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THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF THE
COMPLETE FICTION OF

HENRY JAMES

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ABBREVIATIONS

AM	*Atlantic Monthly*
CLHJ	*The Complete Letters of Henry James*, eds. Pierre A. Walker and Greg W. Zacharias; Michael Anesko and Greg W. Zacharias (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006 —) N.B.: Quotations from this source will appear as clear text; i.e., evidence of HJ's cancellations and insertions will not appear unless warranted by their context
CTW1	*Collected Travel Writings: Great Britain and America*, ed. Richard Howard (New York: Library of America, 1993)
CTW2	*Collected Travel Writings: The Continent*, ed. Richard Howard (New York: Library of America, 1993)
CWAD	*The Complete Writings of Henry James on Art and Drama, vol. 2: Drama*, ed. Peter Collister, 2 vols. (Cambridge University Press, 2016)
E&L	Leon Edel and Dan H. Laurence, *A Bibliography of Henry James*, 3rd edn, revised with the assistance of James Rambeau (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982)
EL	*Essays in London and Elsewhere* (London: James R. Osgood, McIlvaine & Co., 1893; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1893)
FM	Frederick Macmillan
Gard	Roger Gard, ed., *Henry James: Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968)
Hayes	Kevin J. Hayes, ed., *Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews* (Cambridge University Press, 1996)
HJ	Henry James
HJHM	*The Correspondence of Henry James and the House of Macmillan, 1877–1914*, ed. Rayburn S. Moore (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993)
HJL	*Henry James Letters*, ed. Leon Edel, 4 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974, 1975, 1980, 1984)
HLMS	Houghton Library MS
HMCC	Houghton Mifflin Company Correspondence and Records, 1832–1944 (bMS Am 1925–1925.4), Houghton Library, Harvard University

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LC1	*Literary Criticism: Essays on Literature, American Writers, English Writers*, eds. Leon Edel and Mark Wilson (New York: The Library of America, 1984)
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)
LL	*Henry James: A Life in Letters*, ed. Philip Horne (London: Penguin Press, 1999)
LRLS	*The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson*, eds. Bradford A. Booth and Ernest Mehew, 8 vols. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994–5)
MEB	Macmillan Editions Books, pre-1892, CD ROMs, British Library
NSB	*Notes of a Son and Brother* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914; London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd, 1914)
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
PPL	*Portraits of Places* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1883; Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1884)
RLS	Robert Louis Stevenson
SBO	*A Small Boy and Others* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913; London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd, 1914)
SL	*Selected Letters of Henry James*, ed. Leon Edel (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1956)
Supino	David J. Supino, *Henry James: A Bibliographical Catalogue of a Collection of Editions to 1921*, 2nd edn, revised (Liverpool University Press, 2014)
TBA	Thomas Bailey Aldrich
TBAP	Thomas Bailey Aldrich Papers (bMS Am 1429: 2546–2622), Houghton Library, Harvard University

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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 his 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 which aims to be clear, orderly and consistent.

This edition aims to represent James's fictional career as it evolves, with a fresh and expanded sense 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 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 judgment 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.

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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 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, 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.

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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 notably in the 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 the 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' (1879) 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 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 in the line of textual transmission 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 exclamations or vice-versa, Volume Editors have exercised their judgment. A second section ('Textual Variants II') offers a comprehensive list of all substantive variants subsequent to copy text, and a brief commentary which 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'.

*

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The *Complete Fiction of Henry James* consists of twenty-two novels (vols. 1–22), one hundred and thirteen tales (vols. 23–32), and two 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. 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 which 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 those to be 'tales' all 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*.

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 e.g. 'A London Life' (June–September 1888, *Scribner's Magazine*) before 'The Lesson of the Master' (July–August 1888, *Universal Review*).
2) Where two tales have the same start date, the priority is determined by which completes its publication earlier. Thus e.g. '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) Where 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 e.g. '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) Where 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.

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6) Where 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.
7) In the single case where only a fragment of a tale survives and therefore was not published within James's lifetime, 'Hugh Merrow', 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 like all other variants, it has been recorded in the list of 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'. Editorial ellipses have been enclosed in square brackets but authorial ellipses have not.

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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 which can be accounted for by differences in the house styles of particular publishers, British and American, and those which 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 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 judgment 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) has 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 which 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 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 editors at Cambridge University Press, Linda Bree and Bethany Thomas, and Senior Content Managers, Victoria Parrin and Sharon McCann.

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GENERAL CHRONOLOGY OF JAMES'S LIFE AND WRITINGS

Compiled by Philip Horne

1843	Henry James (HJ) 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 two) 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 Sergeant 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 injures his back helping extinguish a fire in Newport. Along with William James, is exempted from service in Civil War, in which younger brothers fight, and Wilky is seriously wounded.
1862	Enters Harvard Law School for two terms. 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*.

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1865	March: first signed tale, 'The Story of a Year', appears in *Atlantic Monthly*. July: 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 Charles Eliot and Susan Norton, 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. March 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 USA.
1875	First three books published: *A Passionate Pilgrim, and Other Tales* (January); *Transatlantic Sketches* (April); *Roderick 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 the *Cornhill Magazine* and is quickly pirated by two

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	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 the USA; 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*. August 1883: returns to London; will not return to the USA for twenty-one years. September 1883: *Daisy Miller: A Comedy*. November 1883: Macmillan publish fourteen-volume collected edition of HJ's fiction; death of Wilky James. December 1883: *Portraits of Places* (travel essays).
1884	Sister Alice joins HJ in London, living nearby. September 1884: *A Little Tour in France* published; also HJ's important artistic statement 'The Art of Fiction'. October 1884: *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 1886: 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. June 1890: *The Tragic Muse*. Temporarily abandons the novel form in favour of playwriting.

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1890–1	Dramatizes *The American*, which has a short run in 1891. December 1891: young friend and (informal) agent Wolcott Balestier dies of typhoid in Dresden.
1892	February: *The Lesson of the Master [&c]* (story collection) published. March: death of Alice James in London.
1893	Volumes of tales published: March, *The Real Thing and Other Tales*; 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).
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 represent 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).

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1904–5	August: James sails to the USA for first time in twenty-one years. November 1904: *The Golden Bowl* published. Visits New England, New York, Philadelphia, Washington DC, 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.
1905	July: 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 *NYE* (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 in Edinburgh.
1909–11	October 1909: *Italian Hours* (travel essays) published. Health problems, aggravated by failure of the *NYE*. Death of Robertson ('Bob') James. Travels to the USA. William James dies 26 August 1910. October 1910: *The Finer Grain* (tales). Returns to England August 1911. October 1911: *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.
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 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

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	essays 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.

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INTRODUCTION

The Princess Casamassima was the fifth of James's full-length novels, following *Roderick Hudson* (1875), *The American* (1877), *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881), and *The Bostonians* (1886). As readers of the time were quick to note, it was the first of James's novels that did not feature any American characters (with the partial exception of the title character herself). It has often been coupled with *The Bostonians* and *The Tragic Muse* (1890) as representing a 'middle period', succeeded by James's years of engagement with the theatre and the beginning of a later phase in 1895 that culminates in *The Wings of the Dove* (1902), *The Ambassadors* (1903), and *The Golden Bowl* (1904). Like the application of all such schemes to the complexities of an extended and prolific career, this risks underestimating the challenges faced by the author at the time of writing and the means by which he met them. As with the *CFHJ* as a whole, this edition seeks to return James's novel to the dense particular context in which it was first conceived, written, and read in the mid-1880s.

1 Beginnings

The first hint we have of the novel that was to become *The Princess* is from an exchange in July 1883 between James and the editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* (hereafter *AM*), Thomas Bailey Aldrich (1836–1907). James was in Boston, still dealing with the complex aftermath of his father's death the previous December, and indeed less than a year before that, of his mother's death in January 1882. Though he was not to know it, he had seen for the last time two other persons important to him. His friend, Ivan Turgenev, was to die the following September; as we shall see, the great Russian novelist would prove an essential resource in the composition of *The Princess*. And two months later, in November 1883, he would lose his younger brother Wilky, who had never truly recovered from the injuries of the Civil War. These bereavements would contribute to the temper of his next two novels.

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Aldrich had taken over from James's friend William Dean Howells as editor of the *AM* in March 1881, a post he held until 1890.[1] James wrote from San Remo in Italy to congratulate him, noting that he was inheriting 'the remainder of the ponderous serial which I am no[w] shovelling into the magazine', that is, *The Portrait of a Lady*.[2] It was due to run till the November number, though in the event – one to which James's editors would become accustomed – by July he was begging for one more month, making a total of fourteen instalments. On 31 August he sent Aldrich 'the final pages of my too, too solid serial', a humorous memory of Hamlet's too, too solid flesh, and the desire for it to be 'resolved' (*CLHJ 1880–1883* 1:183, 230, 257–8). By November, with the *Portrait* completed, he had crossed the Atlantic for the first time since 1875, and was negotiating his next moves with American publishers and editors. He asked Houghton, Mifflin & Co. to raise the royalty percentage on his volumes from ten to twenty (he first wrote 'fifty', so they could see how reasonable he was being in coming down to a mere twenty).[3] They declined. On the same day (23 November) he proposed to Aldrich a new serial to run in the *AM* for twelve months from January or February 1883, in the same manner as *The Portrait*, appearing in *Macmillan's Magazine* in Britain one month before, with increased payment from $250 to $300 a number. Aldrich declined (*CLHJ 1880–1883* 1:25).

Professional relations between Aldrich and James do not seem to have suffered. According to Sedgwick, 'works by James appeared in 65 out of the 110 issues Aldrich edited'.[4] But in November 1881, on the heels of the protracted *Portrait*, Aldrich may well have flinched at the thought of another too, too solid serial, even

[1] For James's dealings with editors and publishers, including the particular negotiations over *The Princess*, see Michael Anesko, *"Friction with the Market": Henry James and the Profession of Authorship* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), especially Ch. 6: 'Between the Worlds of Beauty and Necessity: Hyacinth Robinson's Problem of Vocation', pp. 101–18. For the *Atlantic Monthly*, see Ellery Sedgwick, *The Atlantic Monthly, 1857–1909: Yankee Humanism at High Tide and Ebb* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994): for Aldrich's editorship, see Ch. 5, pp. 161–99. Also Ellen B. Ballou, *The Building of the House: Houghton Mifflin's Formative Years* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), Ch. 14, 'The Trade in the 1880s', pp. 350–80. Emily Coit considers the ways in which *The Bostonians* and *The Princess Casamassima* interrogate 'the mission of the periodicals in which they first appeared' (that is, the *Century* and the *Atlantic Monthly*, respectively), dramatizing 'liberalism's internal contradictions' ('Henry James's Dramas of Cultivation: Liberalism and Democracy in *The Bostonians* and *The Princess Casamassima*', *Henry James Review* 36.2 (2015), 177–98; 177, 178).

[2] 'Not' in *CLHJ* but 'now' in my reading of the Thomas Bailey Aldrich Papers (bMS Am 1429: 2552), Houghton Library, Harvard University. Hereafter TBAP.

[3] Houghton Mifflin Company Correspondence and Records, 1832–1944, bMS Am 1925 (942). Houghton Library, Harvard University. Hereafter HMCC.

[4] Sedgwick, *Atlantic Monthly*, p. 193. For further analysis of James's relationship with the *AM* from Fields to Perry, see Sedgwick's 'Henry James and the *Atlantic Monthly*: Editorial Perspectives on James' Friction with the Market', *Studies in Bibliography* 45 (1992), 311–32.

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in a year's time. In the meantime he was happy to take James's review of Alphonse Daudet's *Mon Frère et Moi: Souvenirs d'Enfance et de Jeunesse* (June 1882), an article on 'London Pictures and London Plays' (August 1882), a substantial piece on the great Italian actor, Tommaso Salvini (March 1883), the dramatized version of *Daisy Miller* (April–June 1883), of which Aldrich declared 'I think it a great card' (HMCC bMS Am 1925 (36)), and a series of essays based on his travels in France in the autumn of 1882 under the title 'En Province' (July 1883–May 1884), collected as *A Little Tour in France* (1884).

There are some significant connections between these essays and *The Princess*. One is in James's attitude towards revolution in France, the desecration of churches and tombs during the French Revolution (or in the case of the church of Brou, his wonder at 'how all this decoration, this luxury of fair and chiselled marble, survived'), and the more immediate violence he encountered during a delay between trains at Lyon, where he read that a dynamite bomb had just been thrown into a café. As he perused the reports in the radical newspapers, he wondered 'whether I was losing all my radicalism; and then I wondered whether, after all, I had any to lose'. Another is the premonition of the Poupins in a doorkeeper and his wife in Carcassonne, the former 'a man of the people [...] showing his intelligence with a kind of ferocity, of defiance. Such a personage helps one to understand the red radicalism of France, the revolutions, the barricades, the sinister passion for theories'.[5]

In July 1883 Aldrich took the initiative in re-opening the idea of a lengthy serial novel by James in the *AM*. They had been in regular contact in Boston through the first half of the year. James thanked Mrs Aldrich for an invitation to dinner on 14 February: 'I shall be delighted to eat as many Russian dishes as you set before me. But no dynamite please.' (*CLHJ 1883–1884* 1:39) The Aldriches' summer travels in Europe included two trips to Russia, and the mention of 'dynamite' suggests how much the nihilists were in the air at this time, in the wake of Tsar Alexander II's assassination in March 1881. James wrote to Sir John Forbes Clark, from Hotel d'Italie, Genoa: 'Even at quiet Falmouth you must have jumped at the sound of those horrible Russian bombs. Aren't you glad you are not an Emperor? I am, at least, for I might be tempted to drive out with you. The thing is really too devilish—I can't believe in reform that begins [sic] with deforming.' (*CLHJ 1880–1883* 1:188) A few days later he wrote from Milan to Fanny Kemble, 'You must have felt

[5] *A Little Tour in France* (Boston, MA: James R. Osgood and Co., 1885 [1884]), pp. 247, 237–9, 149–51). See W. H. Tilley, *The Background of* The Princess Casamassima, University of Florida Monographs No. 5 (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1961), pp. 14–17.

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splattered, like all the world, with the blood of the poor Russian Czar! Aren't you glad you are not an Empress?' (*CLHJ 1880–1883* 1:204).

But by July James had been involved with other editors and magazines and acquired other commitments. For Leslie Stephen's *Cornhill Magazine* he had written 'The Siege of London' (January–February 1883), to follow up the success of 'Daisy Miller', 'An International Episode', and 'Washington Square'. He was looking for alternative American outlets, and Richard Watson Gilder's *Century* in particular, recently established as a successor to *Scribner's Monthly*, was proving hospitable. Gilder had published an essay on 'Venice' (November 1882) and the short story 'The Point of View' (December 1882), and now offered the prospect of six appearances between May and December 1883, that would include essays on 'Du Maurier and London Society', 'Alphonse Daudet', and the tale 'The Impressions of a Cousin'.

Meanwhile, disappointed with Houghton, Mifflin's refusal to raise his royalties, James was open to other offers. James R. Osgood (1836–92) was prepared to offer 20 per cent. Osgood had been James's first publisher in 1875, with *A Passionate Pilgrim and Other Tales*, *Transatlantic Sketches*, and *Roderick Hudson*, followed by *The American* in 1877. In 1878 Osgood joined with Henry Oscar Houghton (1823–95) to form the short-lived Houghton, Osgood and Co., but in 1880 they split up and the newly formed Houghton, Mifflin and Co. retained all the earlier titles by James. Osgood must have reached an agreement with James fairly soon after the refusal by Houghton, Mifflin, to be able to publish, before the end of February 1883, a volume of tales entitled *The Siege of London*, accompanied by 'The Pension Beaurepas' and 'The Point of View'. By the time Aldrich made his approach in July, James had committed himself to providing Osgood with the novel that was to become *The Bostonians* and a volume of three tales headed by 'Lady Barberina', all first to be serialized in the *Century*. As usual, James was anxious about his earnings but it would have been folly to have two extended serials on his hands at the same time. Besides, he had to get back to England and settle in London again. No wonder that on 18 July 1883 he declined Aldrich's offer. 'So I feel mortgaged & restricted; anything but free. — Later perhaps!' (*CLHJ 1883–1884* 1:187).

It was seven months later that he returned to the idea of a full-length fiction to follow *The Bostonians*. He had spent the autumn of 1883 back in London, telling Aldrich on 15 September: 'I am quite re-Londonized, & my American episode seems like a waking dream.' (*CLHJ 1883–1884* 1:226) By the end of 1883 he was still far from free but he needed the prospect of substantial continuous magazine publication such as only an extended novel could provide.

Then in February 1884 he moved for a month to Paris, renewing his acquaintance with the circle of French contemporary writers, Edmond de Goncourt (1822–96), Émile Zola (1840–1902), Alphonse Daudet (1840–97), and Guy de Maupassant

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(1850–93). A few months later, in London, he would meet for the first time Paul Bourget (1852–1935). In Paris there were two significant absences. Since his first encounter with 'the grandsons of Balzac' in 1875–6 (*LC2* 1012), Gustave Flaubert (1821–80) had died, and more recently and for James, as we shall see, more weightily, Ivan Turgenev (1818–83). In response to an invitation from Aldrich he had sat down to re-read the great Russian and compose his own magnificent tribute, published in the *AM* issue for January 1884. Not coincidentally for the formative presences in James's mental preparation for *The Princess*, the same month of January 1884 saw a critical essay on Matthew Arnold (1822–88) appear from James's pen in the *English Illustrated Magazine* (see note 20).

In February 1884 Aldrich renewed his proposal for a full-length novel to be serialized in the *AM*, and writing back from Paris, James agreed in principle to provide one for 1885 in twelve instalments, beginning in July. 'I have in my head, & have had for a year or two a very good sujet de roman of which I shld. make use.' (*CLHJ 1883–1884* 2:21–2) Even at this early stage he was reasonably confident that it would be entitled *The Princess Casamassima*. Unabashed by the failure of his previous request to Aldrich in November 1881, including payment of $300 a number, he now made a bid for an even higher figure. He was emboldened, he said, by the amount of his work to be published over the next twelve months, and by the high payment he would receive for some of it, two stories in the New York Sunday *Sun* this coming summer ('Pandora', 1, 8 June 1884, and 'Georgina's Reasons', 20, 27 July and 3 August 1884).[6] So that 'by July 1865 [sic] I expect to be in the enjoyment of a popularity which will require me to ask $500 a number' (*CLHJ 1883–1884* 2:22).

Aldrich thought this a bit steep and said so, in a letter of 27 February. James brooded for a week before replying on 19 March, affecting to share his editor's sense that this was indeed 'an exceptionally high price'. It had been, he confessed, 'an off-hand and undigested proposal'. Nevertheless he was still loth to relinquish the idea of £100 a number, and went so far as to say: 'If it does not meet the ideas of the publishers, we will hang her [the Princess] up on her peg again' (*CLHJ 1883–1884* 2:67). In the event he settled for $350 (£70) a month (HMCC, MS Am 1925 (942.30)), and could therefore look forward to a total of $4,200 (£840) for 'the *simple serial use* of the novel' (*LL* 177). This phase of negotiations was concluded the following month when James wrote to Aldrich on 16 April, to assure him that

[6] Ballou reports that for 'Pandora', a tale of about 18,000 words, he received between $1,100 and $1,200, and for 'Georgina's Reasons' probably the same. This would have translated into well over $40 a page (*Building of the House*, p. 376). For both *The Princess* and *The Tragic Muse* James received from the *AM* $15 a page.

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the *AM* would have exclusive rights to the serial publication. The novel would *not* appear in an English periodical or any other.

However, he was worried about committing himself to a delivery date for the first numbers, foreseeing that he would be unable to start writing before the end of 1884. As usual he was optimistic, for *The Bostonians* continued to occupy him until the spring of 1885. Nevertheless on 12 December 1884 he began research for the new novel in the most practical way by making a visit to Millbank Prison, on the north bank of the Thames. He told his old Newport friend T. S. Perry that he had spent all morning at the 'horrible place', collecting notes for the scene that would take place in Chapter 3, when the ten-year-old Hyacinth Robinson is taken to visit his dying mother. 'You see I am quite the Naturalist', he jested (*HJL* 3:61; see further below, pp. LVII–LXII). He was also quite the realist in nerving himself at the end of the month to ask Aldrich to postpone the novel's first number by two months, so that it would begin in September 1885. 'I work better, I think, as I grow older, but I also work more slowly', he considered. 'Two months more will give me plenty of margin & when the "Princess Casamassima" *does* begin it will be so magnificent that you will be delighted (so to speak) to have waited for it.' (*LL* 168)

By mid-April 1885 he was finally free of *The Bostonians*. He moved to Bournemouth on the south coast for an extended visit, where he could spend time with his sister. Alice James had crossed the Atlantic the previous November, and though for the next six years until her death in March 1892 she would be cared for mainly by her companion Katharine Loring, she represented for her brother an exacting bond. Many critics have observed the contribution she makes to the condition, and perhaps temperament, of his fictional invalid Rose Muniment, though fraternal mischief attributed to Rose political views diametrically opposed to those held by Alice.[7]

As luck would have it Bournemouth harboured another, even more inspiring invalid in the shape of Robert Louis Stevenson. When James and Stevenson first met in 1879, neither had taken the other very seriously. Now it was different. A philistine piece by Walter Besant on 'The Art of Fiction' had provoked James to an essay with the same title, in which he proposed that the novelist should, like the painter, 'compete with life' and produce 'the illusion of life' (*Longman's*, September 1884; reprinted in 1888 in *Partial Portraits*). Stevenson disagreed, three months later in the same magazine, arguing for art, craft, and artifice against the 'realism' he supposed James to be promoting.[8] James was charmed by what he called

[7] See in particular Jean Strouse, *Alice James: A Biography* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1981), pp. 281–4.

[8] Janet Adam Smith (ed.), *Henry James and Robert Louis Stevenson: A Record of Friendship and Criticism* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1948), pp. 53–100.

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Stevenson's 'genial rejoinder', and expressed admiration for his writing: 'The native *gaiety* of all that you write is delightful to me, & when I reflect that it proceeds from a man whom life has laid much of the time on his back, (as I understand it) I find you a genius indeed.' (*HJL* 3:57–8) In Bournemouth he saw much of the genius, and the genius's wife, Fanny, until the Stevensons left for America in August 1887. As it turned out the writers would never see each other again, but the friendship survived through some lively correspondence until Stevenson's death in Western Samoa in December 1894. Stevenson appears to have contributed something to the description of young Hyacinth in Chapter 5 (see note 48).

The beginning of May 1885 was a grim time for James. Looking ahead to autumn and winter he described the prospects of his sister Alice, and his own with them, as being 'of impenetrable darkness' (*CLHJ 1884–1886*, forthcoming). The following day, 5 May, he read in *The Times* that his publisher Osgood had gone bankrupt. This was an extremely serious blow: he had received nothing of the $4,000 flat fee agreed for *The Bostonians*. There was nothing to be done about the serialization ongoing in the *Century*, but he needed to make new arrangements for book publication, not only of this novel but also of course of *The Princess*, which had been promised to Osgood (*CLHJ 1883–1884* 2:91). Houghton, Mifflin represented an obvious possibility, given that he had agreed terms with them for serialization of *The Princess* in the *AM*. On 25 May he wrote to them from Bournemouth to test the waters. A year ago they had intimated that they could go no higher than $350 per instalment for a novel in which their interest would cease on the conclusion of the serial. But supposing they were now to take on the book publication, would they be prepared to raise the figure? (HMCC, MS Am 1925 (942.30)) They would not. Meanwhile James had been seeking advice from his British publisher, Frederick Macmillan, with more immediate urgency over the fate of the haplessly stranded *Bostonians* than the as yet unlaunched *Princess* (*HJL* 3:79–82). In the event Macmillan would come to the rescue of both novels on both sides of the Atlantic. *The Bostonians* was published in three volumes in London in February 1886 and a one-volume edition in New York three months later. James had cause to be grateful, though the terms he had to accept from Macmillan for *The Bostonians* were disappointing: 15 per cent royalty and an advance of £500. For *The Princess Casamassima* Macmillan reduced the advance to £400, setting a pattern of shrinking advances to the end of the decade.[9]

So May 1885 was a month full of deep anxiety for James, and this must have made for a difficult beginning to composition of *The Princess*. By the first days of June, however, James was able to send to Aldrich the first instalment, Chapters 1–3,

[9] Anesko, "*Friction with the Market*", p. 120.

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in good time to start the serial in the September issue of the *AM*. This was not a situation he would ever find himself in with this novel again. For over a year James was under constant pressure to meet his monthly deadlines. On 6 July 1886 he would send off the last portion of the final instalment: 'It concludes the interminable work.' (TBAP 2602) The groan of relief was audible.

2 Composition and Publication

Like most American magazines, the *AM* came out about two weeks before the first day of the month that appeared on its cover, so the issue for September 1885 that carried the first instalment of *The Princess* would have appeared around the middle of August. James sent this off on 3 June 1885 and it was delivered to the Riverside Press for printing on 16 June, two months before it would appear in print. The date and time on which the printers received delivery is stamped on the first and last slips of each batch of MS. James regretted that, being 'imprisoned' in Bournemouth, he was unable to send a type-written copy, as he had been doing in the case of *The Bostonians*, 'and the *sole* typewriter I can discover is in London'[10] (TBAP 2584). Two years beforehand he had written to Aldrich from Washington (22 April 1883) about proofs of the essays on his travels in France ('En Province'), apologizing for the 'anfractuosities' of his handwriting, and admitting 'that in the ages of MS. literature I should not have been a popular magazinist: But printing was invented for such as me; wherefore, therefore, not take advantage of it?' (*CLHJ 1883–1884* 1:101).

Proofs could travel swiftly between Boston and Washington, but across the Atlantic it was another matter (normally about two weeks). On 9 October 1885 James told his brother William that he had never seen a proof of *The Bostonians* before its serialized appearances in the *Century*. 'It is the same with the *Princess Casamassima*.' (*HJL* 3:101) There is no reason to doubt James's statement, though there is a pencilled note on the MS in Aldrich's hand (vol. II, slip 516): 'lst portion of James's January [1886] instalment. *Proof to author*'.[11] However, given the severe time constraints, this instruction almost certainly looks toward authorial revisions for the book rather than corrections to the serial. We know this to have been the case in September 1886 when James received proofs of the very final number, with

[10] A person, at this date, rather than a machine. See Michiel Heyns's novel, *The Typewriter's Tale* (Johannesburg and Cape Town: Jonathan Ball, 2005; rep. 2016), and Pamela Thurschwell, *Literature, Technology and Magical Thinking, 1880–1920* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 86–114.

[11] MS of the novel in the Houghton Library, Harvard University: hereafter *MS*. See Textual Introduction, pp. XCVI–XCVIII.

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a view to revision for the first book edition to be published by Macmillan the following month (see below, p. xxxvii).

It is salutary to be reminded of the pressure of time that James was under in the composition of these long serial novels. He was constantly falling behind. By the third instalment for November 1885, he was already reduced to sending it off in two parts, the first of which reached the Press on 26 August, the second on 31 August. This was already more like six than eight weeks before its appearance in mid-October. 'I shall never, never, never be so late again!' he promised Aldrich. But he was, he was, he was. Though he recovered slightly with the next number, the fourth, which was shorter than the previous one – the whole instalment reached the Press on 25 September – from the fifth number onwards he was forced to send off instalments in two and sometimes three bites. The sixth number (for February 1886) reached the Press in two parts – the first on 30 November, the second on 9 December – to appear in mid-January. From now on the Press never had a complete instalment from James in their hands more than about a month before publication. By the time he got to numbers 7, 8, and 9 (March, April, May 1886), the Press was receiving the last batch only four weeks or so before publication. It comes as something of a shock to realize that James was so desperate to catch the mail that he could send off a batch of writing in mid-sentence. The first portion of the eighth instalment for April 1886 ends three-quarters of the way through Chapter 27, at the words 'or promotion on Hyacinth's' (p. 278); similarly with the first portion of the following instalments for May and June, which both end in mid-sentence at, respectively, the words 'Convenient to my' in Chapter 30 (p. 306), and 'with which he now regarded' in Chapter 35 (p. 344). In these circumstances a 'typewriter' was out of the question.

