. If, for instance, James expresses a preference for the text of one particular early book edition over another, or if the first

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edition to be published is demonstrably inferior to a later impression or edition, or if authorial supervision of a particular early edition or impression can be established, then a case can be made for choosing a text other than the first published book edition. Volume Editors have exercised their judgement accordingly. They have made a full collation of authoritative versions including serial as well as volume publication in Britain and America, and specify which version serves as their copy text.

The *CFHJ*'s Introductions aim to be full and authoritative, detailing the histories of composition, publication (in magazine and book form), reception and authorial revision, and making economical reference to subsequent adaptation and transformation into other forms, including drama, film and opera. Editors have refrained from offering emphatic interpretations or mounting critical arguments of their own, though it is hoped the material they present will inform and stimulate new readings. Particular attention has been given to the social, political and cultural contexts of James's period, and especially those of the countries in which a specific work is set; details of James's personal exposure to relevant people and events, of the magazines and publishing houses where he published (editors, policies, politics, etc.), have provided valuable material. Introductions conclude with a Bibliography in support of the information supplied and the aspects of the text's production emphasized in the Introduction, including a list of contemporary reviews.

Each volume contains, in addition to a Chronology of James's life and literary career, a volume-specific Chronology, incorporating dates of composition, negotiation with publishers and editors, dispatch of instalments, stages of printing and initial reception history, as well as relevant comments by or to James appearing in letters or other forms.

Fullness and helpfulness of annotation is one of the main aims of the *CFHJ*. As James's world recedes into the past, more and more of its features need explanation to readers: both the physical, geographical and historical world of places and people, and the cultural world of beliefs, values, conventions, social practices and points of reference – to operas, plays, books, paintings; and indeed certain linguistic explanations – have become increasingly necessary (especially regarding the presence of slang or linguistic innovation, both English and American). For such explanations, James's correspondence, criticism and other writings have been drawn on

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as a prime source of helpful comment, conveying his own experience and attitudes in a way that richly illuminates his fictional texts. Newspapers and magazines of the period, travel guides and the work of other writers also contribute, filling out the picture of the implied worlds beyond the text. Furthermore, the *CFHJ* sets out to provide the fullest possible details of James's allusions to poetry, the Bible and the plays of Shakespeare, as well as other literary and culturally significant works – offering suggestive but concise plot summaries when appropriate or quotation of the passages drawn on, so that the act of allusion is brought to life and the reader can trace something of James's allusive processes. Editors have abstained, on the other hand, from purely interpretative notes, speculation and personal comments: the notes always concern a point of information, even if that point has a critical bearing.

Appendices include sources and relevant contextual documents, including correspondence, entries from the Prefaces to the *NYE* and from the notebooks, where appropriate. For the novels revised and published in the *NYE*, the whole Preface is printed in an Appendix; for tales revised and published in the *NYE*, the relevant extract from the Preface is reproduced. The Prefaces and notebooks have also been collected in newly edited volumes of their own.

\*

Most of James's fiction exists in a number of different textual states, most strikingly in the often considerable difference between initial publication (in periodical and volume form) and the revised versions of the novels and tales prepared near the end of his career for the *NYE*. (In the case of three late tales – 'Fordham Castle', 'Julia Bride' and 'The Jolly Corner' – first book publication was in the *NYE*.) Works excluded by James from the *NYE* were incorporated in an edition posthumously published in thirty-five volumes by Macmillan in 1921–3, but these were of course published without authorial revision. The textual differences affecting those works that *are* included in the *NYE* are predictably most extensive in the case of early works such as *Roderick Hudson* (1875), *The American* (1877), 'Daisy Miller' (1878) and *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881).

