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1 *Roderick Hudson*
2 *The American*
3 *Watch and Ward*
4 *The Europeans*
5 *Confidence*
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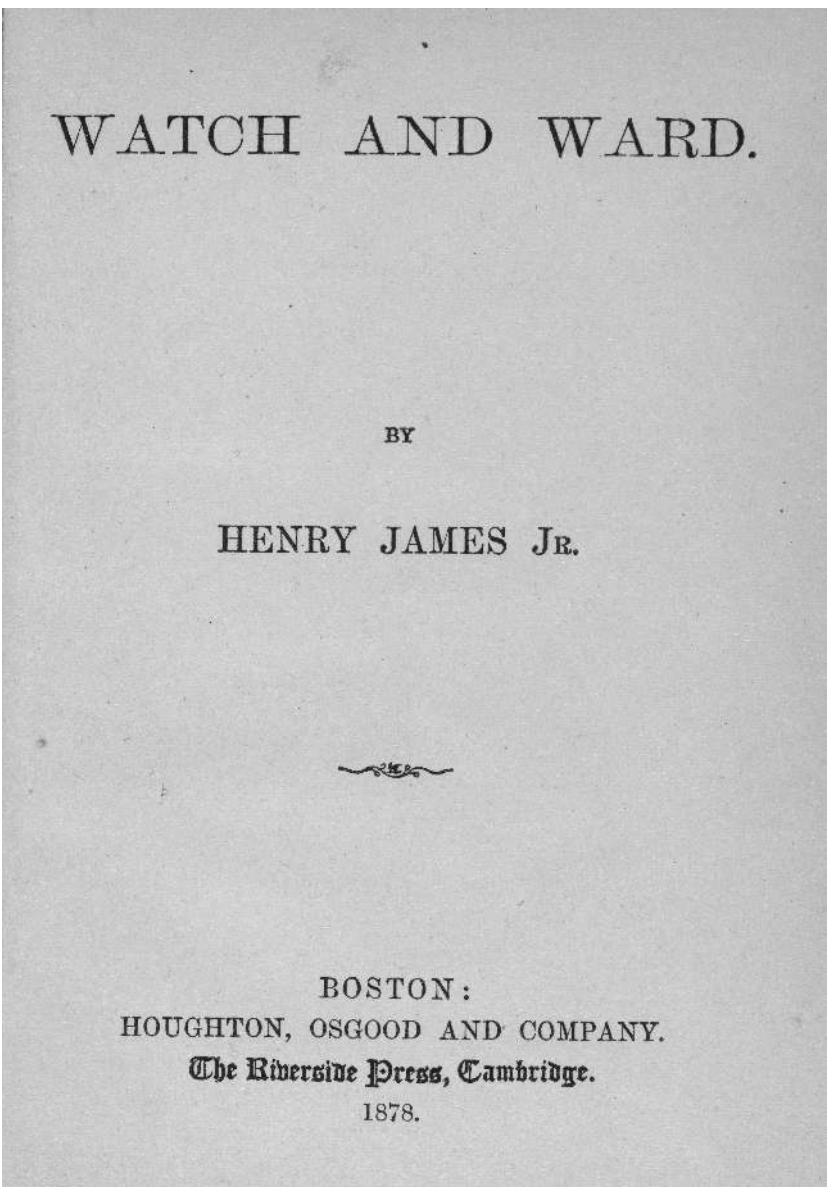
WATCH AND WARD.

BY

HENRY JAMES JR.

BOSTON:
HOUGHTON, OSGOOD AND COMPANY.
The Riverside Press, Cambridge.
1878.

Figure 1: Title page, 1878 Houghton, Osgood edition of *Watch and Ward*. GEN *AC85 J2335 878w. Houghton Library, Harvard University.

HENRY JAMES

Watch and Ward

EDITED BY
PIERRE A. WALKER
AND
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ABBREVIATIONS

To simplify citations, throughout the annotations of the Cambridge Edition of *Watch and Ward* the following abbreviations are employed for titles by Henry James:

A	*The American* (Boston, MA: James R. Osgood and Co., 1877)
CFHJ4	*The Europeans*, ed. Susan M. Griffin (Cambridge University Press, 2015)
CFHJ7	*The Portrait of a Lady*, ed. Michael Anesko (Cambridge University Press, 2016)
CFHJ9	*The Princess Casamassima*, ed. Adrian Poole (Cambridge University Press, 2020)
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–).
CS 1864–74	*Complete Stories, 1864–1874*, ed. Jean Strouse (New York: Library of America, 1999)
CS 1874–84	*Complete Stories, 1874–1884*, ed. William L. Vance (New York: Library of America, 1999)
CTW2	*Collected Travel Writings: The Continent*, ed. Richard Howard (New York: Library of America, 1993)
CWAD2	*The Complete Writings of Henry James on Art and Drama, vol. 2: Drama*, ed. Peter Collister (Cambridge University Press, 2016)
LC1	*Literary Criticism: Essays on Literature, American Writers, English Writers*, eds. Leon Edel and Mark Wilson (New York: 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: Library of America, 1984)
NYE3	*The Portrait of a Lady*, vol. I (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908)
RH	*Roderick Hudson* (Boston, MA: James R. Osgood and Co., 1875)
SBOC	*A Small Boy and Others: A Critical Edition*, ed. Peter Collister (1913; reprinted Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2011).

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.

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.

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'.

*

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*) precedes '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.
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.

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.

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's friendships develop with future critic Thomas Sergeant Perry, and with artist John La Farge, fellow student 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*.
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 Catharine 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. Meets William Ewart Gladstone, Alfred Lord Tennyson and Robert Browning.
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 American periodicals, establishing reputation in Britain and America. September: *The Europeans* published.
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.
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: by this time 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).
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 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.

INTRODUCTION

Watch and Ward first appeared as a five-instalment serial, running from August to December 1871 in the *Atlantic Monthly*, then one of the leading literary magazines in the United States. The *Atlantic* at the time was published by James R. Osgood and Company, the successor to Ticknor and Fields, the publisher of Hawthorne and Emerson, which meant James's work saw print in prestigious company.[1] 'The Story of a Year', James's second published short story, had appeared in the *Atlantic* in 1865, and his first article for the *Atlantic*, 'The Novels of George Eliot', had appeared in 1866. By the time *Watch and Ward* completed its serialization, the *Atlantic* had published ten of James's eighteen stories to date.[2] In addition to the article on George Eliot, the *Atlantic* had also published two unsigned book reviews by James and would publish two more concurrently with *Watch and Ward*.[3] Modern critics have characterized *Watch and Ward*, 'his rather feeble first novel', as 'an anomaly of James's apprenticeship', a fiction 'written with careful prentice skill'.[4] But during the preceding five years, James had been working his way towards this longer work of fiction by publishing

1 Oscar Cargill, *The Novels of Henry James* (New York: Macmillan, 1961), p. 14 n. 2; Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938–68), vol. III, p. 32.

2 The ten *Atlantic Monthly* stories are: 'The Story of a Year' (1865); 'A Landscape Painter' (1866); 'My Friend Bingham' and 'Poor Richard' (1867); 'The Romance of Certain Old Clothes', 'A Most Extraordinary Case' and 'De Grey: A Romance' (1868); 'Gabrielle de Bergerac' (1869); 'Travelling Companions' (1870); and 'A Passionate Pilgrim' (1871). Of the other eight stories, 'A Tragedy of Error' appeared in 1864 in the *Continental Monthly* and the remaining stories in the *Galaxy*: 'A Day of Days' (1866); 'The Story of a Masterpiece', 'A Problem' and 'Osborne's Revenge' (1868); 'A Light Man' (1869); and 'At Isella' and 'Master Eustace' (1871).

3 Unsigned reviews of *Lothair* by Benjamin Disraeli and of *Selections from the Prose and Poetry of Alfred de Musset* (1870: *LC1* 859–63, *LC2* 592–5), and of *Around a Spring* by Gustave Droz and of *Hours of Exercise in the Alps* by John Tyndall (1871: *LC2* 268–74, *LC1* 1357–62).

4 Michael Anesko, 'Textual Monuments/Crumbling Idols; or, What We Never Knew about Henry James (and Never Thought to Ask)', *Henry James Review* 34 (2013), 187; Robert Emmet Long, *Henry James: The Early Novels* (Boston, MA: Twayne, 1983), p. 25 – hereafter Long; S. Gorley Putt, *Henry James: A Reader's Guide* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966), p. 27.

two-part stories: 'Poor Richard', 'The Story of a Masterpiece', 'Travelling Companions' and 'A Passionate Pilgrim'. In early 1869, he published the three-part 'Gabrielle de Bergerac'. All these longer stories (except 'The Story of a Masterpiece', which appeared in the rival *Galaxy*) were published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. Therefore, it made sense not only that James, at this point in his career, would write a work of fiction five instalments long, but also that he would contribute it to the *Atlantic*.

James wrote *Watch and Ward* after he had returned to his parents' home in Cambridge, Massachusetts, from his first trip alone to Europe. He had arrived in England on 27 February 1869 and embarked for the US on 30 April 1870, having spent fourteen months abroad. James undertook this trip ostensibly for the sake of his health, and he did twice visit a water-cure spa in Great Malvern, England. But he also managed to persuade his parents to subsidize him in what was actually an 'eventful "Grand Tour" of Europe' (Long 9), or at least of England, Switzerland, Italy and France. This tour – what his biographer Leon Edel called 'his "passionate pilgrimage" abroad' – 'marked a major turning point' in James's life and career, for it helped to determine his opting ultimately for permanent residence in Europe.[5] Almost immediately upon returning home in May 1870, James began to plan how he would return to Europe for even longer; he succeeded in doing so two and a half years later (staying abroad from May 1872 to September 1874) and again in November 1875, when he established himself (permanently, as it would turn out) in Europe.

The 1869–70 trip also marks an important stage in James's development as an author. James had published his first story ('A Tragedy of Error') and his first work of non-fiction (a review of Nassau W. Senior's *Essays on Fiction*) in 1864. During the next three years, he became a relatively regular contributor not only to the *Atlantic Monthly* and the *Galaxy* but also to the *North American Review* and the *Nation*, publishing seventeen periodical contributions in 1865, fifteen in 1866, and eleven in 1867. In 1868, though, his published contributions – twenty-two in number – doubled his output of the previous year. And then, for the eighteen months of 1869 and the first half of 1870, his number of publications dwindled to a trickle: the play 'Pyramus

5 Leon Edel, *Henry James: The Conquest of London, 1870–1881* (Philadelphia, PA: J. B. Lippincott, 1962), p. 19; Alfred Habegger, Introduction, *CLHJ 1855–1872* 1:xxxviii.

and Thisbe' and the stories 'A Light Man' and 'Gabrielle de Bergerac' – all three of which, if Maqbool Aziz is correct, James wrote before embarking for England in February 1869.[6]

There are several possible causes for the drop off in publications. Knowing he would be busy travelling in 1869, James might have deliberately worked during 1868 to increase his literary output. He knew his parents were covering the cost of his journey, so he may not have felt a need to sell any stories or articles to pay his way, as he did when he returned to Europe in 1872 and again at the end of 1875. Unlike during those later trips, in 1869–70 James either could not or did not care to figure out how to combine literary composition with travel. The health problems that were ostensibly the reason for travelling to England in February 1869 in the first place are also a possible cause. In the effort needed to double his 1868 number of publications compared to the previous year, James might have over-worked or written himself out. The health problems must have been sufficiently pressing for James's parents to agree to subsidize their son's tour (though doing so was becoming something of a family habit: they had done the same for older brother William's 1867 European travels, which were at least in part also for the sake of his health, and they would do so again in 1872 for sister Alice). It is not exactly clear, however, what Henry's health problems were. He did refer at this time to back problems (*CLHJ 1855–1872* 1:300, 2:136–7, 151), which were perhaps real, perhaps psychosomatic. Making matters worse, during the fall of 1869, James developed so troubling and persistent a case of constipation that he considered interrupting his travel – he had recently reached Italy – and returning directly to the water cure in Malvern (*CLHJ 1855–1872* 2:137, 152, 160–1), but it is not certain that the problem preceded his departure from the United States or directly caused the reduction in his literary output.

Whatever the reason for his reduced literary output, upon returning to the US in May 1870, James began to ply his pen again with something like his pre-1869 activity. If Aziz is correct (II:xxx–xxxii), upon reaching

6 Maqbool Aziz (ed.), *The Tales of Henry James*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973–84), vol. I, pp. xli–xlii – hereafter Aziz. Cornelia Pulsifer Kelley also concluded that James wrote these three pieces before leaving America: *The Early Development of Henry James* (1930; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), p. 112 n. 1 – hereafter Kelley.

his parents' home in Cambridge, James began almost immediately to compose his first story set in Italy, 'Travelling Companions'. He submitted that story to James T. Fields, then editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, by the middle of July (*CLHJ 1855–1872* 2:367–8, 371), and the story appeared in the magazine's November and December 1870 issues. After writing 'Travelling Companions', James began to write *Watch and Ward* (during the summer of 1870, according to Aziz, II:xxxii). James's letter to Fields of 15 November [1870] reveals that, by that same date, James had written and submitted the first 'three parts' of *Watch and Ward* and that 'The two others' would follow.

Interestingly, at this early point in the history of the composition and publication of *Watch and Ward*, the novel had a different title: 'Roger's Little Girl'.[7] A newspaper notice of 10 November 1870 states that: 'The principal serial in the *Atlantic Monthly* for 1871, it is now decided, will be a romance by Mr. Henry James, jr., running through the whole year, and to be entitled "Roger's Little Girl".'[8] Not long after this notice, the *Atlantic* took out a half-column advertisement in the January and February issues of the Boston monthly *Folio: A Journal of Music, Art and Literature*. The advertisement's eleven short paragraphs list the magazine's coming 1871 features, the second of which is: 'Henry James, Jr.—"Roger's Little Girl," a Serial Story, to begin in an early number.'[9]

In addition to providing our only evidence, aside from these notices, of James's progress composing *Watch and Ward*, his letter to Fields of 15 November [1870] also reveals that a change of plan had occurred. James had had a conversation earlier that day with his good friend, William Dean Howells, who was then the *Atlantic*'s assistant editor (he would become editor the following summer). Howells had apparently explained to James that Fields would prefer not publishing the first instalment in the January 1871 issue, which itself would appear in a month's time (at that time,

7 The first paragraph of Chapter 3 of the 1871 serial text of *Watch and Ward* identifies Nora as 'his little girl' (320). James revised 'his' to 'the' in the 1878 book edition, so that Roger's 'little girl' became 'the little girl' (40), thus distancing the text even more from the early working title. (Parenthetic citations to *Watch and Ward*, here and throughout, are to the text in this Cambridge University Press volume, except, as specified, when they are to the *Atlantic Monthly* serial text (full citation in the Bibliography, p. LXXXVIII).)

8 'Boston Literary Gossip', *Cincinnati Daily Gazette* (10 November 1870), 1.

9 'The ATLANTIC MONTHLY for 1871', *Folio: A Journal of Music, Art and Literature* 4 (January, February 1871), 2, 26.

American monthly magazines appeared during the middle of the month preceding the one indicated on the cover). Having reflected on Howells's information, James wrote to Fields that he was willing to accept a postponement, as long as he could '"realize" upon it without delay' (*CLHJ 1855–1872* 2:382). Magazines often paid for contributions after publication, but James was asking to be paid now for what he had submitted. This would be neither the first nor the last time James would press an editor for immediate payment, for it not only had the obvious advantage that the money would be in James's hands sooner, but also meant that the periodical would be less likely to sit indefinitely upon an unpublished submission. There is no known evidence of why Fields decided to postpone. However, the delay in publishing *Watch and Ward* had a further advantage for James, which was that he could complete the novel before the first instalment went into production, a luxury that James and other contributors of serial novels did not always enjoy. Nor is it known what revisions to the parts already submitted, beyond changing the title, James may have made during the extra time.

James did, however (Aziz II:xxxii–xxxiii), use the time offered by the postponement of the serialization of *Watch and Ward* to write – or at least to begin to write – 'A Passionate Pilgrim' and 'At Isella' (which would be published, respectively, in the March and April 1871 issues of the *Atlantic Monthly* and the August 1871 issue of the *Galaxy*). Also during the summer of 1870, James wrote four travel articles for the *Nation*: 'Saratoga', 'Lake George', 'From Lake George to Burlington' and 'Newport', and two unsigned reviews for the *Atlantic Monthly*, on Disraeli's *Lothair* and selections from the writings of Alfred de Musset. The articles for the *Nation* were James's first published travel writing, and while they were about North America, they helped James to prepare for the summer of 1872, when he would contribute travel writing from Europe.