Aldrich was clear about his editorial authority. He told one writer who objected to some cuts: 'I am responsible for every word that appears in the *Atlantic*. [...] I know of no editor who does not reserve the right to strike out a phrase or passage if it seems to him objectionable, or if the exigencies of the make-up require it.' His proofreaders too were famously severe. On grammatical error and infelicity, 'he and his staff were merciless'.[12] The correspondence with Aldrich shows that James relied on his editor, and his editor's proofreader, for routine services in the presentation of the text. James asked Aldrich to insert paragraph breaks in the first half of Chapter 21: 'Will you kindly divide the monotonous waste, in the proof, at your own discretion, in 2 or 3 places?' (30 November 1885: TBAP 2589); to see that the proofreader rectified the numbering of the chapters of the June 1886 instalment, if he had got them wrong (2 April 1886: TBAP 2596); and to ensure that the proof-

[12] See Sedgwick, *Atlantic Monthly*, pp. 171, 173.

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reader gave extra attention to the last thirty or so pages of 'the interminable work', which the author had been too rushed to give a final revision (7 July 1886: TBAP 2602). On one occasion James inserts a specific instruction that there should be 'no comma' (doubly underlined in red ink) in the sentence 'She wants to assist me to assist you' in Chapter 39 (HLMS 3:106). This exceptional plea serves to confirm his general acquiescence in the imposition of *AM* house style over such matters.[13]

Though the writing of *The Princess* was fraught with anxiety, this was particularly acute at its outset and conclusion. Osgood's failure in May 1885 cast a shadow over the composition of the first instalments. On 10 August 1885, in Dover, halfway through writing the third number, James confided to himself:

> It is absolutely necessary that at this point I should make the future evolution of the *Princess Casamassima* more clear to myself. I have never yet become engaged in a novel in which, after I had begun to write & send off my MS., the details had remained so vague. This is partly—or indeed wholly—owing to the fact that I have been so terribly preoccupied—up to so lately—with the unhappy "Bostonians," born under an evil star.[14] The subject of the *Princess* is magnificent, & if I can only give up my mind to it properly—generously and trustfully—the form will shape itself as successfully as the idea deserves. I have plunged in rather blindly, and got a good many characters on my hands; but these will fall into their places if I keep cool & think it out. Oh art, art, what difficulties are like thine; but, at the same time, what consolations & encouragements, also, are like thine? Without thee, for me, the world would be, indeed, a howling desert. The *Princess* will give me hard, continuous work for many months to come; but she will also give me joys too sacred to prate about. (*CN* 31)[15]

Years later when wrote his Preface for the *NYE* James remembered his time in Dover rather differently – 'certain sunny, breezy balconied rooms at the quieter end of the Esplanade of that cheerful castle-crested little town [. . .] the old benched and asphalted walk by the sea, the twinkling Channel beyond', and so on. He assures his readers that he had been 'all in possession of little Hyacinth's consistency' (see Appendix, p. 840).

The details may have been vague but it seems likely that by August 1885 James had already determined the 'form' of the novel up to its halfway point. Of the twelve instalments for which he had contracted, the first three were to make up

[13] Sedgwick notes that 'The Procrustean rigor with which Aldrich and his assistants exercised editorial prerogative and went about enforcing his idea of "*Atlantic*" style was accepted by many established authors with surprising equanimity' (*Atlantic Monthly*, p. 173).

[14] James's novel *The Bostonians* would only finish its thirteen-month serial run in the *Century Magazine* in February 1886. James's publisher James R. Osgood had gone bankrupt and James had suffered heavy financial losses.

[15] The text here is from Philip Horne's edition of the *Notebooks* in *CFHJ* 34.

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Book First, and the next three Book Second. The MS of the fourth instalment (December 1885) is clearly marked 'Book Second', and for the seventh (March 1886), 'Book Third'. We cannot know exactly when James decided to begin this seventh number with the dramatic, initially unexplained change of place and time, from the dark London streets in the middle of the night where Book Second ends to the dawn-awakening in a country-house with which Book Third begins. But the 'form' of twelve instalments makes this juncture, exactly halfway through, the natural choice for this brilliant effect, justly admired by many readers and critics. So much seems clear and decided – like the brave outspoken stand that Hyacinth has taken at the end of Book Second.

Though James was later to claim that he had intended there to be three Books rather than four (see further below, p. XCIX), the evidence suggests that by the time he had reached the end of Book Second, he was thinking in terms of four Books, each taking up three of the twelve instalments. Both MS and *AM* count the tenth number (June 1886) as beginning 'Book Fourth'; the third and final part of this, Chapter 36, was sent off on 2 April. It was at this point, however, that things were squirming out of control. James was so pressed for time that he had to send off the tenth number in three separate batches. Indeed he was in such haste that he omitted one page from the second batch and had to send that separately (HLMS 5:89). Over the next month he worked on what should have been the eleventh and penultimate instalment for July, but when he sent off the second and final part on 29 April, he added this plea to Aldrich for one extra, thirteenth number.

> My dear Aldrich
> I am obliged to throw myself on your mercy—your magnanimity—with regard to the remainder of my *July* Princess, which goes to you to-day, & the still remainder (of August &c) which is to follow. That is, I *must* ask you to give me another month (the 13th—September,) to finish the everlasting tale. Of course for that extra instalment I ask for no payment, as I contracted with the publishers to do the thing up in 12 numbers. I can't—I am too damnably voluminous. I must make a Book Fourth (instead of having only Three, as I intended;) to consist of the August, & this added September parts. These will end the story in glory;[16]—I hope this won't bother or oppress you too much. I must *begin* Book Four with Part Eleven—so that, to divide properly, I have made this July number of a good deal less than the usual length. I hope you won't mind this—& don't see why you should—as I am throwing in a number gratis, in which all deficiencies of copy will be made up. There have been several numbers that have fallen a little short of 25 pages. It relieves me immensely to have decided to ask you this favour—for I have been feeling terribly squeezed, & I pray you take it not too editorially, but humanly,

[16] Edel reads this as 'flurry' (*SL* 113), but the word is certainly 'glory' (TBAP 2597), as printed in *LL* 182–3, and in *CLHJ 1884–1886*, forthcoming.

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> imaginatively & with allowances for him whose calculations previsions & adjustments, are woefully apt to be erratic, but who is nevertheless yours with some little pride as well as much contrition
>
> *Henry James*

Who could resist? Not Aldrich, who wrote back on 12 May granting the extension, plus the welcome news that the publishers would indeed pay him for the extra number, or, to be more exact, for 'such extra pages as they may be after past deficiencies are made up' (TBAP 2599). Through May and June James worked frantically to finish it off, in glory or flurry or both, while at the same time revising copy for the book publication by Macmillan later that autumn. A curious experience to be starting over again as he was trying to conclude. The August instalment left De Vere Gardens in fragments, on 21 and 27 May, and 5 June, 'very late, I am afraid, for the fair'. James had been wretchedly sick, he said, and there was still one more short chapter to follow. If it arrived too late for the August number it would have to go into September, 'though that will be long, without it' (TBAP 2600). By the end of June he had sent the bulk of the final number, some 80 pages of MS, and just over a week later on 7 July, he sent off two parcels that concluded 'the interminable work'. He warned that the last thirty pages or so might contain 'a few i's undotted and t's uncrossed', he had been in such a hurry to catch the post (TBAP 2601, 2602).

On receipt of this last Aldrich must have taken the decision to let the novel spill even further over into another extra month, so that like *The Portrait of a Lady*, what had been conceived (and contracted for) as twelve parts ended up as fourteen.[17] Perhaps more surprisingly, halfway through the thirteenth (September) number, Book Fourth suddenly gave way to Book Fifth, though – in the absence of the MS for these final chapters, or any other evidence – there is no means of knowing whether it was James or Aldrich who took this decision. When it came to publication in volume form, James chose to re-divide the novel again. Although Books First and Second remained stable in their coverage of the narrative up until Hyacinth's fatal oath at the end of Chapter 21, the remaining three Books get re-distributed in 1886 into four, making a total of six (see further, Textual Introduction, pp. xcix–c).

One can understand why Edel misread that word in the letter to Aldrich about ending the story in 'flurry'. Confusion continued over payments for these extra numbers. In October James was bewildered to receive from Houghton, Mifflin a draft for £71.17.0, which appeared to be for the final number. 'I understand of

[17] His next and last novel to be serialized in the *AM* under Aldrich's editorship, *The Tragic Muse*, swelled to seventeen numbers – on which Houghton Mifflin blamed the *AM*'s ailing circulation (see Ballou, *Building of the House*, p. 446).

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course perfectly your measurement of the amount of payment represented by my 14 instalments — & that this payment ended properly with the 13th. [...] pray control the impetuosity of your clerks, so that agreeable surprises may not — for your contributors — turn out to be delusions!' (HMCC, MS Am 1925 (942.32–4)) Alas, it was indeed a delusion, and James promptly paid the money back.

It is a curious coincidence that at the point at which James began to agonize over bringing the novel to its end, the written evidence has wandered off. At some indeterminable point after publication in the *AM*, the later parts of the manuscript strayed out of its editor's hands. Up until the end of the tenth number the manuscript has survived in its entirety, as it reached the hands of Aldrich and the Riverside Press, until it was deposited with the rest of Aldrich's papers, in the Houghton Library, Harvard. The first half of the eleventh number, Chapter 37, is, however, missing, and the second half, Chapter 38, was only acquired by the Houghton from the Providence Public Library in May 1968. The Houghton has held on to the twelfth instalment, Chapters 39 and 40, but the extra instalments of the MS, numbers thirteen and fourteen, have disappeared. As if in some obdurate insistence on the contractual arrangement for twelve instalments, the MS evidence for those supernumerary pages appears doomed to extinction.

Before the last numbers of the serial had appeared James was revising the sheets of the Atlantic for book publication. Author and publisher had not yet agreed terms when on 24 June 1886 James sent Frederick Macmillan 'a considerable part of the revised copy for the *Princess*: that is the 1st volume & about half the second. I will let you have the remainder as soon as possible.' Replying the same day, Macmillan offered a royalty of 15 per cent plus down payment of £400, in two instalments. This was disappointingly £100 less than for *The Bostonians*, but it reflected the poor sales of the latter. James received the first part of the advance from Macmillan (£150) at the end of June.[18]

Publication was scheduled for October, as soon as possible after the conclusion of the serial in the *AM*. This was another tight deadline, and James was so anxious about receiving proof sheets of the final *AM* instalment that he telegraphed Houghton, Mifflin to ask where they had got to (HMCC, MS Am 1925 (942.31)). James must have dealt with them instantly on their arrival for him to be able to tell Macmillan on 20 September that he had sent 'the last page of the final proof [of] the *Princess*' to the printers 'last week' (*HJHM* 125). Macmillan promptly sent a cheque for the outstanding part of the down payment, £250. He reassured James,

[18] *The Correspondence of Henry James and the House of Macmillan, 1877–1914*, ed. Rayburn S. Moore (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993), pp. 123–5. Hereafter *HJHM*.

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who had expressed anxiety that at nearly 600 pages the one-volume edition might make an 'awkward' book: 'We shall have her out very soon now & will take care that she is not too fat.' (*HJHM* 125–6)

Macmillan printed and published the novel in three volumes and also in one volume (see Textual Introduction, pp. xcvi–cii). On the day the three-volume edition appeared in Britain, 22 October 1886, James wrote to Macmillan: 'I hope the Princess will have a career — & almost think it probable — though I am cured of presumption.' (*HJHM* 127) For long novels, three volumes were still the traditional format for the British market, though authors were becoming increasingly restive with it, and with the circulating libraries on which it was dependent. *The Princess* was the fourth of James's novels to appear before the British public in this form. Seven hundred and fifty copies were printed, retailing at the traditional price of 31/6, or one and a half guineas.[19] In 1879 *Roderick Hudson* had been revised for publication in three volumes; two years later *The Portrait of a Lady* took the same format; and earlier in 1886, on 16 February, *The Bostonians*. Only one further novel after *The Princess* was issued in this form – *The Tragic Muse*, in 1890. All five of these three-volume novels were published by Macmillan.

The one-volume edition of 3,000 copies was printed at the same time in October 1886, for both the American and British markets. By 14 October Macmillan had sent James a copy and assured him that others were already en route to New York. It was issued in America on 2 November 1886 at $1.75, but in Britain only after a significant lapse of time, in August 1887, at 6/- (*HJHM* 126).

In the spring of 1888, Macmillan suggested to James the experiment of issuing two of his novels in a new series of Two Shilling Editions, 'as showy as the ordinary "yellowback" but not as vulgar'. James cannot have enjoyed being reminded that sales of 'the old books' were too small to be harmed by bringing them out in a cheaper form, but he evidently warmed to the idea of 'making your work more widely known & so educating readers for your future work' (*HJHM* 137). The following month, May 1888, Macmillan reported that the two-shilling edition of *The Princess* was likely to be a success, as the major booksellers, Smith & Sons, had ordered 700 copies (*HJHM* 142). Macmillan printed 2,000 copies from the plates of the 6/- one-volume edition this May, and a further 2,000 in December 1888 (with an 1889 title page) (E&L 76).[20] Other titles to appear in this series included

[19] Leon Edel and Dan H. Laurence, *A Bibliography of Henry James*, 3rd edn, revised with the assistance of James Rambeau (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 76. Hereafter E&L.

[20] For full bibliographical information, see David J. Supino, *Henry James: A Bibliographical Catalogue of a Collection of Editions to 1921*, 2nd edn., revised (Liverpool University Press, 2014), pp. 296–304.

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Roderick Hudson, *Washington Square*, *Daisy Miller*, and *The Madonna of the Future* (*HJHM* 138, 143).

But by this time the professional relations between James and his main British publisher, first forged on James's settling in London in 1877, were far from secure. In March 1890 the terms that Macmillan felt able to offer for the British three-volume edition of *The Tragic Muse* – Houghton, Mifflin would publish the American edition – were dismayingly limited: payment 'by results', two-thirds of any profits, but no advance. Frederick Macmillan explained that they could not offer more than this because 'the commercial result of the last few books we have published for you has been anything but satisfactory'. In fact Macmillan continued to publish James until 1893 but there was then a parting of the ways before professional relations were resumed three years later in 1896 (*HJHM* 158–61, 177).

3 The Historical Context

In January 1885 a young Londoner in his mid-twenties returned to the capital after a long absence in Wales and the North of England. Nearly half a century later Ernest Rhys would look back: 'London was in the midst of what was ominously called "The Black Winter", whose gloomy spectacle might well move new recruits to thoughts of revolution. They, or we—for I was one—had been reading some highly stimulating literature'. The future editor of the Everyman Library was being roused, he reported, by Algernon Swinburne's *Songs before Sunrise* (1871), W. K. Clifford's 'Cosmic Emotion' in his *Lectures and Essays* (1879), George Meredith's *The Tragic Comedians* (1880), W. H. Mallock's *The New Republic* (1877), Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (7th edition, 1881–2), and Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* (1879). Alongside these 'stimulating' works, he notes, old standards were still 'strongly entrenched': he mentions Tennyson, Browning, and Arnold. 'The London scene looked different, more sombre than to-day,' he concludes.[21]

To James, too, at the time the scene appeared sombre, or worse. In September 1884 he had reported to his friend T. S. Perry that there was no 'literary interest' in England: 'nothing *lives* in England to-day but politics. They are all-devouring, & their brutal uproar crowds everything out. [...] we are evidently on the edge of an enormous political cycle, which will last heaven knows how long. I should hate it more if I didn't also find it interesting.' (*CLHJ 1883–1884* 2: 219) There was talk of revolution in the air, though James thought it unlikely. Some six months later he

[21] Ernest Rhys, *Everyman Remembers* (London & Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1931), pp. vii–viii. Rhys (1859–1946) started the Everyman Library with the publisher J. M. Dent, the first volume appearing in 1906. Dent (1849–1926) had previously been a bookbinder, like Hyacinth.

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sounded less sure. In March 1885, as he was girding himself to start on *The Princess*, he reported to the American journalist and newspaper editor E. L. Godkin on the state of affairs in London:

> The ministry is still in office, but hanging only by a hair, Gladstone is ill and bewildered, the mess in the Soudan unspeakable, London full of wailing widows and weeping mothers, the hostility of Bismarck extreme, the danger of complications with Russia imminent, the Irish in the House of Commons more disagreeable than ever, the dynamiters more active, the income tax threatening to rise to its maximum, the general muddle, in short, of the densest and darkest.
>
> (*HJL* 3:73)

It would take time fully to unpack all the references here to troubles at home and abroad. Gladstone's second term as Prime Minister (1880–85) was on its last legs, and he would resign in June. The 'mess in the Soudan' was the failure in January 1885 to relieve the besieged General Gordon in Khartoum, for which Gladstone incurred much of the blame. Robert Louis Stevenson declared to a correspondent that 'England stands before the world dripping with blood and daubed with dishonour'.[22] Meanwhile in Parliament Charles Stewart Parnell (1846–91) was leading the 'disagreeable' Irish in their campaign for Home Rule, while the Fenians (Irish Republicans) were busy outside it with dynamite. They had been exploding bombs in London since 1867 but 1884–5 was their big year, culminating on 24 January 1885 with three near-simultaneous explosions at Westminster Hall, the House of Commons, and the Tower of London, denounced by *The Times* as 'crimes scarcely paralleled by the most desperate deeds of Russian Nihilism'.[23] Stevenson was moved to dedicate to two policemen injured in the incidents the volume of tales co-authored with his wife Fanny and published at the end of April, known as *More New Arabian Nights*, or *The Dynamiter*. However dense and dark, James's phrase 'general muddle' seems on the mild side.[24]

[22] *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson*, eds. Bradford A. Booth and Ernest Mehew, 8 vols. (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1994–5), Vol. 5, p. 81.

[23] *Times* (26 January 1885), 9. See Guy Beiner, 'Fenianism and the Martyrdom-Terrorism Nexus in Ireland before Independence', in Dominic Janes and Alex Houen (eds.), *Martyrdom and Terrorism: Pre-Modern to Contemporary Perspectives* (Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 199–220; 214.

[24] W. H. Tilley's *The Background of* The Princess Casamassima provides a wealth of helpful detail, both on the contemporary events on which James draws, but no less importantly on the means by which they were reported and circulated in what we would now call the mainstream media, above all in *The Times*, which we know James was reading in these years. Tilley shows quite how many details James may have picked up from this reading: Chapter 3, 'Revolution and *The Times*', pp. 18–33.

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Yet some such phrase is appropriate to the collective perception of current affairs on which *The Princess* draws. In his *NYE* Preface James makes much of the 'not knowing' that the novel seeks positively to represent, not just the personal bewilderment of the protagonist, or indeed the author, but the general condition of society at large.[25] Historians and political analysts intent on distinguishing the complex movements, factions, and agendas of the 1880s may be disappointed by the novel's representation of 'general muddle'. But the mid-1880s was a time of particularly intense confusion for all those embroiled in it. By the end of the decade, certainly the early 1890s, the collective situation in Britain was somewhat clearer. Political allegiances were firmer, the names of organizations more durable. The birth of the Independent Labour Party in 1893 was a major symbol of this new clarity.

James's novel ignores the Sudan, and more significantly Ireland. In her work on *Terrorism in the Late Victorian Novel*, Barbara Melchiori notes the reluctance of novelists to attribute responsibility for the dynamite attacks of the 1880s to the Fenians, despite the fact that many of them were caught and convicted.[26] They were here already, too close to home; they also had a clear political objective in an independent Ireland. It was easier to point the finger at conspirators from a more vaguely defined Continental Europe with equally indeterminate political identities; the mystery of their aims also made for more glamorous fictions. Nothing is more symptomatic of the 'general muddle' than the slippery names by which these aliens and their associates went. If the predominant ones were 'socialist', 'anarchist', and 'nihilist', a great deal of energy was expended in the writings of the 1880s in trying to pin down what these words actually meant, both on the part of those who were scared by them, and those who wished to pledge their allegiance to them. Even

[25] Kent Puckett proposes that so far from being judged for its success or failure in representing historical actualities, the novel could be considered as offering 'a much needed theory of history: in this theory, it is what one doesn't know that makes one vote, speak, and act' (*Bad Form: Social Mistakes and the Nineteenth-Century Novel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 145).

[26] For James's avoidance of the Irish question, see also Tilley, *Background*, pp. 59–60; Margaret Scanlan, 'Terrorism and the Novel: Henry James and *The Princess Casamassima*', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 34.3 (1992), 380–402; 383–4; and Elizabeth Carolyn Miller, *Framed: The New Woman Criminal in British Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2008), pp. 156–7. Miller situates *The Princess* (pp. 149–85) in the popular genre of the 'dynamite novel' that captured the imagination of writers and readers alike in the 1880s with titles such as *A Modern Dedalus* (1885), *For Maimie's Sake: A Tale of Love and Dynamite* (1886), *Hartmann the Anarchist* (1893), and *The Angel of Revolution* (1895). But James notably avoids dynamite, choosing instead to furnish his would-be assassin with a more traditional gun, such as had already been used to kill two of the three American Presidents shot dead in the author's lifetime: Lincoln (1865), Garfield (1881), and McKinley (1901).

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when the latter were clear about what to call their beliefs, they were often uncertain about who exactly they shared them with. The most celebrated anarchist leader of his generation, the Russian Mikhail Bakunin (1814–76), spent four years in Italy in the 1860s developing his anarchist creed. It was there, too, that 'he began to weave a complex network—part real, part fictitious—of interlocking secret revolutionary societies that absorbed his energies and bewildered the followers whom he enrolled in them'.[27] No less than his ruthless younger confederate Sergei Nechaev (1847–82), Bakunin had 'a passion for conspiracies and secret organizations'.[28] It is true that the leading Russian emigré in Britain from 1886 onwards, the widely admired Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921), took a very different position. He had little use for 'secret organizations of "professional revolutionists," with their clandestine schemes, ruling committees, and iron discipline'; for him: 'All self-contained conspiratorial groups, divorced from the workers and peasants, carried the germ of authoritarianism.'[29] But the passions driving Bakunin and his ilk, the allure of shadowy charismatic leaders and their spellbound followers – these were always going to be more appealing to the novelists of the time, including James.[30]

In so far as the muddle can be sorted out, we can make the following distinctions. First, between the established British political parties (in 1885 Gladstone's Liberals and Salisbury's Conservatives) and the emergent new groups on the left, as we would now say, in pursuit of radical social change. Most prominent among these, in the turmoil of Britain in the 1880s, were the Democratic Federation founded in 1881 by H. M. Hyndman (1842–1921) and re-named the Social Democratic Federation (SDF) in 1884; the Socialist League (SL), formed by William Morris (1834–96) and his allies, which seceded from the SDF in 1884 (though the SL would

[27] Edward H. Carr and Alan Ryan, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mikhail-Bakunin, accessed 20 May 2019.

[28] Paul Avrich, 'Bakunin and Nechaev', in *Anarchist Portraits* (Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 32–52; 46. See also James Joll, *The Anarchists* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 70, and, more generally, Hermia Oliver, *The International Anarchist Movement in Late Victorian London* (London: St Martin's Press, 1983).

[29] Avrich, 'Kropotkin's Ethical Anarchism', in *Anarchist Portraits*, pp. 53–78; p. 67.

[30] For the significance of the revolutionist's 'vow' to James's interest in anarchism, see Taylor Stoehr, 'Words and Deeds in *The Princess Casamassima*', *ELH* 37.1 (1970), 95–135, especially 122–35. Stoehr calls particular attention to *The Theories of Anarchy and Law* published by James's friend Henry B. Brewster the year after *The Princess Casamassima* (pp. 127–30). For an arresting argument that couples Bakunin's anarchism with William James's theories of the corporeal mind (specifically, two key essays of 1884) in their joint effect on the novelist's developing aesthetics, see Vesna Kuiken, '1884: *The Princess Casamassima*, Anarchy, and Henry James's Materialist Poetics', *Henry James Review* 38.2 (2017), 113–33.

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itself soon split, leaving Morris by 1890 as head of the Hammersmith Socialist Society); and the Fabian Society, also founded in 1884 – evidently a crucial year – as an off-shoot of the Fellowship of the New Life, and emerging into prominence in 1889 with the publication of *Fabian Essays in Socialism*, with contributions by George Bernard Shaw, Sidney Webb, Annie Besant and others. Meanwhile grass-roots activism grew through the decade to culminate in strikes by the match-girls at the Bryant and May factory in London's East End in 1888 and by the Port of London dock-workers the following year.

Within these emergent or insurgent movements, there were fundamental differences between those advocating reform within the existing limits of the law, the electoral process and parliamentary debate, and those arguing for more drastic challenges, through mass demonstrations, protests, and strikes. In 1887 the outcome of a demonstration in Trafalgar Square on 'Bloody Sunday' (13 November) may well have had 'a significant psychological effect' on the British socialist movement: 'The ease with which the police achieved their victory destroyed many activists' faith in direct action and encouraged the movement towards Fabianism and parliamentary methods.'[31] It also encouraged the more organized industrial action represented by the strikes of 1888 and 1889. During these years a good number of working-class leaders came to prominence, including the first leader of the Independent Labour Party (and then Labour Party), Keir Hardie (1856–1915), Tom Mann (1856–1941), John Burns (1858–1943), and Ben Tillett (1860–1943). These last three were particularly significant in their organization of the 1889 London Dock Strike, which gathered unskilled and casual labourers into trade unions.

A further major distinction is to be made between the predominantly native or home-grown movements described above, drawing on political traditions traceable back to the seventeenth century, and the trans-national theories and practices migrating into Britain from the Continent, especially from France, Germany, and Russia. These entailed far more extreme and violent change, especially those deriving from Russia, which attracted increasing interest in Britain, from the liberation of the serfs (or the end of slavery) in 1861 onwards. Though there was horror at the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in March 1881(after several attempts), there was also sympathy for those suffering under the severities of the Tsarist regime, including those who were exiled or escaped to what we now think of as 'the West'. Melchiori notes, of Oscar Wilde's play *Vera: or the Nihilists* (1882), that it indicates 'the mood of general sympathy with

[31] Nicholas Salmon, 'The Political Activist', in Linda Parry (ed.), *William Morris* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers in association with The Victoria and Albert Museum, 1996), pp. 58–65; 64.

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the Nihilists in their fight against Romanoff repression in Russia; this sympathy was very widely felt in England in the 1880s, though it was never extended to condone acts of terrorism'.[32] Then as now, it was not always clear what was and was not to be condoned in the fight against injustice; it was certainly easier to excuse or even romanticize violence at a distance.