Readers may see for themselves the full extent of James's revisions, along with all other variants, both preceding and succeeding the texts printed

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here, in the lists of Textual Variants. These are normally presented in the following form. Each volume includes a comprehensive list of all substantive variants leading up to copy text ('Textual Variants I'), preceded by a brief commentary, in which editors address this stage of the textual history, drawing attention to the main features of the changes and dealing with questions such as house style. Variations in punctuation within a sentence (usually by the insertion or removal of commas, or changes in the use of colons and semi-colons) have not normally been considered substantive. Over end-of-sentence punctuation, however, particularly in the matter of changing full stops to exclamation marks or vice versa, Volume Editors have exercised their judgement. A second section ('Textual Variants II') offers a comprehensive list of all substantive variants subsequent to copy text, and a brief commentary that summarizes the main issues raised by the changes made. The length of lists of variants and commentary inevitably varies greatly from case to case. In certain cases, for reasons explained in the volume concerned, there is a single list of 'Textual Variants'.

\*

The *Complete Fiction of Henry James* consists of 22 novels (vols. 1–22), 113 tales (vols. 23–32), and 2 supplementary volumes (vols. 33 and 34) devoted respectively to the Prefaces that James wrote for the *NYE* and to his notebooks. They appear in this edition in the order in which they were first published in book form. The distinction between 'novels' and 'tales' is sometimes a crude one: between long fictions such as *The Portrait of a Lady* and *The Golden Bowl* and short ones such as 'Benvolio' and 'The Beldonald Holbein', there lie many shorter novels and longer tales that it is hard to categorize with confidence, well-known works such as *Washington Square* and *The Sacred Fount*, 'The Aspern Papers' and 'The Turn of the Screw'. We have deemed to be 'novels' those fictions that when they first took volume form were published as independent entities (with the single exception of *In the Cage*, which despite its relative brevity first appeared as a slim volume), and to be 'tales' all those which were not. The former include some of James's lesser-known works, such as *Watch and Ward*, *Confidence*, *The Other House*, *The Outcry* and the two unfinished at the time of his death, *The Sense of the Past* and *The Ivory Tower*.

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The division of James's tales into ten volumes has been ordered chronologically on the basis of first publication, according to the following principles:

- 1) The determining date of a story's publication is that of the first appearance of any part of it (as some straddle three issues of a magazine). Thus, for example, 'A London Life' (June–September 1888, *Scribner's Magazine*) before 'The Lesson of the Master' (July–August 1888, *Universal Review*).
- 2) When two tales have the same start date, the priority is determined by which completes its publication earlier. Thus, for example, 'The Modern Warning' (originally entitled 'Two Countries', June 1888, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*) precedes 'A London Life' (June–September 1888, *Scribner's Magazine*).
- 3) When two tales have the same start date and the same date of completion (often only taking one issue), the priority is determined by alphabetical order (of tale title). Thus, for example, 'De Grey: A Romance' (July 1868, *Atlantic Monthly*) precedes 'Osborne's Revenge' (July 1868, *Galaxy*).
- 4) Because it cannot usually be determined exactly *when* a magazine dated only 'June' actually appeared, 'June' is treated as preceding any particular date in June, including '1 June'. Thus 'The Private Life' (April 1892, *Atlantic Monthly*) precedes 'The Real Thing' (16 April 1892, *Black and White*); and principle 4 overrides principle 2, so that 'The Author of "Beltraffio"' (June–July 1884, *English Illustrated Magazine*) precedes 'Pandora' (1 and 8 June 1884, *New York Sun*).
- 5) When tales have not been published in periodicals before being collected in book form, the precise date of book publication counts as first publication and determines their place in the order.
- 6) When tales have not been published in periodicals before being collected in book form, and several tales appear in the same book, the order of tales in the book determines our ordering (even when their order of composition is known to have been different), as it is closer to the order in which original readers would preponderantly have read them.

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- 7) In the single case, 'Hugh Merrow', where only a fragment of a tale survives, which therefore was not published within James's lifetime, the tale has been placed provisionally in accordance with the date of the only extant *notebooks* entry, 11 September 1900.