'Travelling Companions', 'A Passionate Pilgrim' and 'At Isella' are important in the development of James's career for they represent the introduction of his international theme, what Howells in an 1882 article on James defined as the contrasting of 'New World and Old World moods, ideals, and prejudices'. Howells believed that James's international theme began with 'A Passionate Pilgrim': 'What is called the international novel is popularly dated from the publication of "Daisy Miller," though "Roderick Hudson"

and "The American" had gone before; but it really began in the beautiful story which I have just named.'[10] Cornelia Pulsifer Kelley argued that, in 'Travelling Companions', 'we have the germ of all the stories that were to make up the large body [of James's fiction] treating the International Situation' (114). These stories written upon returning home from Europe point to the direction James's art would take during the 1870s: the major novels set in Europe and telling of Americans and their adventures and misadventures with foreign customs and values, *Roderick Hudson* (1875) and *The American* (1877), and 'Daisy Miller' (1878) and other stories (of the twelve that James published from 1870 to 1874, all but three would be set in Europe).[11] *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881) is the culmination of that decade-long direction.

James's publishing output upon returning home in 1870 soon matched and then surpassed what it had been from 1865 to 1868: one two-part story, four travel articles and two book reviews during the final months of 1870; *Watch and Ward*, as well as three stories, one play, two book reviews and two two-part travel articles in 1871;[12] sixteen periodical publications in 1872; and eighteen in 1873. James would go on in 1874 to increase his output by more than double, and almost double it again in 1875, when his first three books would also appear.[13] *Watch and Ward* plays its part, therefore, in James's return to a steadily increasing rate of publication and in his establishment of himself as an author, especially with the prestigious *Atlantic Monthly*. However, although James began to write it during the six months following his May 1870 return from Europe, *Watch and Ward* is not an example of the new international fiction that 'Travelling Companions', 'A Passionate Pilgrim' and 'At Isella' are. James must have preferred to try out his new

10 'Henry James, Jr.', *Century* 25 (November 1882), 27.

11 The three not set in Europe are 'Master Eustace', 'Guest's Confession' and 'Professor Fargo'; in addition to 'Travelling Companions', 'A Passionate Pilgrim' and 'At Isella', the stories set in Europe are: 'The Madonna of the Future', 'The Sweetheart of M. Briseux', 'The Last of the Valerii', 'Mme. de Mauves', 'Adina' and 'Eugene Pickering'.

12 'Master Eustace' is the third story published in 1871; 'Still Waters' is the play; 'Quebec' and 'Niagara' are the travel articles (*Collected Travel Writings: Great Britain and America: English Hours, The American Scene, Other Travels*, ed. Richard Howard (New York: Library of America, 1993), pp. 767–76, 777–85)); and the reviews are of Droz's *Around a Spring* and Tyndall's *Hours of Exercise in the Alps* (see n. 3).

13 *Transatlantic Sketches*, *A Passionate Pilgrim, and Other Tales* and *Roderick Hudson*.

international theme first in the form of the one- and two-part stories with which he was already experienced. For his first attempt at a five-instalment work of fiction, James apparently preferred to retain the kinds of American settings and characters that he had used for all but two ('A Tragedy of Error' and 'Gabrielle de Bergerac') of the fourteen stories he had written before his 1869–70 European tour.[14]

It is tempting to speculate about how and why returning to the US from his 1869–70 travels helped to revitalize James's creative juices, but what is certain is that something happened. James took what amounted to a leave of absence of fourteen months from working as a writer, travelled, and returned to his desk with ever-increasing energy and creativity. This creativity manifested itself first in stories with European settings, the first attempt at a longer work of fiction, and the first published travel writing. Then, as his output continued in the following years to increase, James produced travel writing about Europe and, eventually, novels about Europe. *Watch and Ward*, therefore, is situated at the beginning of the creative trajectory that constituted the major part of James's career as a writer.

Whether or not *Watch and Ward* broke new ground, other than lengthwise, James did, at least at first, consider it a serious work. On 9 August 1871, a few weeks after the August issue containing the first *Atlantic* instalment had appeared, James wrote to his friend and mentor Charles Eliot Norton that 'I have begun to print in the *Atlantic* a short serial story wh. you will see. The subject is something slight; but I have tried to make a work of art, & if you are good enough to read it I trust you will detect my intention. A certain form will be its chief merit' (*CLHJ 1855–1872* 2:415). And on 27 November 1871, James wrote to Norton's sister, Grace, thanking her for a letter he had received from her in August, in which she had written about *Watch and Ward*:

14 Quentin Anderson argued for a continuity and not a disruption in James's work pre- and post-1870. For Anderson, the 'international theme' had its 'ancestry' in the psychology of James's earliest fictions: 'The Story of a Year', 'A Most Extraordinary Case' and *Watch and Ward*. 'Travelling Companions' and 'A Passionate Pilgrim' differ only in attempting 'to give the "deeper psychology" an adequate poetic body by employing the array of symbols Europe afforded'; *The American Henry James* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1957), p. 47. See also Long 20.

It is […] charmingly amiable about poor old me,—poor Roger, Nora, the Signora *e tutti quanti*. It is hardly worth while, now, attempting to enlighten you upon any point of the master-piece in which the former creations figure; by the time you get this you will have […] perused it to the bitter end—& you will have been confirmed or confuted as fate & occasion decree. But if it has beguiled a few of your something dolorous Germanic half-hours & given you a theme for a moment's thought or talk—'this author will not have labored in vain.' Really, I'm not writing a preface; I merely wish to thank you before hand for any sort of final sentiment you may entertain on the subject. (*CLHJ 1855–1872* 2:418–19)

In writing to the Nortons, James displays on the one hand a youthful enthusiasm, calling *Watch and Ward* a 'work of art' with 'A certain form'. When he wrote to Fields on 15 November 1870, he had shown similar bravado about the work's artistic value: 'Perhaps you will content yourself with my assurance that the story is one of the greatest works of "this or any age"' (*CLHJ 1855–1872* 2:382). On the other hand, in addressing the Nortons James also downplays *Watch and Ward*, calling its 'subject' 'something slight'. And in the letter to Grace, there is some irony when he speaks of 'perus[ing]' the 'master-piece […] to the bitter end'. If James believed sufficiently in the work when it began to appear to call it a 'work of art', had he, by the end of its serial run, become disillusioned, even embittered, about it? Perhaps so, for his extant correspondence makes no further mention of *Watch and Ward* until six years later.

During the summer of 1877, James Ripley Osgood proposed to James printing *Watch and Ward* as a book, as we know from James's letter of 19 April [1878] to his father: 'Osgood wrote to me proposing it last summer' (*CLHJ 1876–1878* 2:104).[15] By this time, James had published four books with Osgood: two novels (*Roderick Hudson* in 1875 and *The American* in 1877), a collection of short stories (*A Passionate Pilgrim, and Other Tales* in 1875) and a collection of travel writing (*Transatlantic Sketches*, also in 1875). His first book published in Britain, *French Poets and Novelists*, would appear on 19 February 1878. The *Atlantic Monthly* was preparing to serialize James's

15 The letter of 8 September [1877] (*CLHJ 1876–1878* 1:207) in which James informs Osgood that he has worked on revising the novel and insists on seeing proofs also confirms that there had been prior communication between author and publisher about a book edition of *Watch and Ward*. None of Osgood's letters to James survive, and many of James's to Osgood are also no longer extant.

next novel, *The Europeans*, which would begin with the July 1878 issue and conclude in the October 1878 issue. Osgood must have felt that it was time to take further advantage of James's increasing visibility, and right he was, for in June and July 1878 the *Cornhill*, one of Britain's leading literary magazines, would publish 'Daisy Miller: A Study', which would make James famous.

James was at first not enthusiastic about Osgood's suggestion to issue *Watch and Ward* as a book; 'I at 1st declined', he told his father. However, he reread the novel ('I got hold of it & re-read it') and decided that with revisions it could appear in book form. 'I have revised & very much rewritten it', James further informed his father. Repeating some of the self-deprecation of the 1871 letters to Charles and Grace Norton, James continued, '& I think that—though very thin, & as "cold" as an icicle—it will appear pretty enough', so it is not clear that James's decision, ultimately, to reissue *Watch and Ward* was prompted by high consideration for its artistic value as much as by a desire to take advantage of growing demand for his publications: 'it seemed to me a good way of turning an honest penny' (*CLHJ 1876–1878* 2:104). The success of *The American* was such that the British publisher Ward, Lock issued a pirated version in early December 1877. Because *The American* was not protected by British copyright law, James could neither benefit from nor prevent this unauthorized publication. He must have worried that other pirated editions of his earlier American publications could appear. As he told his father: 'If I get any fame my early things will be sure to be rummaged out; & […] as they are there it is best to take hold of them myself & put them in order.' In other words, if my old publications are going to be reprinted, I might as well get the benefit and do what I can to improve them (*CLHJ 1876–1878* 2:104–5).

Because the book edition of *Watch and Ward* did appear in May 1878, one might conclude – given James's remarks to his father about taking advantage of his earlier works – that Ward, Lock's unauthorized reissue of *The American* influenced James's decision to adopt Osgood's suggestion. Indeed, one might conclude that the pirated edition of *The American* prompted James to embark on a comprehensive issuing of British editions of his fiction, for 1879 saw James's British publisher, Macmillan, issue an authorized edition of *The American* in March, and of *Roderick Hudson* in May. And in October 1879, Macmillan published *The Madonna of the Future and Other Tales*, a two-volume collection of six stories by James, three of which ('The

Madonna of the Future', 'Eugene Pickering' and 'Madame de Mauves') were among the six collected in *A Passionate Pilgrim, and Other Tales*; a fourth, 'Benvolio', had originally been published in the *Galaxy* in 1875. Pre-empting future unauthorized British publications of his earlier works was certainly on James's mind and may indeed have been part of what prompted the rapid issue of these three Macmillan books, but James had decided to issue *Watch and Ward* in book form before the pirated Ward, Lock issue of *The American* had appeared.[16]

When, exactly, James received Osgood's suggestion to turn *Watch and Ward* into a book is hard to pinpoint, but it occurred sometime between his letter to Osgood of 23 June 1877 about *The American*, *Roderick Hudson* and *Transatlantic Sketches*, which makes no mention of *Watch and Ward*, and his letter to Osgood of 8 September 1877, where James stated that not only had he decided to go ahead with the book project, but he was returning at the same time the corrected 'sheets by this post'. He suggested that his revisions were extensive: 'I have *riddled* them [the sheets] with alterations & made a great mess for the printers. I must absolutely see proofs' (*CLHJ 1876–1878* 1:207). Osgood must have suggested a book edition of *Watch and Ward* shortly after the beginning of the summer (after 23 June), and, despite his initial lack of enthusiasm for the suggestion, James had, by the end of the first week of September, not only agreed to a reissue, but received sheets, revised them and prepared to return them.

If the timeline during the summer of 1877 is not entirely clear about when Osgood persuaded James to publish *Watch and Ward* as a book, or when James received the sheets, it is no more clear about when James received the proofs he requested and when he worked on them. James had clearly specified in his letter of 8 September that seeing proofs was 'a rigid condition', that he 'would rather give up the whole thing […] than forego the proofs' (*CLHJ 1876–1878* 1:207), and he concluded his letter of a month later

16 No British edition of *Watch and Ward* would be published during James's life; apparently neither James nor Macmillan worried about someone pirating it. The London publisher Trübner and Company, though, did, in June 1878, import copies of the Houghton, Osgood edition (and sell them for 6½ shillings). The first British book publication occurred in the early 1920s, when Macmillan included *Watch and Ward* in the 35-volume *Novels and Tales of Henry James*. (See David J. Supino, *Henry James: A Bibliographical Catalogue of a Collection of Editions to 1921*, 2nd edn (Liverpool University Press, 2014), p. 78 – hereafter Supino.)

to Osgood (of 7 October 1877), with a request for further information: 'I shall expect to receive before long some more news of *Watch and Ward*' (*CLHJ 1876–1878* 1:216–17). In addition to expecting to be notified that the revised sheets sent on 8 September had safely arrived, James apparently also expected Osgood to confirm the request for proofs. James's next (extant) mention of *Watch and Ward* comes six months later, on 19 April 1878, when he wrote to his father about its impending issue; by then, he had already finished checking the proof: 'I have seen all the proof, [I] suppose it will come out instantly' (*CLHJ 1876–1878* 2:105). At some point after 7 October and before 19 April, James received the proofs, checked them and returned them to Boston. James signed a contract with Houghton, Osgood for *Watch and Ward* (it is dated 15 May 1878),[17] and printing and binding of the book began on 18 May 1878 (Supino 78).[18]

When *Watch and Ward* appeared, both in serial in 1871 and as a book in 1878, it was not judged as just a 'feeble' work of but 'prentice skill'. What contemporary reviews there were proved generally complimentary. Some issues of the *Nation*, where James was also a frequent contributor, made passing reference in its recurring columns on periodical literature to *Watch and Ward* as it was appearing in the *Atlantic Monthly* (though reserving detailed commentary for Howells's *Their Wedding Journey*, which the *Atlantic* was serializing at the same time). The most extended comment about the serial of *Watch and Ward* appeared as part of a paragraph in the *Nation*'s 5 October 1871 issue. Here the reviewer wrote of James as a fiction-writer already well established, speaking of what is 'characteristic of Mr. James' and contrasting 'Mr. James's purpose in delineating his interesting personages' in *Watch and Ward* with 'him at his best'. The same paragraph also states that, in the October instalment, 'there appears to be less of its author's elaborateness

17 Houghton, Osgood and Company, Memorandum of Agreement with Henry James for *Watch and Ward*, Houghton Mifflin Company Contracts, 1831–1979, MS Am 2346 (1511), Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

18 The book was printed by Welch and Bigelow, in Cambridge, who also printed *A Passionate Pilgrim, and Other Tales* and *Transatlantic Sketches* (*Roderick Hudson*, *The American*, *The Europeans* and *Confidence* were printed by the Riverside Press, also in Cambridge). The book, at 5¾ by 4 3/16 inches, is physically smaller than all of James's other 1870s Osgood or Houghton, Osgood books. *A Passionate Pilgrim, and Other Tales*, *Transatlantic Sketches*, *Roderick Hudson*, *The American*, *The Europeans* and *Confidence*, which are more uniform, all measure approximately 7 3/8 inches by 4 3/4 inches. See Supino (3, 13, 24, 46, 77–83, 88, 147).

of analysis than has marked the other parts of his excellent story'.[19] The serial did, a few years later, receive some strong praise. A short notice in the *Independent*, on the occasion of the 1877 book publication of *The American*, referred to James's preceding publications: *A Passionate Pilgrim, and Other Tales*, *Transatlantic Sketches* and *Roderick Hudson*. But it offered its strongest praise for *Watch and Ward*: 'We doubt whether a more finished novelette than "Watch and Ward," contributed by Mr. James to *The Atlantic Monthly*, a few years since, was ever written in this country.'[20]

James had published five books when the Osgood edition of *Watch and Ward* appeared in 1878. It is not surprising, then, that it garnered a dozen reviews in American periodicals. There was also one British review, in the *Athenæum* of 10 August 1878. These reviews tended to note that the book edition was revised from the earlier periodical text, as the short prefatory note that opens the book states (2). The reviews often compared *Watch and Ward* to *Roderick Hudson* and *The American*, and not always to the detriment of *Watch and Ward*. The reviewers often praised James's style, but they differed over the abruptness and the unlikeliness of the ending. The reviewer for *Appleton's Journal*, for instance, felt that *Watch and Ward* 'exhibits the same insight into character' and 'vigor and grace of style' as *Roderick Hudson* and *The American*. However, this reviewer continued, 'The "happy-ever-after" close, brought about by rather violent dealings with nearly half the *dramatis personæ*, shows that the author had not yet emancipated himself from the conventional methods of the fiction-writers.'[21] The review in the *Athenæum* showed less appreciation for James's style: 'Mr. James's style is, if anything, rather too fancifully polished […] every sentence is a composition.' Yet, this reviewer concluded: 'the only fault we find with the story is its rather sudden end. It seems too much as if the heroine had come to return the hero's love because she had miserably failed in her other ventures.'[22] The review for the *Literary World* praised the 'careful grace' with which *Watch and Ward* 'is written'; however, the book 'just misses being quite perfect' because of the 'failure […] toward the end, where […] Nora makes the double mistake of

19 Unsigned note on 'Watch and Ward', *Nation* 13 (5 October 1871), 228.
20 'Two Novels', *Independent* (17 May 1877), 9.
21 'Books of the Day', *Appleton's Journal* 5 (August 1878), 188–92; 189.
22 Unsigned review of *Watch and Ward*, *Athenæum* (10 August 1878), 177.

refusing her only worthy lover, and rushes off, in a very unladylike way, to her vulgar cousin'.[23] The reviewer for the *Nation* had much harsher words about the book's conclusion: 'we must say this is—vulgar'. And it wasn't just the end that displeased the *Nation's* reviewer:

> There is infinite care expended on the making of unlovely, unreal creatures. Even the cousins might be labelled Mr. Facing-both-ways and Mr. Given-to-this-world without losing anything individual. Bunyan's allegorical beings seem alive while these people, who have the name of living, have a most allegorical thinness and limitation of existence. We cannot see what end Mr. James proposed to himself in this book.[24]

So much for the 'intention' James had hoped, in his letter of 9 August 1871, that Charles Norton would 'detect'!