Meanwhile Hyndman was reading Karl Marx's *Capital* (1867) and Morris was reading Sergey Stepniak's *Underground Russia* (1882). (In August 1885, shortly before *The Princess* started its serial run, the *Atlantic Monthly* had a review of Stepniak's *Russia under the Czars* that called for a psychological study of nihilism.)[33] London was a safe place for many prominent refugees from the Continent, including both Marx (1818–83) and Stepniak (1851–95). Both Stepniak and Kropotkin were visiting speakers at Morris's Socialist League gatherings in Hammersmith, and Kropotkin in particular attracted admirers across a wide range of political positions. These included the Fabians Hubert Bland and Edith Nesbit (best known for her children's books), whose 1885 novel *The Prophet's Mantle* centres on a fictionalized – and significantly divided – version of the Russian anarchist's exile in London.[34] Kropotkin extended his appeal beyond socialist circles from the time he started opposing T. H. Huxley's influential 1888 essay on 'The Struggle for Existence' with his own benign theory of natural cooperation, culminating in his most famous work, *Mutual Aid*, in 1902.[35] As for James, it would only have needed his attachment to Turgenev to put him in touch with Russian events, ideas, and personalities, both from the novels themselves and the writer's own experience. Bakunin, for example, had been a member of the novelist's circle back in Russia.

James's fictional Hoffendahl is clearly a composite figure, drawing on the aura of celebrity surrounding the most prominent political agitators in the news of the time and the recent past: Bakunin, for instance, of whom Lionel Trilling wrote that 'in his greatest days […] he could enthrall with his passion even those who

[32] Barbara Arnett Melchiori, *Terrorism in the Late Victorian Novel* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), p. 151.

[33] Tilley, *Backgound*, p. 11.

[34] Co-authored by husband and wife, Bland and Nesbit, the novel was issued under the pseudonym 'Fabian Bland'. Matthew Ingleby has an illuminating discussion of the fiction's position within the progressive politics of the mid-1880s, and the significance of its structuring 'by doubles, splits and alternatives, from its dual-authorship down' ('Double Standards: Reading the Revolutionary Doppelgänger in *The Prophet's Mantle*', in Daragh Downes and Trish Ferguson (eds.), *Victorian Fiction Beyond the Canon* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 181–99; p. 189).

[35] Huxley's essay appeared in *The Nineteenth Century* in 1888; Kropotkin's work in the same journal, in a series of articles between 1890 and 1896. See Avrich, *Anarchist Portraits*, pp. 58–9.

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could not understand the language he spoke in'.[36] Trilling goes on to suggest that James may also have had Johann Most (1846–1906) in mind. Born in Bavaria, Most trained as a bookbinder and edited socialist newspapers. He spent time in Austrian and German jails before finding refuge in London, where he published an anarchist newspaper, *Freiheit* (*Freedom*). He was particularly in the news in 1881 when he praised in print the assassination of the Tsar and was convicted of incitement to murder. He served sixteen months in an English jail before moving to the USA in 1882, where he was again accused of inspiring – and certainly, volubly condoning – terrorist acts including the Haymarket Square bombing in Chicago (4 May 1886) and the assassination of President McKinley (6 September 1901). Published in 1885, his *Revolutionary War Science* was a bomb-making tract with a huge circulation through Europe and America that made him 'one of the most feared and famous anarchists in the world'.[37] He exhibited the kind of charisma associated with Hoffendahl; his most prominent disciples were Emma Goldman (1869–1940) and Alexander Berkman (1870–1936), both of whom emigrated to the US from what is now Lithuania (then part of the Russian Empire) in the 1880s.

Tilley, however, proposes as a model for Hoffendahl an anarchist whose story James could have more immediately derived from his reading of *The Times* at the time he was gathering materials for *The Princess*. In December 1884 Friedrich August Reinsdorf was convicted of conspiring to assassinate the German Emperor, William I, by employing an innocent-looking young man named Franz Reinhold Rupsch. Tilley pursues the parallels between Rupsch and Hyacinth in some detail. He stresses the main divergence of the plot of *The Princess* from Turgenev's *Virgin Soil* (see below, pp. LXII–LXV) in Hyacinth's assignment to assassinate a Duke, and proposes that this can be attributed to the prominence of the Reinsdorf–Rupsch story in *The Times* of 16–23 December 1884.[38]

Tilley's work on the news stories of the time also provides the nearest thing to 'real-life' models for Paul Muniment in the shape of two Irish revolutionists, Thomas Gallagher (who posed as a 'chemist'), arrested for explosions in London in the spring of 1883, and Joseph Brady, leader of the Irish Invincibles responsible for the Phoenix Park murder of Lord Cavendish and Thomas Burke (May 1882). Both Gallagher and Brady had impressionable younger confederates, named Whitehead

[36] Lionel Trilling, *The Liberal Imagination: Essays on Literature and Society* (New York: Viking Press, 1950), p. 83.

[37] Sarah Cole, 'Imagining Revolutionaries and their Acts', in *At the Violet Hour: Modernism and Violence in England and Ireland* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 88–108; 91–2.

[38] Tilley, *Background*, pp. 37–42.

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and Kelly respectively. Tilley proposes that the parallels with Muniment and Hyacinth suggest that 'James got the pattern [...] from these descriptions in the *Times*'.[39] As for the Princess herself, James could have been prompted by reading news stories about Russian women involved in revolutionary acts of violence, some of them aristocrats, romantic enough at a distance.[40] Specific models have been suggested in the shape of Princess Obolensky, patroness of Bakunin and his circle in Naples (1865–7), and Christina Trivulzio, Princess Belgiojoso, actively involved in revolutionary activity in 1848 and later mentioned by James on several occasions in *William Wetmore Story and His Friends*.[41] Closer in time to the novel itself, Beatrice Webb (née Potter) would have been dismayed to find herself associated with the prospect of revolutionary violence entertained by the novel. In 1894, by which time she was an established leader of the Fabian Society, Webb was described in a New York magazine as 'probably the richest and most beautiful woman in the socialist ranks', and charged with suggesting *The Princess Casamassima* to its author.[42] This is more indicative than anything else of the 'general muddle' in people's minds about what 'socialism' meant, both in theory and practice.

So the 1880s saw a particularly dynamic fusion, or confusion, both of ideas and of people, in the influx from Continental Europe to Britain and the US. The old boundaries were giving way to a modern era in which words and ideas could not be policed and stopped at the borders, even if bodies could. A huge number of words were written and read, spoken and heard, all spun with increasing speed and noise by the exploding new print media. Explosion was the image around which the collective excitement and terror circulated. There were of course all kinds of splits and factions within this broad movement of international radical socialism,

[39] Tilley, *Background*, pp. 47–9.
[40] Tilley, *Background*, pp. 51–2.
[41] *William Wetmore Story and His Friends*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1903; Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1903), see especially I: 161–3. M. S. Wilkins, 'A Note on *The Princess Casamassima*', *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 12 (June 1957), 88; Tilley, *Background*, p. 57, note 17. See also note 239 to this edition. Various models for Christina have been proposed from James's personal acquaintances. Edel suggests Elena Lowe, whom James had known in Rome in 1873, 'very handsome, very lovely, very reserved and very mysterious' (see Edel, *Henry James: The Conquest of London, 1870–1883* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1962), pp. 113, 179). In his Introduction to the 1991 Everyman's Library edition of *The Princess* (p. vi), Bernard Richards lists as putative contributory models Alice Bartlett, Sarah Wister, Fanny Lombard, and Eleanor Strong (*née* Fearing), whom James met in Rome in 1869 and again in Paris in the late 1870s. Both Lowe and Strong attracted some scandal in their personal lives. For the relation of the Princess to her previous incarnation as Christina Light in *Roderick Hudson* (1875), see pp. LXXI–LXXII.
[42] 'Brief Comment: Literary Sayings and Doings', *Current Literature* 16.4 (1894), 374.

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as witness the variety of names, including anarcho-syndicalism, anarchist communism, mutualism and so on, used to describe them. The fissure with the most enduring legacy was between the anarchists and socialists, a long-simmering quarrel that came to a head-on clash between Bakunin and Marx at the 1872 congress in the Hague of the First International, or the International Workingmen's Association (founded in London in 1864). This radical split in 1872 did not inhibit the mainstream media from relentlessly confusing anarchists and socialists at every available opportunity, along with dangerous aliens and conspirators of all stripes. As Tilley shows in his valuable study of the coverage by *The Times* of the explosions and assassination attempts, the paper was 'nearly always vague', referring freely to all kinds of 'secret societies' from 'the Illuminati and the Philadelphians, to the Nihilists, the Communists and the Fenians'.[43] From the 1880s onwards novels and short stories reinforced the stereotype of anarchists as unscrupulous zealots intent on destruction. In this company, it has been claimed, *The Princess* stands out as an exception in its treatment of anarchists as 'complex and in some cases attractive human beings, vividly differentiated from each other. They are neither devilish nor corrupt and are motivated by humanitarian considerations.'[44]

So *The Princess* is very much a contemporary novel in that it draws on the experience of social unrest, political agitation, and the fear of violent upheaval during its gestation and composition in the years 1884 to 1886. It is striking, however, that James does *not* choose to represent the most obvious manifestation of violence in the form of mass political protest and confrontation with authority, resulting as it was usually described in the media of the day as 'riot' by 'the mob'. Such scenes are common in other novels of the time, such as George Gissing's *Demos* (1886), and further back in time in George Eliot's *Felix Holt* (1866), Charles Dickens's *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859) and *Barnaby Rudge* (1841), Elizabeth Gaskell's *Mary Barton* (1848) and others. The most prominent such event during the novel's writing was the so-called Trafalgar Square Riot on 'Black Monday' (8 February 1886).

This began with a demonstration in Trafalgar Square for London's unemployed, escalated into street violence along Pall Mall, St James's, and Piccadilly, re-fuelled with another meeting in Hyde Park, and returned to a rampage down Oxford Street. There was much smashing of windows and looting; some people were robbed and many terrified. James was chagrined to be out of town, as he later told his brother William:

[43] Tilley, *Background*, Ch. 3, 'Revolution and *The Times*', pp. 18–33; 22.

[44] Haia Shpayer-Makov, 'Anarchism in British Public Opinion 1880–1914', *Victorian Studies* 31.4 (1988), 487–516; 505.

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> I was at Bournemouth (seeing R.L. Stevenson) the day of the *émeute*, and lost the spectacle, to my infinite chagrin. I should have seen it well from my balcony, as I should have been at home when it passed, and it smashed the windows in the houses (three doors from mine) on the corner of Bolton Street and Piccadilly. […] The wreck and ruin in Piccadilly, and some other places (I mean of windows), was, on my return from Bournemouth, sufficiently startling; […] The real unemployed, I believe, had very little share in all this: it was the work of the great army of roughs and thieves, who seized […] a day of license. It is difficult to know whether the real want of work is now, or not, so very much greater than usual — in face of positive affirmations and negations; there is, at any rate, immense destitution. Every one here is growing poorer — from causes which, I fear, will continue. All the same, what took place the other day is, I feel pretty sure, the worst that, for a long time to come, the British populace is likely to attempt. (*HJL* 3:115)

James's tone is notably measured. It was not so much 'the British populace' who alarmed him as the ruling classes responsible for the 'immense destitution'. He was particularly exercised by the sex-scandals advertised in the divorce courts. Towards the end of the same year, 1886, James wrote in more luridly prophetic terms to Charles Eliot Norton of the menace of revolution in England. The upper class had only themselves to blame for damaging their prestige and eroding their authority.

> The condition of that body ['the English upper class'] seems to me to be in many ways very much the same rotten and *collapsible* one as that of the French aristocracy before the revolution — minus cleverness and conversation. Or perhaps it's more like the heavy, congested, and depraved Roman world upon which the barbarians came down. In England the Huns and Vandals will have to come up — from the black depths of the (in the people) enormous misery, though I don't think the Attila is quite yet found — in the person of Mr. Hyndman. At all events, much of English life is grossly materialistic and wants blood-letting. (*HJL* 3:146)

Hyndman and his Social Democratic Federation were not brutal or ruthless enough to effect such 'blood-letting', but violence of some sort seemed to James, in this mood, inevitable. How exactly would it come? From the black depths below or the barbarians outside or some unholy alliance of the two?

At the time of its first publication, *The Princess* thus offered itself as a vision of the future, not as apocalyptic as Richard Jefferies's *After London* (1885), in which the metropolis has been reduced to a primitive swamp, but still, a warning of nightmare to come. For if James was meditating on the kinds of violence that could erupt in Britain, he was thinking through the examples afforded by France, as the letter to Norton above makes explicit ('the French aristocracy before the revolution'). From 1789 onwards, Paris had featured powerfully in the English imagination as a distorting mirror for London. When Hyacinth visits Paris, he confronts the contradictions at the heart of his divided being. Paris is for him 'the city of visible history', as Rome had been for George Eliot's Dorothea in *Middlemarch* (1871–2,

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Ch. 20), and for James's own Isabel Archer in *The Portrait of a Lady* (Ch. 27). Paris is the city of violence and art. And where the former is concerned, there are two great events within living memory associated with the dates 1848 and 1870–1.

France had undergone two massive upheavals in the violent birth and demise of the Second Empire. One might think them comparatively mild by the standards of the 1790s, but the brutality with which the short-lived Paris Commune of March–May 1871 was suppressed was horrific. It brought to a close the long cycle of political conflict inaugurated by the storming of the Bastille on 14 July 1789.[45] The 'Bloody Week' ('*la semaine sanglante*'), 21–28 May, has been described as 'the most ferocious outbreak of civil violence in Europe between the French Revolution of the 1790s and the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917'.[46] It was 'an event of worldwide significance, whose impact was perhaps even greater abroad than within France itself, where it left scars that never completely healed'.[47] It was a crucial experience for all those involved in the international socialist movement. It made anarchists of Kropotkin and others, it created legends of self-sacrifice and martyrdom, and it offered warnings (or reassurances) about the savagery with which the authority of the state could be re-asserted.

The Paris Commune made a huge impact on the imagination of those who lived through it, whether at first hand or a distance, not least on the author of *The Princess* (and *The Ambassadors*, in which the central character, Lambert Strether, contemplates the differences between the Paris of the Second Empire that he first visited in his young manhood, and the Paris of the Third Republic in the novel's present, on his return some thirty years later).[48] James had narrowly missed being in Paris for the outbreak of war with Prussia, but he was back there shortly after the disasters of 1870–1, and in September 1872 he reported to his brother William that 'Beneath all this neatness & coquetry, you seem to smell the Commune suppressed, but seething' (*CLHJ 1872–1876* 1:114)). A month later, recently arrived in London, he told his parents that 'London is the same terrible great murky Babylon as ever. Blood-drenched Paris seemed as a glittering bauble beside it.' (*CLHJ 1872–1876* 1:122)

[45] Robert Tombs, 'Paris, Bivouac of the Revolution', in *The Paris Commune, 1871* (London and New York: Longman, 1999), pp. 13–40.
[46] Tombs, *Paris Commune, 1871*, p. 10; for details of the violence, see pp. 177–83.
[47] Avrich, 'The Paris Commune and Its Legacy', in *Anarchist Portraits*, pp. 229–39; 229.
[48] See Nicola Bradbury's introduction to her *CFHJ* edition of *The Ambassadors*, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii; and Scott McCracken, 'The Author as Arsonist: Henry James and the Paris Commune', *Modernism/Modernity* 2.1 (2014), 71–87.

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Babylon, blood, baubles: James was always divided in his attachments to London and Paris, his sense of their relative gifts and threats. By the 1880s the blood might have faded and the Parisian light become steadier, but he could still sense anxiety in the air. On 13 November 1882 he wrote to Sir John Clark that 'People pretend to feel very insecure & to hear the *grondement* of subterraneous revolutions. The government is shaky & lives but from day-to-day & the air has a certain little odour of dynamite. The rain also falls with a persistency worthy of a better cause.' Nevertheless, he concluded with a characteristic return to buoyancy, 'With these drawbacks however, Paris is delightful!' (*LL* 142)

It is significant that in James's first conception of *The Princess* he set its action at a further distance from the time of its writing in the mid-1880s. He placed it explicitly in the late 1860s *before* the demise of the Second Empire and the catastrophic events of 1870–1. This becomes clear when we look at the revisions he made to the Poupins' back-story. Between the composition of the novel for serialization in the *AM* and its first publication in book form by Macmillan, James re-thought the dating of its action. In *AM* (Ch. 6) we are told that: 'Poupin had come to England, early in life, as a victim of the wide proscriptions by which the Second French Empire was ushered in.' And in the next chapter, we hear of the 'coup d'état'. This refers to the move by which Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, elected President by popular vote in 1848, turned himself into Napoleon III. He was enthroned as emperor on 2 December 1852 (the forty-eighth anniversary of Napoleon I's coronation), and reigned until he was forced to abdicate on 4 September 1870. So the 'proscriptions' from which the Poupins fled, in this first version, must be of 1853 or thereabouts, and the reference to 'seventeen years ago' consequently places the action of the novel in 1870, at the time of the Franco-Prussian war, and subsequent Paris Commune (see TV1, pp. 562, 566).

Revising for the book form of the novel, James must have recognized the infelicity of this *AM* timing. It would have made the absence of any reference by the Poupins to contemporary upheavals in France anomalous, indeed absurd. So he chose to update the Poupins' involvement in radical politics to the time of the Commune itself, to shorten the period of their exile from seventeen years to ten, and to place the action of the novel in the bitter conditions in London of the winter of 1880–1. Thus in the revised version for book publication we are told that 'Poupin had come to England after the Commune of 1871, to escape the reprisals of the government of M. Thiers, and had remained there in spite of amnesties and rehabilitations' (see TV1, p. 562).

Why did he not do this in the first place? Presumably because his mind was on Hyacinth's French grandfather and virtual namesake (Hyacinthe), on the barricades in 1848, and the Poupins were somehow subsumed into that. Centred on the events of 1848, Flaubert's *L'Education sentimentale* (1869) may have exercised some

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gravitational pull; it was a novel about which James had strong ambivalent views. Further adjustments were required. The reference in *AM* to 'the coup d'état, which sent you over here, seventeen years ago' is altered to 'the entrance of the Versaillais, which sent you over here, ten years ago'; 'that great combined attempt, early in the fifties' is altered to 'that great combined attempt, early in the sixties'; the occasion on which Hyacinth had relished 'the high-pitched, many-voiced Paris of the latter part of the Second Empire, the arbitress of Europe, the source of every sensation, wound up to a sort of sensual ecstasy and unconscious of her doom' is reduced simply to 'a perfect evening in June'; and the Poupins are faced with suffering, as political refugees, 'the outrage of pardon' offered under the Third Republic and distinctly unavailable under the Second Empire (see Textual Variants I, pp. 566, 609, 634, 636).

If Paris provides an exemplary comparison to London, so too in different ways does the other great Continental city that Hyacinth visits: Venice. From the first publication of John Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice* (1851–3) the city became a key point of reference for thinking about the nature of artistic labour, and the relations between art, craft, and work. The chapter on 'The Nature of Gothic' proved particularly seminal for subsequent thinkers, above all for William Morris, writer, designer, and political activist. In 1892 Morris would reprint this chapter with an important Preface in which he declared it to be 'one of the very few necessary and inevitable utterances of the century'. It was for Morris fundamental to his own mature beliefs and activities, that 'If Politics are to be anything else than an empty game, […] it is toward this goal of the happiness of labour that they must make.'[49] Hence Morris followed Ruskin in championing the kinds of labour that make of the craftsman an artist, and worked indefatigably to revive, sustain, and promote such craftsmanship. In making his protagonist a bookbinder, James was making an explicit connection with the values and ideals supported by Ruskin and Morris against the dominance of new industrial and technological techniques and their economic, social, and cultural consequences.

William Morris is an important presence in James's novel. Not that he figures explicitly as a model for one of James's characters, as he does for Gissing's Mr Westlake in the exactly contemporary *Demos*. But the painful problem that Morris set his contemporaries – and that Morris himself acutely suffered – is at the heart of Hyacinth's predicament. If Keats and Tennyson are significant points of reference for Hyacinth (see notes 50, 91, 156, 179, 199, 233, 235, 236, 238, 250, 384), or for

[49] Preface to *The Nature of Gothic, A Chapter of The Stones of Venice by John Ruskin* (London: George Allen, 1892), pp. i, ii.

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the novel's sense of his artistic potential, then they represent exactly the tradition with which the younger Morris was powerfully associated, and believed by many to be continuing, as E. P. Thompson and others have argued.[50] But if Morris began as a poet and was converted to politics, then Hyacinth's experience is the reverse.

Morris helps to explain why Bloomsbury plays a significant role in this novel. The progressive educational and cultural institutions for which Bloomsbury became renowned in the nineteenth century included not only University College London and the British Museum. It also contained, in a less blatantly respectable area of south-east Bloomsbury, the Working Men's College, which opened in October 1854, and William Morris's arts and crafts company, The Firm, which moved into nearby premises in the 1860s. From 1865 to 1881 Morris lived and worked at 26 Queen Square, employing the skilled workmen for whom the College was chiefly intended.[51] In March 1869, with his friends the Nortons, James made 'a long rich sort of visit, with a strong peculiar flavor of its own', to Morris's Queen Square establishment, 'an antiquated ex-fashionable region, smelling strong of the last century, with a hoary effigy of Queen Anne in the middle'. He was powerfully impressed by Morris ('everything he has & does is superb & beautiful') and by his wife Jane ('an apparition of fearful & wonderful intensity') (*CLHJ 1855–1872* 1:236–7).

The young James had warmed to Morris the poet, reviewing *The Life and Death of Jason*, for the *North American Review* in 1867, and commending it to his friend T. S. Perry as 'long but fascinating, & replete with genuine beauty' (*CLHJ 1855–1872* 1:174–5, 178). But by the time James was writing this novel Morris had abandoned poetry for politics, a move that divided his admirers.[52] Tennyson was appalled; a

50 E. P. Thompson, *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary* (1955; new edn, London: Merlin Press, 1977), pp. 10–21.

51 Rosemary Ashton, *Victorian Bloomsbury* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2012), p. 254. Kristin Boudreau comments that 'in choosing bookbinding as Hyacinth's profession, he [James] seems to want to remind us of Morris, who as early as 1856 was illuminating manuscripts and trying to emulate the great printers of medieval days' (*Henry James' Narrative Technique: Consciousness, Perception, and Cognition* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 66).

52 Collin Meissner puts the case for James attacking Morris in this novel in '*The Princess Casamassima*: "a dirty intellectual fog"', *Henry James Review* 19.1 (1998), 53–71. Owen Holland points out that while there is no evidence that Morris read James's novel, he did comment on his 1888 essay on 'London' in the Socialist League journal, *Commonweal*, that 'I should like the impressions of London given by one who had been under its sharp-toothed harrow', describing James as 'the clever historian of the deadliest corruption of society, the laureate of the flirts, sneaks, and empty fools of which that society is mostly composed, and into whose hearts (?) he can see so clearly' (William Morris, *Journalism: Contributions to Commonweal, 1885–1890*, ed. Nicholas Salmon (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1996), p. 491).

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modern biographer calls it 'an act of almost insane courage'.[53] At the start of 1883 Morris joined Hyndman's Democratic Federation and at the end of 1884 he seceded to found a political organization committed to international revolutionary socialism, with anarchist tendencies, the Socialist League. He was on friendly terms with leading anarchists such as Stepniak and Kropotkin, Frederick Lessner (1825–1910), and Andreas Scheu (1844–1927).[54] He was tirelessly vocal both in person and in print, and increasingly prominent at public demonstrations. On Easter Monday 1887, for example, he addressed a crowd of 6,000 striking miners and their families at Horton in Northumberland.[55] He was frequently in trouble with the authorities. In September 1885 he was charged with assaulting a policeman, and when asked 'What are you?', he replied 'I am an artist, and a literary man, pretty well known, I think, throughout Europe'.[56] In November 1887 he marched with other protesters on 'Bloody Sunday' and wrote 'A Death Song' for a victim of the violence.

In the mid-1880s Morris's predicament and the questions it posed were of urgent interest to liberal-minded artists and intellectuals such as James, but by the time of his death in 1896, Morris had faded from view. Three years later James thought Mackail's biography[57] 'quite beautifully and artistically done', but as for Morris himself, the effect was 'not altogether, I think, happy, or even endurable' (*HJL* 4:123). James thought of writing 'with the aid of some of my own recollections and impressions, something possibly vivid about it', but he lost heart. What he had to say about Morris, for better or worse, had already gone into *The Princess*.

4 London

If these public events informed the novel, so too did James's more personal relations with his fiction's dominant setting: London. James opens the Preface he wrote for the *NYE* by declaring the source of the novel in his own experience, 'during the first year of a long residence in London, from the habit and the interest of walking the streets [...] One walked of course with one's eyes greatly open' (see Appendix, p. 829). In this respect he was aligning himself with, even paying homage to, the

[53] Fiona MacCarthy, 'Morris, William (1834–1896)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edition, Oct 2009. [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19322, accessed 30 July 2017]. MacCarthy is also the author of *William Morris: A Life of Our Time* (London: Faber, 1994).
[54] MacCarthy, *William Morris*, pp. 543–5, 509.
[55] MacCarthy, *ODNB* entry.
[56] MacCarthy, *William Morris*, p. 527.
[57] J. W. Mackail, *The Life of William Morris*, 2 vols. (London, 1899).

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novelist for whom walking the streets of London was essential to his own creative processes: Dickens (see below, pp. LXV–LXVI). When James declared that Hyacinth Robinson 'sprang up for me out of the London pavement' (p. 830), he saw in him a kind of double or alter ego, who would prompt him to imagine an experience of the city shaped by material circumstances very different from his own, one born out of poverty, disadvantage, constraint, and exclusion.

James shared with Hyacinth the experience of walking the streets but he could more readily afford to jump into a horse-drawn cab than his fictional character, and escape by train to a country-house such as Medley, or indeed to Paris and Venice. Author and character share these experiences but they are for young Hyacinth extraordinary as for the mature James they were not. As the kindly ghost of his French grandfather welcomes Hyacinth to Paris, so James imagines himself bending towards a younger, less advantaged version of himself, granting him access to places and spaces, both public and private, that would normally have been beyond his reach. The challenge of his novel, its 'fun' as James might have said, was to imagine the experience of such restricted views by a character to whom they were novel, exotic, revelatory. As they were, elsewhere in his fiction, to all those outsiders from across the Atlantic, with whom Hyacinth has a kind of kinship.

This suggests another prime context in which James's novel should be seen, alongside his other writings about London. The 'murky modern Babylon' of his essay on 'London' (1888) is a major presence in shorter fictions from the mid-1880s onwards ('The Siege of London' (1883), 'Lady Barberina' (1884), 'A London Life' (1888)), in his last three-volume novel, *The Tragic Muse* (1890), and in the major fictions from the late 1890s onwards, including *What Maisie Knew* (1897), *The Awkward Age* (1899), *The Wings of the Dove* (1902), and *The Golden Bowl* (1904). It also features largely in his personal correspondence, and in his non-fictional writings, including the *NYE* Preface to this novel (where it is 'the great grey Babylon'). In 1903 he agreed to write a book for Macmillan entitled *London Town*, and though it never came to fruition, some suggestive notes survive from 1907 to 1909 that indicate the appeal for the author of reviving and honouring '[*t*]*he feeling of old London*, through, and in spite of everything' (*CN* 278).

Three essays written before and after *The Princess* afford a helpful perspective in so far as they replicate, in a different key, some of the issues at the heart of the novel. Above all there is a tension if not contradiction between two primary forms of response to London, one critical and analytical, the other impressionistic and aesthetic. 'An English Easter', 'London at Midsummer', and 'London' were all designed for American readers and first appeared in American magazines. The first two were written near the beginning of James's residence in London and appeared in *Lippincott's Magazine* in July and November 1877 respectively; both

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were reissued in the volume *Portraits of Places* in 1883. The third appeared in the *Century Magazine* in December 1888, and headed the volume entitled *Essays in London and Elsewhere* in 1893.