\*

Emendations have been made sparingly and only to clearly erroneous readings. Where there is only one version of a work and it requires emendation, the original (erroneous) reading has been recorded in the List of Emendations. Where a later or earlier text has a reading that shows the copy text to be in error, this reading has been incorporated and the copy text's reading recorded in the apparatus. The fact that a later or earlier text has a reading that seems preferable to that of the copy text has not in itself provided sufficient grounds for emendation, although, as with all other variants, it has been recorded in the Textual Variants. Unusual and inconsistent spellings have not been altered, and only annotated in exceptional cases. Misprints and slipped letters have been corrected, and the corrections noted. Contractions have not been expanded, superscript has not been converted, and spelling and punctuation have not normally been changed.

James's writings were of course published on both sides of the Atlantic, and there are corresponding differences in spelling between British and American texts, in volume and serial form: 'colour/color', 'recognise/recognize', 'marvellous/marvelous' and so on. These differences have been preserved when they occur in the textual variants, but they have not been systematically recorded, being deemed to be matters of accident rather than substance. The form taken by inverted commas (single or double) also varies between texts, as does their placement (before or after commas, full stops, etc.); being judged matters of accident, these have been regularized. Double quotation marks have been adopted for all the James texts published in this edition. When the text of the *NYE* is cited in the Introduction, Notes or textual apparatus, its distinctive typography has not been retained, and this also applies to the texts of the tales first published in the *NYE* and of the Prefaces: the contractions rendered there as e. g. 'is n't' and 'did n't' have here been normalized as single words, 'isn't' and 'didn't'.

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Editorial ellipses have been enclosed in square brackets but authorial ellipses have not.

The punctuation of the copy text adopted has also been preserved. There are considerable differences of punctuation between the different forms in which a particular work of James's appears. It is often hard to distinguish with certainty those that can be accounted for by differences in the house styles of particular publishers, British and American, and those that are matters of authorial choice. Whatever the agency behind such differences, there is a case for recognizing the difference of sense made by the presence or absence of a comma, by the change of an exclamation mark to a full stop, and so on. Nevertheless, the scale of such differences is too great to make a comprehensive record feasible within the limits of a print edition. Volume Editors have therefore exercised their judgement over the most helpful way to inform readers of the nature of such differences.

References to money pose particular difficulties for modern readers, not only because the sums concerned have to be multiplied by an apparently ever-inflating figure to produce approximate modern equivalents, but because the quantity and quality of what could be bought and done with these sums (especially involving property or real estate) have also changed radically – and will very possibly continue to do so during the lifetime of this edition. We do, however, know that throughout James's own life the pound sterling was equal to \$4.85, and certain other figures can be established, such as that in 1875 the US dollar was equivalent to 5.19 French francs. For the calculation of particular sums in James's writings, Volume Editors have supplied readers with as much reliable information as they can command at the date of publication for this edition, but as time goes on readers will inevitably have to make adjustments.

Translations have been provided for all foreign words and phrases that appear in the text. Those that are common and uncontroversial (such as 'piazza', 'table d'hôte') are collected in a glossary at the end; those judged to be less than obvious in meaning, or dependent for their meaning on the specific context, are explained in an endnote.

The General Editors warmly acknowledge the gracious permission of Bay James, custodian of the James Estate, for the publication of material still in copyright; and the generous cooperation of Greg Zacharias and his associates at the Center for Henry James Studies at Creighton University in

GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

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Omaha, Nebraska, home of an indispensable parallel project, *The Complete Letters of Henry James*, published by the University of Nebraska Press. We thank David Supino for offering his sage advice whenever it was sought. Finally, we are deeply grateful for the guidance and support provided by our editor at Cambridge University Press, Linda Bree, assistant editor Anna Bond and her predecessor Maartje Scheltens, and publishing assistant Isobel Cowper-Coles.