But not all the reviews were critical. The reviewer for the *New York Times* adopted a different attitude towards the 'author's elaborateness of analysis' and stated instead that 'It is the sharp crystalline method which Mr. James possesses which makes him so distinguished'; that 'What is tawdry, flashy, or even sensational' is 'foreign' to James's 'nature'; and that James 'may not always be impassioned', thereby also perceiving something of the same coldness which James had admitted to his father. And yet, the *New York Times* reviewer continued: '*Watch and Ward* contains some really true bits of warm color, especially where Nora leaves her protector and is thrown on the world.' As a result, the same reviewer concluded, 'We are quite satisfied that now [James] should be classed with the very few leading romance writers of England and America.'[25]

Reviewers in the 1870s could only compare *Watch and Ward* to James's publications up to that point in his career. *Watch and Ward* is like most of James's other stories of the late 1860s in being set in the United States and having American characters. But it is different in being considerably longer, though far less topical, at least when compared with his stories about the aftermath of the American Civil War: 'The Story of a Year', and 'A Most Extraordinary Case'. It is more like James's early stories that feature love triangles, such as 'My Friend Bingham', 'Osborne's Revenge' and 'A Landscape

23 Unsigned review of *Watch and Ward*, *Literary World* (9 August 1878), 47.
24 Unsigned review of *Watch and Ward*, *Nation* 27 (22 August 1878), 118.
25 Unsigned review of *Watch and Ward*, *New York Times* (12 July 1878), 3.

Painter'. This last story, moreover, has in common with *Watch and Ward* that a central plot element in both is the dissimulated desire of upper-class men to marry a woman originally from a lower social class.

Contemporary reviewers comparing *Watch and Ward* to James's published fiction to date could not know what James would go on to write later. They could not benefit from the hindsight that led scholars a century later to conclude that 'The largest interest' of *Watch and Ward* lies 'in what it shows of James's future development as a novelist; for it contains many embryonic character types and partially developed themes' (Long 25). Such hindsight makes it possible to see, for instance, a resemblance between Roger's raising Nora and taking responsibility for her education while wanting to marry her later and Peter Sherringham, in *The Tragic Muse* (1890), supporting Miriam Rooth's training as an actress and later seeking her hand in marriage. That same hindsight makes it possible to see in the creation of Nora the 'germ' of later characters, from Daisy Miller to Maggie Verver in *The Golden Bowl* (1904). Such comparisons are not at all like the recurrence of Christina Light of *Roderick Hudson* in *The Princess Casamassima* (1886), where we can point to James's own preface to the *New York Edition* of the latter novel for the author's word that: 'Christina […] couldn't resign herself not to strike again' (*CFHJ9* 839). Likewise, we have James's word for it in his acknowledgement to Grace Norton that his beloved late cousin, Minnie Temple, did, in part, inspire the character of Isabel Archer (*CLHJ 1880–1883* 1:135), thus fulfilling the implicit promise to keep Minnie alive that James wrote to his brother William, shortly after hearing of their cousin's untimely death: 'She lives as a steady unfaltering luminary in the mind […] I shall have her forever talking to me' (letter of 29, 30 March [1870], *CLHJ 1855–1872* 2:345–6). Comments like these come directly from James and can be seen to provide evidence that the 'germ' of future works of fiction was already in gestation. With *Watch and Ward*, though, it is still possible to notice that, over the course of his career, James returned again and again to characters and situations with certain similarities to 'poor Roger, Nora, the Signora *e tutti quanti*' (*CLHJ 1855–1872* 2:418). Such similarities are perhaps most apparent in 'Daisy Miller', *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881) and *Washington Square* (1880).

Nora Lambert, of *Watch and Ward*, and the title character of 'Daisy Miller', for instance, both enjoy repartee, and Nora's flight to New York in the final chapters is, in its rebelliousness, not unlike Daisy's apparent insouciance about the gossip her behaviour inspires. Nora's flight is, in fact, arguably the most unconventional act undertaken by any of James's heroines, with the exception of the Princess Casamassima's abandonment of her husband and her subsequent cultivation of Hyacinth Robinson and Paul Muniment. Going about Rome unchaperoned with Giovanelli shocks Daisy's fellow American expatriates, but since she would apparently have done as much with a young man in New York (and incited there less criticism), what she does is not so much unconventional as inappropriate. Nora's flight from Boston to New York, while 'unladylike' to the reviewer of the *Literary World*, and perhaps overdramatic and foolish, is brave; it even elicits from Mrs Keith 'an impulse of intelligent applause' (127). And it is self-reliant, for Nora's plan is to seek employment and become self-sufficient; she merits comparison on that score to the self-supporting Henrietta Stackpole in *The Portrait of a Lady*.

It is in the boldness and wittiness of Nora's repartee that a reader can hear the note of Daisy's. For instance, when Daisy on the Pincio laughs away Winterbourne's suggestion that she climb into Mrs Walker's carriage because it is 'improper' for her to walk around unchaperoned, she scoffs: '"If this is improper, Mrs. Walker, […] then I am all improper, and you must give me up."'[26] Her riposte echoes one Nora makes to Roger in Chapter 4 of *Watch and Ward* when the two discuss their different reactions to meeting Fenton. Roger admits that her affectionate feelings for George 'disappoint me'.

> 'You must have formed great hopes of me!' she answered.
>
> 'I confess I had.'
>
> 'Say good by to them then, Roger. If this is wrong, I am all wrong!' She spoke with a proud decision, which was very becoming; (52)

Nora's proud outburst, her 'I am all wrong!', is very much of a piece with Daisy's 'I am all improper, and you must give me up.' With similar audacity, Nora tells Fenton, earlier in the same chapter: 'I give you notice that I am

26 'Daisy Miller: A Study', *Cornhill Magazine* 38 (July 1878), 53.

not a lovely girl. I have it in me to be, under provocation, anything but a lovely girl' (47). And if Nora's talking occasionally as Daisy might is not enough, on the eve of her departure with Mrs Keith for Europe, Hubert warns Nora of the different social expectations that obtain in Europe and that will also prove so irritating to Daisy:

> 'For a young girl it's by no means pure gain, going to Europe. She comes into a very pretty heritage of prohibitions. You have no idea of the number of improper things a young girl can do. You are walking on the edge of a precipice. Don't look over or you will lose your head and never walk straight again. Here, you are all blindfold. Promise me not to lose this blessed bandage of American innocence.' (67)[27]

Hubert's warning, with its appeal to 'this blessed bandage of American innocence' and its threat 'of prohibitions' and 'the number of improper things a young girl can do' could stand as a summary of the social opprobrium which Daisy will later face.

One is tempted to imagine that James, revising *Watch and Ward* in late 1877 and early 1878, found in these speeches of Nora's the 'germ' (Kelley 114) of the personality of Daisy, who would, after all, appear in print only a few days after the publication of the book edition of *Watch and Ward*. However, all three of these speeches of Nora's appear in essentially the same form in the 1871 serial text; James barely altered them at all.[28] Therefore, if Nora's speeches do contain the germ of Daisy's personality, they did so as far back as 1871.

Howsoever the idea of Daisy came to James, there is, though, a significant difference between Nora and her: *Watch and Ward* implies that visiting Europe completes the transformation of Nora from scruffy orphan to exemplary lady. Her 'Grand Tour' of Europe, therefore, achieves its stereotypical purpose of refining the American traveller; this can hardly be said of Daisy.

27 Sarah A. Wadsworth quotes the same passage as an example of a general similarity between *Watch and Ward* and 'Daisy Miller'; see her 'Innocence Abroad: Henry James and the Re-Invention of the American Woman Abroad', *Henry James Review* 22 (2001), 107–27; 125 n. 21.

28 The book does spell out the contractions in the serial text and corrects what appears to be a fascinating misprint in Hubert's speech: where the book edition reads 'this blessed bandage of American innocence', the periodical text read 'this blessed bondage of American innocence' (421).

While Daisy is arguably James's best-known heroine, it is Nora who stands in the front line of a sequence of convention-defying heroines that stretches the length of James's career, from Daisy to Christina Light to the title character of 'Mora Montravers' (1909). Aside from Daisy, perhaps most prominent in this sequence of heroines with similarities to Nora is Isabel in *The Portrait of a Lady*. For J. A. Ward, Nora and her sense of freedom make her 'a crude forerunner of Isabel Archer'.[29] B. R. McElderry Jr notes that 'in Nora there are occasional gleams of the charm of Isabel Archer, another young lady detached from her immediate family'.[30] Nora's train ride from Boston to New York in Chapter 9 reminds Charles Fish of Isabel's from Rome to London in Chapter 53 of the later novel: 'Both journeys take the travelers into the past where, with the wisdom of their experience, events assume an ominous value they did not have before. The similarity lies in the tone, the mood of the scenes, as much as in the factual details.'[31] The two train rides mark crises in the evolution of both heroines: Nora and Isabel travel away from distressing discoveries at home: that Roger all along had been hoping to marry Nora, and that Serena Merle was Pansy's mother and had once been Gilbert Osmond's lover – in other words, that Nora and Isabel have both been others' pawns. And both women travel towards discoveries of various kinds about the other men in their lives: Nora towards having her illusions about Fenton and Hubert punctured, and towards cherishing Roger as a husband, while Isabel's arrival in England brings her to climactic scenes with Ralph Touchett and Caspar Goodwood.

Alfred Habegger sees *Watch and Ward* and *The Portrait of a Lady* as important to understanding the career-long development of James's fictional representations of 'precocious girls' such as 'Isabel Archer, Verena Tarrant, the governess at Bly, Maisie Farange, Nanda Brookenham'.[32] In his

29 J. A. Ward, 'The Double Structure of *Watch and Ward*', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 4 (1963), 613–24; 619 – hereafter Ward.

30 B. R. McElderry Jr, 'Henry James's Revision of *Watch and Ward*', *Modern Language Notes* 67 (1952), 457–61; 457 – hereafter McElderry.

31 Charles Fish, 'Form and Revision: The Example of *Watch and Ward*', *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 22 (1967),173–90; 178 n. 7 – hereafter Fish.

32 Of, respectively, *The Portrait of a Lady*, *The Bostonians*, 'The Turn of the Screw', *What Maisie Knew* and *The Awkward Age*; Alfred Habegger, *Henry James and the 'Woman Business'* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 63 – hereafter Habegger. In a related vein, Leo B. Levy, in 'The Comedy of *Watch and Ward*', also finds that Nora anticipates later James

1865 review of Louisa May Alcott's novel *Moods*, James had complained: 'We are utterly weary of stories about precocious little girls [… and the] not less unprofitable middle-aged lover.'[33] However, James himself would write many works of fiction about precocious young women who 'would fall in love with the older man James claimed to be so weary of' (Habegger 63). *Watch and Ward*, Habegger continues, is James's first attempt to write a novel using the precocious girl and the older man; as he points out (63), *Watch and Ward* twice in its first two chapters calls Nora 'precocious' (20, 28). James's 'own first novel would revive and reinterpret [the] character types' in fictions like those of Alcott (68), but with the twist that he 'vindicates' the Roger Lawrence character 'against the suspicion that he and his kind were born losers' (73). As a result, '*Watch and Ward* subverted the genre that Louisa [Alcott] and her sisters had made their own' (75), and provides instead 'a nice-guys-finish-first daydream for good old boys' (74). *Watch and Ward* is James's 'first and last attempt to write a happy love story about the leading couple in American fiction of the 1850s and '60s, the middle-aged lover and the precocious girl'. But James, continues Habegger, needed to make this attempt 'before he would be able to write his master study of this couple, *The Portrait of a Lady* […] Only in this way would he enable himself to develop that magnificently sinister paternal lover, Gilbert Osmond, who is so adept at undermining the self-confidence of his youthful wife, Isabel, and at terrorizing his daughter, Pansy' (82). Thus, *Watch and Ward* is in part a response to a prevailing, contemporary fictional type, and in part the forerunner, not just of particular future characters, but of the basic plot structure of many of James's future works of fiction.

Nora is not the only character in *Watch and Ward* who resembles characters in later novels. Among the women characters, Mrs Keith stands out: 'As friend and matchmaker for Roger, she gives rise to a line of confidantes that range from Mrs. Tristram in *The American* to Maria Gostrey in *The Ambassadors*. A fairy godmother who transports Nora to Europe where she may undergo

heroines: 'the irregularity' of Nora's 'education […] anticipates the over-exercised adolescence of the younger persons in *The Pupil* and *The Awkward Age*, and her "aged, sombre, lifeless air" […] suggests the perverse look of the children in *The Turn of the Screw*' (*Arlington Quarterly* 1.4 (1968), 86–98; 89) – hereafter Levy. Similarly, Long offers that Nora has 'affinities with Verena Tarrant in *The Bostonians*, and with Isabel Archer (26).

33 Review of *Moods*, by Louisa May Alcott, *North American Review* 101 (July 1865), 276; *LC1* 189.

enlargement, she anticipates Mrs. Touchett in *The Portrait of a Lady*' (Long 25). And the men characters in *Watch and Ward* also have their corollaries. Habegger, for instance, shows how Roger and Fenton bear comparison with Geoffrey Moor and Warwick in Alcott's *Moods* (1864). Roger and Moor are the 'mild, liberal, unassertive man, the type who always gets left' (Habegger 75), while Fenton and Warwick are 'the authoritarian middle-aged lover [...] falsely idealized' in so many 'women's novels' (Habegger 76). James's novel follows Alcott's in juxtaposing the same kinds of male types, but it differs in exposing the type that Fenton and Hubert represent.

Other scholars have also examined parallels between the male characters in *Watch and Ward* and in James's other fiction, beginning with the earliest stories. Much as Habegger sees Roger as James's version of the 'born loser', Walter F. Wright sees Colonel Mason of 'A Most Extraordinary Case', and Captain Severn of 'Poor Richard', as being timid, sensitive men like Ralph Touchett in *The Portrait of a Lady* – and like Roger, except in failing romantically where Roger ultimately does not.[34] In fact, just as *Watch and Ward* begins with the principal male character, Roger, being rejected (yet again) by Isabel Morton (later Mrs Keith), so too 'Poor Richard' opens with Gertrude Whittaker's rejection of the title character. In other words, James began both the early story and the early novel with the humiliation of his male protagonist.

Scholars have noted that *Washington Square*, too, 'bears many resemblances to *Watch and Ward*' (Levy 96). Both novels are set in America and, as Leon Edel says, both use 'the ever-popular story of a father, a daughter and a fortune-hunter', and there are numerous points of comparison between the two fortune hunters, George Fenton and Morris Townsend.[35] Each man sees in an upper-middle-class young woman the opportunity to enrich himself. In *Watch and Ward*, Fenton hopes that his kinship with Nora will bring some of Roger Lawrence's wealth his way, just as in *Washington Square* Morris hopes that Catherine Sloper's affection for him will eventually enable him to come into her father's fortune. The difference between the two characters, however, reveals something of how in the intervening years James's

34 Walter F. Wright, *The Madness of Art: A Study of Henry James* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1962), pp. 113–15. For Roger's similarity to Ralph Touchett, see also Long 25–6.