All three touch on aspects of contemporary London life that we find in the novel. They do so from a position of liberty that allows the writer to move freely through space and time and share this experience with his readers, an experience composed both of 'impressions' and of critical reflections. This partly parallels the role of the narrator in the novel but it offers a sharp contrast to the lack of freedom experienced by its fictional inhabitants, especially Hyacinth himself. The rift that divides Hyacinth and his companions from writer and readers is not absolute. One of the novel's reviewers commented tartly on the fact that so many of the novel's scenes take place on a Sunday, yet it is the relative freedom afforded by the day of rest that permits Hyacinth, his friends and companions, the same liberty to walk the streets of London and travel to Greenwich, as his author could normally enjoy any day of the week (see note 379 on 'the question of opening the museums on Sunday').

Relative freedom is much on his mind as James pens these essays for American readers. 'The English have more time than we, they have more money, and they have a much higher relish for active leisure,' he writes (*PPL* 189). They are always taking holidays. James focuses on those times of the year when the leisured classes *leave* London, at Easter and Midsummer, while he stays behind, unfashionably, with the 'three or four million or so' with nowhere to go (*PPL* 201). He savours a London emptied of its privileged inhabitants and alleviated of the social obligations that regular intercourse with them entails, a London in which the writer is free to walk and look and think – and work. James may have hobnobbed with members of the nobility, but, as Michael Anesko emphasizes, 'like Hyacinth, he had also to labor for his bread', writing steadily on average six hours a day.[58]

It is in this mental space that James finds himself free to sketch some of the contradictions more fully explored in *The Princess*. London Sundays are dreary and miserable, a holiday weekend is a dire prospect, and Passion Week is no fun at all, James concludes. But with the genteel classes and their recreations absent, it is 'an excellent occasion for getting an impression of the British populace'; there are few things 'in their way more impressive than a dusky London holiday; it suggests a variety of reflections' (*PPL* 192–3), even if these are 'perplexing and depressing' (*PPL* 194). In 1877 James is particularly impressed by the way the masses can take over the streets of the West End, and its parks. He watches the enormous crowd attending the

[58] Anesko, *"Friction with the Market"*, pp. 108–9.

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funeral of Mr George Odger, 'an English Radical agitator of humble origin', a crowd that 'stretched away in the sunshine, up and down the classic gentility of Piccadilly'. As James looks out of the front of his cab, he seems 'to be having a sort of panoramic view of the under side, the wrong side, of the London world'. It is all so peaceable, 'the mighty mob' and 'the excellent quiet policemen', unthreatened by each other, each minding their own business. Not at all like Paris, he thinks (*PPL* 198–200).[59] Nor as it would be a few years later in London, in the mid-1880s, when mighty mobs were getting more dangerous.

The later essay simply entitled 'London' repeats many of the notes struck in these earlier pieces, but it gathers a particular interest from the circumstances of its writing in the immediate aftermath of *The Princess*. Shortly after sending off the final instalment (7 July 1886), James approached the editor of the *Century Magazine*, Robert Underwood Johnson, proposing essays on Stevenson, on the actor Coquelin, and one on London to match his 'Venice' of a few years before (November 1882, republished in *Portraits of Places*, 1883; *LL* 186). The motive for the 'London' essay grows out of *The Princess*, as a response to or a compensation for it. Like the importunate ghost of Christina Light who haunted her author, asking to be revived and treated again, so 'London' appealed to James for another 'go', as he might have put it.

It starts from the 'impressions' – the word is pervasive – made by his first solo encounter with London in 1869. He remembers the 'wet black Sunday' of his arrival in Liverpool and journey to London, the sense of humiliation, of immensity, of recognition, the desire to buy everything he could see. It indulges the strain of lyrical appreciation that runs through the novel, an at times rapturous appreciation of London as an aesthetic spectacle. At the same time the writing is troubled by a sense of disquiet that can swell to a deeper anxiety, even horror. On taking his first lodging, James is struck with a sense that it is 'an impersonal black hole in the huge general blackness. A sudden horror of the whole place came over me, like a tiger-pounce of homesickness [...] London was hideous, vicious, cruel, and above all overwhelming'. He imagines himself being trampled to death in Piccadilly and his carcass thrown into the Thames. (*EL* 7) He recovers of course. The horror is contained by a certain sportive tone but it is precarious.

One can hear in all three of these essays larger questions being asked about history, albeit gingerly. These are questions that go into the novel's thinking about the state of the nation and its future. One cannot remain unconscious of 'the immense misery' in London, of 'that dark gulf' separating the fortunate

[59] I am grateful to Bernard Richards for calling my attention to this passage in 'An English Easter'.

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from the hapless. 'I have no idea of what the future evolution of the strangely mingled monster may be', James confesses. In this context they are not questions to be pursued. After all he is describing himself, for American readers in the first instance, as a 'consistent London-lover' (*EL* 29), the alien immigrant who has made himself at home elsewhere. When James came to reissue the essay for *English Hours* (1905) he was prompted to revise 'the sympathising resident' (*EL* 8) into 'the accommodated haunter' (*CTW1* 19). Such a being need not blind himself to ugliness, poverty, and despair, for 'the impression of suffering is a part of the general vibration'. It is a sound in 'the rumble of the tremendous human mill'; it is one of the 'duskiest shades' in the 'picture' (*EL* 29). It is something, from such a point of view, to be accommodated.

Viewed in this light, 'London' provides an arresting pendant to *The Princess*, and a kind of oblique commentary. The reader is invited to reel from rapture to horror at the contradictions it seeks to accommodate, contradictions that have been explored more protractedly through the expansive maze of *The Princess*.

5 The Literary Context

To say that *The Princess* has significant relations with other novels and novelists, both contemporary and antecedent, would be an understatement. Richard H. Brodhead argues that 'one of the peculiarities of James's fiction is its strong and persistent orientation towards the works of other writers', and goes on to propose that: 'The novel becomes, in James's hands, a form written in continual awareness of a fixed set of literary precedents.'[60] One might quibble over the word 'fixed', though *The Princess* does owe a great obvious debt to a particular novel of Turgenev's, as we shall see. But appealing and perhaps inevitable as these metaphors may be, 'debt', 'source', and 'influence' do not do justice to the complex ways in which James seizes on and re-works elements from other writings. Brodhead suggests four masters on whom he draws for 'this most variously and visibly derivative of all of his novels: Balzac, Dickens, Turgenev and Zola'.[61] But the novel may be said to advertise its own literariness. It is prolific with references, some more resonant than others, to writers and thinkers as various as Dickens, Scott, Bulwer, Bacon, Ruskin, Schopenhauer, Michelet, Carlyle, Balzac,

[60] Richard H. Brodhead, *The School of Hawthorne* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 116–17.

[61] Brodhead, *School of Hawthorne*, p. 144.

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de Musset, Leopardi, Browning, Tennyson, Keats, and Feuillet. Not for nothing has it been described as 'James's "library" book'.[62]

We can best begin with James's own declarations of interest in the work of his French contemporaries, the 'grandsons of Balzac' (*LC2* 1012), with whom he first became acquainted in his year-long residence in Paris in 1875–6: Flaubert, Edmond de Goncourt, Zola, Daudet, and Maupassant. As noted earlier, the month he spent there again in February 1884 was crucial in determining his commitment to a long serial novel for the *AM* in 1885. In an important letter to Aldrich, for whom he had written on Renan (1883) and Turgenev (1884), and translated Daudet's reminiscences of 'Tourgéneff in Paris' in 1883, James revealed some of his feelings about the French *avant-garde*:[63]

> Paris is charming; bright, mild & a little dull, and "naturalism" is in possession sur toute la ligne. I spent last evening at Alph. Daudet's, & was much impressed with the intense seriousness of that little group — himself, Zola, Goncourt, &c. [...] The torment of style, the high standard of it, the effort to say something perfectly in a language in which everything has been said & re-said, — so that there are certain things, certain cases, which can never again be attempted — all this seems to me to be wearing them all out, so that they have the look of galley-slaves tied to a ball & chain, rather than of happy producers. [...] This all proves, what one always feels that (in their narrow circle) terrible are the subtleties they attempt. Daudet spoke of his envy & admiration of the "serenity of production" of Turgénieff — working in a field & a language where the white snow had as yet so few foot-prints. In French, he said, it is all one trampled slosh — one has to look, forever, to see where one can put down one's step. And he wished to know how it was in English. What do you think I ought to have told him? (*CLHJ 1883–1884* 2:22–3)

James's admiration for the 'intense seriousness' was tempered by dismay at the limitations on 'joy' in the creative process, at the burden of the past, at the narrow room for manoeuvre, let alone innovation. There was so little space to breathe, so few windows. There was something 'Chinese' about it all, he was reported as telling a friend (see note 244). Five years later, after another visit to Paris, he exclaimed to his brother William: 'Chinese, Chinese, Chinese! They are finished, besotted mandarins and Paris is their celestial Empire.' (*HJL* 3:265)

[62] Adeline R. Tintner, 'The Books in the Books: What Henry James's Character Read and Why', in Leon Edel and Adeline R. Tintner (eds.), *The Library of Henry James* (Ann Arbor, MI, and London: UMI Research Press, 1987), pp. 69–96; 79.

[63] Leon Edel makes much of the fact that James writes '1865' in error no less than three times in this letter: 'The slip of the pen denoted how far in the past his deepest self was probably submerged at this time. He was indeed moving in Paris along the boundary-lines of his youth and his middle age.' (*Henry James: The Middle Years, 1884–1894* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1963), p. 37)

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Nevertheless, when he turned to contemplate the work of his compatriots, he could swing violently in the other direction. Particularly so when he thought of the success enjoyed by Francis Marion Crawford's latest novel, *The Roman Singer*, currently being serialized in the very venue that would host his own projected work, the *AM*. A week after the letter to Aldrich, he was writing to his friend and previous editor, Howells, that he 'would rather have produced the basest experiment in the "naturalism" that is being practiced here than such a piece of sixpenny humbug'.[64] As for the French:

> there is nothing more interesting to me now than the effort & experiment of this little group, with its truly infernal intelligence of art, form, manner—its intense artistic life. They do the only kind of work, today, that I respect; & in spite of their ferocious pessimism & their handling of unclean things, they are at least serious and honest. The floods of tepid soap and water which under the name of novels are being vomited forth in England, seem to me, by contrast, to do little honour to our race. I say this to you, because I regard you as the great American naturalist. I don't think you go far enough, [...](*CLHJ 1883–1884* 2:29–30)

To the great American naturalist he commends the example of Zola's most recent, *La Joie de Vivre*, as 'admirably solid and serious' (*LL* 153). As for going far enough, he remained very interested in Daudet and two or three others; he told Grace Norton: 'they have gone so far in the art of expression'. But – for as soon as the scale of admiration rises too high it dips to dismay – 'they are the children of a decadence, I think (a brilliant one—unlike ours: that is, the English) & they are strangely corrupt & prodigiously ignorant'. But this too is excessively definite, so he has to conclude on a mild note of balance: 'In spite of all this they represent a great deal of truth.' (*CLHJ 1883–1884* 2:44)

Of these contemporaries, the two most significant were Daudet and Zola. The name of Alphonse Daudet features more largely in James's writings of the time, both private and public, than his subsequent reputation might seem to warrant, certainly by comparison with Zola's. In 1882, reviewing his brother Ernest's *Mon Frère et Moi*, James confessed to 'an extreme fondness for M. Alphonse Daudet; he is very near to our heart' (*LC2* 216). The following year he wrote a lengthy appreciation, reprinted in *Partial Portraits* (1888), even though by this date he

[64] This was not the first time that James had been enraged by Crawford's success. *To Leeward* (1883) had provoked him to write in similar terms of disgust to Howells. Marcia Jacobson suggests that James may have been prompted to revive Christina Light by the example of Crawford's heroine, who marries a dull Italian marchese, runs off with an Englishman, and ends up shot dead by her jealous husband (*Henry James and the Mass Market* (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1983), p. 52).

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had seen an uglier side to Daudet's work. In April 1883 he noted that Daudet's *L'Evangéliste* had given him the idea for what would become *The Bostonians*.[65] In 1889 James translated *Port Tarascon*, in 1895 he was his host in England, and on his French friend's death in 1897 he penned a warm obituary notice. Daudet was distinguished from his *confrères*, so it seemed to James in 1883, by his 'poetical touch' and by his capacity for mixing 'the sense of the real with the sense of the beautiful'. There was, James thought, 'something very hard, very dry, in Flaubert, in Edmond de Goncourt, in the robust Zola; but there is something very soft in Alphonse Daudet' (*LC2* 230–31). The sense of condescension in his pronouncements on Daudet's work – 'charming', 'delightful' – suggests that he always found him less threatening than Flaubert or Zola.

As for the pressures exerted by Daudet and Zola on the conception and composition of *The Princess*, these are mainly a matter of general, theoretical orientation towards the recording of material, physical substance, and detail, about which, as we have seen from his private correspondence, even more explicitly than in his published criticism, James was distinctly ambivalent.[66] The same was mainly true, throughout his career, of the example of grandfather Balzac, up to the well-known lecture of 1905 'The Lesson of Balzac'. Efforts have been made to identify more precise debts in *The Princess*: Rose Muniment might owe something to a lame daughter in Daudet's *Fromont Jeune*, Hyacinth bears a certain affinity to the 'cursed son' of Balzac's *L'Enfant Maudit*, and the opening scene in the prison reminds readers of Zola.[67] There are interesting parallels with the novel of Zola's published closest in time to *The Princess*. *Germinal* was serialized from November 1884 to February 1885, and published in book form in March 1885, shortly before James began writing *The Princess*. James thought it 'wondrous' and 'in ways admirable' (13 May 1885: *CLHJ 1884–1886*, forthcoming). Étienne Lantier is a youthful idealist caught up in political insurrection that turns into violence; the place where the striking miners meet and debate, the 'Avantage', is very similar to the 'Sun and Moon'; the name of the Master, Bakunin the Destroyer, is pronounced with the same hushed reverence as that of

[65] Lyall H. Powers has argued forcefully for Daudet's influence on that novel in 'James's Debt to Alphonse Daudet', *Comparative Literature* 24.2 (1972), 150–62, and Daniel Karlin discusses the case in the introduction to his *CFHJ* edition of *The Bostonians*.

[66] See Lyall H. Powers, *Henry James and the Naturalist Movement* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1971), pp. 88–123.

[67] All noted by Anne-Claire Le Reste, 'Intertextualizing *The Princess Casamassima*: Realism and Reference(s)', *E-rea* [En ligne], 3.2, 2005, document 2, mis en ligne le 15 octobre 2005, consulté le 29 août 2012. URL : http://erea.revues.org/540.

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Hoffendahl. But in its neutrality, 'parallel' seems the appropriate sort of term to describe the relation between James and Zola's works. As we shall see when we turn to the English literary scene of the mid-1880s, there were all sorts of texts, both fictional and non-fictional, addressing social conditions, political idealism, and insurrectionary violence, alongside which James's novel was bound to be read, whether its author actively courted comparison or not.

There are scenes in James's novel where we may readily suppose that he picked up a hint from another author, and then chose to do otherwise, as, for example, with the department store at the heart of Zola's *Au Bonheur des Dames* (1883), a severely edited version of which first appeared in English as 'The Ladies' Paradise' in the *London Journal*, also in 1883.[68] There may be a faint typological resemblance between Zola's Denise, the young saleswoman who ends up marrying her boss, and James's ambitious Millicent Henning, but the institutions within which they work are represented quite differently. Millicent's 'establishment' is one of numerous significant venues scattered across the great monstrous capital city, whereas Zola's tale is – like all his novels – exhaustively organized around one 'big central thing', as James himself noted, 'some highly representative institution or industry of the France of his time, some seated Moloch of custom, of commerce, of faith, lending itself to portrayal through its abuses and excesses, its idol-face and great devouring mouth' (*LC2* 883). In this case it was 'the colossal modern shop'. James's novel has no such 'big central thing'.

Where the putative French models and sources for *The Princess* are concerned, James's novel invites different kinds of attention. There are explicit references within the text to unnamed novels by Balzac and Octave Feuillet, for example, and there are potential references in the mind of the reader to specific works such as Balzac's *Les Illusions Perdues*, Daudet's *Jack*, Goncourt's *La Fille Elisa*, or Zola's *La Joie de Vivre*. In the former category, valiant efforts have been made to identify the precise novel of Feuillet's James had in mind, and the (ideal) reader should have in mind (see note 240). But it is as well to recognize the difference made by James's choice *not* to be specific.[69] Readers have been right to think more generically of a scene as 'Zolaesque', or to recognize, as Pierre Walker does, that the scene at the theatre in which Hyacinth first meets the Princess has parallels in any number of nineteenth-century novels, including Balzac's *Père*

[68] Andrew King, *The London Journal 1845–1883: Periodicals, Production and Gender* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 223–40.

[69] See Angus Wrenn, *Henry James and the Second Empire*, Studies in Comparative Literature 14 (London: Legenda, 2009), p. 111.

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Goriot and *Les Illusions Perdues*,[70] Dumas's *La Dame aux Camélias*, and Tolstoy's *War and Peace*. Walker concludes that: 'The scene is not so much a direct quote of Balzac's text as an allusion to a conventional story involving a cliché locale, the theater, and the seductive encounter with the cliché lady of destiny.'[71] Peter Brooks also thinks generically of Balzac in his study of the role played by 'melodrama' in both writers, though he does provide a specific example: 'What lies behind surface and façade in this novel is notably Balzacian: secret societies comparable to "Les Treize," the mysterious superman Hoffendahl, a shadowy struggle in the depths.'[72] Richard Brodhead too, though the 'masters' on whom James draws include Dickens and Zola as well: 'with its *arriviste* straight out of Balzac, its grotesques and hyperconnected city straight out of Dickens, its researched institutions (Millbank Prison) and its heavy interior decoration straight out of Zola'. But however 'straight' these routes, the fourth and last of Brodhead's masters is of a different order: 'its aristocrat-bastard sensitive political hero [is] straight out of Turgenev'.[73]

James's novel owes a good deal more to Turgenev's *Virgin Soil* than its hero.[74] From the time of their first meetings in 1875–6, Turgenev was integral to James's experience of literary Paris. He was about to go back to Russia to finish the novel he had begun in 1872: this would be *Virgin Soil*. The great Russian was an affili-

[70] For James's discussion of the scene in the latter, see *LC2* 65.

[71] Pierre A. Walker, *Reading Henry James in French Cultural Contexts* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1995), p. 53.

[72] Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1976), p. 173.

[73] Brodhead, *School of Hawthorne*, p. 144.

[74] For both this particular novel as a source for *The Princess*, and Turgenev's influence on James more generally, see: Millicent Bell, 'Turgenev and James', *Sewanee Review* 110.2 (2002), 231–41; Catherine Brown, 'Henry James and Ivan Turgenev: Cosmopolitanism and Croquet', *Literary Imagination* 15.1 (2013), 109–23; Jeanne Delbaere-Garant, 'Henry James's Divergences from his Russian Model in *The Princess Casamassima*', *Revue des Langues Vivantes* 37 (1971), 535–44; Simone Francescato, '"Territory of the Private Life": James, Turgenev, and Venice', in Rosella Mamoli Zorzi and Simone Francescato (eds.), *American Phantasmagoria: Modes of Representation in US Culture*, in honor of Alide Cagidemetrio (Venice: Supernova, 2017), pp. 121–37; Eunice C. Hamilton, 'Henry James's *The Princess Casamassima* and Ivan Turgenev's *Virgin Soil*', *South Atlantic Quarterly* 61 (1960), 354–64; Daniel Lerner, 'The Influence of Turgenev on Henry James', *The Slavonic Year-Book* American Series Vol. 1 (1941), 28–54; Dale E. Peterson, *The Clement Vision: Poetic Realism in Turgenev and James* (Port Washington, NY and London: Kennikat Press, 1975); Christine Richards, 'Occasional Criticism: Henry James on Ivan Turgenev', *Slavonic and East European Review* (2000), 463–86; Stoehr, 'Words and Deeds', 102–7; Glyn Turton, *Turgenev and the Context of English Literature 1850–1900* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).

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ate member of the French realists and naturalists, admired and envied by them, as James's report of Daudet's comments above suggest. None of them read him in Russian of course, but in French translation (as did James). Turgenev was an honoured guest, happily perched neither inside nor outside the French literary scene but both at once. A provincial, in one sense, in the great cultural metropolis, like James himself, only far more established, far more a citizen of Europe, or even 'the world'. And artistically, Turgenev's style represented an alternative to the French naturalists; one could go so far as to call it, as one critic has done, a '(proto-)anti-naturalism, displaying a diffuseness and reticence that countered the then fashionable hyper-referentiality and sensationalism as practiced by Zola and his followers'.[75]

The admiration James felt for such a role model had long been prepared. Way back in his Newport days (1858, 1860–2), he had been reading Turgenev with his friends. In 1874 James had written on him at length in the *North American Review*, and reprinted it four years later in *French Poets and Novelists* – a clear indication of Turgenev's honorary position. In 1876 James translated the Russian's remarkably violent satirical poem on Britain's pro-Turkish position, depicting Queen Victoria playing croquet with severed Bulgarian heads.[76] More characteristically, the following year James reviewed *Virgin Soil* (or to be exact, the French version by E. Durand-Gréville, *Terres Vierges*, itself translated into English in 1877 by James's friend T. S. Perry). On Turgenev's death in 1883 he wrote an extensive appreciation, published in the *AM* just before the month spent in a Paris now bereft of his friend, February 1884. Shortly beforehand, Constance Fenimore Woolson had told him, 'You are now our Tourguénieff.'[77] James wrote a final introductory essay again in 1896, by which time Turgenev was becoming more widely known in the Anglophone world through Constance Garnett's translations (which James possessed). (For James's five pieces on Turgenev, see *LC2* 968–1034.)

The Princess takes many aspects of *Virgin Soil*, of plot, situation, and character, and re-writes them. Turgenev's central character, Nezhdanov, is the illegitimate son of a Russian nobleman. Politically committed to radical or revolutionary action on behalf of the oppressed masses, he is taken up by a liberal politician, named Sipyagin; their first meeting at a theatre parallels Hyacinth's first

[75] Francescato, '"Territory of the Private Life"', pp. 122–3. It is true that he is thinking primarily of Turgenev's influence on *The Wings of the Dove*, but his formulation is still relevant to the earlier *Princess*. Francescato notes the significance of *On the Eve* for *The Princess*, p. 133 (note 12).

[76] See Brown, 'Henry James and Ivan Turgenev'.

[77] *The Complete Letters of Constance Fenimore Woolson*, ed. Sharon L. Dean (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2012), p. 251. Cited by Francescato, p. 121.

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encounter with the Princess. Continuing parallels are not hard to find. Sipyagin hires Nezhdanov to tutor his son; the Princess employs Hyacinth as her book-binder. The Sipyagins' country estate performs a similar function to James's Medley. The gardens onto which both men look out of their window, on their first morning, epitomize the material comfort, order, and privilege of the class they are committed to overthrowing. The role played by James's Princess, however, is split between Sipyagin's dazzlingly beautiful wife, Valentina Mihailovna, and her dissident niece, Marianne, to whom Nezhdanov is drawn in political sympathy, and in due course love, of a sort. As for James's Lady Aurora, she draws partly on Marianne and a third woman in Nezhdanov's life, Mashurina. There is an enthusiast named Markelov who parallels Poupin (or the Poupins), and a strategist named Solomin who is mirrored by Paul Muniment, not least in so far as Nezhdanov loses Marianne to him as Hyacinth loses the Princess to Muniment. Nezhdanov also loses faith in the political cause to which he is committed, and resolves his dilemma through suicide.

The relations of James's novel to its Russian model or prototype are no more passive than those of *Washington Square* to Balzac's *Eugénie Grandet* or *The Portrait of a Lady* to George Eliot's *Middlemarch* and *Daniel Deronda*. This is not the place for a full critical discussion of the ways in which James's novel diverges from Turgenev's[78] – Hyacinth's *reasons* for losing faith in his political cause, for example, are very different from Nezhdanov's – but it is worth observing the note of disappointment that runs through his 1877 review, even if it is not as sharply felt as some of his other American admirers. Peterson argues that Turgenev's American reputation peaked in 1874, the year of James's first essay, that his influence is most evident in the early novels immediately following, *Roderick Hudson* (1875) and *The American* (1877), and other shorter works of those years, and that by the time of *The Portrait of a* Lady (1880–1), the real debt was over.[79]

On Turgenev's death in September 1883 James was 'greatly touched' but he also thought that Turgenev 'had done his work' (*CLHJ 1883–1884* 1:227). In re-engaging with the French naturalists in Paris the following February he may have been looking for someone to take Turgenev's place (particularly to Daudet, Peterson suggests,[80] though if that is the case, then Daudet would never measure up). Nevertheless, if the novel James went on to write is much more than a homage to Turgenev, it does bear the traces of enduring impressions, not only from *Virgin Soil* but from other novels,

78 See Tilley, *Background*, pp. 3–4, 11–13; and Delbaere-Garant, 'James's Divergences from his Russian Model'.
79 Peterson, *Clement Vision*, pp. 23, 38, 106.
80 Peterson, *Clement Vision*, p. 38.

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including *Rudin* (1856, in which the title-character dies on the barricades in Paris in 1848, with rather shocking abruptness and absurdity), and *On the Eve* (1860, James's favourite). The role played by Venice in this last may well have contributed to James's choice of it as the scene of Hyacinth's climactic awakening to the power of art as it does for Turgenev's Elena. One might think of *The Princess* as a way of saying farewell, amongst other things, to one of his literary masters.[81]

Another master to whom the novel owes something, much more slightly, is Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–64). From the figure of Hollingsworth in *The Blithedale Romance* (1852), James may have taken a cue for his portrayal of Paul Muniment. In his essay on Hawthorne, James describes Hollingsworth as 'the heavily treading Reformer, whose attitude with regard to the world is that of the hammer to the anvil, and who has no patience with his friend's indifferences and neutralities'. He goes on to conclude that 'there is much reality in the conception of the type to which he belongs—the strong-willed, narrow-hearted apostle of a special form of redemption for society' (*LC1* 419, 421). In Hollingsworth's relations with Miles Coverdale there can be glimpsed a foretaste of those between Paul and Hyacinth. And if James needed any encouragement on this score, there is a memorable suicide – 'nothing so tragical in all Hawthorne [...] as the suicide of Zenobia' (*LC1* 419).

Turning to the English connections, the first obvious model to note is that of Charles Dickens (1812–70). James had never seen in him one of his literary masters, though he retained warm memories of his own youthful enthusiasm, and there is more to be said about his dealings with Dickens than his early and apparently dismissive review of *Our Mutual Friend* might suggest (*LC1* 853–8). *David Copperfield* (1850) made a particularly durable impression on him, as his late autobiographical writings attest.[82] In *The Princess* he makes explicit reference to Dickens: a gentleman who is always smoking a pipe at a window in Madeira Crescent reminds Hyacinth of Mr Micawber (twice, in Chs. 33 and 38), and Hyacinth reads Dickens (and Scott) to Miss Pynsent. They live in Pentonville, a district temporarily associated with the Micawbers. 'Dickensian' qualities have been detected in some of the secondary figures, such as Miss Pynsent and Mr Vetch; analogies have been claimed between Steerforth and Sholto, Millicent Henning and Little Em'ly, Florentine Vivier and Martha Endell, Rosa Dartle and Rose Muniment (who has also reminded readers of Jenny Wren in *Our Mutual Friend*), and indeed between David Copperfield

[81] See footnote 75 above, however, for the persuasive case that Francescato makes for James's return to Turgenev, specifically *On the Eve*, in the genesis of *The Wings of the Dove*, the first hints of which can be found in Notebook entries of November 1894 (*CN* 102–7).