## GENERAL CHRONOLOGY OF JAMES'S LIFE AND WRITINGS

*Compiled by Philip Horne*

- 1843 Henry James is born on 15 April 1843 at 21 Washington Place in New York City, second of the five children of Henry James (1811–82), speculative theologian and social thinker, and his wife Mary Walsh Robertson James (1810–82). Siblings: William (1842–1910), psychologist, philosopher, Harvard professor; Garth Wilkinson ('Wilky', 1845–83); Robertson ('Bob', 1846–1910); Alice (1848–92), diarist.
- 1843–5 Taken to Paris and London by his parents; earliest memory (from age 2) is of the Place Vendôme in Paris.
- 1845–7 Returns to United States. Childhood in Albany.
- 1847–55 Family settles in New York City; taught by tutors and in private schools.
- 1855–8 Family travels in Europe: Geneva, London, Paris, Boulogne-sur-Mer.
- 1858 Jameses reside in Newport, Rhode Island.
- 1859–60 James family travels: HJ at scientific school, then the Academy (later the University) in Geneva. Summer 1860: HJ learns German in Bonn.
- 1860–2 James family returns to Newport in September 1860. HJ makes friends with future critic Thomas Sargent Perry and artist John La Farge, fellow students at William Morris Hunt's art academy. From 1860, HJ 'was continually writing stories, mainly of a romantic kind' (Perry). In 1861 HJ injured his back helping extinguish a fire in Newport. Along with William James, exempted from service in Civil War, in which younger brothers fought, and Wilky was seriously wounded.

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- 1862 Enters Harvard Law School for a term. Begins to send stories to magazines.
- 1864 February: first short story of HJ's 113, 'A Tragedy of Error', published anonymously in *Continental Monthly*. May: Jameses move to 13 Ashburton Place, Boston. October: first of HJ's many reviews, of Nassau W. Senior's *Essays on Fiction*, published unsigned in *North American Review*.
- 1865 March: first signed tale, 'The Story of a Year', appears in *Atlantic Monthly*. HJ appears also as a critic in first number of the *Nation* (New York).
- 1866–8 Summer 1866: becomes friends with William Dean Howells, novelist, critic and influential editor. November 1866: James family move to 20 Quincy Street, beside Harvard Yard. November 1867: meets Charles Dickens at home of James T. Fields, and 'tremble[s] [. . .] in every limb' (*Notes of a Son and Brother*). HJ continues reviewing and writing stories in Cambridge.
- 1869–70 On 27 February 1869 lands at Liverpool. Travels in England, meeting John Ruskin, William Morris, Charles Darwin and George Eliot; also Switzerland and Italy. 1870: death of his much-loved cousin Minny Temple.
- 1870–2 May 1870: reluctantly returns to Cambridge. August–December 1871: publishes first novel, *Watch and Ward*, in the *Atlantic Monthly*; January–March 1872, publishes art reviews in *Atlantic*.
- 1872–4 May 1872: HJ accompanies invalid sister Alice and aunt Catherine Walsh, 'Aunt Kate', to Europe. Writes travel pieces for the *Nation*. October 1872–September 1874: periods (without family) in Paris, Rome, Switzerland, Homburg, Italy again. Spring 1874: begins first long novel, *Roderick Hudson*, in Florence. September 1874: returns to the US.
- 1875 First three books published: *A Passionate Pilgrim, and Other Tales* (January); *Transatlantic Sketches* (April); *Roderick*