35 *The Conquest of London*, p. 45. See also Long 26.

handling of the fortune hunter had become more subtle. In the three final chapters of *Watch and Ward*, Fenton proves to be an outright cad, whereas in *Washington Square*, for all anyone might say about him, Morris is never as unambiguously exposed. The scene in the later novel where Dr Sloper extorts from Morris's sister the unwilling avowal that he should not let his daughter marry Morris is far more nuanced than the passage in Chapter 9 of *Watch and Ward* where Fenton tells his landlady, Mrs Paul, that Nora's staying in the same house 'means money' (124), or than the scene in the final chapter where Fenton refuses to tell Nora where in New York she can find Roger and attempts, like a Gothic villain, to prevent her from leaving her room. The scene in *Washington Square* reveals that Mrs Montgomery recognizes, in spite of herself, that her brother would not make the best husband for Catherine. But the scenes in *Watch and Ward* clearly show Fenton to be a clumsy but deliberately manipulative scoundrel. The opening paragraphs of the twenty-second chapter of *Washington Square* share with the reader Morris's weighing of his options – whether to take Catherine with her $10,000 a year (a fortune in the mid-1800s), or to hold out for Catherine and her own fortune *and* eventually her father's. But nowhere in that novel are Morris's motivations exposed as brutally as Fenton's are. Nor does Catherine ever so completely revise her estimation of Morris as in Chapter 9 of *Watch and Ward*, where 'Nora […] felt that cousinship had melted to a mere name. George had been to her maturer vision a painful disappointment' (123). Nora has a moment of clear revelation about Fenton; there is no doubt about him and Nora knows it. But while Catherine sends Morris away at the end of *Washington Square*, she nevertheless never marries – even though she is given the opportunity; clearly, her feelings about Morris develop in a far more complex manner than do Nora's about Fenton.

The treatment of Morris in *Washington Square* could be seen as a defter kind of psychological realism than any James mustered in *Watch and Ward*. The earlier novel is also conspicuous for its relative lack of typical markers of literary realism, or what Roland Barthes called the reality effect:[36] obvious geographical and temporal landmarks. *Washington Square* is precise about when it takes place, and specifies and describes the real-life locations

36 Roland Barthes, 'The Reality Effect', in *The Rustle of Language*, trans. Richard Howard (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 141–8.

of its scenes (Mrs Montgomery's home, the oyster bar where Aunt Lavinia meets Morris, and, of course, the address of the Slopers' homes, the last and most important of which is the source of the novel's title). The matter is quite different with *Watch and Ward*, which for its entire first half is deliberately vague about its settings.[37] When Roger proposes, at the beginning of Chapter 5, that Nora and he 'go […] for a fortnight to town' (58), readers are not told what city the 'town' is. One has to read half the novel, to the middle of Chapter 5, for a specific mention of 'Boston' (67), and even then it still identifies Roger's home town imprecisely as 'C——' (75). The novel is also imprecise with respect to time, quite unlike *The American*, whose opening line specifies 'May […] 1868' (*A* 5). *Watch and Ward* does – to be historically accurate – have to take place after Boston's adoption in 1853 of the 'street car' (66; 'a horse-car' in the serial, 420),[38] and long enough after the 1853 publication of Charlotte Yonge's *The Heir of Redclyffe* for Nora to give it 'a twentieth perusal' and for the narrator to call it 'the classic tale of "The Heir of Redcliffe"' (36) – that is to say, if the novel is realistically accurate about historical chronology. In fact, the novel cannot take place – again assuming realistic accuracy – before 1864, when night-express through-train service between Boston and New York began. Otherwise, the 'Sunday-evening train to New York' that Nora takes in Chapter 9 would not be possible (116).

37 Even the first half of Chapter 3, which tells of Roger's travels from 'the West' to 'various Southern cities' (26), via 'Havana' (27) and Lima, limits geographic detail, no doubt due, at least in part, to James's unfamiliarity with that part of the world; the only exception is Roger's stop in Rio, where brother William had spent the spring of 1865, during his research trip with Louis Agassiz.

38 A street-car or horse-car (the terms were synonymous according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*) is a bus or trolley pulled by horses and that runs in tracks. Before street-cars, Boston relied for public transportation on omnibuses – buses pulled by horses but not running in a track. The first chapter of James's 1878 *The Europeans* confuses the terminology when Felix and Eugenia observe what they perceive to be 'a huge, low omnibus […] attached to a species of groove in the pavement' (*CFHJ4* 2). Boston's first street-car line was built in 1853; six more were built by 1857, replacing most, if not all, of the omnibus lines. Electric cars (trolleys or trams) would not come to Boston until after 1889. See Bainbridge Bunting, *Houses of Boston's Back Bay: An Architectural History, 1840–1917* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 1967), pp. 14, 37, 464 n. 10, 466 n. 25, 467 n. 28.

In consequence, the novel's action, if historically accurate, has to occur between 1864 and James's composing it in 1870 and 1871.[39]

However, when the setting shifts to Rome and to New York, *Watch and Ward* teems with identifiable geographic locations. From 'Via Felice, on the Pincian' (70) to 'the Vatican, the Capitol' (82), the novel mentions eight locations in Rome. When the scene moves to New York, the text provides information on the location of George's office – 'Tenth Avenue' (118) – and lodging – 'upper Broadway' (122) – and Hubert's home, near 'the Fifth Avenue' (131). When Roger runs in to Miss Sands and her aunt, it is in 'the Park' (131), i.e. Central Park.

The Rome section alone, all of which is contained in Nora's two letters (75–7, 81–3), one to Roger and one to Hubert, mentions more real-world locations than all of the New England part, which is most of the novel. This is one respect in which *Watch and Ward* can be seen as bearing Kelley's 'germ' of the international-theme fictions that James would go on to write: when the novel tells of an American in Europe, it also includes far more geographic landmarks as markers of its realism.

Another way in which *Watch and Ward* is like *Washington Square* is that both would be adapted in the twentieth century for the stage. *Washington Square* became *The Heiress* (1947), by Ruth and Augustus Goetz (adapted for the screen in 1949 by William Wyler), and *Watch and Ward* formed the basis for Ronald Gow's *A Boston Story*. This play was first produced as *Watch and Ward* at the Theatre Royal in Windsor in 1964; two years later, it

39 Before 1850, train travel all the way between Boston and New York did not exist; some of the route required ferries or steamboats and changing between different train services. Nora takes an overland night train from Boston to New York, and this service began in 1864, with an 8:30 p.m. departure from Boston and an arrival in Manhattan at 5 a.m. See 'Day Line from Boston to New York via Springfield, Hartford, and New Haven', in *Appleton's Northern and Eastern Traveller's Guide* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1850), p. 109; the article by the same title in *Appleton's Railroad and Steamboat Companion* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1849), p. 109; *Appleton's Railway and Steam Navigation Guide* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, July 1864), pp. 92–3; William Lee Klink, 'Modern Passenger Schedules and Their Development', unpublished BA thesis, University of Illinois (1918), p. 12. In the novel, Nora's train leaves Boston 'at eight' (174) and arrives in New York at 'seven o'clock' (176); it would appear that James did not consult a railroad schedule as he wrote Chapter 9. The mistake, though, is more pardonable than the much-remarked anomaly in the opening chapter of *The Europeans*, where James gives Boston street-cars five years before they had been introduced (*CFHJ4* 2).

was produced as *A Boston Story* at the Birmingham Repertory Theatre. Its London premiere occurred on 19 September 1968 at the Duchess Theatre, directed by Malcolm Farquhar, with Tony Britton playing Roger, Basil Hoskins playing Hubert, Dinah Sheridan as Mrs Keith, Patrick Mower as Fenton, and Nicola Pagett as Nora.[40] The title, *A Boston Story*, reflects a recurrent theme in the play that contrasts Roger's Boston attitudes against Hubert's New York ones (and in the play Hubert is a lawyer instead of a minister). Otherwise, the play follows James's basic plot, but with considerable condensing, which allows for all three acts to take place in Roger's library.

Critics have observed further similarities between the male characters in *Watch and Ward* and those in other novels. Robert Emmet Long finds that, because of the characters' Western origins, 'Fenton gives a hint of Christopher Newman' of *The American* (*A* 26). Ward finds similarities between the principal male characters in *Watch and Ward* and *The Portrait of a Lady*: 'As a virile man of affairs, Fenton is a Caspar Goodwood lacking wealth and integrity. Hubert remotely suggests Lord Warburton, though his urbanity is of a shallow order. Roger is a curious combination of Ralph Touchett and Gilbert Osmond' (619). Fenton also reminds Ward of other characters in American literature: 'Fenton is nearly a stereotype of the down-at-the-heels Mississippi gambler, perhaps a kin of Melville's confidence man or Twain's Arkansas royalty' (617). But Roger is also reminiscent of some of James's other characters. 'Roger is a vague prototype of the Jamesian egotist', according to Ward (620). He is like 'Rowland Mallet, Winterbourne, George Stransom, and Lambert Strether' in being 'often vain, prejudiced, and fussy', though 'they are never so absurd or foolish as Roger'; in Ward's opinion, 'James regards […] his [earlier] hero […] with a degree of ironic detachment that is unique' (618). Roger's informal guardianship of Nora also bears comparison with *Roderick Hudson*, says McElderry: 'The problem of guardianship foreshadows the peculiar relationship between Roderick Hudson and his benefactor', Rowland Mallet (457).[41]

Roger is like Christopher Newman of *The American* in his 'insistence that his wife be perfect' (Ward 620). Roger expects that, by raising Nora, 'it will be

40 Ronald Gow, *A Boston Story: A Comedy* (London: English Theatre Guild, 1969), p. 4.

41 Of course, Mary Garland and Christina Light complicate attempts to compare the triangles in *Roderick Hudson* with those in *Watch and Ward*.

my own fault if I have not a perfect wife' (25). And Newman proclaims that, for a wife, 'I want to possess, in a word, the best article in the market' (*A* 48). McElderry agrees: 'In Roger Lawrence's calculating approach to marriage there is a faint suggestion of *The American*' (457). Furthermore, Newman and Roger are alike in anticipating some of James's later '[l]ess attractive protagonists like John Marcher and Vanderbank [who] feel they are really too good for any woman short of perfection' (Ward 621).

Specific details in *Watch and Ward* recur in James's subsequent fiction. For example, the western origins of Nora, her father and her cousin are signalled by their being 'from St. Louis' (5), much as in the second chapter of *The American*, Newman and Tom Tristram's own western antecedents are signalled by their recalling that their last encounter had been 'in St. Louis, during the war' (*A* 21).

Another detail *Watch and Ward* shares with *The American* appears in Chapter 10; when Roger serendipitously runs into Miss Sands and her aunt in the park, the text tells us that the latter 'wore a green shade over her eyes' (131). Hindsight allows us to see that green eye shades would become something of a leitmotif in James's fiction. Chapter 17 of *The American* takes place at a performance of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (*A* 290), the same opera that Nora does *not* attend in the serial text of *Watch and Ward* (584).[42] The young Madame de Bellegarde during the intermission expresses to Newman her frustration with the blinkered lives her husband and in-laws lead. She expresses her opinion of their narrow-mindedness as living 'with a green shade on my eyes' (*A* 298). Of course, the most famous green eye shade in James's fiction is the unforgettable one, the 'everlasting green shade', as Edel calls it:[43] the 'horrible green shade' Juliana Bordereau 'had over her eyes' throughout 'The Aspern Papers', *except* at that novella's climactic moment, when she catches the narrator inspecting the 'cover' of her 'secretary'.[44] The

42 In the book, Weber's *Der Freischütz* replaces Mozart's opera (94–5).

43 Leon Edel, Introduction, *Watch and Ward*, by Henry James (New York: Grove Press, 1960), p. 12.

44 *The Aspern Papers, Louisa Pallant, The Modern Warning* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1888), pp. 20, 112.

green eye shades in the two later works, though, are far more telling details than are those of Miss Sands's aunt in *Watch and Ward*.

The Portrait of a Lady has a convent school, the one Pansy Osmond attends at the start of the novel and where her father obliges her to return near the end. Convents are mentioned twice in *Watch and Ward*. The first time is when Roger speculates that, if he were Catholic, he might manifest a Gilbert Osmond-like penchant: 'I might shut her up in a convent and keep her childish and stupid and contented' (35). The second time is in Nora's letter home from Rome, where she describes having visited 'the convent with the dreadful name,—the Sepolte Vive', where 'The inmates are literally buried alive' (76). If Roger's speculation brings Pansy's school to the minds of modern-day readers benefitting from hindsight, the convent where 'inmates are […] buried alive' brings to mind the Carmelite convent in *The American* where, according to Newman, '"Madame de Cintré is buried alive, […] The door of the tomb is at this moment closing behind her"' (*A* 388).[45] In the two later novels, however, the convents have a plot role; in *Watch and Ward*, their mention is only symbolic.

Readers do not need the advantage of hindsight, however, to study the literary context of *Watch and Ward* (for instance as Habegger does with Alcott's *Moods*). *Watch and Ward* strongly resembles the story of Pygmalion.[46] James knew at least one recent version of this myth, 'Pygmalion and the Image', one of the stories told in verse in William Morris's 1868 *The Earthly Paradise: A Poem*. James reviewed Morris's book twice in 1868, for the *North American Review* and for the *Nation*, and in both reviews he singled out Morris's version of the story of Pygmalion for special praise: 'Of the classical tales [that the book revives] we perhaps prefer the version of Pygmalion's legend', and 'The finest and sweetest poem in the volume, to our taste, is the tale of "Pygmalion and the Image."'[47]

45 Of course, comparing a convent to a tomb or a place of sepulchre ('sepolte') betrays the strong anti-Catholic bias shared by much of James's world, starting with his father.

46 Edel, *The Conquest of London*, p. 43.

47 Unsigned review of *The Earthly Paradise: A Poem*, by William Morris, *North American Review* 107 (July 1868), 358–61; 361; *LC1* 1185; 'The Earthly Paradise', unsigned review of *The Earthly Paradise: A Poem*, by William Morris, *Nation* 7 (9 July 1868), 33–4; *LC1* 1189.

In telling of the older man who attempts to raise a girl to be his future wife, *Watch and Ward* invites comparison with other literary variations on the myth of Pygmalion, such as Molière's *L'École des femmes*,[48] and the various literary sources critics have suggested for James's novel (in addition to Alcott's *Moods*): Balzac's *Eugénie Grandet* (1833) and *L'Envers de l'histoire contemporaine* (1842, 1848); Rousseau's *Émile* (1762); George Eliot's *Silas Marner* (1861); Oliver Wendell Holmes's *The Guardian Angel* (1867); Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* (1777–1829); George Sand's *La Mare au diable* (1846); *The Initials* by Jemima Montgomery, Baroness Tautphoeus (1850); and four stories published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1860 and 1861 'involving father-figures and young girls' – 'Midsummer and May', 'The Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties', 'The Man Who Never Was Young' (all anonymous) and Alcott's 'Love and Self-Love'.[49] Of these possible sources, Sand's novel is perhaps the most similar to *Watch and Ward* in its conclusion, for in both James's and Sand's texts the younger woman and the older man are in the end united, whereas they are not in Molière's and Goethe's texts. Indeed, a principal theme of Molière's play is the foolishness of the older male guardian imagining that he can control the emotional and romantic preferences of his young ward.

Where *Watch and Ward* best follows the plot outline to the story of Pygmalion and its literary adaptations is in Nora's transformation from a child of 'Bohemia' (18) to the 'so charming […] woman' of the novel's conclusion (146). The passages where Nora loses her illusions about George (123–4) and Hubert (141–3) are of particular interest. Nora's recognition, in her moment of disillusionment over George, sums up her entire transformation: 'She, in the interval, had been refined by life; he [George] had been vulgarized' (123). 'She […] had been refined by life' makes Nora's development the central focus of *Watch and Ward*. That she sees George as 'vulgarized' also suggests an affinity with another later character of James's,

48 F. W. Dupee, *Henry James* (1951; reprinted New York: Delta, 1965), p. 51.

49 Edel, Introduction, pp. 10–11; Cargill, *The Novels of Henry James*, pp. 6–9; Kelley 125–6; Long 11; William Veeder, *Henry James – The Lessons of the Master: Popular Fiction and Personal Style in the Nineteenth Century* (University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 106 – hereafter Veeder; Habegger 74–5; Levy 87, 91; Lindsey Traub, '"I Trust You Will Detect My Intention": The Strange Case of *Watch and Ward*', *Journal of American Studies* 29 (1995), 365–787; 368–71 – hereafter Traub.