[82] See Tamara Follini, 'James, Dickens, and the Indirections of Influence', *Henry James Review* 25.3 (2004), 228–38.

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and Hyacinth Robinson themselves, as at least partially 'autobiographical' protagonists.[83] When David is renamed 'Daisy' by Steerforth he acquires a name as flowery as Hyacinth's. Another of Dickens's orphan figures may be relevant to Hyacinth here, in the shape of Hugh in *Barnaby Rudge*, the rejected illegitimate child of Sir John Chester. The early scene in Millbank prison has been called 'Dickensian' almost as often as it has been called 'Zolaesque'. Nies and Kimmey lend substance to the connection when they point to close parallels of wording in the scene in which David and Mr Peggotty rush to save Martha from drowning herself in the river underneath Millbank Prison (*David Copperfield*, Ch. 47). They conclude that James was using Dickens 'in an eclectic fashion', paying 'indirect tribute' to the writer who made such an impression on him in his youth, but also seeking to compete with him in his own representation of the great metropolis.[84] Looking back in the last and unfinished volume of his autobiographical writings, *The Middle Years*, James confessed that it was 'the socially sinister Dickens' that continued to mean most to him.[85]

London was for James not only the city of Dickens but also of William Makepeace Thackeray (1811–63). Thackeray is one of the major figures in James's literary pantheon, particularly important early on in his career. In a well-known letter to Howells of 1880, where James declares his commitment to 'manners, customs, usages, habits, forms', he mentions Thackeray in the same admiring breath as Balzac – high praise indeed (*CLHJ 1878–1880* 2:109). Geoffrey Tillotson proposes the 'filial intimacy' James may have felt towards the older writer, and if Lionel Trilling was right about the importance of 'the defeated hero' to James, such as the Arthur Clennam of Dickens's *Little Dorrit* (see further below, p. LXXXVII), then Tillotson suggests it is no less plausible to look to Thackeray's Pendennis and Henry Esmond and Mr Batchelor in *Lovel the Widower*.[86]

James particularly admired *The History of Henry Esmond* (1852)[87] and it is a significant source for *The Princess*. It tells the tale of an illegitimate son (so it seems), the child of an English nobleman and a 'ruined' French mother. The child longs to be accepted and loved by the noble family especially after his father's death: 'that night,

[83] See Frederick Nies and John Kimmey, '*David Copperfield* and *The Princess Casamassima*', *Henry James Review* 10.3 (1989), 179–84.

[84] Nies and Kimmey, '*David Copperfield* and *The Princess Casamassima*', 180, 183.

[85] *The Middle Years* (1917), Ch. 4; *Autobiographies* 604.

[86] Geoffrey Tillotson, 'Thackeray and Henry James', in *Thackeray the Novelist* (1954; London: Methuen & Co., 1963), pp. 296–306; 306, 301, 305.

[87] For more evidence of James's admiration for *Esmond*, see the reminiscences in 'Winchelsea, Rye, and "Denis Duval"' (1901, 1905; *LC1* 1289–1305).

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as he lay in his little room which he still occupied, the boy thought with many a pang of shame and grief of his strange and solitary condition: how he had a father and no father; a nameless mother that had been brought to ruin, perhaps, by that very father' (Ch. 6). Henry is a figure of the orphan, deprived of parental and especially maternal love, for whom the world is unenchanted, unmagical, barren. Such a boy may prove all the more susceptible to the charm of women. Sure enough Henry Esmond is overwhelmed by his kinswoman, Rachel Castlewood, and in due course falls for her daughter, Beatrix. He thinks of Venus (and himself as Aeneas); he thinks of the huntress Diana; he thinks of the moon and Endymion. These mythic allusions are all repeated by James, whose Princess combines the aspects represented by Thackeray's nurturing mother and her alarmingly dazzling daughter. Unlike James's, however, Thackeray's hero grows up, turns out to be the legitimate heir to the title, and eventually marries – the mother. Although not before he has become deeply involved in a dangerous political conspiracy to return to the throne of England and Scotland the rightful Stuart heir.

There is a curious possible connection with Thackeray's novel that may have helped James to choose Hyacinth's name. Henry Esmond's plot to install James Francis Edward Stuart on the throne as successor to his sister, the dying Queen Anne, involves a portrait. The head in the painting is the work of a Frenchman, a real historical figure, once famous for his portraits of royalty and nobility. Above all for the portrait of Louis Quatorze, the sun-king, to which the novel makes significant reference in its opening pages. It is true that the painter's first name is never mentioned in Thackeray's novel, but when it was written it did not need to be. For although history has known a number of significant men named 'Hyacinthe' (see note 7) – one of the most prominent was the painter Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659–1743). Here is one more burden to bear for the most over-laden protagonist whom James ever created: the first name of an artist dedicated to upholding the order of monarchy, of the *ancien régime*, to the charm and charisma of which poor Hyacinth/Hyacinthe will, all despairingly, succumb.

So Thackeray's is another shadowy presence to add to the many in this highly self-conscious text. It is striking that in the 1888 essay on 'London' written shortly after *The Princess* (see above, p. LVI), it is of Thackeray that James thinks when he remembers his arrival in London some twenty years earlier. He enjoyed 'the romantic consciousness of passing under Temple Bar' and thinking of two lines from the beginning of *Henry Esmond* about the statue of Queen Anne on Ludgate Hill, so unlike '"[t]he stout, red-faced woman" whom Esmond had seen tearing after the staghounds over the slopes at Windsor'. It was, he said, 'a thrilling thought that the statue had been familiar to the hero of the incomparable novel' (*EL* 5). And in the *NYE* Preface to *The Princess*, while Dickens's name features once,

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Thackeray's figures three times, most importantly, as a model for the 'bewilderment' with which he has endowed his own central characters.[88] Hyacinth Robinson presents a prime case of 'the danger of filling too full any supposed and above all any obviously limited vessel of consciousness'. The reason why 'bewilderment' is such a positive quality for James is that it connects characters with both readers and author through 'their having the needful communities with our own precious liability to fall into traps and be bewildered'. Thackeray's heroes provide an excellent example: 'the condition […] on which Thackeray so much insists in the interest of *his* exhibited careers, the condition of a humble heart, a bowed head, a patient wonder, a suspended judgement, before the "awful will" and the mysterious decrees of Providence' (see Appendix, pp. 832, 833).

Though Hyacinth graduates in due course to Dickens, Keats, and Tennyson, his childhood reading is carefully marked by the penny weeklies at which he gazes in the shop window (see note 4). Roslyn Jolly points out that the *London Journal* and the *Family Herald* are more than 'desirable commodities, items in the list of "good things" denied to Hyacinth'. They also offer 'examples of plots through which these good things may be achieved and enjoyed'. The two most basic kinds of fiction fed to its working-class readers were 'sentimental romances, and sensational tales of seduction, crime, and revenge'. Jolly comments helpfully on the use to which James puts these alternatives, the sentimental romance plot favoured by Pinny and the sensational revenge plot promoted by Hyacinth's radical mentors including Poupin and Paul Muniment.[89]

As for English novelists close to hand in the mid-1880s, there were several alongside whom *The Princess* was unavoidably read, and of whom James could not have been unaware, even if he did not read their works for himself. As discussion of the contemporary reception of *The Princess* will show (see pp. LXXII–LXXXIV), there were three novels in particular that challenged comparison with James's, by virtue of their engagement with urban poverty, squalor, and deprivation, and their potentially violent consequences, in the early to mid-1880s. All published in 1886, the same year as James's, they were *Children of Gibeon* by Walter Besant (1836–1901), a follow-up to his popular first 'slum-novel', *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* (1882); *The Old Order Changes* by W. H. Mallock (1849–1923), who had made a name for himself as a witty young satirist with *The New Republic* (1877), featuring thinly disguised versions of Carlyle, Arnold, Ruskin, Huxley, and Pater; and *Demos*

[88] See also Kuiken's argument for the forging of 'Jamesian bewildered consciousness' under the pressure of William James's theories of the corporeal mind and Mikhail Bakunin's anarchism' ('1884: *The Princess Casamassima*, Anarchy, and Henry James's Materialist Poetics', 113–33).

[89] Roslyn Jolly, *Henry James: History, Narrative, Fiction* (Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 59, 61.

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by George Gissing (1857–1903), which confirmed his credentials as a close observer of the London working class, following *Workers in the Dawn* (1880) and *The Unclassed* (1884), and succeeded shortly thereafter by *The Nether World* (1889).[90]

All three of these feature romantic fantasies about the lives of the urban poor and more or less realistic analysis of the means by which they could be improved. Besant earnestly provided his readers with copious information about the exploitation of unskilled women labourers in the garment industry, and utopian visions of an East End transformed by charitable works into a clean, cultured, sober, and thrifty Utopia. Mallock entertained and affected to take more seriously the prospect, as one of his characters puts it, that 'the savage and sullen spirit fermenting throughout the country now is just what there was in Paris before the great Revolution' (Ch. 5). His leisured characters discuss at length the social crisis in England from the safe distance of modern hotels on the French Riviera and ancient chateaux in the mountains inland, while his leading male character seeks to retain 'his attachment to anything which suggested the præ-popular epoch' (Ch. 5). Gissing's novel similarly features a wildly reactionary 'hero' with an endless pedigree, but it puts centre-stage the rise and fall of a radical working-class leader and his family, his mother and brother and sister (nicknamed 'The Princess'). Like Hyacinth Robinson, Richard Mutimer is inspired by the example of a martyred forebear: 'His grandfather's blood was hot in him tonight' (Ch. 4). Though the narrator reaches a grim conclusion about the impossibility of resolving class differences, the novel represents with sympathy the contradictions by which the Mutimer family is riven apart. And there is a key scene of dialogue between Mutimer's patrician rival and the conciliatory cleric, the Rev. Wyvern, in which the former describes English Socialism in terms that would have been congenial to many of Gissing's readers – and James's – in 1886: 'Now in the revolutionary societies of the Continent there is something that appeals to the imagination. A Nihilist, with Siberia or death before him, fighting against a damnable tyranny—the best might sacrifice everything for that. But English Socialism! It is infused with the spirit of shopkeeping; it appeals to the vulgarest minds; […] it is stamped commonplace, like everything originating with the English lower classes.' (Ch. 29) The William Morris who provides the model in this novel for Mr

[90] Marcia Jacobson discusses James's possible debt to Besant and Gissing in *Henry James and the Mass Market*, pp. 44–7, 50–1. She proposes that the working-class protagonist closest to James's Hyacinth is the 'tormented' Arthur Golding of Gissing's *Workers in the Dawn* (p. 55). Jacobson notes that other English novels of working-class life testifying to the popularity of the genre in which James's seeks to position itself include George Bernard Shaw's *An Unsocial Socialist* (1884), Grant Allen's *Philistia* (1885), and Silas K. Hocking's *Her Benny* (1879) and *Cricket: A Tale of Humble Life* (1880).

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Westlake would not have agreed, but he would have had no time for these novels in the first place.

Violent terrorist activity made for plenty of popular fiction in the 1880s, often involving nihilists and dynamite. Amongst those described by Melchiori are *A Week of Passion or the Dilemma of Mr George Barton the Younger* (1884), a three-volume novel by Edward Jenkins, that opens with a bomb in Regents Circus, made by a German called Schultz, who 'took to chemistry' when young; *Princess Napraxine* (1884) by 'Ouida' (Marie Louise de la Ramée), in which the title character is a femme fatale, 'an aristocratic heroine who suffers from boredom', very like Christina Light, the Princess, whom according to Melchiori 'she somewhat resembles'; *Vestigia* (1884) by George Fleming, in which a character pledges to assassinate the King of Italy, repents of it, and is saved from going through with it; and *The Flower of Doom* by Matilda Betham-Edwards, later an acquaintance of James, serialized in *All the Year Round* (March–May 1885), in which a lady seeks to save a conspirator from the monstrous crime he has sworn to carry out. James's *Princess* started to appear a few months after this last appeared, but Melchiori sensibly suggests that, rather than any direct influence, both writers were dipping into the same 'bran tub of conspiracy and fishing out whatever suited their stories'.[91]

However, as both Melchiori and Hilary J. Beattie have proposed, there is more reason to suppose that James picked something up from the writer with whom he had so much lively contact as he began to write the novel: Robert Louis Stevenson. Beattie comments that James had admired Stevenson's *New Arabian Nights* (1882) and was equally impressed by the tales collected in *More New Arabian Nights: The Dynamiter*, mostly written at Bournemouth in the autumn and winter of 1884–5 and published at the end of April 1885. She points to particular connections or even debts, as for example in Francis Scrymgeour (in 'The Rajah's Diamond'), who is, like Hyacinth Robinson, 'the socially isolated, bastard son of an aristocrat and a commoner'. Scrymgeour pursues his destiny to Paris and meets his *femme fatale* at the theatre. She is the daughter of the ex-Dictator of Paraguay; at the theatre where Hyacinth first meets the Princess it is 'The Pearl of Paraguay' that is being performed (see note 137). The revolutionary intrigues of James's Princess resemble those of Stevenson's Clara Luxmoore (who has 'Light' in her name), but most of all, Beattie suggests, 'James may have derived from Stevenson the motive for Hyacinth's suicide, in the story of the disillusioned young revolutionary who flees to Paris in a vain effort to escape his "irrevocable oath" and takes poison sooner than assassinate

91 Melchiori, *Terrorism*, pp. 72, 152, 236–8, 226.

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Prince Florizel.' When his partner in the attempt shoots himself, he is discovered by Mrs Luxmore 'much as the Princess discovers the body of Hyacinth, shot through the heart'. Stevenson did not comment on these seemingly clear debts to his own work, but as we shall see, he was enthusiastic and encouraging to James about *The Princess* as it began to appear, from September later the same year, 1885.[92]

Finally, there is a special source for the novel in James's own first full-length fiction, *Roderick Hudson* (1875), from which he took his title character, the Princess formerly known as Christina Light. In his *NYE* Preface James notes that unlike other novelists such as Balzac, Thackeray, Trollope, and Zola, he was reluctant to give his fictional characters more than one outing, to appease the ghosts, as he thought of them, haunting his 'house of art'. But Christina Light would not be refused, even if James was to see her revival 'as the fruit of a restless vanity' – hers, not his: 'Christina had felt herself, known herself, striking, in the earlier connection, and couldn't resign herself not to strike again. Her pressure then was not to be resisted—' (*LC2* 1098–9). She is unique, in James's fiction, in the dominant role she reappears to take in *The Princess*. She is supported by Madame Grandoni and the Prince Casamassima, who also feature in the earlier novel, and the artist Gloriani (another secondary figure in *Roderick Hudson*) will also be revived and reappear in Paris, with augmented dignity and worldly success, in *The Ambassadors*. Gloriani briefly dazzles Lambert Strether, the central character in the later novel, in a manner similar to the charismatic effect more devastatingly wreaked by Christina Light on the leading male figures in the earlier novels, Roderick Hudson and Hyacinth Robinson.

In his Preface James identified his motive for reviving Christina in the need to provide his disadvantaged protagonist with access to the world of privilege, entitlement, and leisure from which his origins have excluded him (*LC2* 1098). But the Princess fitted the bill with particular propriety because, like Hyacinth, she too had been maimed by the circumstances of her illegitimate birth, the dark secret that forced her into a superficially magnificent but deeply resented marriage. On her final appearance in *Roderick Hudson* she had issued this warning: 'You remember that I was in part the world's and the devil's. Now they have taken me all. It was their choice; may they never repent!' Listening to her, the novel's prime witness, Rowland Mallet, recognizes the 'mysterious menace' of this threat, and feels compassion for the Prince as

[92] Hilary J. Beattie, '"The interest of the attraction exercised by the great RLS of those days": Robert Louis Stevenson, Henry James, and the Influence of Friendship', *Journal of Stevenson Studies* 4 (2007), 91–113; 95–6.

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part of the 'world' against which she has launched it (Ch. 24; 2:166).[93] In the violent radical politics with which she associates herself in the novel named after her, we see some of the consequences of this menace played out.

However, it is also the case that she repeats much of the role she played in *Roderick Hudson* in enthralling a sensitive, impressionable, and artistic young man. She strikes again. Roderick is an actual artist in the conventional sense, a gifted sculptor, while Hyacinth, the bookbinder, can only discover his susceptibility to artworks and yearn for the chance to produce them himself. Roderick's friend and patron, Rowland, registers his impression of the personal menace she carries for the young artist, when he reflects 'that she was unsafe; that she was a complex, wilful, passionate creature, who might easily engulph a too confiding spirit in the eddies of her capricious temper. And yet he strongly felt her charm; the eddies had such a strange fascination.' (Ch. 9; I:140) The word 'capricious' clings to her in the later novel. One of Roderick's final expressions of bewilderment also anticipates the terms in which Hyacinth will succumb to her charms: 'Why did I find her standing there like a goddess who had just stepped out of her cloud? Why did I look at her? Before I knew where I was the spell was wrought.' (Ch. 24; II:171) Both men experience her betrayal as lethal. Meanwhile Madame Grandoni offers a shrewd judgment, relatively early on in *Roderick Hudson* (Ch. 10), which provides readers with a clue to Christina's role in both novels, almost as dangerous to herself as to others: 'I think she is an actress, but she believes in her part while she is playing it.' (1:146)

6 Contemporary Reception

First responses in the US to the early instalments in the *AM* were positive. In May 1886 William James reported 'all the people about me saying it is the best thing you've done yet', including their friend in Washington, the prominent statesman and writer John Hay (1838–1905).[94] William did not much like it himself, but the novelist had a staunch, indeed rampant ally in their sister Alice. She pronounced it 'magnificent' and roundly rebuked the elder brother for his 'unaccountable want of having in any way *felt* or *perceived* the "Princesse". I was vehemently indignant for 24 hrs.', she went on, 'but now I shrug my shoulders, the Princesse being one of

[93] References are to the text in the Macmillan Collective Edition of 1883.

[94] *William and Henry James: Selected Letters*, eds. Ignas K. Skrupskelis and Elizabeth M. Berkeley (Charlottesville, VA and London: University of Virginia Press, 1997), p. 180. A good friend of Henry James, Hay was the anonymous author of a popular novel of 1883, *The Bread-winners*, which gives a hostile account of organized labour, including a violent general strike.

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those things apart that one rejoices in keeping & having to one's self'. Not content with shrugging, she pronounced herself 'shocked' at being reminded what a '*bourgeois*' brother she had.[95]

The *Christian Union* welcomed James's apparent return to an earlier more popular mode – 'more animated, brighter and crisper in dialogue, less analytical and discursive'. The *Critic* was also pleasantly surprised, especially after the disappointment of *The Bostonians* ('impossible to read'). Enthusiasm began to wane with the second instalment and the advent of 'certain ominous long paragraphs towards the close', but over the next few months the bulletins in the *Critic* remained generally well disposed, admiring the glittering entrance of the Princess herself, and the novel's dealings with 'very subtle problems'. As serialization drew to a close and first volume publication approached in late October (London) and early November (New York) 1886, 'H.B.' opined that the novel was 'infinitely better reading than "The Portrait of a Lady"'. Two months later the same writer conceded that *The Princess* would not match the popular success of contemporary best-sellers by Walter Besant (*Children of Gibeon*) and John Shorthouse (*Sir Percival*), 'it is too well written for one thing, and for another it is not obvious enough'. But he went on to declare that 'I had rather fail with Mr. Henry James than undergo beatification in company with Mr Shorthouse'.[96]

It is salutary to note the multitude of other novels with which James's perforce rubbed shoulders at the time, most of them now long forgotten, though some of the authors' names still linger, by virtue of fictions better known than these, of the mid-1880s: for example, Eliza Lynn Linton's *Paston Carew, Millionaire and Miser*, Grant Allen's *In All Shades*, Mrs Braddon's *Mohawks*, Shorthouse's *Sir Percival: A Story of the Past and of the Present*, W. E. Norris's *A Bachelor's Blunder*, and Edmund Randolph's *Mostly Fools: A Romance of Civilization*. As noted above, particularly prominent in 1886 were Mallock's *The Old Order Changes*, Besant's *Children of Gibeon* (1886), and Gissing's *Demos* (1886). The *Scottish Review* was the first to notice the curious coincidence of names – Monument, Mutimer, and Muniment – in the 1886 novels by Besant, Gissing, and James, respectively.[97]

[95] Strouse reports that Alice read the novel twice in 1886 and told William's wife how 'magnificent' it was (*Alice James*, p. 281); for Alice's letter to William (24 April 1887), see *The Death and Letters of Alice James*, ed. Ruth Bernard Yeazell (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 126–9; 129.

[96] *Christian Union* 32 (27 August 1885), 20; *Critic* 89 (12 September 1885), 125; *Critic* 101 (5 December 1885), 270; *Critic* 117 (27 March 1886), 157; 'H.B.', *Critic* 145 (9 October 1886), 174; 'H.B.', *Critic* 153 (4 December 1886), 282.

[97] *Scottish Review* 9 (January 1887), 202.

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The American comparisons were naturally different, with prominence given in a generally dispirited review of the year's output to W. D. Howells's *Indian Summer* and *The Minister's Charge*, and novels by Bret Harte, Francis Marion Crawford, Edgar Fawcett, Arthur Hardy, Constance Fenimore Woolson, and many others. James is claimed as an American author; as for England, 'the great novelists have passed away, their places are unfilled', though a slight exception is made for Hardy and Stevenson.[98]

On balance the novel was more warmly received in the US than in Britain, not least because of the perceived difference from its immediate predecessor, *The Bostonians*. The relief expressed by the *Critic*[99] was shared by the *New York Tribune*, which concluded that it was 'strong enough to obliterate the effect of the unfortunate "Bostonians," [. . .] Nobody could read the "Bostonians" without a feeling of resentment against Mr. James. Nobody can read this book without recognizing a rare and brilliant master.' The reviewer went on to enthuse: 'It is one of the novels in which he displays the most complete command of his subject, the most ability in construction, and the clearest purpose with respect to his characters. He always leaves something at loose ends, but here at least the principal threads of the story are properly finished off, and the book leaves his hands a beautiful and symmetrical piece of art upon which he has spent some of his brightest ideas and his most conscientious work.'[100] In similar vein, the *New Englander and Yale Review* noted how sharply James divided readers: 'No man was ever more harshly criticized or more enthusiastically condemned than he.' And yet he attracted 'the admiration of a very intelligent public', in the teeth of critical and popular disdain. But *The Princess* marked a return to his earliest manner, resembling *Roderick Hudson* – 'his first and best novel' – not just in the re-appearance of Christina Light as its title character.[101] There were reviewers in Britain who echoed this enthusiasm, albeit more cautiously. The *Saturday Review* saw in the novel an imperfect success but a huge improvement: 'one *Princess Casamassima*, with all its imperfections, is worth a wilderness of *Washington Squares*'. If only James continued to 'resist the devil of analysis', he might 'command the great general public'.[102]

Still, there were plenty of detractors on both sides of the Atlantic, making their familiar complaints that James gave short shrift to 'story', expended too much time on 'style', and expected too much of his readers. Noting the new

[98] *Literary World* 17 (25 December 1886), 483.
[99] *Critic* 89 (12 September 1886), 125.
[100] *New York Tribune* (14 November 1886), 10.
[101] *New Englander and Yale Review* 10 (April 1887), 397, 398.
[102] *Saturday Review* 62 (27 November 1886), 728.

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phenomenon of 'slumming', the *New York Times* described *The Princess* as 'a sinister romance' and 'a singularly unpleasant one'. James was guilty of his usual 'want of virility' – and procrastination.[103] In the Chicago *Dial* William Morton Payne, for whom James later revised his 1880 essay on Sainte-Beuve to appear in a book called *American Literary Criticism* (1904), compared the novel with William Black's *Sunrise* (1881): if only the virtues of both could have been combined – Black's admirable narrative qualities with James's analytical.[104] In London the *Daily Telegraph* agreed that *The Princess* was deeply tedious: it was 'a task of the utmost labour to penetrate the dreary Sahara of this three-volumed Socialistic novel'. There was nothing to be gained from attending to the career of a 'hare-brained bookbinder [. . .] whose tragic end is a decided relief'.[105] The London *Times* agreed that 'the plot is fearfully stationary', with characters conversing 'as though they were so many psychological specimens engaged in a microscopic examination of each other'.[106] *Punch* lamented the usual absence of a satisfactory ending, for any of the characters: 'Mr. James as usual, runs away from his subject, leaves most of his heroes and heroines in the lurch, and his readers pretty much in the dark. It is his way.'[107]

In the USA the *Critic* had seen the novel, viewed as a whole in retrospect, as a 'definitive farewell to America'. The first work of James's in which no Americans featured, it was 'quite characteristically British in its slang, its diction, its allusions, its evident holding of the eye on the "h'aristocracy"'.[108] From the other side of the Atlantic the *Athenæum* had not disagreed, congratulating the American author on his management of British slang: 'If people did not now and then "feel badly" or "dreadfully," no one would suppose that the story was not the work of a British hand.'[109] But not all British readers were convinced. 'This book is Mr James's first illustration of purely English life', observed Margaret Oliphant, writing for the high Tory, imperialist *Blackwood's*. 'It is remarkable both in its perceptions and its mistakes — a most careful elaborate panorama, full of the finest observation, somehow marred by the fact that the aspects of things thus represented might be

[103] 'A "Slumming Romance"', *New York Times* (21 November 1886), 12.

[104] *Dial* 7 (December 1886), 189. William Black (1841–98) was a highly popular novelist: see note 208. John Sutherland notes that *Sunrise* was 'the most controversial novel of his later period', dealing with 'international socialism and political secret societies' (*The Longman Companion to Victorian Fiction* (Harlow: Longman, 1988), p. 65)

[105] *Daily Telegraph* (18 November 1886), 2.

[106] *Times* (26 November 1886), 13.

[107] 'Socialism in Three Volumes', *Punch* 91 (20 November 1886), 245.

[108] *Critic* 10 (29 January 1887), 52.

[109] *Athenæum* (6 November 1886), 597.

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defined like one of the stories of our childhood, "How it Strikes a Stranger," and that the whole minute and conscientious picture is painted from the outside.'[110] The *Quarterly Review* agreed in viewing the best part of the novel, the first quarter, 'as the work of an American student of London and London ways'.[111] But Mrs Oliphant took a more severe view of the American student's limited perspective. In her opinion, the veneration for rank and birth that James attributes to Hyacinth Robinson, for example, was typically American. 'There is a certain *naïveté* about it which only republican institutions produce. [...] No Englishman could have written this. Mr James [...] is penetrated by the reality of the difference—the something sacred, after all, which lies in the fact of noble blood [...] We are not always thinking of this difference in the old aristocratic countries; but Mr James cannot get it out of his mind.'[112]

A number of reviewers complained about James's decision to tackle such large issues of class inequality and political agitation. Socialist conspiracy had become a popular subject. 'The irrepressible Socialist threatens to be as great a bore in fiction as in politics', yawned the *Dublin Review*. It was surprising to find the 'dainty and deliberate' James being drawn to take anything 'so violent, so vulgar, so destitute of "sweet reasonableness" as Socialism for his subject.'[113] It did not form 'a congenial theme for Mr. James's Muse', lamented the *Athenæum*'s reviewer, who went on to note that almost all the novel's action takes place on Sundays, presumably because 'a London week-day suggests a life too strenuous to be lived by the aimless beings whom Mr. James depicts'.[114]

As for James's 'style', the *Athenæum* continued, it might be adequate for 'gentle satire on human weakness', but 'it fails altogether when it has to deal with the really dark places of human nature'. This reviewer related James's novel to those of the French realists, especially the Flaubert of *L'Education sentimentale*: this had not proved a good model in so far as 'the fragmentary style of the narrative [of *The Princess*] and the constant abrupt changes of scene recall one of the most irritating characteristics of Flaubert's highly unsatisfactory tale'. The *Athenæum* writer also made less explicit comparison with the more admirable models afforded by the great Russians, by Tolstoy, a new translation of whose *War and Peace* – 'grand, massive, colossal' – was included in this review, and above all, by Turgenev.[115] Sharing

[110] *Blackwood's Magazine* 140 (December 1886), 792.
[111] *Quarterly Review* 7 (January 1887), 383.
[112] *Blackwood's Magazine* 140 (December 1886), 788–90.
[113] *Dublin Review* 17 (January 1887), 197–8.
[114] *Athenæum* (6 November 1886), 597.
[115] *Athenæum* (6 November 1886), 596–7.