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 GENERAL CHRONOLOGY OF JAMES'S LIFE AND WRITINGS
 

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- Hudson* (November). Six months in New York City (111 East 25th Street); then three in Cambridge.
- 1875–6     11 November 1875: arrives at 29 Rue de Luxembourg as Paris correspondent for *New York Tribune*. Begins *The American*. Meets Gustave Flaubert, Ivan Turgenev, Edmond de Goncourt, Alphonse Daudet, Guy de Maupassant and Émile Zola.
- 1876–7     December 1876: moves to London, taking rooms at 3 Bolton Street, off Piccadilly. Visits to Paris, Florence, Rome. May 1877: *The American* published in Boston.
- 1878        February: *French Poets and Novelists* published, first collection of essays, first book published in London. May: revised version of *Watch and Ward* published in book form in Boston. June–July: 'Daisy Miller' appears in *Cornhill Magazine* and is quickly pirated by two American periodicals, establishing reputation in Britain and America. September: *The Europeans* published. Meets William Ewart Gladstone, Alfred Lord Tennyson and Robert Browning.
- 1879        June: first English edition of *Roderick Hudson*, revised; October: *The Madonna of the Future and Other Tales*; December: *Confidence* (novel); *Hawthorne* (critical biography).
- 1880        April: *The Diary of a Man of Fifty and A Bundle of Letters*; late winter 1880: travels to Italy; meets Constance Fenimore Woolson in Florence. December 1880: *Washington Square*.
- 1881–3     October 1881: returns to US; travels between Cambridge, New York and Washington DC. November 1881: *The Portrait of a Lady*. January 1882: death of mother. May: returns to England till father dies in December 1882. February 1883: *The Siege of London*, *The Pension Beaurepas*, and *The Point of View*; Summer 1883: returns to London; will not return to US for twenty-one years. November 1883: Macmillan publish fourteen-volume collected edition of HJ's fiction. September 1883: *Daisy Miller: A Comedy*; November 1883:

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- death of Wilky James; December 1883: *Portraits of Places* (travel essays).
- 1884 Sister Alice joins HJ in London, living nearby. September: *A Little Tour in France* published; also HJ's important artistic statement 'The Art of Fiction'. October: *Tales of Three Cities*. Becomes friends with Robert Louis Stevenson, Edmund Gosse. Writes to his friend Grace Norton: 'I shall never marry [...] I am both happy enough and miserable enough, as it is.'
- 1885–6 Writes two serial novels: *The Bostonians* (Century, February 1885–February 1886); *The Princess Casamassima* (Atlantic, September 1885–October 1886). February 1885: collection of tales, *The Author of Beltraffio* [&c]; May 1885: *Stories Revived*, in three vols.
- 1886–7 February 1886: *The Bostonians* published. 6 March: moves into flat, 34 De Vere Gardens, in Kensington, West London. October 1886: *The Princess Casamassima* published. December 1886–July 1887: visits Florence and Venice. Continues friendship with American novelist Constance Fenimore Woolson.
- 1888 *The Reverberator*, *The Aspern Papers* [&c] and *Partial Portraits* all published.
- 1888–90 1889: Collection of tales, *A London Life* [&c], published. 1890: *The Tragic Muse*. Temporarily abandons the novel form in favour of playwriting.
- 1890–1 Dramatizes *The American*, which has a short run in 1891. December: young friend and (informal) agent Wolcott Balestier dies of typhoid in Dresden.
- 1892 February: story collection, *The Real Thing and Other Tales*, published. March: death of Alice James in London.
- 1893 Volumes of tales published: March, *The Real Thing*; June, *The Private Life* [&c]; September, *The Wheel of Time* [&c]; also, June, *Picture and Text* (essays on illustration) and *Essays in London and Elsewhere* (critical and memorial essays).

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- 1894 Deaths of Constance Fenimore Woolson (January) and Robert Louis Stevenson (December).
- 1895 5 January: première of *Guy Domville*, greeted by boos and applause. James abandons playwriting for years. Visits Ireland. Volumes of tales published: May, *Terminations*; June, *Embarrassments*. Takes up cycling.
- 1896–7 *The Other House* (1896), *The Spoils of Poynton* (1897), *What Maisie Knew* (1897). February 1897: starts dictating, due to wrist problems. September 1897: takes lease on Lamb House, Rye.
- 1898 May: has signed up with literary agent James Brand Pinker, who will act for him for the rest of his life. June: moves into Lamb House. August: *In the Cage* published. October: 'The Turn of the Screw' published (in *The Two Magics*); proves his most popular work since 'Daisy Miller'. Kent and Sussex neighbours include Stephen Crane, Joseph Conrad, H. G. Wells and Ford Madox Hueffer (Ford).
- 1899 April: *The Awkward Age* published. August: buys the freehold of Lamb House.
- 1900 May: shaves off his beard. August: *The Soft Side* (tales). Friendship with Edith Wharton develops. Begins *The Sense of the Past*, but leaves it unfinished.
- 1901 February: *The Sacred Fount*.
- 1902–3 August 1902: *The Wings of the Dove* published. February 1903: *The Better Sort* (tales) published. September 1903: *The Ambassadors* published (completed mid-1901, before *The Wings of the Dove*, but delayed by serialization); also *William Wetmore Story and his Friends* (biography).
- 1904–5 August: James sails to US for first time in twenty-one years. November: *The Golden Bowl* published. Visits New England, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, the South, St Louis, Chicago, Los Angeles and San Francisco. Lectures on 'The Lesson of Balzac' and 'The Question of Our Speech'. Meets President Theodore Roosevelt. Elected to American Academy of Arts and Letters.