Hyacinth Robinson of *The Princess Casamassima*. In learning the difference between a 'gentleman' (in Chapter 4, Nora rejects Roger's judgement that 'George is not a gentleman', 52) and vulgarity, Nora experiences an epiphany not unlike Hyacinth's, who concludes at the end of Chapter 30 of that novel that class injustice and inequality are mitigated by the creation and existence of cultural beauties like Paris's Place de la Concorde and Venice's palaces (*CFHJ9* 304–8).

Nora's recognition of George's vulgarity is important in at least two additional respects. For one, it is an instance of the use of free indirect discourse (whose word is 'vulgarized', the narrator's or Nora's? – the answer is not clear), which James will use to great effect within interior monologues throughout his fiction. In addition, the phrase that immediately follows, which appears to explain how Nora 'had been refined by life', how she now can tell the difference between refinement and vulgarity is: 'She had seen the world' (123). Here is where *Watch and Ward* reveals its affinity to the fictions of the international theme that James would spend the rest of the 1870s writing: it may be a cliché of the idea of the Grand Tour, but the text is saying that touring the monuments of Europe and exposure to the art of Rome improve a person; this is where Nora most *differs* from Daisy Miller, who goes to Rome and appears not to learn anything.

One other respect in which the literary context of *Watch and Ward* bears consideration is in this novel's use of quotation, or near quotation, from other texts, a characteristic that commentators on this early novel have not examined. As the informational notes to this Cambridge University Press edition demonstrate, the text of *Watch and Ward* abounds in quotations and literary references. Some are direct, or nearly direct, citations from Shakespeare – *Othello* (6, 23) and *Hamlet* (40, 90, 94, 109, 124), especially – or from the Bible (26, 75). Others, like the title, *Watch and Ward*, or the reference to 'a testy old uncle in a comedy' (53), may have found their way to James's pen through a more circuitous route from a more or less forgotten ancient source to becoming proverbial colloquialisms. These borrowings might have been conscious on James's part and might have been part of what James saw as making *Watch and Ward* 'a work of art', 'one of the greatest works of "this or any age"'. Or the borrowings could have been the

less conscious result of a novice writer relying on cliché phrasing more than he should have, or some combination of both possibilities. In either case, the quotations embed the text of *Watch and Ward* in its contemporary and prior literary context.

In contrast to the generally favourable response *Watch and Ward* received during the 1870s, the situation subsequently is quite different. There was no further critical commentary on *Watch and Ward* during the remainder of James's life, and what little critical attention was given to it during the decades following his death was more often hostile than not. Joseph Warren Beach concluded that *Watch and Ward* is 'a work which the author would doubtless have blotted out of existence had that been possible'.[50] Kelley (first writing in 1930), wrote that '*Watch and Ward* so bravely undertaken, slumped beyond belief in execution' (122). F. W. Dupee wrote in 1951 that '*Watch and Ward* deserved its oblivion: very little redeems it except its value as a document', and Quentin Anderson (in 1957) dismissed *Watch and Ward* as 'rather a document for the student of James's life than an object for criticism'.[51] Ward called *Watch and Ward* 'one of the most curious first novels of any major author' (613). Although Ward criticized several deficiencies that he saw in *Watch and Ward*, his 1963 article (called by Fish 'the best single commentary on the novel' (185 n. 8)) does mark a turn away from dismissal towards analysis. Edel, in his introduction to what was for a long time the only later twentieth-century reprint of *Watch and Ward*, focused on the novel's autobiographical elements.[52] In more recent years, scholars have studied how contemporary popular fiction might inform an understanding of *Watch and Ward*.[53] They have also begun to explore gender and sexuality in this novel where critics have long recognized a fairly 'overt element of sexuality' and 'overtones of incest and paedophilia',[54] or, as Dupee wrote: '*Watch and Ward* is strewn with images so palpably and irresistibly erotic as to imply a whole resonant domain of meaning beyond anything [James] could have intended.'[55] More recent studies by Richard Henke and Michèle

50 Joseph Warren Beach, *The Method of Henry James* (1918; revised edn, Philadelphia, PA: Albert Saifer, 1954), p. 183.
51 Dupee, *Henry James*, p. 51; Anderson, *The American Henry James*, p. 42.
52 Introduction, pp. 16–17.
53 Habegger; Traub; Veeder.
54 Edel, *The Conquest of London*, p. 44; Traub (365); see also Ward (613).
55 Dupee, *Henry James*, p. 52.

Mendelssohn develop what critics of an earlier (and perhaps more prudish) era could only note in passing.[56]

As with its modest critical reception, *Watch and Ward* in both serial and book forms was something of a commercial success for James. In his groundbreaking study of James's working relations with publishers, *'Friction with the Market'*, Michael Anesko estimates that the *Atlantic Monthly* paid James $500 for the 1871 serialization of *Watch and Ward*.[57] This was by far the largest sum James had yet received for a single publication. Other than the $300 Anesko estimates the *Galaxy* paid in 1874 for the two-part story, 'Mme. de Mauves' (181), until 1875, when he earned $1,200 for the serialization in the *Atlantic Monthly* of *Roderick Hudson*, James had never received more than $150 for a periodical contribution.[58] In 1871, $500 was a significant sum of money; it helped James to make a total of $1,042, according to Anesko's estimate (176), for all of that year – a modest middle-class annual income.[59]

If the serialization of *Watch and Ward* earned James money, so too did the book edition. According to his contract with Houghton, Osgood, James received a 10 per cent royalty on the retail price of the book's sales. *Watch and Ward* was reprinted seven times during James's life (Supino 77–83); the initial issue, printed 18 May 1878, was 1,000 copies, and the retail price was $1.50, 'which price was unchanged through 1905' (Supino 78).[60] This initial issue must have sold out, for, just over two months later (on 25 July), Houghton, Osgood ordered a second printing of 280 copies, and that was

56 Richard Henke, 'The Embarrassment of Melodrama: Masculinity in the Early James', *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 28 (1995), 257–83; Michèle Mendelssohn, '"I'm Not a Bit Expensive": Henry James and the Sexualization of the Victorian Girl', in Dennis Denisoff (ed.), *The Nineteenth-Century Child and Consumer Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 81–93.

57 Michael Anesko, *'Friction with the Market': Henry James and the Profession of Authorship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 180 – hereafter Anesko.

58 He received this price for nine different stories contributed between 1866 and 1874 to the *Galaxy*: 'A Day of Days', 'The Story of a Masterpiece', 'A Problem', 'Osborne's Revenge', 'A Light Man', 'At Isella', 'Master Eustace', 'The Sweetheart of M. Briseux' and 'Professor Fargo' (Anesko 179–82).

59 $1,042 was about £200 at prevailing exchange rates in 1871 and is, according to The Inflation Calculator at westegg.com, the equivalent of $20,300 in 2014 US dollars (about £13,000 at 2015 exchange rates). While $20,300 is below the 2012 US poverty threshold for a family of four, $1,042 was a lower-middle-class income in 1871.

60 Leon Edel, Dan Laurence and James Rambeau, in *A Bibliography of Henry James* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), indicate a slightly lower $1.25 for the first printing (36).

followed by a third issue, of 286 copies, printed on 23 April 1879. There were further issues in 1883 (160 copies), 1887 (162 copies) and 1893 (160 copies) (Supino 78). An 'unrecorded impression', in Houghton Mifflin's Riverside Pocket Series, was also printed, in 1886; it used the plates of the first edition (Supino 81–2). If the cost of $1.50 is correct for both the first and second issues, James must have received upward of $192 in royalties for those first two issues.[61] As Anesko indicates that James's total income in 1878 from US book sales was $337, *Watch and Ward* indeed 'turn[ed] an honest penny' (*CLHJ 1876–1878* 2:104) for James's overall income that year of $3,357 (Anesko 176). However, James earned less money from the book edition of *Watch and Ward* than from its magazine serialization, which, as Anesko points out, was the source from which James throughout his career 'derived the better part of his income' (168).

In spite of its relative success, James makes no mention in his letters after 1878 of *Watch and Ward*, and, during the first decade of the twentieth century when he prepared the *New York Edition*, James omitted *Watch and Ward*. He even wrote in the preface to the first volume of the *New York Edition* that '"Roderick Hudson" was my first attempt at a novel' (vi; *LC2* 1040); he had apparently forgotten that *Watch and Ward* was his 'first attempt'. Unless, of course, one does not define *Watch and Ward* as a novel: James continued in the same passage of the preface to *Roderick Hudson* to define 'a novel' as 'a long fiction with a "complicated" subject' (vi; *LC2* 1040). One can debate whether the subject of *Watch and Ward* is complicated, and whether, at roughly 60,000 words, it is a 'long fiction' (Beach in 1918 called *Watch and Ward* James's 'first little experiment in the longer form of story', and the *New York Times* reviewer who had called James one of the 'leading romance writers', by using the term 'romance',[62] which had more currency then, managed to evade the question of whether *Watch and Ward* is a novel or not).[63] *Roderick Hudson* and *The American*, both at close to 140,000 words, are more than twice the length of *Watch and Ward*. *The Europeans* (at 66,000 words) is just slightly longer than *Watch and Ward*, and James wrote in 1878

61 The rough equivalent of $4,640 in 2014.

62 As had the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*'s 'Boston Literary Gossip', 1.

63 *The Method of Henry James*, p. 181; unsigned review of *Watch and Ward*, *New York Times* (12 July 1878), 3.

that 'its being announced or spoken of as a "novel"' was 'a great injustice to it'; 'It is only a sketch—[…] in fact it is a "study," like Daisy Miller' (*CLHJ 1876–1878* 2:205, 178).

There can be more than one possible cause for omission from the *New York Edition*, though certainly James's own estimate of the quality of the omitted novel or story is an important one. But there were also practical causes, such as length and space limits imposed by the number of volumes that publisher Charles Scribner's Sons was willing to allow James. The omission of *The Bostonians* was primarily, if not entirely, due to the practical problem of limited space. The omission of *Washington Square* and *The Europeans* appears to result from James's aesthetic judgement against them. But, had he been accorded all the space he might have desired, he might have included them. However, even had Scribner's allowed him unlimited space, James likely would still have blushed at the idea of including *Watch and Ward*. James did not go as far as Nathaniel Hawthorne did when he destroyed surviving copies of his own first novel, *Fanshawe*. But by omitting his first novel from the *New York Edition*, by calling *Roderick Hudson* the 'first attempt at a novel', and through his own, decades-long silence about *Watch and Ward*, James in his own way contributed to diverting attention from it.

Nevertheless, *Watch and Ward* marks the moment when James first attempted to write a work of fiction considerably longer than any he had previously produced. It marks, as well, the moment when James turned from writing fiction set in America to fiction set in Europe, and in so doing entered a new and creatively rich phase of his development as an author. It is true that, when modern scholars have given *Watch and Ward* attention, it has been out of an interest in the gestation of James's overall *oeuvre*. There is, in addition, another way in which *Watch and Ward* is important: it is the earliest sustained instance of James's practice throughout his career of revising his publications. While there has been considerable and valuable study of James's revisions when preparing his *New York Edition*, relatively little scholarly study has been devoted to James's revising early in his career.[64] James sought throughout most of his career to publish his novels

64 Exceptions are the studies of revision in *Watch and Ward* by McElderry and Fish. Other studies of early revisions are 'Early and Late Revisions in Henry James's "A Passionate

and stories first in periodicals and then in book form. After he settled in London in late 1876, he sought as well to publish the same work on both sides of the Atlantic, so that *The Portrait of a Lady* appeared in serial form in America and Britain, and then in both American and British book editions. James revised his serials for book publication, and he even made revisions so that American and British book editions would cater more specifically to their respective markets, as Michael Anesko has shown James did with *Confidence*.[65]

Of course, any comprehensive study of revisions to *Watch and Ward* should first consider the early change in title, from 'Roger's Little Girl' to *Watch and Ward*. The advertised title puts the focus directly on the novel's two leading characters, although 'Roger's *Little Girl*' emphasizes Nora and the complexity of her relationship to Roger differently. She is 'Little' and she is a 'Girl' and she is 'Roger's'. If the original working title had been 'Roger and Nora', it would have made them more equal. *Watch and Ward* is a far more literary title; one possible source is a passage in Lucian's dialogue, 'Timon, or The Misanthrope', where the phrase, to keep 'watch and ward', refers to guarding something precious, not taking any enjoyment from it, and yet preventing anyone else from doing so.[66] This 'watch and ward' scenario is pertinent to Roger's and Nora's situation throughout much of James's novel, as Roger jealously guards his ward from other suitors at the same time that he himself holds off from courting her. *Watch and Ward* also refers to the medieval English village practice of keeping guard by night (watch) and day

Pilgrim'", by Albert Frank Gegenheimer, *American Literature* 23 (1951), 233–42; W. R. Martin and Warren U. Ober, "'5 M.S. Pages": Henry James's Addition to "A Day of Days'", *Studies in Short Fiction* 25 (1988), 153–5; Fish's 'Indirection, Irony, and the Two Endings of James's "The Story of a Masterpiece'", *Modern Philology* 62 (1965), 241–3; and Anesko's 'Textual Monuments/Crumbling Idols'.

65 'Textual Monuments/Crumbling Idols', 190.

66 *The Works of Lucian*, 8 vols., trans. A. M. Harmon (Cambridge, MA: Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, 1960), vol. II, pp. 341, 343. Edward Rochester also uses the phrase, in Chapter 26 of Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847), to describe his third-floor keeping of his first wife, Bertha Mason: "'the mysterious lunatic kept there under watch and ward'".

(ward),[67] and in so doing raises the question of who is the watcher and who is being watched. Since Roger becomes Nora's guardian, presumably she becomes his ward. However, as Margaret Jay Jessee has pointed out, 'ward' can mean the guardian as well.[68] As a result, the title James ultimately settled on carries different implications from the advertised one.

James published *Watch and Ward* only in America, as the 1871 serial and the 1878 book edition. As with the other novels he published during the same ten-year span, he revised the serial in preparation for book publication. But *Watch and Ward* differs from the novels that appeared in book form on the heels of their serialization by the extensiveness of the revisions in its book publication. Some of the earliest stories that James included in *A Passionate Pilgrim, and Other Tales* and *Stories Revived* are also heavily revised, but the quantity of revisions James made to *Watch and Ward* is fairly unique in that it approaches the number of revisions he carried out when he prepared the *New York Edition* texts of his earliest fiction.[69] Because there has been less scholarly study of James's early, pre-*New York Edition* revisions, attention to the revision of *Watch and Ward* is an excellent opportunity for enriching the understanding of James's practice of revision *throughout* his career and across his entire fictional *oeuvre* (and, indeed, the Cambridge University Press edition of James's fiction, with its comprehensive lists of textual variants, will contribute significantly to this opportunity).

The prefatory 'Note' that begins the book edition reminds readers that '"Watch and Ward" first appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* in the year 1871'

67 See John Cannon (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to British History* (Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 969.

68 Margaret Jay Jessee, '"Fumbling with the Key" to Narrative and Feminine Duality in Henry James's *Watch and Ward*', *South Atlantic Review* 79 (2014), 142–57; 144, 155 n. 2 – hereafter Jessee. See also the *Oxford English Dictionary* definition for 'ward'.

69 Among the early novels and stories, and until the *New York Edition*, it is in *Watch and Ward* that James made the highest number of revisions. There are 923 substantive revisions from the serial in the book edition; for a book of almost 62,000 words, that makes a ratio of revisions to total word count of 1 to 65. By contrast, the same ratio for *The Europeans* is 1 to 540 (123 revisions in 66,000 words). The earliest story James included in the *New York Edition* is 'Madame de Mauves' (1874). This story, at 37,500 words, is slightly over half the length of *Watch and Ward*. For its first book publication (in *A Passionate Pilgrim, and Other Tales*), James made 15 substantive revisions, a ratio of 1 to 1,500. When James re-issued the story in *The Madonna of the Future and Other Tales* (1879), he had made 264 more revisions, a ratio of 1 to 140. For the *New York Edition*, James made 1,500 more revisions, a ratio of 1 to 25.

and that the book edition 'has now been minutely revised, and has received many verbal alterations' (2). This 'Note' is dated 'April, 1878', like the dateline of an article, which suggests that the 'Note' is James's.[70] It constitutes, therefore, an integral part of the text of the book edition of *Watch and Ward*. Because of the note's emphasis on the book's 'many verbal alterations' and its being 'minutely revised', the revisions are more a part of the experience of reading *Watch and Ward* than of any of James's many texts revised for re-publication that do not include such a notice. Understanding the extensiveness and the nature of the revisions to *Watch and Ward* is therefore also a part of the history of the reception and appreciation of this novel.