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as he did the reviewer's admiration for Turgenev (and having too an evident dependency, for his novel's major source), James would have been pained by the implicit judgment on his own work. More openly severe comparison was made by *The Art Amateur* (New York), who concluded that whereas the death of Turgenev's protagonist in *Virgin Soil* was 'a burning and awful reality to us', for Hyacinth Robinson's we just feel a 'gentle pity'.[116]

This same reviewer judged that James had become a '*chercheur de mots*' for their own sake. This was a regular charge against James, that he had fallen prey to what one reviewer called 'the great French literary heresy, that it is of much more consequence how a thing is said than what it is that is said'.[117] There were deeper related complaints, on both side of the Atlantic, about James's lack of moral conviction and the world-view his work portrayed or projected, complaints that ironically echo his own criticism of his French contemporaries. Edward J. Harding in the *Critic*, for example, sees *The Princess* as an example of what he deplores in modern fiction, the so-called 'realism' that dismisses the reader 'with a bitter taste in his mouth'. Such novels are not tragedies in the true sense. Are they not just 'fiascoes'? 'We have enough of real life already […] we are not so deeply enamored of the sordid, the trivial, the futile results of our effort that we insist on finding their "counterfeit presentment" in literature. […] No, the time-honored endings, where the good man reaped his reward and poetic justice was accomplished, were after all the best.'[118]

More sophisticated critiques of James's 'realism' aimed rather at what they saw as his indifference, or as the New York *Independent* named it, 'indifferentism' – 'a profound, heartless indifferentism toward life, death and everything which concerns the human species, bad or good'.[119] Writing in the *Catholic World*, Maurice F. Egan compared James's novels to Mallock's *The Old Order Changes* and Edmund Randolph's *Mostly Fools: A Romance of Civilization*, the last a rare instance in this day and age, so Egan asserts, of a novel written by 'a man of Faith'. The novels have in common that 'the encroachment of "the people" on the lives of the limited and privileged classes is central'. But unlike Mallock and Randolph, James does not 'think deeply on the issues below the surface of society'. On the contrary, 'he seems to think only of what he is writing'. He is an '"impressionist"' and his novel represents an '"impressionist" view'. This is a frequent response to James's writing at the time, where the term 'impressionist' is more usually intended as a slight by

[116] *Art Amateur* 16 (April 1887), 119.
[117] Richard F. Littledale, *Academy* 758 (13 November 1886), 323.
[118] Edward J. Harding, 'Poetic Justice', *Critic* 158 (8 January 1887), 13.
[119] *Independent* 38 (23 December 1886), 11.

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readers adhering to conventional standards than a compliment by those with more progressive artistic values.

Similar charges can be heard from British reviewers: Julia Wedgwood, for example, in the course of a long survey for the earnest liberal *Contemporary Review* of novels that addressed the state of current society, beginning with Mallock's *The Old Order Changes* and Shorthouse's *Sir Percival*. Although the latter is a sore disappointment after the great success of *John Inglesant* (1881), both Mallock and Shorthouse treat the novel as a medium for serious reflection and analysis. Shorthouse's style may be 'stilted and pompous', but there is no mistaking his 'high moral purpose'. She turns with dismay to James's *The Princess* which does not try to make a single reader 'wiser or better'. Indeed, Wedgwood says, 'we can promise the frivolous reader whom we have warned against Mr. Mallock and Mr. Shorthouse, that he may peruse "The Princess Casamassima" from beginning to end without perceiving a glimmer of a conviction or a moral standard'. On the contrary, 'a languid but wakeful curiosity is the atmosphere through which we regard life, death, man, woman and the empty space where God has vanished'.[120]

One of the most astute reviews is by a critic of strong religious convictions for whom James's fiction would always be troubling, R. H. Hutton (1826–97). Not that James had ever thought much of Hutton, whose review of *Roderick Hudson* in 1879 the novelist had considered '*inane*' (*HJL* 2:249).[121] Nevertheless, though Hutton deemed *The Princess* to be 'strange and unsatisfactory […] from every point of view but one', he declared that its author 'has never shown his extraordinary subtlety and strength to greater advantage'. What James loves to draw best, says Hutton, is 'character adrift from all its natural moorings,—character not fitting kindly to its circumstances'. The 'Nihilists', as Hutton calls them, are 'a whole group of characters which are thus adrift', so – contrary to the general consensus that James is out of his proper ground in this novel – they represent 'just the sort of field of which he is prepared to make the best use'. Miss Pynsent he sees as one of the foils to the Nihilists; so too is Millicent Henning. Both characters are warmly appreciated (as they generally were, especially Millicent, even or especially by those who disliked everything else about the novel). And Hutton appreciates the struggle in Hyacinth, who is 'painted with extraordinary power'. Apart from his learning to love the great products of the artistic spirit, 'his mind is as much adrift as to the

[120] *Contemporary Review* 50 (December 1886), 899.

[121] Philip Horne notes the history of Hutton's responses to James, including his disapproval of the ending to *The Portrait of a Lady*, and the suggestive connection he made between James and the poet Arthur Hugh Clough: see 'Clough, James, and *Amours de Voyage*', in *Literary Imagination* 15.1 (2013), 89–108; 102–3.

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true ideal of human life as the minds of all the other persons, not slaves of convention, painted in this book; nor is there one gleam of light that tends to make him think one course rather than another right or wrong'. The Princess similarly has no principles except a principle of revolt against things as they are. They are all adrift, but none more so than Paul Muniment – 'a remarkably vivid picture of a half-educated, strong, passionless, self-reliant, and apparently selfish man'. And yet James gives us no idea of what he is truly motivated by. 'The great blot on the novel is that the novelist does not contrive even to hint which side of the man it was that made him a revolutionist; hardly even to make us feel quite sure that he is one at all except in appearance'. So for James's readers 'Muniment is almost unintelligible—hard, clear, confident, capable, yet in alliance with men who are dreamers of dangerous, sanguinary, and impracticable dreams.' Hutton is unusual at the time in paying Paul Muniment such serious attention.[122] But Hutton's thoughtful review turns more severe at the end as he acknowledges in the author a view of the world so much more disenchanted than his own. He admires James's success in contriving an interest 'out of a story almost without incident, except the incident of the tragic close'. But Hutton concludes: 'With all its extraordinary interest, this sort of novel is the novel of a writer who thinks all the world aimless, and loves to exaggerate that aimlessness in his own descriptions of it. The world is not an easy matter to understand; but we can at least see more of a clue and a plan in the world as it is, than in Mr. Henry James's pictures of it, in which the tangles are made more conspicuous than they are in real life, and the helplessness much more universal.'[123]

The warmest praise and the biggest claims came from readers (and friends) in the USA. The *Literary World* (Boston) declared *The Princess* the strongest work James had done, with 'more flesh and blood in it than one finds in any of his foregoing novels, with the possible exception of *Roderick Hudson*'. As for his style, it might be 'hard and dry, like a deftly executed etching by an artist not wholly in sympathy with his material'. But unlike so many detractors dismayed by the 'indifference' it conveyed, this writer reflected that 'the aim of Mr. James, we may suppose, is to record his impressions of life with as little as possible of modifying sentiments and emotions; his realism, even when most aggressive, is always delicate, and we are all the time conscious that he is not giving us the whole picture, although it by no means follows that this is a source of regret'. The book, the writer insists, is to be read slowly.[124]

[122] For a more recent consideration of Muniment that builds on Hutton's, see Sara Blair, *Henry James and the Writing of Race and Nation* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 105–10.
[123] *Spectator* 3053 (1 January 1887), 14–16.
[124] *Literary World* 18 (8 January 1887), 5.

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For untrammelled admiration, however, pride of place goes to James's friend – some would have muttered 'crony' – William Dean Howells, writing in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. 'We find *no* fault with Mr. Henry James's *Princess Casamassima*: it is a great novel; it is his greatest, and it is incomparably the greatest novel of the year in our language.' 'From first to last we find no weakness in the book; [...] There is an easy breadth of view and a generous scope which recall the best Russian work.' As for the comparisons with lesser mortals like Mallock, invoked by so many other reviewers, Howells was dismissive. Anyone could see 'the difference between the novelist's work and the partisan's work'. As for *The Old Order Changes*, 'No one can read it and deny Mr Mallock's extraordinary cleverness, or its futility.'[125]

Howells attracted some adverse comment for this, but he was not alone in rating *The Princess* so highly. In the August 1887 issue of *Life*, 'Droch' (Robert Bridges, assistant editor of *Scribner's Magazine*) called it 'probably his greatest work', and two years later in September 1889, Robert Timsol in *Lippincott's Monthly* declared that while in general James seemed to be 'all brain and no heart' – he was reviewing the collection of four tales headed by 'A London Life' – *The Princess Casamassima* was an exception. It was 'immeasurably his greatest work, because his interest in poor Hyacinth Robinson led him from mere photographic details and acute analysis into the region of realistic romance'.[126]

Sales of the novel were disappointing, though an improvement on those of *The Bostonians*. In October 1886 Macmillan published 750 copies of the three-volume edition at 31/6 and 3,000 of the one-volume edition at 6/–, followed in May and December 1888 by a yellowback issue (see above, p. XXXVIII), two printings of 2,000 copies each at 2/– (*E&L* 76–7). This total was a good deal less than the average of the earlier novels, and, as Roger Gard points out, massively lower than a best-seller such as Mrs Humphry Ward's 1888 *Robert Elsmere*, which sold well over a million in Britain in its first year of publication, and over half a million in America; even twenty years later a cheap edition could sell 50,000 in two weeks. Meanwhile Thomas Hardy would enjoy steady reprints of his novels right up until his death in 1928, whereas a novel like *The Princess* 'dropped dead two years after publication'. James enjoyed during his lifetime, Gard concludes, 'neither the benefits of the serious best-seller nor those of the steadily emerging classic'.[127]

[125] 'Editor's Study', *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 74 (April 1887), 829; reprinted in Anesko, *Letters, Fictions, Lives*, pp. 263–5.
[126] *Life* 10 (4 August 1887), 62; 'Book-Talk', *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* (September 1889), 433–4.
[127] Roger Gard, *Henry James: The Critical Heritage* (London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968), p. 552. Anesko warns that Gard's data are 'conspicuously incomplete' in that they leave out of account American reprints of earlier successes including *The Portrait of a Lady*, and that 'the widely held impression of his unpopularity may be unduly pessimistic' (*"Friction with the Market"*, p. 242).

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A year after its first publication, James was dismayed to hear from Macmillan quite how poor the sales had been. On 2 January 1888 he confessed to Howells that he was 'still staggering a good deal under the mysterious & (to me) inexplicable injury wrought — apparently — upon my situation by my 2 last novels, the *Bostonians* & the *Princess*, from which I expected so much & derived so little. They have reduced the desire, & the demand, for my productions to zero'. With characteristic resilience, however, he promptly continued: 'However, I don't despair, for I think I am now really in better form for work than I have ever been in my life, & I propose yet to do many things. Very likely too, some day, all my buried prose will kick off its various tombstones at once.' (*LL* 196) Some years later, thanking a reader for her 'genial words' about the novel, he was able to look back with more equanimity at 'that extravagant "Princess" whom I launched upon the public patience, or credulity, & as to whom I've never really known whether she sank or swam'.[128]

Presentation copies of *The Princess* went to some of James's friends. On 10 December 1886 Macmillan told James that a copy had gone to his friend and fellow-novelist Rhoda Broughton, adding mischievously 'I hope it will do her good & improve the style of her next book.' (*HJHM* 128) Of the personal responses to his novel, those of Stevenson will have been particularly important to him. His friendship with Stevenson and his wife Fanny had developed over the time of the novel's writing from its beginnings in Bournemouth in the spring of 1885. Stevenson had been trapped there from July 1884 until his father's death in May 1887. Even before they met in person, he had been urging James to 'cast your characters in a mould a little more abstract [sic: did he mean 'less'?] and academic' – like Mrs Penniman, in *Washington Square* – 'and pitch the incidents, I do not say, in any stronger, but in a slightly more emphatic key — as it were an episode from one of the old (so-called) novels of adventure'.[129] He foresaw that James would never embrace such advice, yet *The Princess* bears some marks of the yearning for emphatic incidents, for 'romance' and 'adventure', that Stevenson's own fiction more uninhibitedly indulged. James would be there with a case of champagne at the London docks to see the Stevensons off to America on 21 August 1887 – not knowing that he would never again see 'the great R.L.S. of those days' (as he called him on his own death-bed) (*HJL* 4:812).

Stevenson's admiration for *Roderick Hudson* and distaste for *The Portrait of a Lady* puzzled their author, but he will have been gratified by the encouragement

[128] Unpublished, undated letter to Miss Tuckerman, on Lamb House paper: MS fragment Morgan.1. I am indebted to Philip Horne for this.
[129] *Letters*, vol. 5, p. 43.

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he received about *The Princess* as it came out in instalments, and then in volume form. On 28 October 1885, Stevenson praised the first two numbers:

> Well, I think you are going to do it this time; I cannot of course foresee but these two first numbers seem to me picturesque and sound and full of lineament, and very much a new departure. As for your young lady [Millicent], she is all there; yes, sir, you can do low life I believe. The prison was excellent; it was of that nature of touch that I sometimes achingly miss from your former work; with some of the grime, that is, and some of the emphasis of skeleton there is in nature. I pray you to take grime in a good sense; it need not be ignoble: dirt may have dignity; in nature it usually has; and your prison was imposing.[130]

Shortly after sending off the final instalment of the novel to Aldrich on 7 July 1886, James went down to visit Stevenson in Bournemouth, where he had started it over a year before, and a few days later was proposing to the editor of the *Century* magazine, Robert Underwood Johnson, to write the appreciative essay on Stevenson that would appear in April 1888 (*LL* 186). The following month Stevenson told James, of the twelfth instalment (for August 1886), that 'This number brightens up again like anything; and Hyacinth and the Prince are Ex-qui-site, Sir, exquisite.'[131] James was gratified to hear it: 'That the last part should cause you to palpitate was more than I had hoped — I feared that virtue had gone out of it.' (*LL* 186) The following year, having escaped to the Adirondacks, Stevenson told James that he was reading *Roderick Hudson* to his family round the fireside ('very spirited, and very sound, and very noble too'), and would 'reread *Casamassima* as a proper pendant. Sir, I think these two are your best; and care not who knows it.'[132] Though it would be harder to prove Stevenson's presence as a source or influence in the composition of *The Princess* than that of other writers, Stevenson was, for James, a significant *reader* of this novel, along with other longer-standing intimate figures in his personal life, such as his brother William and sister Alice. Stevenson's admiration will have been all the more precious amid the generally mixed reception of the novel by reviewers in print.

James's novel was being read close to the centres of political power and influence, by Mary Drew, née Gladstone (1847–1927), daughter of William Ewart Gladstone (1809–98). Mary's father had served the second of his four terms as Prime Minister (1880–5) throughout the time James was writing the novel and had only just been ousted from his third term in 1886 when his first Irish Home Rule Bill was defeated. James had met the great Liberal statesman in 1877 at dinner

[130] *Letters*, vol. 5, pp. 143–4.
[131] *Letters*, vol. 5, p. 296.
[132] *Letters*, vol. 5, pp. 143–4, 296; vol. 6, p. 61.

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with Lord Houghton (Richard Monckton Milnes), and been vividly impressed – 'his urbanity extreme—his eye that of a man of genius' (*LL* 80) – though he had prematurely supposed his career was over. Ten years later Gladstone's daughter was reading James's novel and confiding this verdict to her diary:

> Read Henry James's Pss Casamassima, an extraordinary but unsatisfactory novel, amazingly clever, unnatural + impossible, starting a hundred problems without answering them, + taking one along paths that never end, full of forced enigmatical disagreeable characters, but worth reading.[133]

This captures much of the ambivalence with which the novel was greeted, even by many of James's admirers.

This was certainly the case with 'Vernon Lee', pen-name of Violet Paget (1856–1935). James's relationship with her was uneasy. He had been discomforted by the novel she dedicated to him, *Miss Brown* (1884), calling it in private 'a rather deplorable mistake' (*HJL* 3:61), describing her as '[m]y poor clever, tactless and tasteless (intellectually) friend' (*HJL* 3:159) and 'disputatious and paradoxical, but a really superior talker' (*HJL* 3:181).[134] He was moved to indignation when he discovered that she had satirized him in a story, 'Lady Tal', a 'particularly impudent and blackguardly sort of thing to do to a friend' (*HJL* 3:402).

In fact James, or at least his novel *The Princess Casamassima*, also features in one of the two other tales collected in this volume, *Vanitas* (1892).[135] In 'A Worldly Woman', Leonard Greenleaf re-reads *The Princess* while staying at a country house, where he is attracted to the daughter of the family, Val Flodden. The young man takes the relationship between Hyacinth and the Princess as a model for his own with Val, though his social superiority to James's character is blatant and her likeness to the Princess is slim. He wants to read Val as an idle frivolous woman to justify his inclination to reject her, but she ripostes by defending the Princess as a clever bored inquisitive woman. In so far as she identifies with James's character, Val says that of course she would not have cared for 'that wretched little morbid bookbinding boy', nor for 'that chemist' [Paul Muniment], nor for 'that Captain Sholto'. But, she says, 'after all, they talked very well; about interesting things—real, important things—didn't they?' This is the nub of it. Val sounds

[133] Mary Gladstone, entry for 2 February 1887, Diary (10 December 1885–15 February 1893), Mary Gladstone Papers, Add Mss 46262, 44r. The British Library. I am grateful to Phyllis Weliver for bringing this to my attention, and for her transcription.

[134] Nevertheless Tilley suggests that Lee's Anne Brown may have contributed something to James's Millicent Henning, *Background*, pp. 34–6.

[135] See Vineta Colby, *Vernon Lee: A Literary Biography* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia Press, 2003), pp. 192–3.

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more like James's Lady Aurora when she complains sadly about living 'for years among people who talk nothing but gossip and rot'. Greenleaf abandons her, as Winterbourne abandons Daisy Miller. But when they meet again, ten years later, Val tells him he was mistaken: 'I was not a Princess Casamassima, I was not a humbug then, saying things and getting you to say them for the sake of novelty. And I'm not really changed since. I wasn't a worthless woman then, and I haven't really become a worthless woman now.' (Ch. 9)[136]

The striking thing about Lee's use and abuse of the analogies with James's novel is the power-dynamic at work, both within her tale and in her relations with James. Lee's male figure identifies with Hyacinth's vulnerability and projects his fears on to a 'dangerous woman', whereas Val sees herself as the endangered one, more like the Christina Light of *Roderick Hudson*. Lee is exposing some of the contradictions bound up in James's fictional figure, Christina/The Princess, and dramatizing some of her feelings about her own relationship with James – feelings more notoriously expressed in 'Lady Tal'. It is notable then how James's instinctive response to *her* turns her into a femme fatale: 'she is as dangerous and uncaring as she is intelligent', he warned brother William in 1893: 'She's a tiger-cat!' (*HJL* 3:402).[137]

7 Critical History

For the sixty years following its first publication *The Princess* receded from view. When an Irish journalist in 1900 thought about the differences between 'the Terrorists of Russia' in the 1880s and 'European anarchy' twenty years later, he remembered James's novel, along with William Black's *Sunrise*,[138] but summary reviews of James's career around the turn of the century paid little attention to it. The most further notice it received during James's lifetime was from the author himself, when he revised it for the *New York Edition* and composed the important Preface (see Appendix, pp. 830–41).

As noted already (p. LIII), James makes much of the novel's origins in his memories of walking the streets of London, and of the way his central character 'sprang up for me out of the London pavement'. And as we shall see from the history of critical responses to the novel, there is a good deal of room for considering the

[136] More recently Sara Blair has offered a complex and sympathetic reading of the Princess that Vernon Lee might have found congenial, '"Under the Influence of Women": The Female Naturalist and the Fate of the Literary', in *James and the Writing of Race and Nation*, pp. 111–22.

[137] See Carl J. Weber, 'Henry James and His Tiger-Cat', *PMLA* 68.4 (1953), 672–87, and Burdett Gardner, 'An Apology for Henry James's "Tiger-Cat"', *PMLA* 68.4 (1953), 688–95.

[138] Charles Johnston, 'Nihilism and Anarchy', *North American Review* 171 (September 1900), 303.

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likeness and difference between the author and his protagonist, 'little Hyacinth' (see pp. xc–xci). Or, to shift from the biographical perspective to the technical, between the third-person narrator and the 'consciousness' of the main character, one that James suggestively describes as 'both overt and covert' (p. 840). What does it mean to be 'conscious', and to endow a fictional creature with 'consciousness'? It is something more than a matter of mere intelligence; rather, James proposes, in a rich if enigmatic phrase, it involves 'the power to be finely aware and richly responsible' (p. 831). The Preface is largely concerned with the challenge of creating a character sufficiently conscious of the world around him to engage our sympathies without being 'too *interpretative* of the muddle of fate, or in other words too divinely, too priggishly clever' (p. 832). Hence the value, for James, of 'bewilderment'. As for the other extreme, we cannot be expected to take an interest, he claims, in 'the stupid, the coarse and the blind' (p. 831). The writer of this Preface is almost exclusively concerned with his protagonist Hyacinth, and to a lesser extent with the Princess. There is no mention of Pinnie, Millicent, Mr Vetch, the Poupins, the Muniments, Lady Aurora, Captain Sholto and so on, who are distinguished from Hyacinth as '[p]ersons of markedly limited sense' (p. 831).

The fascination of the Preface consists in James's effort to re-describe the novel he wrote twenty years earlier in terms of the restrictions, the increased concentration and control that characterize his later fiction. Like his other most memorable critical writings, this Preface represents a dramatic experience, both for writer and reader. One minute James thinks of London as a garden; in the next sentence it has turned into a jungle. In the essay he wrote in 1884, shortly before embarking on the novel, 'The Art of Fiction', James had pleaded for the artist's absolute liberty in the face of 'all particles of the multitudinous life with which the novel deals' (*LC1* 60). But what if the multitudinousness – of London, of other people, of all the impressions, feelings and desires that can assail one's 'consciousness' – were simply too much to bear in its weight, its complexity, its contradictions? It is symptomatic that the only time the word 'multitudinous' occurs in the novel, it is associated with the character most readily at home in this world, Millicent Henning, with her 'multitudinous silver bracelets' (p. 426).

As for the author of the Preface, he ends on a note of precarious defiance, the claim that if you are 'armed' with 'the sense of life and the penetrating imagination [...] you are not really helpless, not without your resource before mysteries abysmal'. James is fond of the word 'penetrating' but one wonders here what force it carries. His imagination often hovers between the defensive and the offensive, or blurs the difference between them. The conclusion of this Preface epitomizes a dramatic ordeal focused in the novel on the 'tormented' Hyacinth, and repeated at a distance by his more resourceful creator. In the Preface to a later volume (XI)

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James saw Hyacinth foreshadowing the protagonists of the three shorter fictions lodged there, *What Maisie Knew*, *The Pupil*, and *In the Cage*. He particularly associated him with Morgan Moreen of *The Pupil*, who 'breaks down' like Hyacinth, and unlike the 'maidens' of the other two fictions, Maisie and the unnamed telegraphist. James remembers poor Hyacinth as 'tainted to the core […] with the trick of mental reaction', collapsing 'like a thief at night, overcharged with treasures of reflexion and spoils of passion of which he can give, in his poverty and obscurity, no honest account' (*LC2* 1170).

For the small band of admirers of the next generation and the custodians of the sacred flame the novel proved of little interest. Ezra Pound dismissed it as simply an 'inferior continuation of *Roderick Hudson*'.[139] The renewal of interest in *The Princess Casamassima* belongs with the more general revival of James's reputation in the 1940s, when it took on a particular resonance for readers, writers, and intellectuals in the US who had lived through the social unrest of the 1930s and the political responses to it. Novelists such as Ralph Ellison (1913–94) and James Baldwin (1924–87) saw in James something very different from the effete anglophilia of which he had stood accused by many of his compatriots from the moment he 'abandoned' his native land. On the contrary, James could seem like an ally in his critique of certain dominant American attitudes or psychological formations. In a late interview, shortly before his death, Baldwin invoked *The Princess*, along with *The Ambassadors* and *The Portrait of a Lady*, as examples of James's interest in 'a certain inability (like a frozen place somewhere), a certain inability to perceive the reality of others'. This inability is concentrated in the Princess, Baldwin proposes, for whom Hyacinth is never 'a real person'. He is rather 'an opportunity for her to discharge a certain kind of rage, a certain kind of anguish, a certain kind of bitterness about why she's become the Princess Casamassima who had been Christina Light. And she makes Hyacinth, in a sense, pay for the journey she's not been able to pay for. It seems to me', Baldwin concluded, 'that the Americans—unluckily for them—always have had a receptacle for their troubles, someone or something to pay their dues for them.'[140]

For thirty years or so from about 1940 onwards, Michaela Bronstein has demonstrated, '*The Princess* found its audience, amongst intellectuals white and black; suddenly, it was not just another minor James novel, but one of the key

[139] Ezra Pound, 'In Explanation; Brief Note; A Shake Down', *Little Review* 5.4 (1918), 29.

[140] David Adams Leeming, 'An Interview with James Baldwin on Henry James', *Henry James Review* 8.1 (1986), 47–56; 49–50. See further, for Baldwin and James, Charles Newman, 'The Lesson of the Master: Henry James and James Baldwin', in Harold Bloom (ed.), *Modern Critical Views: James Baldwin* (New York: Chelsea House, 1986), pp. 45–57; and Lyall H. Powers, 'Henry James and James Baldwin: The Complex Figure', *Modern Fiction Studies* 30 (1984), 651–67.