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- 1905 July 1905: writes early chapters of *The American Scene*; simultaneously begins revising works for *New York Edition of the Novels and Tales of Henry James*. October: *English Hours* (travel essays) published.
- 1906–8 Selects, arranges, prefaces and has illustrations made for *New York Edition* (published 1907–9, twenty-four volumes). January 1907: *The American Scene* published. August 1907: hires new amanuensis, Theodora Bosanquet. 1908: *The High Bid* (play) produced at Edinburgh.
- 1909–11 October 1909: *Italian Hours* (travel essays) published. Health problems, aggravated by failure of the *New York Edition*. Death of Robertson ('Bob') James. Travels to US. William James dies 26 August 1910. October 1910: *The Finer Grain* (tales). Returns to England August 1911. October: *The Outcry* (play converted into novel) published.
- 1911 In autumn, begins work on autobiography.
- 1912 June: honorary doctorate at Oxford. October: takes flat at 21 Carlyle Mansions, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea; suffers from shingles.
- 1913 March: *A Small Boy and Others* (first autobiographical book) published. Portrait painted by John Singer Sargent for seventieth birthday on 15 April.
- 1914 March: *Notes of a Son and Brother* (second autobiographical book) published. (The fragment of a third, *The Middle Years*, appears posthumously in 1917.) When World War One breaks out, becomes passionately engaged with the British cause, working with Belgian refugees, and later wounded soldiers. October: *Notes on Novelists* published. Begins *The Ivory Tower*; resumes work on *The Sense of the Past*, but is unable to complete either novel.
- 1915 Honorary president of the American Volunteer Motor Ambulance Corps. July: quarrels with H. G. Wells about purpose of art, declaring 'It is art that *makes* life, makes interest, makes importance'; becomes a British citizen in protest against

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- US neutrality, describing the decision to his nephew Harry (Henry James III) as 'a simple act and offering of allegiance and devotion' after his forty-year domicile. Writes essay about the War (collected in *Within the Rim*, 1919), and Preface to *Letters from America* (1916) by his dead friend Rupert Brooke. On 2 December suffers a stroke. First volumes of Uniform Edition of Tales by Martin Secker, published in fourteen vols. 1915–20.
- 1916      Awarded the Order of Merit. Dies on 28 February. Funeral in Chelsea Old Church; ashes smuggled back to America by sister-in-law and buried in the family plot in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

## INTRODUCTION

### The Genesis of the Text

The last novel that Henry James completed and published in his lifetime derived directly from his 1909 play of the same name. This had been commissioned for the 1910 repertory season at London's Duke of York's Theatre produced by the American theatre-manager Charles Frohman (1856–1915) which, with new work promised from Bernard Shaw (1856–1950), John Galsworthy (1867–1933), Harley Granville Barker and others, looked set to follow the ground-breaking 1904–7 Court Theatre seasons of *avant-garde* plays organized by Barker (1877–1946) and John Vedrenne (1867–1930). James set about the project enthusiastically, telling his agent, James Pinker (1863–1922), on 14 October 1909, that he was ‘very ardent and interested; feeling, the more I get into it—into the whole thing—that *that* way, for me the Future (what is left me of it!) lies’.<sup>1</sup> It lay there particularly, perhaps, because his 1908 royalty statement for the New York Edition of his novels, after years of intensive revision work, had been he said, ‘a greater disappointment than I have been prepared for’ and his literary income his lowest for twenty-five years (*LL* 468). In mid-December, 1909, having completed the play, he noted that ‘the “dramatic” way’ was the only way he would ‘henceforth be able, with any vital, or any artistic, economy, to envisage [his] material at all’, his ‘so absorbing and endearing plunge into the whole process of “The Outcry”’ having cast ‘so large and rich and vivid a light’ on ‘the whole matter of method’.<sup>2</sup> The novel James was then contemplating, ‘The Ivory Tower’, would remain unfinished at his death; the one that did eventuate was *The Outcry*, published almost simultaneously in England and America, in October 1911.