When James wrote to Osgood that he had '*riddled*' the copy of *Watch and Ward* 'with alterations', he was not exaggerating; there are over 1,500 changes of all kinds in a novel of slightly more than 60,000 words. The first scholarly study of James's revision of *Watch and Ward* estimated that there are 'more than eight hundred verbal changes, and persistent refinement of the punctuation' in the book edition (McElderry 457), and 'eight hundred' is the number repeated by other scholars.[71]

Textual scholars do not usually include among a count of substantive variants changes involving contractions ('I have' replacing or being replaced by 'I've'). In the serial text of *Watch and Ward*, James used contractions consistently in the dialogue, but in the book edition he spelled out the majority of them. There are 530 spelled-out contractions in the book, or one third of all the revisions (not just the substantive ones).[72] When Fenton, in Chapter 4 of the serial, teases Nora that she will expect to marry Roger, Nora replies in the serial: "'I'd better wait till I'm asked'", but in the book: "'I had better wait till I am asked'" (334, 48). Fenton replies in the serial: "'He'll ask you! You'll see'", but in the book: "'He will ask you! You will see'" (334, 48). Because the manuscripts, proofs, corrected proofs and revised sheets for *Watch*

70 That this prefatory note is James's is confirmed by his reference, in his letter of 8 September [1877] to Osgood, to 'the three lines of preface' which 'I enclose'; 'the three lines of preface' appear to refer to this initial note (*CLHJ 1876–1878* 1:207).

71 This Cambridge University Press edition counts 923 substantive variants (and a total number of revisions, including incidentals, of 1,571). See Fish (174 n. 2); William T. Stafford, 'A Note on the Texts', in Henry James, *Novels*, 6 vols. (New York: Library of America, 1983–2010), vol. I, p. 1269.

72 See also McElderry 460.

and Ward have not survived, we cannot be certain why James changed the contractions, or whether the change was his idea. When he revised the serials of *Roderick Hudson* and *The American* for US book publication, he did not spell out the serials' contractions. Since, like *Watch and Ward*, *Roderick Hudson* and *The American* were serialized by the *Atlantic Monthly* and were issued as books in the US by an iteration of the same publisher, James's spelling-out of so many of the contractions in the book edition of *Watch and Ward* would appear not to have been the imposition of a house style, for it did not apply to these other novels. However, the first American and British book editions of *The Europeans* did expand the dialogue contractions of the *Atlantic Monthly* serial text; perhaps this was a Macmillan house style preference that James chose to apply as well, at almost the same time, to the US book edition of *The Europeans* and to his revisions to *Watch and Ward*. Nevertheless, the change is interesting, for in the *New York Edition* James *introduced* contractions rather than expanding them.[73]

McElderry argues that '[t]he effect' of James's expansion of the contractions 'is less to reduce the colloquial tone than to suggest a greater variety of speech' (460). The speech of Nora's father, for instance, in Chapter 1 is full of contractions, and James left them in the book edition. But, as McElderry demonstrates (460), Miss Morton's rejection of Roger uses contractions in the serial – '"I couldn't love you. I can't love you, […] I love another man; I'm engaged"' (236) – not in the book edition: '"I could not love you. I cannot love you, […] I love another man; I am engaged"' (8). The different treatment of these two passages might suggest that, in revising, James was emphasizing a class or regional distinction (or both), retaining Mr Lambert's spoken contractions but giving the Boston Brahmins, Roger and Miss Morton, a more sophisticated sounding speech. And yet the characters' social class and education do not always determine who speaks with contractions and who does not. Twenty-seven contractions from Fenton's dialogue in the serial text of Chapter 4 are spelled out in the book edition, and four of Roger's contractions in his scene in Chapter 10 with Fenton in the serial (699) remain unchanged in the book (130). The most likely inference

73 See, for instance, Royal A. Gettmann, 'Henry James's Revision of *The American*', *American Literature* 16.4 (January 1945), 279–95; 282.

is that James expanded the contractions in the book text of *Watch and Ward*, but that he did so selectively and in order to vary the text's dialogue.

The revised text's treatment of exclamation points also has an effect on the tone of the characters' dialogue. For the book edition, James deleted thirty-five exclamation points and added only three. For instance, in the final chapter, when Fenton describes to Nora his meeting with Roger, the book text omits the exclamation point in the serial's "'Do you know what he intimated? indeed, he came right out with it!'", and changes to a question mark the exclamation in "'We shall thrive, for many a year, as brother and sister, sha'n't we, Nora? and need neither his money nor his pardon!'" (704, 137).[74] The difference is one of tone, the deleted exclamations making Fenton's speech less sensational. Where James did add an exclamation point in the 1878 book text, the change of tone is perhaps even more considerable. In her final scene with Fenton, Nora learns that Roger has come to New York and asks Fenton: 'Where is he, please?' (704). In the book, James changed the question mark to an exclamation (138), making Nora's question an emphatic demand and thus helping to signal her growing exasperation and disillusionment with Fenton.

The book edition's treatment of contractions and exclamations is one example of the kinds of revisions noted by the two scholarly studies to date of these revisions, McElderry's and Fish's. McElderry concluded that James's revisions 'demonstrate a sharpening sense of style and workmanship, but they did not alter the fundamental situations or characterizations' (461). As a result, James worked at 'pruning diligently' and simplifying; he 'corrects plain wordiness' and 'removes a bookish word' (McElderry 458), providing instead 'increased precision and simplicity: less extravagant rhetoric, more conversational rhythm, fewer foreign phrases, fewer contractions, refined punctuation' (Fish 174 n. 2). In the book, James was more likely than in the serial 'to let the dialogue imply the charged situation with a minimum of outside appearance', by removing the serial's 'fine phrases' and using in their dialogue 'language much closer' to what the characters might actually say (Fish 185, 179). James also made 'Roger a more natural and consistent character' and 'reduce[d] Fenton's Western and other eccentric characteristics', thus minimizing his 'function as a representative American' (Fish 185,

74 James also replaced the question mark after 'Nora' with a comma.

187). Overall, in addition to introducing a greater variety of speech patterns and reducing sensationalism, the revisions to wording and to word order suggest that James had, while revising, additional purposes: to reduce distracting specificity; to shorten overall; to reduce the use of foreign-language phrases; and to change the treatment of figurative language, especially by condensing and or deleting metaphors and by altering or eliminating literary references.

The earliest published reference to the revisions to *Watch and Ward* appears in one contemporary review; the *Springfield Republican* (the newspaper of Emily Dickinson's friend Samuel Bowles) noted on 9 July 1878 that James had reduced unnecessary details. James 'still describes', the reviewer wrote, 'as he revises,—"minutely", and in such a way as to be both effective and tiresome. But he does not throw in the insignificant details without a purpose, as formerly.'[75] The text of the book edition presents many examples of the kind of reduction of unnecessary specificity that this reviewer had in mind. For example, Mrs Paul, in Chapter 11, 'had gone to market' in the serial (704) but 'had left the house' in the book (137). Or, during Hubert's service, 'the hymn had been sung, and the sermon was about to begin' in the serial (422), whereas the book is slightly less specific about the exact point in the service: 'the service had gone forward, the sermon was about to begin' (68). However, the 1878 revision does, occasionally, introduce a specific detail where the serial was more general. For instance, in the passage near the end of Chapter 2 that describes Nora's attendance at a boarding school, the serial text tells of 'wholesome sweets' that Roger would send her (245); in the book edition, the 'wholesome sweets' were specified as 'biscuits and oranges' (24). Nevertheless, the *Republican*'s reviewer concluded that, while 'the changes […] are numerous', they 'do not seem to be important'.[76] Instances of revisions that 'do not seem to be important' might be those where James simply reordered a phrase, as for example where the serial has: 'here Hubert was sure to be found, or to find her, engaged in a similar errand' (583), while the book reads: 'here Hubert, coming on the same errand, was sure to be found or to find her' (93).

75 Unsigned review of *Watch and Ward*, *Springfield Republican* (9 July 1878), 8.
76 Unsigned review of *Watch and Ward*, *Springfield Republican* (9 July 1878), 8.

On the whole, though, an important tendency of James's revision was to shorten. The 1871 text, with a total of almost 65,000 words, is 2,500 words longer than the 1878 book text (which totals just under 62,000). Each of the eleven chapters of the novel is shorter in the book than in the serial, with Chapters 4, 7 and 9 each being 400–500 words longer in the serial text than in the book text.

The book edition of *Watch and Ward* is shorter overall because, in revising, James significantly condensed many more passages than he expanded. James made seventy-seven substantial deletions to the serial text, but he made only seven substantial insertions to the book text, and none of these is as lengthy as his longest deletions. For instance, in the final chapter of the serial version, Fenton makes the following speech to Nora:

'He had followed you directly, in spite of your solemn request; but not out of pure affection, I think. The little man's mad. He expects you to back down and come to him on your knees,—beg his pardon and promise never to do it again.' (704)

In the book, this passage becomes:

'He had followed you directly, in spite of your hope that he wouldn't; but it was not to beg you to come back. He counts on your repentance, and he expects you to break down and come to him on your knees, to beg his pardon and promise never to do it again.' (137)

The book passage is longer than the serial one, but not by much, and it still deletes "'The little man's mad.'" On the other hand, in at least eleven of the seventy-seven passages in the serial that James shortened in the book, the deletions are extensive, suggesting that economy motivated James's longer deletions. For instance, the end of the first paragraph of Chapter 11, in the serial, is as follows:

At the end of five minutes she had conceived a horror of her. It seemed to her that she had met just such women in reports of criminal trials. She had wondered what the heroines of these tragedies were like. Why, like Mrs. Paul, of course! They had her comely stony face, her false smile, her little tulle cap, which seemed forever to discredit coquetry. And here, in her person, sat the whole sinister sisterhood on Nora's bed, calling the young girl 'my dear,' wanting to take her hand and draw her out! With a defiant flourish, Nora addressed her letter with Miss Murray's honest title: 'I should like to have this posted, please,' she said. (702–3)

In the book edition, the same passage appears as:

> At the end of five minutes she had conceived a horror of her comely stony face, her false smile, her little tulle cap, her artificial ringlets. Mrs. Paul called her my dear, and tried to take her hand; Nora was afraid that, the next thing, she would kiss her. With a defiant flourish, Nora addressed her letter with Miss Murray's venerated title; 'I should like to have this posted, please,' she said. (135)

Gone in the book's text are the reference to criminal trials, the play metaphor ('heroines of these tragedies'), the statement that Mrs Paul's 'cap' 'seemed […] to discredit coquetry', and the reference to a 'whole sisterhood' of 'such women' as might be involved in criminal proceedings, replaced by whatever the detail of 'artificial ringlets' implies and by Nora's fear that Mrs Paul 'would kiss her'.

One of James's longest cuts is substantial in other ways. The final paragraph of the novel in the 1871 serial edition consists of six sentences:

> Mrs. Keith and Mrs. Lawrence are very good friends. On being complimented on possessing the confidence of so charming a woman as Mrs. Lawrence, Mrs. Keith has been known to say, opening and shutting her fan, 'The fact is, Nora is under a very peculiar obligation to me.' Another of Mrs. Keith's sayings may perhaps be appositely retailed,—her answer, one evening, to an inquiry as to Roger's age: 'Twenty-five—*seconde jeunesse*.' Hubert Lawrence, on the other hand, has already begun to pass for an elderly man. Mrs. Hubert, however, preserves the balance. She is wonderfully fresh, and, with time, has grown stout, like her mother, though she has nothing of the jaded look of that excellent lady. (710)

For the 1878 book edition, James deleted all but the first two sentences of this paragraph and ended the novel thus:

> Mrs. Keith and Mrs. Lawrence are very good friends. On being complimented on possessing the confidence of so charming a woman as Mrs. Lawrence, Mrs. Keith has been known to say, opening and shutting her fan, 'The fact is, Nora is under a very peculiar obligation to me!' (146)

Here, not only is the passage in the book edition that much shorter, but the deletion means that the book ends with a much clearer focus on Roger and Nora and her relationship with Mrs Keith. Fish finds the serial's ending to be a 'conventional report', summing up almost all of the novel's characters (185), and for McElderry the book's end means that 'The last

sentence focuses on one of the little private jokes so typical of James' (460). Either way, the tone of the book's ending is very different from the serial's.

There are other significant changes that do not, however, affect the length of the texts. In Chapter 3 of the serial Roger is 'thirty-two' (327), while in the book he is 'thirty-three' (36), though in both texts he is 'twenty-nine' in the first paragraph of the first chapter (232, 3); James must have recalculated the number of years that had passed in the intervening pages. The names of Miss Sandys, Teresa and Abbé Ledoux ('Mrs. Keith's confessor' (430; Ledoux means: the sweet or gentle one)) in the serial text become in the book text Miss Sands, Teresita and Abbé Leblond (the blond one).[77]

One frequent category of changes that James made was to foreign-language phrases; thirteen of these in the serial text are changed to English equivalents or near-equivalents in the book edition,[78] and in five other instances, James not only changed the serial's French to English, but also further altered the wording.[79] For instance, when Mrs Keith, in Chapter 7, reports that the French ambassador to Rome had called Nora '*parfaitement belle*' (perfectly beautiful, 219), Nora in the serial retorts that: '"Frenchwomen, as a rule, are not *parfaitement belles*"' (578). But in the book edition, while James maintained Mrs Keith's French phrase, he removed the French from Nora's reply, which became: '"He was very ugly himself"'

77 Levy suggests the change of 'Sandys' to 'Sands' is a reference to George Sand (93). James also used the name Ledoux in *The American* (he is one of the sitters at Valentin de Bellegarde's death-bed); revising *Watch and Ward* less than a year after the book publication of *The American*, James may have wanted to differentiate the two.

78 The serial's '*tournure*' (232) becomes 'figure' (3), '*au sérieux*' (244) is 'seriously' (22), 'Roger's *monde*' and 'another *monde*' (329) are 'Roger's circle' and 'another circle' (42), and '*oncle de comédie*' (337) becomes 'uncle in a comedy' (53). '*J'ai votre affaire*' (424) becomes 'I have got the thing for you' (73), 'her *jeune première*' (582) is 'her young performer' (91), 'to give the *pas* to' (583) is 'to make way for' (92), 'said [...] *sotto voce*' (589) is 'said [...] privately' (102), 'admirable *bonhomie*' (593) is 'unstudied irony' (108), '*résumé*' (593) is 'summing-up' (109), '*gracieuseté*' (690) is 'amenity' (115), and 'her *fiancé*' (708) becomes 'her intended' (144).

79 The serial's 'womanly *finesse*' (235) is 'feminine keenness' (8) in the book; 'her girlish *épanouissement*' (girlish flowering, 420) becomes 'her happy freedom' (66); 'the least bit a *pièce de circonstance*' (586) is 'a little pre-arranged' (98); 'the camellia out of her *chignon*' (587) is 'her biggest bracelet' (99); and 'a man of genius *manqué*' (a failed genius, 693) becomes the kinder 'a man of latent genius' (118).

(85).[80] But James was not systematic in removing foreign-language phrases, for he did keep fourteen of them from the serial, including 'those *pieds énormes*' that Hubert criticizes Nora for having, and to which the text twice refers (244, 416; 22, 60).[81]

Therefore, while James revised to English or completely deleted twenty-two foreign-language phrases, he retained twenty. And of the twenty that James retained, the great majority are terms like 'nonchalance' and 'protégé' that have become common English, which explains their being retained but without italics.[82] The deletion of foreign-language phrases in the book makes it less pretentious than the serial, which is in keeping with other verbal revisions that simplify the language of the book text. By relying on fewer foreign-language phrases, the book edition also brings the language closer to the language that the characters would more likely use, much as it retains the contractions in dialogues including Mr Lambert and (occasionally) Fenton.