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achievements of James's career.' In 1955 an interview with Ellison started off with a comparison between his 1952 novel *Invisible Man* and James's *Princess*; in 1964 Baldwin cited *The Princess* as one of the ten novels that helped him to 'break out of the ghetto'.[141] As for thoughts about the novelist's craft, Bronstein reports that Ellison possessed a copy of James's Prefaces (collected in R. P. Blackmur's *The Art of the Novel* (1934)) that he heavily annotated, not least the Preface to *The Princess*.[142] Considering the novel's significance more broadly, Bronstein proposes that '*The Princess Casamassima* was one of a group of novels that suddenly hummed with political significance in the context of US radical politics: novels of what I'll call utopian crime, violent acts committed on the assumption that they will be justified by the future.'[143]

A particular significance attaches to the appearance in 1948 of an essay by Lionel Trilling (1905–75) that introduced a reissue of the novel and featured again in an influential volume of 1950, itself much reprinted.[144] This essay has served as a point of reference and departure for much of the novel's subsequent critical readings. Trilling attributed to *The Princess* a classic status that had been unappreciated by readers until the horrors of the twentieth century had revealed its prescience: 'It is a novel which has at its very centre the assumption that Europe has reached the full of its ripeness and is passing over into rottenness, [...] that it may meet its end by violence and that this is not wholly unjust, although never before has the old sinful continent made so proud and pathetic an assault upon our affections.' (p. 71) *The Princess* belonged to a great line of nineteenth-century novels centred on 'the Young Man from the Provinces', whose story 'has its roots both in legend and in the very heart of modern actuality' (p. 74). Trilling emphasizes the 'romantic' element that so many first readers had missed, the primitive, legendary, magical, dream-like sources associated with the orphaned child. More importantly, it was a vision of the future. Trilling retrieves a phrase that Rebecca West had used of the novel back in 1916 when she described it scornfully as a 'mad dream'. For the nightmare had proved all too true: 'Henry James in the eighties understood what we have painfully learned from our grim glossary of wars and concentration camps, after having seen the state and human nature laid open to our horrified inspection.'[145]

[141] Michaela Bronstein, '*The Princess* Among the Polemicists: Aesthetics and Protest at Midcentury', *American Literary History* 29.1 (2017), 26–49; 26, 27.
[142] Bronstein, '*The Princess* Among the Polemicists', 33–4.
[143] Bronstein, '*The Princess* Among the Polemicists', 27.
[144] '*The Princess Casamassima*: An Introductory Essay', *Horizon* 17 (April 1948), 267–95. Re-printed in reissue of Macmillan issue of novel, and in *The Liberal Imagination: Essays on Literature and Society* (New York: Viking Press, 1950), pp. 58–92; page references here are to this last.
[145] Trilling, '*The Princess Casamassima*', pp. 71, 74, 71.

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The 'romance' Trilling saw as underpinned by the 'realism'. So far from channelling exaggerated contemporary fears about political conspiracy, James had been giving 'a very accurate account of anarchism', the movement headed by Marx's opponent Bakunin and formally ostracized at the meeting of the First International in the Hague in 1872. It was illuminated by celebrities such as Nechayev, Kropotkin, Carlo Tresca, and the figure whom James may well have had in mind as a model for his fictional Hoffendahl, Johann Most (see above, p. XLV). Trilling's certainty that 'anarchism' was the right name for the shifting set of political mottoes and movements of the 1880s had not been shared by James's first readers and critics. The term only occurs once in the novel itself, where it is paired with the alternative 'nihilist' (see note 265). Bronstein points out that 'socialist' was the word preferred by contemporary reviewers, and that this confusion continues among critics today. Even more contentiously, Trilling claims that in his portrayal of the malcontents who meet at the Sun and Moon James was representing 'with complete accuracy the political development of a large part of the working class of England at the beginning of the eighties'. The novel was distinguished by 'the social accuracy of James's political detail *at every point*' (emphasis added).[146] Much subsequent critical writing on the novel has sought to dispute this or to re-define the terms on which the claim is made about 'What Henry James Knew'.[147]

Another perspective established by Trilling that has proved influential on subsequent readings of the novel focuses on James's own investment in it, the way it represents what Trilling describes as a search for 'lost protective love' and the 'fantasy of a child and his family'.[148] He also contends that James is continuing, through his portrayal of Hyacinth, an unending dispute with his brother William (and to a lesser extent, his sister Alice) about the conflicting claims of art and moral action. Drawing on his own deep interest in Freud, especially the later writings epitomized by *Civilisation and its Discontents*, Trilling proposes that this conflict is rooted in a sense of the irreparable guilt in 'civilization' itself. His essay concludes with a

[146] Trilling, '*The Princess Casamassima*', pp. 79, 81, 84.

[147] For a prompt and vigorous riposte to Trilling, see George Woodcock, 'Henry James and the Conspirators', *Sewanee Review* 60.2 (1952), 219–29. Defenders of James have claimed less for his representation of historical actualities than for his staging of the stories, anxieties, prejudices, and desires circulating in his first readers' minds at the time, not least through what we would now call the mainstream media: see the discussion above, pp. XL–XLII, and items in the Bibliography by Tilley, Rowe, Blair, Litvak, Scanlan, Puckett, and Shpayer-Makov.

[148] Trilling, '*The Princess Casamassima*', p. 86. See for example on the re-enactment of Hyacinth's loss of his mother in the 'betrayal' by his 'mother-substitutes', the Princess and Millicent, M. D. Faber, 'Henry James: Revolutionary Involvement, the Princess, and the Hero', *American Imago* 37 (1980), 245–77; 262.

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remarkable section that speaks of the 'moral realism' in James's ideal paternal love for his characters, including Rosy Muniment and Millicent Henning, but above all Paul Muniment and the Princess, in whom he sees a peculiarly modern form of 'charisma'. Their significance could scarcely have been detected by the novel's first readers, whereas 'today' we can say that 'they and their relationship constitute one of the most masterly comments on modern life that has ever been made'.[149]

The novel gathered more attention in the 1950s. There was an extensive survey of critical interpretations by Oscar Cargill that noted the debt to Dickens, and to *Hamlet*, concluding that, like Turgenev's protagonists, Hyacinth is 'pitiable and small' and yet simultaneously 'tragic' like Shakespeare's.[150] Another reissue with an introduction by Clinton F. Oliver gave the novel further currency.[151] More significant for subsequent critical interpretations was the essay by Irving Howe that qualified Trilling's admiration and explored the novel's strengths and weaknesses when considered as a 'political novel'.[152] Howe anticipates many of the complex judgments for which later critics have striven, on James's conservatism, on his 'deep distrust, indeed [...] professional refusal, of abstract ideas', on the claims he makes in his Preface for the value of 'not knowing, but only guessing and suspecting and trying to ignore', on the novel's technical difficulty in weaving together three main lines of action, on its prophetic success with the Princess herself and the danger of underestimating 'the explosive power of boredom in modern society', on the disappointing sketchiness of Paul Muniment ('more contour than substance'), on the weakness and strength in the portrayal of Hyacinth himself, a youth 'on whom nothing is lost', in James's own words, but also one 'on whom nothing rubs off', in Howe's.[153] As for the conflict between culture and politics, or beauty and necessity, Howe responds firmly to Trilling that if bad things can lie behind abstract political ideals, 'something equally bad' may exist behind the ideals of art to which Hyacinth ends up pledging himself: 'Culture, no less than politics,' Howe concludes, 'can harden into ideology.'[154]

Since the 1950s there have been further important critiques of Trilling. Jonathan Freedman has argued that Trilling 'retrospectively reconstructs James as a proleptic

[149] Trilling, '*The Princess Casamassima*', pp. 95–101; 98.
[150] '*The Princess Casamassima*: A Critical Re-appraisal', *PMLA* 71 (1956), 97–117.
[151] Clinton F. Oliver, introduction *The Princess Casamassima*, Torchbook edition (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), pp. 5–22.
[152] Irving Howe, 'Henry James: The Political Vocation', in *Politics and the Novel* (New York: Horizon Press, 1957), pp. 139–58.
[153] Howe, *Politics and the Novel*, pp. 139, 141, 142–4, 148–9, 152.
[154] Howe, *Politics and the Novel*, p. 154.

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version of himself', and Mark Krupnick sees Trilling using Hyacinth's story 'to forge his autobiographical myth. Hyacinth becomes a version of Trilling's own idealized self as a hero of culture'.[155] As Ross Posnock and others point out, Trilling could be thought to have read the novel 'as a political allegory in which an Arnoldian apostle of high culture is sacrificed to the machinations of Stalinist fellow travelers'. Trilling and his fellow-intellectuals were 'drawn to art as a haven of formal beauty and internal complexity free of the vulgarity of politics'. And yet, Posnock insists, Trilling himself 'was hardly content with this idealism; he never stopped pondering how art and politics were entangled, even as he sought to release art from this burden'.[156]

James's own entanglement with Hyacinth has been the focus of much debate. Following Edel, Anesko emphasizes the extent to which James, at this crucial juncture of his career, was caught between the demands of art and the marketplace, or beauty and necessity, in ways that are echoed by Hyacinth's dilemma.[157] Many critics have fastened on the account James gives in his *NYE* Preface of his protagonist springing up 'out of the London pavement' (see Appendix, p. 830). If this suggests a strong biographical affiliation, then apologists for the novel contest Howe's judgment that James's identification with Hyacinth is 'disastrous',[158] and seek to dissociate the author from his character. Some go so far as to argue that James is intent on exposing the way that Hyacinth turns his life into allegory: 'he constructs his self by internalizing the mythic romances of the popular press to which he was addicted as a child.'[159] Noting the exactly contemporaneous appearance in 1886 of Stevenson's Jekyll and Hyde, Mark McGurl contends that Hyacinth is 'a sort of alter-ego of James himself, his abjected, excluded lower-class self, with all the complexity of identification and repulsion that relation implies'.[160] Others have seen James staging through his protagonist a troubling (and exciting) fantasy about sexual ambivalence. Joseph Litvak, for example, asks of Hyacinth: 'is he in love

[155] Jonathan Freedman, 'Trilling, James, and the Uses of Cultural Criticism', *Henry James Review* 14.2 (1993), 141–50; 148; Mark Krupnick, *Lionel Trilling and the Fate of Cultural Criticism* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1986), p. 71.

[156] Ross Posnock, '"On a Certain Blindness": Henry James and the Politics of Cultural Response', in *The Trial of Curiosity: Henry James, William James, and the Challenge of Modernity* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 54–79; 67, 68.

[157] Anesko, *"Friction with the Market"*, pp. 108–18.

[158] Howe, *The Political Novel*, p. 152.

[159] Posnock, *Trial of Curiosity*, p. 67.

[160] Mark McGurl, 'Social Geometries: Taking Place in Henry James', *Representations* 68 (Autumn 1999), 59–83; 80.

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with, say the Princess Casamassima and Millicent Henning or with, say, Captain Sholto and Paul Muniment?'[161]

Litvak's question emerges from a complex consideration of 'theatricality' in James (and other major nineteenth-century English novelists), and this has provided another main focus for debate on the novel, starting from the role played by melodrama. From James's time onwards, 'melodrama' has been used mainly as a term of denigration, at least within intellectual or academic circles. And some readers and critics have seen in James's wielding of melodramatic scenes, especially his endings, a deplorable surrender to popular convention. In his already-cited influential study of 1976, however, Peter Brooks proposed the centrality of melodrama to James (as to Balzac), as a positive enduring commitment, though he argued that its emphasis changed as his career developed. Strong violent actions such as we might expect to see on stage provide a correlative to the inner drama of consciousness, but as James went on we find this inner drama increasingly 'reflecting upon and charging the outer action'. *The Princess* and its immediate predecessor *The Bostonians* exemplify a mid-point in this balance, between outer and inner 'actions'. As for James's decision not to treat the hidden depths of the political conspiracy and the social unrest that gives rise to it, but 'to present it only through the charge it gives to the surface, the way it is reflected in the individual consciousness', Brooks argues, this 'determines the metaphorical quality of the novel's melodrama'.[162]

Others have followed Brooks in seeking to understand the role played by melodrama, both for James's characters and their author. Sarah Cole notes that Hyacinth's whole story 'carries all the hallmarks of Victorian melodrama, from his lowly origins as the son of a wronged woman who dies in prison [. . .] to his idealistic and futile love for the Princess'. At the same time she argues that when Hyacinth turns the gun on himself, he 'completes a process that the novel had been evolving all along: the occlusion of political violence by melodrama'. The novel shows 'just how inexorably anarchist violence merges into the melodramatic'.[163]

Finally, one should return to what was arguably James's own point of departure in 1885 as he pondered his relations with the leading proponents of 'realism', broadly conceived, in the literary traditions to which he owed allegiance – English, American, and French. Much critical discussion has been devoted to the position

[161] Joseph Litvak, *Caught in the Act: Theatricality in the Nineteenth-Century English Novel* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992), p. 237.

[162] Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1976), p. 173.

[163] Cole, *At the Violet Hour*, pp. 107–8.

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of 'naturalism' in his writing practice. How far does this novel accept the deterministic claims made by naturalism and how far does it resist them in the interest of human choice and agency? How deep does James's identification with naturalism go, in particular with naturalist notions of type? How much force do 'origins' carry?[164]

Not that 'naturalism' exhausts the wider range of possibilities covered by 'realism', around which much argument has also revolved. Taylor Stoehr asks some searching questions about the kind of 'realism' to which James's novel is committed, when read alongside classic fictions by Flaubert, Dostoevsky, Turgenev, and Conrad, in 'a conservative tradition that tests the claims of political life against those of the artistic'.[165] The adversarial relationship between 'realism' and the 'romance' to which James himself was prone to oppose it has attracted much attention. Roslyn Jolly, for example, judges *The Princess* to be 'the bleakest of anti-romances, epitomizing the obsession of James's early novels with the defeat of the imagination'.[166]

But if realism is a term for the exposure of illusions, it can also generate a new romance of its own in the 'desire to establish the authority of an invisible but omniscient gaze'. Thus John Carlos Rowe, describing an important reading of the novel by Mark Seltzer: 'The extreme form of such a determining vision would be the implicit comprehension of man's social and natural situation in the naturalist novel, with its encyclopedic aims of the sort memorialized in Zola's *Rougon-Macquart* series.'[167] Adapting a phrase from James's own *The American Scene*, Seltzer argues that there is 'a "criminal continuity" between the techniques of representation that the novelist devises and the technologies of power that his fiction ostensibly censors and disavows'. Drawing on Foucault's theories about the

[164] See Blair, for example, '"Every Established Law of Nature": Race, Determination, and Self-Determination', in *James and the Writing of Race and Nation*, pp. 93–8.

[165] Stoehr, 'Words and Deeds in *The Princess Casamassima*', 95–135. Stoehr compares this tradition with the very different kind of social realism espoused by overtly polemical contemporary fictions such as John Hay's *The Bread-winners* (1883), Ignatius Donnelly's *Caesar's Column* (1891) or John Henry Mackay's *The Anarchists*, trans. George Schumann (1891). He also points to Richard Henry Savage's pot-boiler *The Anarchist* (1894), which shows evidence of a debt to James for its 'international theme' (97, 112–16).

[166] Jolly, *Henry James: History, Narrative, Fiction*, pp. 56–69; 69.

[167] John Carlos Rowe, 'Social Values: The Marxist Critique of Modernism and *The Princess Casamassima*', in *The Theoretical Dimensions of Henry James* (Madison, WI, and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), pp. 147–88; 161, citing Mark Seltzer, '*The Princess Casamassima*: Realism and the Fantasy of Surveillance', in *Henry James & The Art of Power* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1984), pp. 25–58.

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forms taken by penal discipline in the nineteenth century and the associated culture of 'surveillance', Seltzer emphasizes the symbolic centrality to James's novel of the prison and the theatre, and its overriding concern with the conjunction between seeing and power. He situates it in a nexus of late nineteenth-century anxieties about the London underworld, spy mania, and secret societies. How far, he asks, does the novel's mode of realist representation resist or collaborate with the oppressive authority of the social system it depicts? Does it seek to expose and demystify 'the realist mania for surveillance', or does it ultimately endorse 'a criminal continuity between the techniques of the novel and the social technologies of power that inhere in these techniques'?[168]

Key critical questions then depend on the extent to which James's novel effects its own critique of the desire for omniscient vision. Denis Flannery, for example, argues that 'James reinforces the futility of methods of observation or representation that make claims to absolute finality. This is made possible by his exploitation of the novel as a form of illusionist art, itself capable of embodying and enacting critiques of the efficacy and consequences of illusion'. *The Princess*, Flannery concludes, on a note that by the early years of the twenty-first century had gathered a large degree of consensus, is 'a novel as self-conscious as it is realistic'.[169]

It may be appropriate then to find it featuring in a work by one of the most overtly self-conscious of contemporary American novelists. Near the start of Thomas Pynchon's *Against the Day* (2007), we find a dog named Pugnax reading a book. Someone asks him what he's reading. 'Rr Rff-rff Rr-rr-*rff*-rrf-rrf', replies Pugnax. Ah, of course – his (human) colleagues readily understand him – it's *The Princess Casamassima*. James's novel turns out to be one of many with which Pynchon's gigantic fiction will play.[170]

Contemporary Reception of *The Princess Casamassima*

This is as inclusive a selection as possible of reviews and significant critical commentary from the time of the novel's publication up until James's death in 1916. Many reviews are reprinted, as noted, in Roger Gard (ed.), *Henry James: Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968); and in Kevin J. Hayes (ed.), *Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews* (Cambridge University Press, 1996); hereafter Gard and Hayes, respectively.

[168] Seltzer, *James and the Art of Power*, pp. 13–58; 14, 57.
[169] Denis Flannery, 'Illusion and the Critique of Realism', in *Henry James: A Certain Illusion* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 84–108; 86–7.
[170] I am grateful to Mitch Bibby for calling my attention to Pynchon's novel.

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All reviews listed below are unsigned unless otherwise noted.

Christian Union [New York] 32 (27 August 1885), 20.
Saturday Review [London] (29 August 1885), 305.
Nassau Literary Magazine 41 (September 1885), 147.
Boston Daily Globe (3 September 1885), 3.
Critic [New York] 89 (12 September 1885), 125.
Critic [New York] 93 (10 October 1885), 173.
Critic [New York] 101 (5 December 1885), 270.
Boston Evening Transcript (3 November 1886), 6.
Athenæum [London] 3080 (6 November 1886), 596–7; in Hayes 175–6.
Boston Beacon (6 November 1886), 3.
Littledale, Richard F., *Academy* [London] 758 (13 November 1886), 323; partly reprinted in James W. Gargano (ed.), *Critical Essays on Henry James: The Early Novels* (Boston, MA: G. K. Hall, 1987), pp. 62–3.
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Charleston News and Courier (14 November 1886), 5.
'Christina Light's Career: Henry James's New Novel', *New York Tribune* (14 November 1886), 10.
Baltimore Sun (18 November 1886), p. 5.
Daily Telegraph [London] (18 November 1886), 2; in Hayes 176–7.
'H. B.', 'London Letter', *Critic* [New York] 151 (20 November 1886), 252–3; in Gard 179 [wrongly attributed to December 1886].
'Socialism in Three Volumes', *Punch* [London] 91 (20 November 1886), 245; in Hayes 177–8.
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Times [London] (26 November 1886), 13; in Hayes 181–2.
Saturday Review [London] 62 (27 November 1886), 728–9; in Hayes 182–4.
Detroit Evening News (28 November 1886), 2.
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St Louis Missouri Republican (18 December 1886), 10.
Albany Evening Journal (23 December 1886), 3.
Independent [New York] 38 (23 December 1886), 11; in Hayes 185.
Literary World [Boston] 17 (25 December 1886), 483.
'A Chat about New Books', *Catholic World* [New York] 44 (January 1887), 554–9.
Dublin Review 17 (January 1887), 197–8.
Quarterly Review [London] (January 1887), 383.
Scottish Review [Edinburgh] 9 (January 1887), 202; in Hayes 185–6.
Westminster Review 127 (January 1887), 264–5.
[R. H. Hutton], *Spectator* [London] 3053 (1 January 1887), 14–16; in Gard 175–8 and Hayes 186–9.
Harding, Edward J., 'Poetic Justice', *Critic* 158 (8 January 1887), 13.
Literary World [Boston] 18 (8 January 1887), 5; in Hayes 189–90.
Critic [New York] 161 (29 January 1887), 51–2; in Hayes 190–1.
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New York Evangelist 58 (17 March 1887), 1.
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Howells, William Dean, 'Editor's Study', *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* [New York] 74 (April 1887), 829; in Hayes 193–4.
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'Droch' [Robert Bridges], *Life* [New York] 10 (4 August 1887), 62.
Timsol, Robert, 'Book-Talk', *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* [Philadelphia] (September 1889), 433–4.

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TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION

The choice of copy text for this edition is the first edition published in London in three volumes on 22 October 1886 by Macmillan, in a printing run of 750 copies. That same month Macmillan printed a one-volume edition of 3,000 copies, published in New York on 2 November 1886 (the first Macmillan office in the US had been opened by George Edward Brett in 1869), and in London the following August 1887 (E&L 75–6). For a detailed explanation of the genesis and publication history of the novel, see the opening pages of the Introduction (pp. xxv–xxxix).

The Princess Casamassima is one of James's few fictions for which a holograph manuscript is known to have survived (hereafter *MS*: see Figure 1 for its opening page). The others are *Confidence*, *The Europeans*, and a number of tales (for details see Supino 390–3). A substantial proportion of the manuscript James produced for serialization in the *AM* was presented to Harvard by the T. B. Aldrich Memorial Trustees and is lodged along with other papers of Aldrich's in the Houghton Library, Harvard (MS Am 1237.5.1). Chapters 1–36 and 39–40 are contained in five bound volumes. The *MS* of Chapter 38 (74 'slips') is housed in a separate box folder; it was presented to the Providence Public Library, RI, by Daniel Berkeley Updike, and later acquired by the Houghton Library. Chapter 37 is missing, as are the final seven Chapters 41–47.

In principle James sought to number the slips consecutively. The contents of the Houghton volumes are as follows:

Vol. I (Chs. 1–9), slips 1–334
Vol. II (Chs. 10–15), slips 335–633
Vol. III (Chs. 16–23), slips 634–1102
Vol. IV (Chs. 24–32), slips 1103–1207 and 1–147
Vol. V (Chs. 33–40), slips 1–409, less Ch. 37 (missing, slips 153–208). Ch. 38 (slips 209–81) is contained in a separate box-folder.

However, there are many occasions on which the numbering sequence is interrupted or revised. Some slips are numbered with a '½', or less frequently a '¼', or '¾' Conversely, there are occasions when a single slip is given more than one number (see, for example, Figure 2, slip '243 & 244', from Ch. 38, pp. 382–3 in this edition), or even a range of numbers, indicating that some material has been excised or contracted. Near the end of Chapter 4, for example, there is a single slip headed '148–155', beginning with the words 'self, so you might speak civilly of it' and ending

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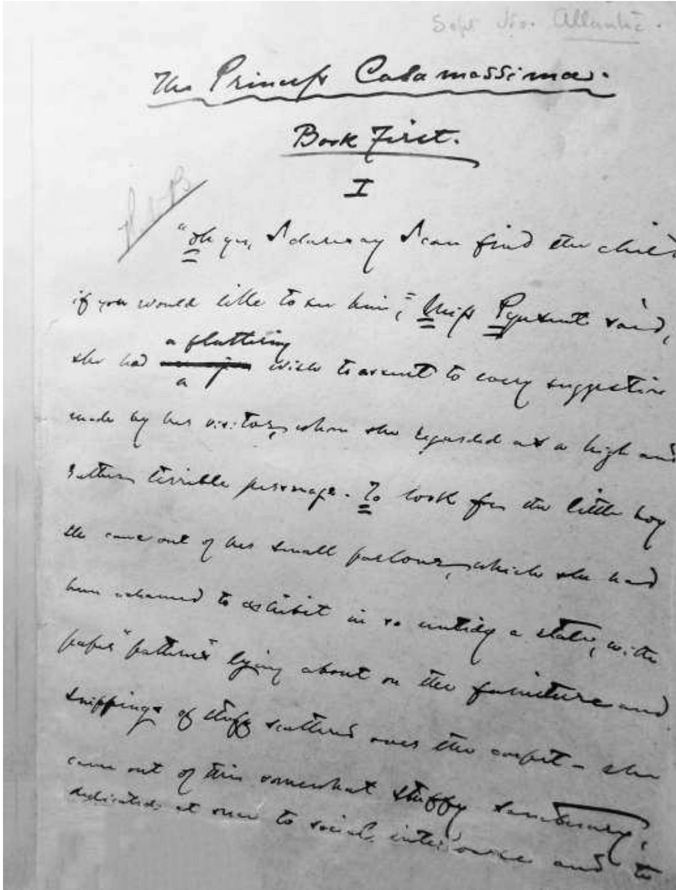
The Princess Casamassima.
Book First.
I

Figure 1: First page of MS

two-thirds of the way down the page with 'told me that yet!', the remaining space being filled with a long diagonal squiggle. The passage is from an increasingly sharp exchange between Millicent and Miss Pynsent about her origins – and Hyacinth's – an exchange that James chose to cut short with Miss Pynsent's 'I have nothing to tell you!' (I: 68)

This evidence of revision by expansion and contraction indicates how far the surviving *MS* is from representing the totality of James's 'first thoughts'. The *MS* represents the earliest extant text of a work that has undergone a process of authorial revision extending from the first drafts of 1885–6, some portions of which have not survived, to its last printed embodiment in the *NYE* of 1908.

AM seeks faithfully to reproduce the *MS* James provided. As noted in the Introduction, the differences between *AM* and *MS* are largely a matter of house

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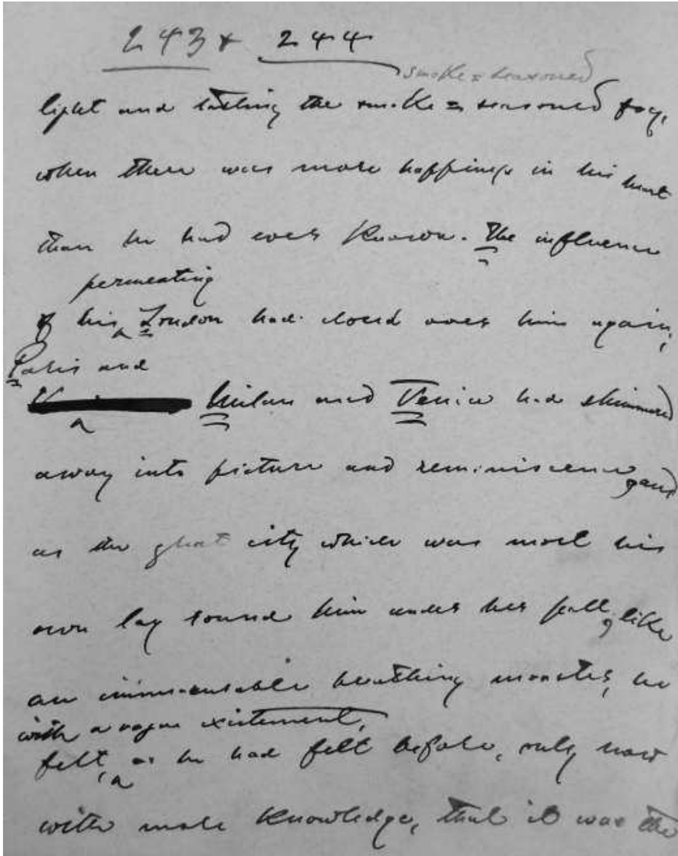
243 & 244
light and inhaling the smoke-seasoned fog,
when there was more happiness in his heart
than he had ever known. The influence
of his London had closed over him again;
Paris and Milan and Venice had shimmered
away into picture and reminiscence, and
as the great city which was most his
own lay round him under her pall, like
an immeasurable breathing monster, he
felt, with a vague excitement, as he had felt before, only now
with more knowledge, that it was the

Figure 2: Page of MS from Chapter 38, pp. 382–3 in this edition

style in spelling and punctuation, including the introduction of paragraph breaks. There was some normalization of grammar and correction of errors. By contrast, James was himself responsible for the revisions to the text as it passed from the *AM* to its first appearance in book form in the 1886 Macmillan editions, in three volumes and in one. Through the summer of 1886 he was revising the earlier numbers of the *AM* even as he was struggling to finish off the last ones.