<sup>1</sup> *Henry James: A Life in Letters*, ed. Philip Horne (Harmondsworth: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1999), p. 484; hereafter in text as *LL*.

<sup>2</sup> 17 December 1909, *The Complete Notebooks of Henry James*, eds. Leon Edel and Lyall H. Powers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 259; hereafter, in text as *CN*. Since the play was not published in James's lifetime, I refer to it throughout as ‘The Outcry’, reserving italicization for the title of the novel.

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The novel's dust-jacket gloss, most likely, as Leon Edel maintains,<sup>3</sup> to have been printed from James's own prospectus, locates the plot in current events:

'The Outcry' deals with a question sharply brought home of late to the conscience of English Society—that of the degree in which the fortunate owners of precious and hitherto transmitted works of art hold them in trust, as it were, for the nation, and may themselves, as lax guardians, be held to account by public opinion.<sup>4</sup>

Events germane to his long-standing concern with transatlantic negotiations and questions of moral and artistic responsibility had presented James with the subject for his new play. On 1 May 1909, the Duke of Norfolk's intention to sell Hans Holbein's painting, *Christina of Denmark, Duchess of Milan* (1538), until then on long-term loan to the National Gallery, was announced in *The Times*, feeding current fears about an 'art drain' that over more than twenty years had seen numerous sales of European artefacts from English aristocrats to foreign, mainly American, galleries and private collectors. Already in July 1895, pondering the massive American wealth and related art-collecting of people such as Isabella Stewart Gardner (1840–1924), James had noted 'a splendid subject—if worked round a personal action—situation. The Americans looming up—dim, vast, portentous—in their millions—like gathering waves—the barbarians of the Roman Empire' (CN 126). The fact that the seller in this instance was the premier English duke chimed with contemporary concerns about heritage and public trusteeship. The campaign to buy the painting for the nation, sponsored by the National Art Fund, whose executive committee included James's friends, Sidney Colvin (1845–1927) and John Singer Sargent (1856–1925), drew fervent press comment. When, in June, the sum was made up, James enquired of his friend Edmund Gosse, a council member of the Art Fund, 'The Holbein Duchess has been saved – by a veiled lady who has bought her off for £40,000. Can you lift the veil?'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> CN 578, and see Leon Edel, 'Henry James and *The Outcry*', *University of Toronto Quarterly* xviii.4 (July 1949), 340–6.

<sup>4</sup> David J. Supino, *Henry James: A Bibliographical Catalogue of Editions to 1921*, 2nd edition (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), p. 539; hereafter Supino, *Bibliographical Catalogue*. The full dust-jacket text is included in Appendix A.

<sup>5</sup> 4 June 1909, quoted in *The Complete Plays of Henry James*, ed. Leon Edel (London: Hart-Davis, 1949), p. 838; hereafter in text as CP; and see Adeline R. Tintner, 'Henry James's *The Outcry* and the Art Drain of 1908–9' *Apollo*, 93.228 (February, 1981), 110–12.