James's revisions to figurative language vary between altering a metaphor, simplifying and deleting metaphors, and making little or no change. During their confrontation in Chapter 7, Mrs Keith asks Hubert, 'Is a young girl a thing to be tried like a horse, to be taken up and dropped again?' (589).

80 For the book edition, James also deleted entirely from the text of the serial four foreign-language phrases: '*cugino mio*' (my cousin, 430), '*mise en scène*' (146), '*genius loci*' (586) and '*seconde jeunesse*' (second youth, 710).

81 The retained phrases are: '*les grandes curiosités*' (234, 6); '*bonhomie*' (330, 704; 43, 137); '*payer de sa personne*' (416, 59); '*veuve consolée*' (418, 63); '*fadaises*' (425, 73); '*au courant*' (426, 75); '*Mademoiselle, vous êtes parfaitement belle*' (578, 85); '*Du allerliebste*' (584, 95); '*Par exemple!*' (592, 107); '*contadina*' and its plural, '*contadine*' (429, 430; 81); '*tirade*' (708, 144). In thirteen other instances, the serial gives in italics foreign-language words that were becoming common in English; the book keeps the words but removes the italics. The terms are: '*protégée*' (237 and 428; 10 and 79), '*naïveté*' (320, 581; 27, 90), '*dénouement*' (327, 585; 36, 96), '*tête-à-tête*' (421, 578; 68, 85), '*bric-à-brac*' (430; 82), '*impressario*' (582; it is respelled 'impresario' 91), '*prima donna*' (582; 91), '*nonchalance*' (583; 93) and '*coupé*' (588; 101). The piano prize Nora wins is a picture of 'Mozart *à* Vienne' in the serial (322) but 'Mozart à Vienne' in the book (29). And James took advantage of the revision to correct a foreign-language error: '*salonetta*' (430) to '*salotto*' (81), though the book introduced a new error – Goethe's '*ewig Weibliche*' in the serial (245) was misprinted as '*ewige Weibliche*' (23). For more, see McElderry 459.

82 James did remove italics from some English-language phrases as well: 'a *day's* friendliness' in the serial (591) loses its italics in the book (105), and '*that* brow' in the serial (708) becomes 'that noble face' in the book (144).

But, for the book, James changed the equestrian metaphor to a musical one: 'Is a young girl a thing to be tried like a piano,—to be strummed on for a pretty tune?' (102). While he altered the metaphor here, in other places James deleted figurative language outright. In her letter from Rome to Hubert, in Chapter 6 of the serial text, Nora describes the terrace she visited (where Hubert had once resided): 'It was flooded with light, with that tempered Roman glow which seems to be compounded of molten gold and liquid amethyst' (429). But in the book edition, the passage is shortened and simplified: 'It was flooded with light,—you know the Roman light,—the yellow and the purple' (81). Gone are the 'molten gold and liquid amethyst', turned to the colours 'yellow' and 'purple', and the uncertainty of 'seems to be compounded' gives way to the direct, relational appeal: 'you know the Roman light'.

When revising *Watch and Ward*, James tended to condense or delete metaphors, unlike with his much later revisions for the *New York Edition* of *The American*, where James tended to add 'figures of speech' when revising that early novel.[83]

But James did not always cut or alter his metaphors when revising *Watch and Ward*, thus adding to the interest of the figurative passages that he did retain for the book. The serial text of the final chapter renders with an extended metaphor both the awkwardness that Nora feels when she begins to grasp that she has obtruded inconveniently on Hubert and the epiphany that follows:

> Nora felt as if she had taken a jump, and was learning in mid-air that the distance was tenfold what she had imagined. It is strange how the hinging-point of great emotions may rest on an instant of time. These instants, however, seem as ages, viewed from within; and in such a reverberating moment Nora felt the spiritual

83 Gettmann, 'Henry James's Revision of *The American*', p. 282. Robert L. Gale's study of James's use of imagery, *The Caught Image: Figurative Language in the Fiction of Henry James* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), shows that the book edition of *Watch and Ward* has a similar number of 'images' (with 'image' defined as: simile, metaphor, imaginative analogy and extended personification (p. 4)) per thousand words – 4.6 – as *The Sense of the Past*, and considerably more than the contemporary editions of *Confidence* or *Washington Square* (both 2.3 per thousand), or than the *New York Edition* texts of 'Daisy Miller (1.9) or *The Portrait of a Lady* (3.1)' (pp. 251–3).

substructure of a passion melting from beneath her feet, crumbling and crashing into the gulf on whose edge she stood. (707)

In the book text, however, the passage remains almost identical (141–2); the only change comes in the second part of the third sentence, where 'Nora felt the spiritual substructure of a passion melting' becomes 'Nora felt something that she had believed to be a passion melting' (142).

Another retained metaphor is also one that Leon Edel cites as an example of the novel's 'more overt element of sexuality'.[84] In Chapter 4, in the serial text:

Roger caught himself wondering whether, at the worst, a little precursory love-making would do any harm. The ground might be gently tickled to receive his own sowing; the petals of the young girl's nature, playfully forced apart, would leave the golden heart of the flower but the more accessible to his own vertical rays. (331)

James left this passage untouched in his revisions (44). The same is true of the passage in Chapter 5 that Edel says 'D. H. Lawrence might have written,'[85] where Nora borrows Roger's watch-key in order to wind her watch and, finding that 'Roger's key proved a complete misfit, […] had recourse to Hubert's' instead (62).

James did, however, remove for the book edition a reference in the serial to the 'forbidden fruit', as well as one to Gray's 'Elegy Written in a Country Church-yard'. At the beginning of the eighth chapter, when Roger is convalescing and both Nora and he are hungry, the serial text tells us that:

She petitioned for a share in certain eleemosynary dainties,—that heavy crop of forbidden fruit, which blooms in convalescence,—which she had perceived wasting their sweetness in the dining-room. Hereupon she took off her bonnet and was bountifully served at Roger's table. (592).

In the book, James altered the passage to: 'She asked for a share of Roger's luncheon, and, taking off her bonnet, was bountifully served at his table' (107). James, in 1878, apparently wanted to avoid the connotations implicit in the phrase 'forbidden fruit'. He may also have felt that 'wasting their

84 *The Conquest of London*, p. 44; Edel contrasts sexual overtones in *Watch and Ward* to James's 1871 story for the *Galaxy*, 'Master Eustace'.

85 Introduction, p. 7.

sweetness', with its resemblance to part of line 56 of Gray's 'Elegy Written in a Country Church-yard' ('waste its sweetness'), was inappropriate.[86] Perhaps he simply perceived the oblique reference to candies sent an invalid as a distraction. Either way, the revised phrase loses the metaphor and the literary references but gains in simplicity.

The text of the 1878 book edition removes or alters several other references to specific artistic works. For example, in Chapter 4, Fenton complains that New Englanders are 'a trifle overstarched'. In the serial he uses an allusion to *The Pilgrim's Progress* to make his point: 'you're all stuck fast in a Slough of Despond' (333); in the book, Bunyan's Slough gives way to a phrase more characteristic of Fenton: 'you're all stuck fast in ten feet of varnish' (48). Fenton quoting Bunyan might have stretched credulity, and this revision is of a piece with the book's tendency both to simplify literary references and to make the characters' speech seem more natural.

James did not always delete the serial's references; some he only altered, such as the opera in Chapter 7 that Nora does not attend, instead sending her friend Miss Lilienthal. In the serial, it is Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (584), but in the book it is Weber's *Der Freischütz* (94–5). While James did not remove the sexual suggestiveness in the passages Edel points out, by changing the opera reference from *Don Giovanni* to *Der Freischütz*, James did diminish his novel's sexual overtones. Mozart's and librettist Lorenzo Da Ponte's version of the story of Don Juan was not an appropriate opera for either Nora or Miss Lilienthal to attend, for not only is Mozart's Don Giovanni a legendary rake, but the opera is full of sexual innuendo. While Don Giovanni's skirt-chasing bears comparison to Hubert Lawrence's, with the substitution of Weber's rustic, fantastic *Der Freischütz* for *Don Giovanni*, the book edition of *Watch and Ward* removes a sexually charged cultural reference. James may also have wanted more variety in his allusions to operas, as *Don Giovanni* had been the opera that Newman and the Bellegardes attended in Chapter 17 of *The American*. That chapter appeared in serial form in the January 1877 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*, and the book had been published in early May

86 Thomas Gray, 'Elegy Written in a Country Church-yard', in Arthur Pollard (ed.), *Silver Poets of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Dent, 1976), pp. 176–8.

1877; the reference to *Don Giovanni* might have seemed too fresh for James to publish another novel a year later that also referred to the same opera.[87]

Another literary allusion that James changed appears in Chapter 3. In the serial, the novel with which Nora sits down for 'a twentieth perusal' is 'the classic tale of "The Initials"' (326), whereas in the book edition, the 'classic tale' is *The Heir of Redclyffe* by British novelist Charlotte M. Yonge (36). *The Initials* was Baroness Tautphoeus's popular novel about an Anglo-German romance in the Bavarian mountains. James read it at age 11,[88] and his aunt, Mary Temple Tweedy, referred to it in her one surviving letter to him.[89] The plot of Tautphoeus's novel has in common with *Watch and Ward* an upper-class hero, Alfred Hamilton, who develops a romantic interest in Hildegarde Rosenberg, the daughter of the middle-class civil servant with whom Hamilton lodges. Thus, *The Initials* parallels something of the class complexity of Roger's and Nora's relationship in *Watch and Ward*. But James had also read Yonge's *The Heir of Redclyffe* (1853), as his reference to it in his 1865 review of Elizabeth Rundle Charles's *Chronicles of the Schönberg-Cotta Family* suggests.[90] That the 1878 book text of *Watch and Ward* substitutes *The Heir of Redclyffe* for *The Initials* of the 1871 serial may be because Yonge's novel 'has', as Leo Levy says, 'a kinship to the theme of *Watch and Ward*' (90); there are also plot parallels, for *The Heir of Redclyffe* tells of Guy Morville, who seeks to marry Amy, the daughter of his guardian, and just as cousins Hubert Lawrence and George Fenton appear at times as potential rivals to Roger for Nora's affection, so too does Guy's cousin Philip Morville, in Yonge's novel, temporarily obstruct Guy's courtship of Amy. William Veeder calls *The Initials* 'probably the novel which James borrowed from the most in *Watch and Ward*' (106), so perhaps James wanted to cover his tracks when, in 1878, he substituted *The Heir of Redclyffe* for *The Initials*. Or it was James's attempt at greater consistency, for in both editions of *Watch and Ward* the

87 In other words, James could have substituted for *Don Giovanni* much as he substituted Leblond for Ledoux as the name for Mrs Keith's confessor.

88 *SBOC* 67; 67 n. 141.

89 Letter to Henry James, 7, 10 October 1873, Houghton bMS Am 1094 (467), Houghton Library, Harvard University.

90 'The Schönberg-Cotta Family', unsigned review of *Chronicles of the Schönberg-Cotta Family*, by Elizabeth Rundle Charles, *Nation* 1 (14 September 1865), 345; *LC1* 826.

first paragraph of Chapter 5 calls Nora a 'maiden who' read 'the "Heir of Redcliffe"'. James did not, when revising *Watch and Ward*, change that literary reference, though he did revise the adjective that modifies maiden, from 'stately' in the 1871 text (415) to 'lofty' (58).[91]

As with the change of operas, another deletion James made – of an actual hotel name – may also have been motivated by a practical consideration. At the end of Chapter 9 of the serial text, when Fenton looks for Roger, who he (correctly) believes has followed Nora to New York, he starts his search 'at the Brevoort House', where Fenton 'from what he knew of Roger, […] believed him to be' (697). The book text, however, substitutes for 'he believed him to be at the Brevoort House' the less specific: 'he believed him to be at the "quietest" of' one 'of the best hotels' (124). The Brevoort House was, during the two decades following the American Civil War, the most prestigious hotel in New York. It opened in 1854 and closed in 1895; it was located on Washington Square, at Fifth Avenue and Waverley Place. Many famous people, including several to whom James was connected, stayed there: Sam Ward the lobbyist; Archibald Primrose, Lord Rosebery; Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton; US Senator Charles Sumner (whose wife James knew well); Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts (James knew the late governor's family); Dean Arthur Stanley of Westminster; and British author William Hepworth Dixon.[92] If James wanted to show that Fenton would expect Roger to stay in a prestigious New York hotel, then specifying the Brevoort (in the serial text) would be appropriate. By removing the name in the book edition and specifying only that it was 'the "quietest"' of 'the best hotels', James insinuated not that Roger would stay at a well-known hotel so much as at one that was more secluded. At the same time, James may also have shied away from specifying a place frequented by people he was seeing at the same time in London.

91 An additional literary reference in the serial text appears in Chapter 3, which indicates that 'Roger had no great fondness' for 'works of fiction', although he made an exception 'for Thackeray'. Nora, on the other hand, 'had all of a young girl's passion for novels, […] but "The Newcomes," as yet, was not one of them' (326). James revised this passage in the book, so that Nora is still 'fond of novels', but deleted the mention of Thackeray and of *The Newcomes* (35).

92 'Brevoort House to Close', *New York Times* (5 April 1895), p. 1, col. 5.

In his study of the revisions to *Watch and Ward*, Fish argues that 'James had other motives as well' (174 n. 2) for his revisions – literary ones, though, not practical ones. Many of the revisions diminish the distance between character, authorial voice and reader, in order to 'affect point of view' (179). Fish points out that the narrative point of view in the novel's first three chapters is Roger's (174). In the fourth chapter, where the text first introduces Fenton, the point of view varies between Roger, Fenton and Nora (175). In the remaining seven chapters, in the book edition, the point of view alternates chapter by chapter between Roger's and Nora's (175), and 'in revising the novel' James tried 'to reinforce this method' of varying points of view (174). Indeed, Fish theorizes (173, 190) that the narrative schema of alternating points of view is what James meant when he told Charles Norton in his letter of 9 August 1871 that 'A certain form will be [the] chief merit' of *Watch and Ward*. As a result, concludes Fish, since point of view is related to awareness, and therefore to self-awareness, the 'true subject' of *Watch and Ward* is 'self-awareness', and the revisions are James's 1878 recognition of this (177). It may be impossible to ascertain whether James was conscious that his revisions altered narrative point of view as Fish claims they do, or whether the 'certain form' about which James boasted to Norton is a matter of narrative point of view. But Fish's study is a rare example of a serious attempt to identify that 'certain form', and while it is like other studies in that it draws conclusions about how *Watch and Ward* fits the overall arc of James's development as a fiction writer, Fish's focus is on James's technique.

The neat schema that Fish outlines does not, as he acknowledges (175–6), always hold up during the final seven chapters. Any scene where neither Nora nor Roger is present would not fit the pattern. Even if the pattern is only a loose one, the revisions that reinforce it in the 1878 book edition constitute for Fish an important moment in James's development of narrative technique. In stories written between the 1871 serial and 1878 book publications of *Watch and Ward*, like 'The Madonna of the Future' and 'The Last of the Valerii', James 'had refined to perfection the device of the narrator-observer, and in the novels, *Roderick Hudson* and *The American*, he had shown that he could sustain a single center of interest for the greater part of a long work' (Fish 190). In *Roderick Hudson*, *The American* and 'Daisy Miller', 'James went much further in presenting action through the eyes of a single

character – Rowland Mallet, Christopher Newman, Winterbourne.' James may have been dissatisfied 'with the loose alternating pattern of *Watch and Ward*' (178), and that dissatisfaction may have had two consequences: that he worked to sustain the 'single center of interest' in longer works of fiction than 'The Last of the Valerii' or 'The Madonna of the Future', and that James's late 1877 and early 1878 revisions to *Watch and Ward* attempted to improve the narrative points of view in that novel. If those other fictions of the 1870s, with their single narrative point of view, lead ultimately to a novel like *The Ambassadors*, the experiment in *Watch and Ward* with multiple points of view could be seen as leading towards the longer novels – from *The Portrait of a Lady*, *The Bostonians* and *The Princess Casamassima* to *The Wings of the Dove* and *The Golden Bowl* – that also use more than one point of view.