Between its first and last incarnations in 1885 and 1908 James changed his mind a good deal about how to divide up this long novel. The *MS* shows that he was not always certain where his chapter divisions would fall. The instalments themselves were carefully planned, at least up until the point near the end where things got out of control (see Introduction, p. xxxv). But he was a good deal more casual over the chapter breaks. The exchange between Millicent and Miss Pynsent at the

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end of Chapter 4 mentioned above, for example, was clearly once part of a scene that flowed without interruption into what is now a distinct new chapter. The 'V' in red ink, and the words 'new chapter' in parentheses, have been squeezed in between 'she cried, with a trembling voice.' and 'It was in this way that' (I: 68–9). This happens on a number of occasions, that the chapter division has not been premeditated but introduced after the fact, between Chapters 6 and 7 (I: 97–8), for example, Chapters 22 and 23 (II: 116–17), and Chapters 29 and 30 (II: 218–19).

James was also less than certain about the number of Books into which the novel should be divided. It is true that he told Aldrich (29 April 1886: see Introduction, p. xxxv) that he had meant there to be three Books. But he had fitted the first two Books so neatly into the first six numbers, three in each, that it is hard not to believe he was thinking of four Books for a total of twelve instalments: a satisfying symmetry. In the event, of course, there were two extra numbers, and these suddenly generated a fifth Book. Whether on James's initiative or his editor's, the final chapters of the extra two instalments, half of the thirteenth and all of the fourteenth, were surprisingly declared to fall under the heading of 'Book Fifth':

Here is how the contents were distributed through the fourteen instalments of the *AM*:

1 September 1885	Book First, Chs. 1–3
2 October 1885	Book First, Chs. 4–7
3 November 1885	Book First, Chs. 8–11
4 December 1885	Book Second, Chs. 12–13
5 January 1886	Book Second, Chs. 14–16
6 February 1886	Book Second, Chs. 17–21
7 March 1886	Book Third, Chs. 22–24
8 April 1886	Book Third, Chs. 25–28
9 May 1886	Book Third, Chs. 29–32
10 June 1886	Book Fourth, Chs. 33–36
11 July 1886	Book Fourth, Chs. 37–38
12 August 1886	Book Fourth, Chs. 39–40
13 September 1886	Book Fourth, Chs. 41–42 and Book Fifth, Chs. 43–44
14 October 1886	Book Fifth, Chs. 44–46 (an error, created by numbering two chapters '44', both the chapter concluding the penultimate number for September, and the chapter beginning the last number for October 1886: the error is corrected in 1886)

It is then a notable feature of the Macmillan editions of 1886 that James chose to divide the novel into *six* Books rather than five (or four, or three). They follow the *AM* in preserving the divisions up to the end of Book Second, the pivotal Chapter

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21 that concludes with the cab drive from the 'Sun and Moon' in the middle of the night to the middle of nowhere. However the Macmillan editions re-distribute the remaining chapters into four Books rather than three, thus:

Book First, Chs. 1–11
Book Second, Chs. 12–21
Book Third, Chs. 22–28
Book Fourth, Chs. 29–37
Book Fifth, Chs. 38–42
Book Sixth, Chs. 43–47

The three-volume Macmillan edition, however, with its additional boundaries between volumes, produced a new re-distribution that cuts across the division into six Books, as follows:

Vol. I: Book First, Chs. 1–11; Book Second, Chs. 12–15
Vol. II: Book Second, Chs. 16–21; Book Third, Chs. 22–28; and Book Fourth, Chs. 29–32
Vol. III, Book Fourth, Chs. 33–37; Book Fifth, Chs. 38–42; Book Sixth, Chs. 43–47

This means that both Volumes I and II end part of the way through a Book. Volume I ends halfway through Book Second (and two-thirds of the way through what had been the fifth instalment of the *AM*), with Hyacinth leaving Captain Sholto's and walking about 'with his mind full of images and strange speculations, till the gray London streets began to grow clear with the summer dawn'. Volume II opens with our first view of the Prince, gazing out of the window in Mayfair, and concludes halfway through Book Fourth, with the Princess exclaiming to Hyacinth, as they leave Camberwell on foot back to Paddington, 'Ah, this is the way I like to see London!' Volume III begins with our first view of her new residence in Madeira Crescent. In 1908 this changes again when the novel reached its final format in the two volumes of the *NYE*, where Volume I comprises Books First and Second (Chs. 1–21), and Volume II Books Third to Sixth (Chs. 22–47).

In accordance with the general policy for the *Complete Fiction of Henry James* the copy text for this edition is the first text established for publication in volume form by Macmillan in 1886. As noted above, in the same month of October as Macmillan first published the novel in what was then still the traditional format of three volumes, they also printed a one-volume edition, 'for both the domestic and American markets' (Supino 76). This same one-volume edition was not published in Britain until nine months later in August 1887 (Supino 75–7). The fact that some of these one-volume copies bear the date 1886 on the title-page and some 1887 (see Figure 3) suggests that the former were designed for the American issue and the

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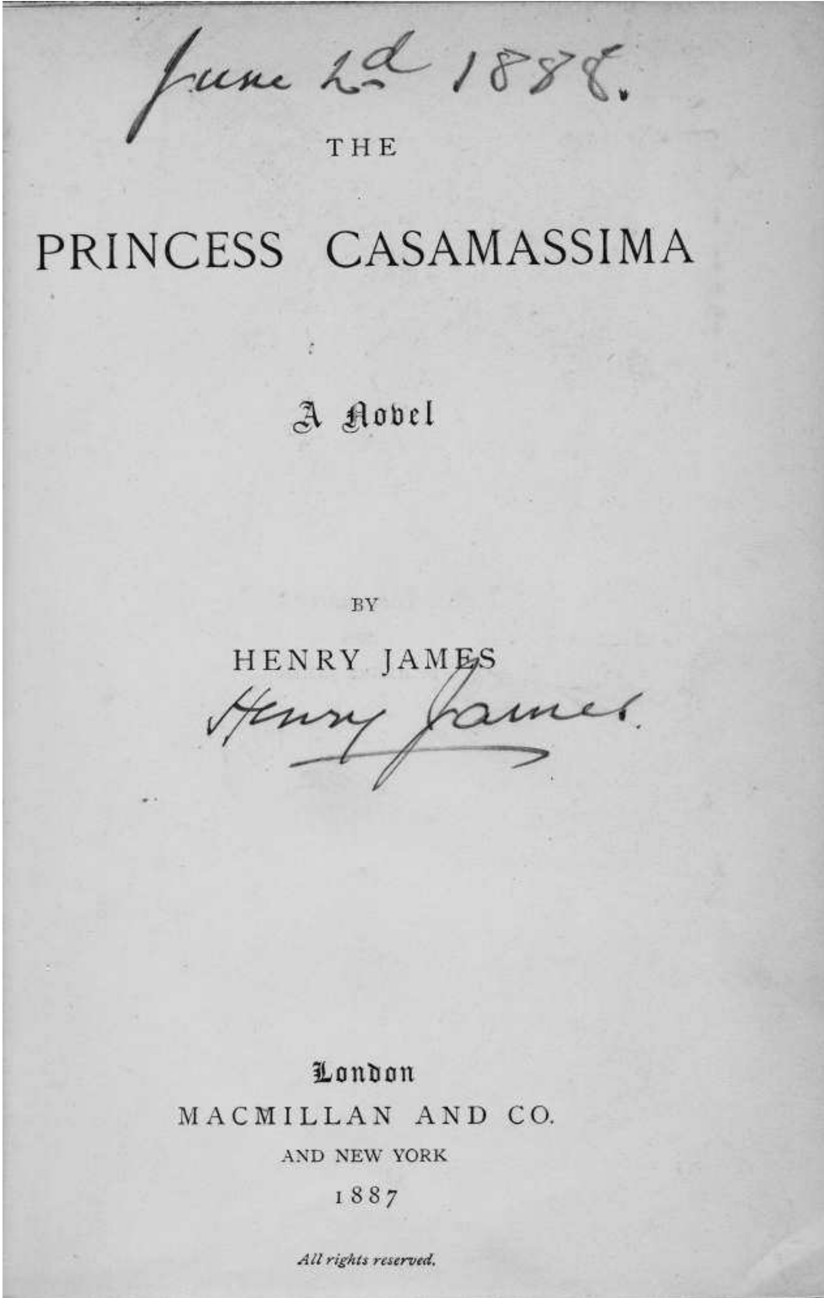

Figure 3: Title page of Macmillan first edition dated 1887, with author's signature

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latter for the British, but Supino supports Edel and Laurence in suggesting that some sheets of the American issue were diverted to the English market (Supino 297).

There is good reason to believe that when a three-volume and a one-volume edition were being produced at virtually the same time, the type for the latter was set up first and then 'leaded out' for the three-volume edition. This process, along with that of 'correcting for press', could lead to the introduction of errors, rendering the three-volume edition more corrupt than the one-volume edition from which it was derived, and casting doubt on the authority conferred by the priority of publication. This case was first made by Simon Nowell-Smith in relation to the first editions of *The Portrait of a Lady*, endorsed by David Supino, and accepted by Philip Horne and by Michael Anesko in their respective editions of the novel (Penguin, 2011, and *CFHJ*, 2016): both of them choose for their copy text the second edition in one volume by Macmillan. Supino suggests that 'It is quite likely that most of Macmillan's multi-volume editions of James's works (11 in all) were similarly produced.'[1]

It seems likely that the first editions of *The Princess Casamassima* went through a similar process, but comparison of copies of the three-volume and one-volume editions does not suggest that the latter gained any significant advantage over the former, if any, by virtue of being type-set first. The two editions share a number of small typographical errors, particularly towards the end of the novel, when on several occasions inverted commas to mark the beginning and closing of speech are wrongly introduced or omitted. In the case of missing, broken, and imperfect type, however, the balance of evidence favours the three-volume edition, and there is one clear case in which – if the sequence of type-setting and leading-out described above was indeed followed – an error in the one-volume edition has been *corrected* in the three-volume. It occurs in a scene between Hyacinth and Lady Aurora where, in the one-volume edition, we read that 'he reflected that if *he* did know his history' (p. 237, emphasis added); in the three-volume edition this reads correctly as 'he reflected that if *she* did know his history' (Vol. II, p. 49, emphasis added). If the three-volume edition was indeed prepared after the one-volume, then it seems in some small measure to have been the beneficiary.

In light of this there seems insufficient reason to overturn the priority achieved by the three-volume edition of 1886 as the first authoritative text published in

[1] Simon Nowell-Smith, 'The Texts of *The Portrait of a Lady* 1881–1882: The Bibliographical Evidence', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 63.4 (1969), 304–10; 'Appendix E: A Note on the Text of *The Portrait of a Lady*', in Supino 624–5; 625; Michael Anesko, 'Textual Introduction', *The Portrait of a Lady* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. LXXVIII–LXXXII.

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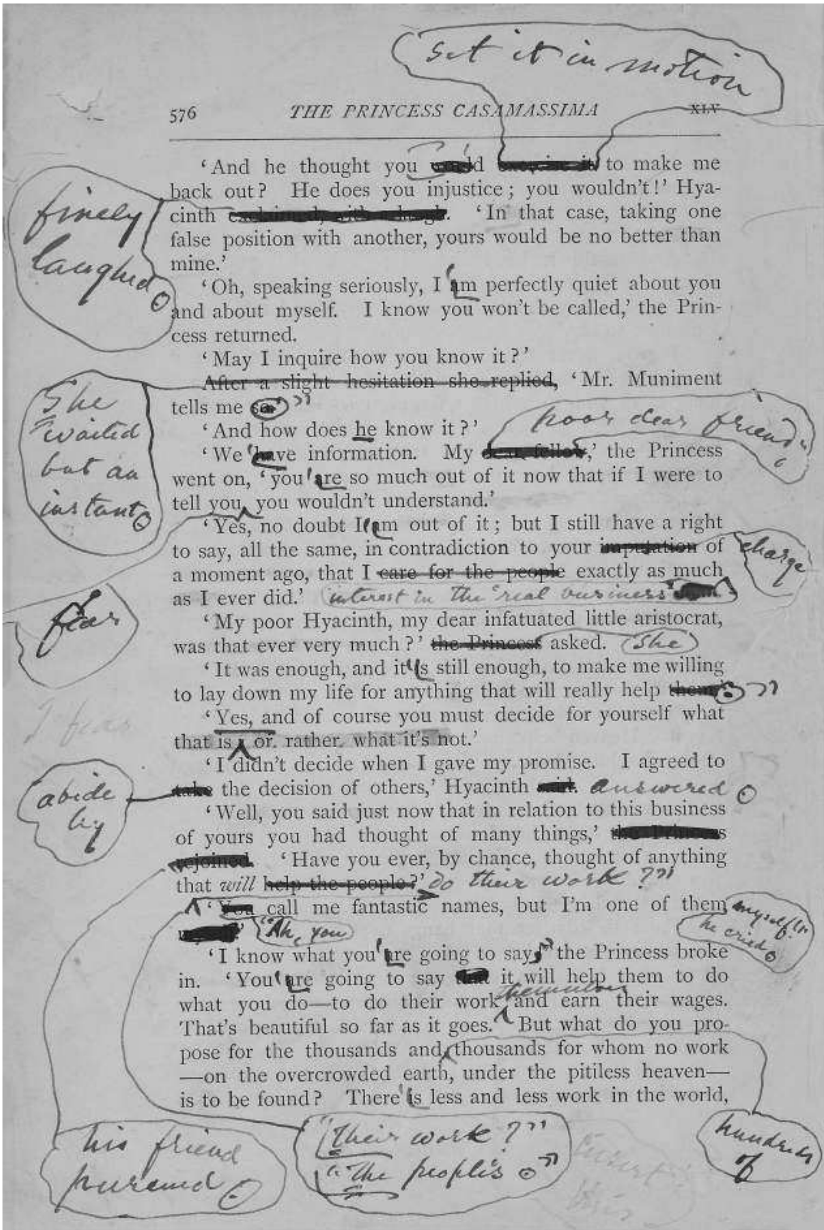

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'And he thought you [illegible] [illegible] to make me back out? He does you injustice; you wouldn't!' Hyacinth [illegible]. 'In that case, taking one false position with another, yours would be no better than mine.'

'Oh, speaking seriously, I am perfectly quiet about you and about myself. I know you won't be called,' the Princess returned.

'May I inquire how you know it?'

After a slight hesitation she replied, 'Mr. Muniment tells me so.'

'And how does he know it?'

'We have information. My dear fellow,' the Princess went on, 'you are so much out of it now that if I were to tell you, you wouldn't understand.'

'Yes, no doubt I am out of it; but I still have a right to say, all the same, in contradiction to your imputation of a moment ago, that I care for the people exactly as much as I ever did.'

'My poor Hyacinth, my dear infatuated little aristocrat, was that ever very much?' the Princess asked.

'It was enough, and it is still enough, to make me willing to lay down my life for anything that will really help them.'

'Yes, and of course you must decide for yourself what that is, or, rather, what it's not.'

'I didn't decide when I gave my promise. I agreed to take the decision of others,' Hyacinth said.

'Well, you said just now that in relation to this business of yours you had thought of many things,' the Princess rejoined. 'Have you ever, by chance, thought of anything that will help the people?'

'You call me fantastic names, but I'm one of them,' [illegible].

'I know what you are going to say,' the Princess broke in. 'You are going to say that it will help them to do what you do—to do their work and earn their wages. That's beautiful so far as it goes. But what do you propose for the thousands and thousands for whom no work—on the overcrowded earth, under the pitiless heaven—is to be found? There is less and less work in the world,

Figure 4: Page 576 from the 1886 one-volume Macmillan edition showing James's revisions for the *New York Edition*, from Chapter 45, pp. 466–7 in this edition

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volume form. It therefore provides the copy text on which the current edition is based.

The Princess Casamassima reached its final textual state when James revised it for the *NYE* of his Novels and Tales, published in twenty-four volumes by Charles Scribner's Sons in New York, 1907–9, and by Macmillan and Co. in London, 1908–9 (Supino 137). (See Figure 4 for a sample of James's method of revision, from Ch. 45, pp. 466–7 in this edition.) In the absence of *The Bostonians*, *The Princess* was the fourth of the full-length novels to be issued, following *Roderick Hudson*, *The American*, and *The Portrait of a Lady*. In the Memorandum to Scribner's of 30 July 1905 explaining his plans, James had already thought of these four 'earlier novels' being grouped together, to be succeeded by three or four volumes of the longer tales, with *The Tragic Muse* closing what he thought of as his 'earlier period' (*HJL* 4:367). The revised version of the novel was published as Volumes V and VI of the 'New York Edition' by Scribner's in New York in 1908 and by Macmillan in London in 1909.

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CHRONOLOGY OF COMPOSITION AND PRODUCTION

1883

18 July: Still in Boston at 131 Mount Vernon Street, after the death of his father in December 1882, HJ declines an invitation from TBA to furnish a serial for 1884, having pledged the publisher James R. Osgood a novel in six instalments (*The Bostonians*) and a trio of tales headed by 'Lady Barberina': 'So I feel mortgaged & restricted; anything but free.—Later perhaps!' (*CLHJ 1883–1884* 1:187)

15 September: Back in London at 3 Bolton Street, Piccadilly, he sends TBA an instalment of his 'French papers' ('En Province', published in revised form as *A Little Tour in France* (September 1884)). 'I am quite re-Londonized, & my American episode seems like a waking dream.' (*CLHJ 1883–1884* 1:226)

20 September: Promises TBA an essay on the recently deceased Turgenev; completed by early November, it appears in *AM*, January 1884 (reprinted in *Partial Portraits* (1888)): 'I am greatly touched by his extinction—I wanted him to live—mainly, I am afraid, because I wanted to see him again: for he had done his work.' (*CLHJ 1883–1884* 1:227)

1884

13 February: Important letter to TBA from Paris, agreeing in principle to write a serial novel for 1885 (though three times he writes '1865' by mistake), in twelve instalments of twenty-five papers each, starting in July rather than January, probably to be titled *The Princess Casamassima* (*CLHJ 1883–1884* 2:21–5). Asks for $500 (£100) a number but will settle for $350 (£70) a month.

19 March: Still haggling over terms with TBA: 'If it does not meet the idea of the publishers [Houghton & Mifflin], we will hang her [the *Princess*] up on her peg again.' (*CLHJ 1883–1884* 2:67)

16 April: Assures TBA of exclusive appearance of serial in *AM*, but less confident it will be ready to start its run in July 1885, as he cannot begin work on it until the end of calendar year. (Prior commitments include delivery of the first instalments of *The Bostonians* to the *Century* magazine, published in thirteen parts, February 1885–February 1886.) Re-publication of *The Princess* in volume form promised to Osgood (*CLHJ 1883–1884* 2:91).

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12 December: Visits Millbank prison in preparation for *The Princess*: 'You see I am quite the Naturalist. Look out for the same—a year hence', he tells T. S. Perry (*HJL* 3:61).

30 December: Begs TBA for an extension, to begin publication in September 1885. 'Don't think me a perjured brute, wait till you see the Princess (je ne vous dis que ça!)' (TBAP 2580) ['that's all I'm saying!'].

1885

Late April: Takes rooms in Bournemouth to be near sister Alice, and the Stevensons. *The Bostonians* is nearly completed.

2 May: As he is about to begin *The Princess*, he learns of James R. Osgood's bankruptcy and begins negotiations with Ticknor, Houghton, Mifflin and Macmillan over volume publication of *The Bostonians* and *The Princess*.

3 June: Sends off first (September) instalment (Chs. 1–3) from Bournemouth; delivered to printers, the Riverside Press, 16 June. Promises TBA second instalment to follow in a week or two—'don't be nervous!' (TBAP 2584).

Early July: Sends off second (October) instalment (Chs. 4–7); delivered to printers 17 July.

10 August: Confides to his notebook that he has 'plunged in rather blindly' and urgently needs to make the novel's 'future evolution' clearer to himself. 'Oh art, art, what difficulties are like thine; but, at the same time, what consolations and encouragements, also, are like thine? Without thee, for me, the world would be, indeed, a howling desert.' (*CN* 31) Sends off third (November) instalment from Dover in two parts: Chs. 8–9 delivered to printers 26 August; Chs. 10–11 sent on 16 August and delivered to printers 31 August. Promises TBA: 'I shall never, never, never, be so late again!' (TBAP 2585).

9 September: Sends off fourth (December) instalment (Chs. 12–13) from Dover; delivered to printers 12 September (TBAP 2586).

5 October: Sends off two-thirds of the fifth (January 1886) instalment (Chs. 14–15) from Paris; delivered to printers 19 October (TBAP 2587) .

16 October: Sends off rest of January instalment (Ch. 16) from Paris; delivered to printers 27 October. Begs TBA to take it calmly if the number is a little long, and not to 'nip anything off, to go into February! If you knew how I squeeze' (Yale, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library, YCAL Mss Misc Group 493, F2/A).

16 November: Back in London, sends off 'the greater part' of the sixth (February) instalment, 135 pp. of MS. (Chs. 17–20); delivered to printers 30 November.

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Promises 'in a very few days about 50 more to make it up to 30 of the magazine & compensate for my short December no.' (TBAP 2588).

28 November: Sends off the remainder of February instalment (Ch. 21); delivered to printers 9 December (TBAP 2589).

Early December: Signs 21-year lease for flat in Kensington, 13 De Vere Mansions West, at 34 De Vere Gardens (*HJL* 3:96) .

19 December: Sends off two-thirds of seventh (March 1886) instalment (Chs. 22–23); delivered to printers 30 December (TBAP 2590).

1886

1 January: Sends off last chapter of March issue (Ch. 24); delivered to printers 13 January (TBAP 2591).

Last week in January: Sends off first part of eighth (April) instalment (Chs. 25–26, and part of Ch. 27, up to the words 'or promotion on Hyacinth's' (p. 278; HLMS, IV, slip 1146); delivered to printers 8 February.

2 February: Sends off rest of April instalment (end of Ch. 27 and Ch. 28) from 13 De Vere Mansions West – all further instalments sent from here (TBAP 2592). He moves in on 6 March. By August he is using the street address, 34 De Vere Gardens W.

Last week in February: Sends off first part of ninth (May) instalment (Ch. 29 and part of Ch. 30, up to the words 'Convenient to my' (p. 306; HLMS, IV, slip 68); delivered to printers 8 March.

3 March: Sends off rest of May number (rest of Ch. 30 and Chs. 31–2); delivered to printers 15 March (TBAP 2593).

26 March: Sends off first part of tenth (June) instalment (Chs. 33, 34, and start of 35, to the words, 'with which he now regarded' (p. 344; HLMS, V, slip 69); delivered to printers 7 April (TBAP 2594).

29 March: Sends off second part of June instalment (up to end of Ch. 35): delivered to printers 12 April (TBAP 2595).

2 April: Sends off third and final part of June instalment (Ch. 36); delivered to printers 13 April (TBAP 2596).

21 April: Sends off first part of eleventh (July) instalment (Ch. 37) (Yale, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library, Za James 24/A); no record of delivery.

29 April: Sends off second part of July instalment (Ch. 38); delivered to printers 11 May. Pleads with TBA for extension to September, an extra month (*LL* 182–3).

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21 May: Sends off first part of twelfth (August) instalment (Chs. 39 and part of Ch. 40) of 'the penultimate & interminable Princess'; delivered to printers 1 June (TBAP 2598).

27 May: Sends off second part of August instalment (rest of Ch. 40) — 'Here goes some more of my August, though not aug*ust Princess*'; delivered to printers 7 June. James very relieved to receive extension. Rest of August instalment promised for dispatch on 1 June (TBAP 2599).

5 June: Sends off further portion designed for August instalment. 'I have been wretchedly sick for a week & this has put me abominably back. This is why I must ask your indulgence for any delay caused by the last chapters (one more short one — about 30 pp. MS.) not getting off till *Tuesday next — 8th!!!*' (TBAP 2600).

24 June: Sends FM 'a considerable part of the revised copy for the *Princess*: that is the 1st volume & about half the second. I will let you have the remainder as soon as possible.' Replying the same day, FM offers royalty of 15 per cent plus down payment of £400, in two instalments (£100 less than for *The Bostonians*). James acknowledges receipt of the first cheque for £150 on 26 June (*HJHM* 123–5).

28 June: Sends off most of the thirteenth, supposedly final (September) instalment (80 pp. of MS), the rest to follow (TBAP 2601).

7 July: Sends off the rest of the supposedly final (September) instalment: 'It concludes the interminable work.' (TBAP 2602) TBA will take the decision to extend further into a fourteenth instalment in October. No correspondence survives to give us the details.

August–September: Reads proofs for Macmillan's book-edition.

20 September: HJ notes that last pages of final proof have been sent to printers; the next day FM sends cheque for the outstanding part of the down payment (£250), saying that it will make 595 pp., with the reassurance that 'We shall have her out very soon now & will take care that she is not too fat.' (*HJHM* 126)

October: Fourteenth and final instalment published in *AM* (Chs. 44–46; Chs. 45–47 in Macmillan volume edition, correcting *AM* error).

14 October: FM sends HJ a copy of the one-volume American edition, copies of which are already on their way to New York. Macmillan prints 3,000 copies for the American and domestic markets, retailing at $1.75 and 6/- respectively, the former being published on 2 November 1886, the latter not until August 1887 (*HJHM* 126; MEB; E&L 76).

22 October: *The Princess Casamassima* published by Macmillan in three vols., 750 copies retailing at 31/6 (MEB; E&L 75–6). HJ tells his publisher: 'I hope the Princess

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will have a career — & almost think it probable — though I am cured of presumption.' (*HJHM* 127)

10 December: FM tells HJ a copy has gone to Miss [Rhoda] Broughton. 'I hope it will do her good & improve the style of her next book.' (*HJHM* 128)

1887

November: Writing from Saranac Lake in the Adirondacks, RLS tells HJ that his family have been reading *Roderick Hudson* round the fireside, and are going to re-read *The Princess* as 'a proper pendant. Sir, I think these two are your best; and care not who knows it.' (*LRLS* 6:61)

1888

2 January: Tells William Dean Howells that he is 'still staggering a good deal under the mysterious & (to me) inexplicable injury wrought — apparently — upon my situation by my 2 last novels, the *Bostonians* & the *Princess*, from which I expected so much & derived so little. They have reduced the desire, & the demand, for my productions to zero […] However, I don't despair, for I think I am now really in better form for work than I have ever been in my life, & I propose yet to do many things. Very likely too, some day, all my buried prose will kick off its various tombstones at once.' (*LL* 196)

3 April: FM proposes inclusion of two of HJ's novels in new series of Two Shilling Editions, 'as showy as the ordinary "yellowback" but not as vulgar'. Sales of the more expensive editions were too small to be harmed, and it 'might be good by making your work more widely known & so educating readers for your future work' (*HJHM* 137).

25 May: FM reports that two-shilling edition of *The Princess* is likely to be a success, as Smith & Sons have ordered 700 copies (*HJHM* 142). Macmillan prints 2,000 copies from the plates of the 6/- one-volume edition this May, and a further 2,000 in December 1888 (with an 1889 title-page) (MEB; E&L 76; Supino 300–2).

1906

2 October: Asks his photographer, Alvin Langdon Coburn, to 'rake in one or two big generalizing fragments (even of the Arc de Triomphe say)', one of which might serve as the frontispiece of the second volume of *The Princess* in the *NYE* (*HJL* 4:416–18).

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1907

5 March: Begins to send Scribner's copy of the revised *Princess* for the *NYE*, and continues re-writing en route to Italy via Paris.

22 May: Completes and sends off last pages of revised *NYE* text.

28 August: Has sent Scribner's his Preface for *NYE Princess*. (Horne, *James and Revision: The New York Edition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 340–2)

1908

Revised version of novel published by Scribner's in New York, as Volumes V and VI of *The Novels and Tales of Henry James*, and the following year by Macmillan in London.

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Figure 5: Map of London in the 1880s

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