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The ‘lax guardian’ of *The Outcry* is the hitherto exemplary Lord Theign, who finds it suits his straitened financial situation, caused largely by the massive gambling debts of his dissolute elder daughter, Kitty, to sell one of his ‘precious works of art’ to a fabulously wealthy American collector, Breckenridge Bender. His conscience is eased when a young connoisseur, Hugh Crimble, identifies as an extremely valuable work one long-considered to be by a lesser painter and this switches Bender’s attention from the Joshua Reynolds family portrait Theign cherishes. At the same time, Theign finds it convenient to encourage the proposal of Lord John for the hand of his younger daughter, Grace. Since he is the son of Kitty’s principal creditor, a marriage settlement would bring about release from Kitty’s debt. Grace defies her father on both counts, joining with Hugh to hold him to account. The manoeuvring by Hugh, whose writings help stir public opinion against the sale, and by the spiteful Lord John, who has seen his marriage plans and his commission as middle man in any sale evaporate, lead to Theign’s reasserting his nobility and – unlike Norfolk – gifting his painting to the nation.

James’s letters through autumn 1909 show him deeply absorbed in and optimistic about the play, which he completed on 16 December. But at the turn of the year he suffered a nervous collapse that became chronic. He would describe it, the following May, as:

a dismal—the most dismal and interminable illness; going on these five months nearly, since Christmas—and of which the end is not yet; and of which all this later stage has been (these ten or twelve weeks) a development of nervous conditions (agitation, trepidation, black melancholia and weakness) of a—the most—formidable and distressing kind.<sup>6</sup>

It not only prevented his attendance at the opening of the Frohman season on 21 February 1910, but, crucially for him, attendance at rehearsals of his own play. In March he was explaining to Theodora Bosanquet, his secretary: ‘There can be no production of “The Outcry” without my personal participation at preparation and rehearsal—and till there is a possibility of that no calculating. There can even be no casting of the piece without my presence in

<sup>6</sup> To W. E. Norris, 22 May 1910, *The Letters of Henry James*, 2 vols., ed. Percy Lubbock (London: Macmillan and Co., 1920), vol. 2, p. 167; hereafter in text as *LHJ* 2.

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London. So all that is dark.<sup>7</sup> As well as casting problems there had been demands for extensive cuts to which James, albeit reluctantly, was still responding in May. As this suggests, although King Edward VII's death on 6 May and the consequent closing of theatres is the reason usually stated for the non-production of the play, it was just one contributing factor.

The Frohman season itself had faltered. Having opened successfully with Galsworthy's *Justice* and J. M. Barrie's *The Ten Pound Look*, the next contributions, Shaw's *Misalliance* and Barker's *The Madras House*, each something of a departure from their authors' earlier work, proved too strange for the Duke of York's audience and Frohman withdrew them, substituting performances of Arthur Wing Pinero's popular 1898 play, *Trelawny of the 'Wells'*. The three-day closure of theatres to mark the King's death and the public mourning that followed led to a further decline in ticket sales and Frohman took the opportunity to close his season altogether on 17 June.<sup>8</sup> James retrieved his rights and a £200 forfeit from Frohman. He told Barker:

I have only now to think ruefully and gloomily, what other use I shall—or can—make of it. I wish you, for yourself, some prompter inspiration than I strike myself as likely to find. But my first course must be to get the cuts—by which I mean the ensanguined corpse—washed and laid out clean.<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile William James, who had come from America with his wife, Alice, to support his brother through his depressive illness, was himself suffering with heart disease. He moved, in hope of a cure, to Bad Nauheim in Germany, where Henry joined him in June. Back in England in late July, Henry was writing, 'he is so weak and ill and *down*, and has dropped so rapidly further, that all our anxiety now is to help him to strength to sail for home by Aug. 12<sup>th</sup> for which all his and my sister's and my own arrange-

<sup>7</sup> *Henry James Letters*, 4 vols., ed. Leon Edel (Cambridge MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1974–84; London: Macmillan and Co., 1974–84), vol. 4, p. 549; hereafter in text as *HJL* 4.

<sup>8</sup> Allan Wade, *Memories of the London Theatre 1900–1914*, ed. Alan Andrews (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1983), p. 29, and see Denis Kennedy, *Granville Barker and the Dream of Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 100–6.

<sup>9</sup> 1 August 1910, *Henry James, Selected Letters*, ed. Leon Edel (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), p. 386.