One of the merits of Fish's theory is that it suggests one of the ways in which *Watch and Ward* served as the apprentice novel that so many commentators have called it. It is not just that in *Watch and Ward* James was learning the craft, generally speaking, of writing novels, or that he was beginning to explore certain subjects, themes or characterizations. He was also honing the craft of manipulating narrative perspective. That James set *Watch and Ward* in the United States, rather than making his first novel another test-case for his new experiment in European-set fictions, may not be perplexing after all. James may have returned from Europe in the spring of 1870 with his creative juices revived, and he set to work on two kinds of experiments: stories about Americans in Europe, and a longer work of fiction with a particular kind of narrative structure. In 1870 and 1871, he was cautious enough not to attempt combining the two experiments; that would come later.

Few critics have been surprised that James disclaimed *Watch and Ward* – from the 1878 *Appleton's Journal* reviewer who suggested that the 'chief interest' of *Watch and Ward* is 'that it is a specimen of the early work of the author of "Roderick Hudson" and "The American"', to Clarence Gohdes, who called *Watch and Ward* 'merely the product of an apprentice', to Stuart Johnson, who subtitled his 1985 article on *Watch and Ward* 'The Lesson of the Apprentice', to Linda Simon, who concluded that James omitted *Watch and Ward* from the *New York Edition* because his first novel is 'no more

than a youthful effort'.[93] It may be all the easier to dismiss *Watch and Ward*, with its setting in and around Boston and in New York City, if one sees it concluding the earliest phase in James's fiction-writing career, rather than pointing to the international-theme fiction that would establish his fame as a writer. One part of *Watch and Ward*, the short section where Nora visits Rome, is set in Europe, and in it one might see not only an effect of James's 1869–70 European trip, but also some of the 'germ' (to repeat Kelley's term, 114) of the international-theme fiction that James was beginning to compose at the same time he was writing *Watch and Ward*. This short section (like the entire novel) is still a long way from the full-blown expatriate fictions that *Roderick Hudson*, *The American*, 'Daisy Miller' and *The Portrait of a Lady* are, but, because James was working on 'Travelling Companions', 'A Passionate Pilgrim' and 'At Isella' at the same time he was writing and publishing *Watch and Ward*, we can see this first novel as not just the culmination of the first, more exclusively American phase of James's career, but part of the transition, along with these three shorter stories, to the novels and stories that James would publish during the next decade.

Watch and Ward continues to attract far less attention from scholars and critics than James's later fiction. An early 2020 online search in the *Modern Language Association Bibliography* for material on *Watch and Ward* yields only 10 results, with only 2 from the twenty-first century: Mendelssohn's '"I'm Not a Bit Expensive": Henry James and the Sexualization of the Victorian Girl', and Jessee's '"Fumbling with the Key" to Narrative and Feminine Duality in Henry James's *Watch and Ward*'. By comparison, a similar search for *The Portrait of a Lady* yields 413 results, and one for 'The Turn of the Screw' yields 373. This disparity would appear to validate the conclusion of R. N. Foley, who in 1944 claimed that: 'On the whole, [*Watch and Ward*] did nothing to advance James's reputation.'[94] But such a claim may have been more true in the middle of the twentieth century than it was in

93 Unsigned review of *Watch and Ward*, *Appleton's Journal*, p. 189; Gohdes, quoted in Cargill, *The Novels of Henry James*, p. 12; Stuart Johnson, 'Germinal James: The Lesson of the Apprentice', *MFS: Modern Fiction Studies* 31 (1985), 233–47; Linda Simon, *The Critical Reception of Henry James: Creating a Master* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2007), p. 29.

94 Richard Nicholas Foley, *Criticism in American Periodicals of the Works of Henry James from 1866 to 1916* (1944; reprinted n.p: Folcroft Press, 1970), p. 16.

the late 1870s, when the book publication of *Watch and Ward* arguably *did* help to advance James's reputation by earning its young author 'an honest penny' (*CLHJ 1876–1878* 2:104) and attracting 'some favorable comment' (McElderry 461). *Watch and Ward* may not be the literary monument that *The Portrait of a Lady* or 'The Turn of the Screw' or *The Golden Bowl* are, but it is a milestone in James's early development from a writer of short stories to one of full-length novels.

Contemporary Reception of *Watch and Ward*

The following is a list of reviews that appeared at the time of the novel's serialization in 1871 and of its book publication in 1878. With the exception of the *Athenæum*, all of the periodicals in which these reviews appeared were American. Two of the reviews listed were subsequently reprinted, as noted, in James W. Gargano (ed.), *Critical Essays on Henry James: The Early Novels* (Boston: G. K. Hall and Co., 1987).

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TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION

The textual history of *Watch and Ward* is less complicated than that of such early novels of James's as *Roderick Hudson* or *The American* or *The Portrait of a Lady*. *Watch and Ward* appeared only twice during James's life, first as the August to December 1871 *Atlantic Monthly* serial, then as the book published in 1878 by Houghton, Osgood and Company. James's manuscript for the novel, the proofs and the revised proofs have not survived. Although there were subsequent reprintings of the 1878 book edition, there was no other edition, there was no revised edition, and James apparently had no role in the reprints. The student, reader, or scholar interested in the textual history of *Watch and Ward* has only the two publications, the 1871 serial and the 1878 book, to compare.

James did make numerous revisions to the 1871 serial when, during late 1877 and early 1878, he prepared the novel for book publication. In his letter of 8 September [1877] to James Ripley Osgood, James wrote that: 'I have kept the copy for *Watch and Ward* very long; […] and I send back the sheets by this post. I have *riddled* them with alterations & made a great mess for the printers' (*CLHJ 1876–1878* 1:207). This letter suggests that Osgood had sent James copies of pages from the 1871 *Atlantic* ('the copy for *Watch and Ward*', 'the sheets'), and that James had written revisions on these, as he did when revising other serials for book publication.

Because of the abundance of the changes he made, James insisted in the same letter that, 'I must absolutely see proofs. […] This is a rigid condition.' He promised, furthermore, that he would 'attend to them immediately' so that, perhaps: 'The book could still come out by Xmas' (*CLHJ 1876–1878* 1:207). It is not clear when those proofs were ready for James to 'attend to', but as the book did not appear until five months *after* Christmas 1877, either Osgood's page-setters were longer than James expected in setting up the proofs, or James was longer than he had promised in examining them, or both. In any case, James did see the proof – 'I have seen all the proof', he wrote to his father on 19 April 1878 (*CLHJ 1876–1878* 2:105). Since James's residence in Europe often prevented him from checking proof of his American

publications (especially periodical ones), the knowledge that James saw 'all the proof' for the book edition of *Watch and Ward* is important; it gives the text of that edition an authority that texts whose proof James was not able to see do not have. There is no extant correspondence between James and his editor about checking proof during the time that the *Atlantic Monthly* was preparing to publish the serial of *Watch and Ward*. However, at this time, James was residing in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and he could easily have checked proof on the spot, as he did for the book edition of *Roderick Hudson* during the late summer and early fall of 1875 (see his letters of 31 August [1875] to Osgood, and of 7 October [1875], [13 October 1875], and 15 October [1875] to H. O. Houghton, *CLHJ 1872–1876* 2:233, 236, 237, 239). Therefore, the serial text of *Watch and Ward* may have as much authority as the book edition's text. However, since there is his own word that James did see proof of the book edition, and as it is the policy of this Cambridge edition to publish the text of the first book edition of James's works, for this volume, the copy text is the 1878 book edition.

In both its 1871 *Atlantic Monthly* serialization and its 1878 Houghton Osgood book publication, James's text presented most contractions as two words ('sha' n't', 'it 's', 'he 'll', although 'won't' and 'don't' were printed as one word). This Cambridge edition presents all contractions in the text of the novel and in the apparatus as one word.

There are over 1,500 textual differences between the two versions of *Watch and Ward*, over 900 of which are listed here as substantive changes. The remaining 600 changes are punctuation changes and different treatment of contractions. James used contractions extensively in characters' dialogue in the 1871 serial text; in the 1878 book edition, he spelled out 530 of these (or one third of all of the revisions James made). Because the spelling-out of contractions in the book edition is selective (many from the serial remain in the book), we conclude that the different treatment of contractions in the two texts is the result not of a house style preference as much as of James's preference. Nevertheless, the revisions to contractions are not included in the following list of variants, unless as part of a more substantive revision. Similarly, the revisions to punctuation (unless to full-stop punctuation or involving exclamation points) are not included in this list.

Also excluded from the list are foreign-language words which were in italics in the serial but not in the book (*protégée*, *naïveté*, *dénouement*,

tête-à-tête, *bric-à-brac*, *impressario*, *prima donna*, *nonchalance* and *coupé*). The change is likely a house style preference, although it also reflects the evolution of these words from their French- and Italian-language origins into common English.

Excluded as well from the list are the nine obvious typos in the serial that are corrected in the book text ('make his [not 'her'] acquaintance', 'with absent' (not 'with absent promise'), '"So much for past!"', 'casting him about him', 'of needfu departure', 'they begun to blaze', 'only cause', 'when we begun', 'increasd').

CHRONOLOGY OF COMPOSITION AND PRODUCTION

1870

10 May: James returns to his parents' home in Cambridge, Massachusetts, after having spent the previous fourteen months in Britain, France, Switzerland and Italy.

Summer and autumn: After visiting Saratoga, NY, Lake George, Pomfret, CT, and Newport, James publishes two reviews and the story 'Travelling Companions' in the *Atlantic Monthly* and four travel articles in the *Nation*.

Early November: By the middle of the month, James has delivered three of five parts of *Watch and Ward* to James T. Fields, editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*. At the same time, the *Atlantic* advertised *Watch and Ward* – by its working title, 'Roger's Little Girl' – among the features to appear in the magazine's 1871 issues.

15 November: William Dean Howells, then assistant editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, tells James that Fields would prefer that serialization of *Watch and Ward* not begin with the January 1871 issue but in a later issue. James writes to Fields that he is willing 'to have it lie over' and that, as a result of this 'delay', the two remaining parts 'will have been joined' with the 'two others … before publication begins'.

1871

Mid-February: The first of the two parts of 'A Passionate Pilgrim' appears in the March issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*; the concluding part appears a month later.

12 April: James's short play, *Still Waters*, appears in the second issue of the *Balloon Post*, the newsletter of a charity for victims of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1.

Mid-July: The first of the five instalments of *Watch and Ward* appears in the August issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*; the novel will run through to the December issue. James's review of Gustave Droz's *Around a Spring* also appears in the August *Atlantic Monthly*. The story 'At Isella' appears in the August issue of the *Galaxy*.

9 August: James writes to Charles Eliot Norton and mentions that 'I have begun to print in the *Atlantic* a short serial story [*Watch and Ward*] wh. you will see' (*CLHJ 1855–1872* 2:415). Norton's sister, Grace, in a letter of the same month that is no longer extant, mentions *Watch and Ward* to James. His reply (of 27 November) thanks her for being 'charmingly amiable about … poor Roger, Nora, the Signora *e tutti quanti*' (*CLHJ 1855–1872* 2:418–19).

Late summer: James travels from Niagara to Quebec; the trip leads to two two-part travel articles, 'Quebec' and 'Niagara', published in consecutive issues of the *Nation* (28 September, 5 October, 12 October and 19 October).

Mid-October: James's review of John Tyndall's *Hours of Exercise in the Alps* appears in the November issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*.

Mid-November: 'Master Eustace' appears in the November issue of the *Galaxy*.

1872–1875

James spends the spring of 1872 to the summer of 1874 in Europe, visiting England, France, Switzerland, Italy and Germany. From the end of 1874 to the summer of 1875, he resides in New York City. During 1875, he publishes his first three books: *A Passionate Pilgrim, and Other Tales*, *Transatlantic Sketches* and *Roderick Hudson*. From 11 November 1875 to 10 December 1876, he resides in Paris, where he contributes occasional pieces to the *New York Tribune*, meets Ivan Turgenev, and writes most of *The American*.

1876

James publishes forty-three essays and reviews, primarily in the *Nation* and the *New York Tribune*, but also in the *Galaxy* and the *Atlantic Monthly*. He

publishes two stories in *Scribner's Monthly* and begins serialization of *The American*, also in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

12 December: James moves to 3 Bolton Street, off Piccadilly, London, his home for the next ten years.

1877

James's social circle expands: he meets, among others, Robert Browning, William Gladstone, Thomas Huxley, John Morley, Francis Palgrave, Heinrich Schliemann, Alfred Lord Tennyson and Anthony Trollope. James publishes forty-five essays and reviews in the *Galaxy*, *Lippincott's Magazine* and the *Nation*, as well as the story 'Four Meetings' in *Scribner's Monthly*.

Early May: James R. Osgood publishes the American book edition of *The American*.

Summer: Osgood suggests issuing a book edition of *Watch and Ward*. James is initially 'unable to bring myself to the point of really sending [the book] to press'. He reluctantly agrees but continues throughout the summer to be 'half hearted about it' (*CLHJ 1876–1878* 1:207).

7 August: James writes to Macmillan and Company to propose that they publish *French Poets and Novelists*, which collects pieces originally published in the *Galaxy*, the *Independent*, the *Nation* and the *North American Review*.

8 September: James 'at last decide[s] … not to retreat from the answer I originally gave' Osgood, to issue *Watch and Ward* as a book, and sends revised sheets: 'I have *riddled* them with alterations & made a great mess for the printers. I must absolutely see proofs' (*CLHJ 1876–1878* 1:207).

9 September: James leaves London to spend a month in Paris, residing at 39 Avenue d'Antin, near the Champs Elysées, and then tours France and visits Italy.

Early October: James tours Rheims, Laon, Soissons and the Château de Coucy.

16 October–18 December: James leaves Paris for Turin, Florence and Rome, and returns to London by way of Paris.

1878

James publishes thirty-one travel essays and literary and art reviews in the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Galaxy*, *Lippincott's Magazine* and the *Nation*; also 'Daisy Miller' and 'An International Episode' in the *Cornhill Magazine*, 'Théodolinde' in *Lippincott's Magazine*, 'Longstaff's Marriage' in *Scribner's Monthly*, and *The Europeans* as a serial in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

28 and 29 January: James writes to his brother William that 'I have got back to work with great zest after my autumnal loafings' (*CLHJ 1876–1878* 2:30).

19 February: Macmillan and Company issue *French Poets and Novelists*.

19 April: In writing to his father, James indicates that he has 'revised & very much rewritten' *Watch and Ward* and 'finished checking the proof' (*CLHJ 1876–1878*, 2:104–5).

2 May: Houghton, Osgood and Company deposit the US copyright form for *Watch and Ward*.

15 May: Houghton, Osgood and Company and James complete the contract for the book edition of *Watch and Ward*.

18 May: The first impression (1,000 copies) of *Watch and Ward* printed; this printing was bound between 21 May and 11 June 1878.

23 May: James is elected to the Reform Club.

27 May: The first review of *Watch and Ward* appears in the *Boston Evening Transcript*. Other reviews appear in the US during the following six months.

29 May: Houghton, Osgood and Company issue the book edition of *Watch and Ward*.

25 July: The second impression (280 copies) of *Watch and Ward* printed (bound between 1 August and 31 October 1878).

31 July: Macmillan and Company agree to publish the British book edition of *The Europeans*.

10 August: The only British review of *Watch and Ward* (in *Athenæum*) appears. It predicts that the novel 'should widen' James's 'reputation' but finds 'fault' with 'its rather sudden end'.

18 September: Macmillan issues the British book edition of *The Europeans: A Sketch*.

12 October: The American edition of *The Europeans: A Sketch*, published by Houghton, Osgood and Company, appears.

1 November: *Daisy Miller: A Study* is published in New York by Harper and Brothers.

1879

James publishes ten essays and reviews in *Lippincott's Magazine*, the *Nation* and the *North American Review*; also 'The Pension Beaurepas' in the *Atlantic Monthly*, 'The Diary of a Man of Fifty' in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* and *Macmillan's Magazine*, 'A Bundle of Letters' in the *Parisian*, and the serial of *Confidence* in *Scribner's Monthly*.

January–March: Harper and Brothers publish *An International Episode*; Macmillan and Company publish *Daisy Miller: A Study, An International Episode, Four Meetings* and the authorized British book edition of *The American*.

23 April: The third impression (286 copies) of *Watch and Ward* printed (bound between 5 May 1879 and 15 February 1883).

11 June: Macmillan and Company publish the British edition of *Roderick Hudson*.

11 or 16 October: Macmillan and Company publish *The Madonna of the Future and Other Tales*.

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