

IN MEMORIAM: A TEST OF FAITH

by

DOROTHY WATTERS JAMAR, M.S.

A THESIS

IN

ENGLISH

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of Texas Technological College
in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for
the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Approved

Accepted

August, 1967

AC
805
T3
1967
No. 137
cop. 2

DEDICATION

To the cherished memory of my husband,
I dedicate this work as an expression
of my abiding love. D.W.J.

PREFACE

This thesis has developed from many years of interest in and appreciation for Alfred Lord Tennyson's In Memoriam, both as a student and as a teacher of literature.

Now a century and a few years after the publication of In Memoriam, it is evident that differing readers have examined the poem from their various frames of reference, and that the work has meant many things to many people.

Reflecting as it does something of the scientific-religious controversy of Victorian England, In Memoriam has been cited as "the most representative and probably the greatest" poem of the era. It has been called the record of the typical sensitive soul amid the spiritual temper of Tennyson's time in its clash with the objective forces of the dispassionate world of nineteenth-century science.

But whatever may be In Memoriam's importance as a spiritual barometer of the Victorian "dilemma," this study has not assumed to embrace. In Memoriam has been to me a personal light through the dark, overcast skies of sudden death and sorrow. The bereaved soul looks desperately for a "light in the clearing," and the way back often leads through the dark labyrinth of confusion and doubt.

This study, then, has not attempted to be a critical treatise of the poem's artistic qualities. Believing that In Memoriam speaks its own private and peculiar message to the sorrowing heart of any era, I have in this reading

minimized as much as is possible historical implications and chief impressions left by previous readings.

Where the poem has made references to events the basic facts of which are necessary to a better understanding, I have tried to supply sources. Largely the message of the poem stands on its own.

If this reading has been subjective in interpretation, then that fact is a testimony to the universality of the circumstances which occasioned the writing of the poem. Sorrow, like love, has a message and a language all its own.

I am deeply grateful to my director, Professor Roger L. Brooks, whose encouragement and suggestions have been most valuable.

CONTENTS

DEDICATION	ii
PREFACE	iii
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. A VICTIM OF SORROW	6
III. A REACH AND A GRASP	13
IV. THE TIME OF TESTING	19
V. AFFIRMATION OF FAITH	29
BIBLIOGRAPHY	42

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In Memoriam has generally been treated as the diary of "a confused, disturbed seeker after a satisfying faith which he never wholly found."¹ Caught in the Victorian dilemma of Science versus Religion, Tennyson faced a crucial testing which grew out of his personal sorrow and grief following the sudden death of his close friend Arthur Hallum. It is true that he pondered the prevailing theological notions: Is there a God? Is he a personal God? If there is no personal God, what sort of force controls the universe? Is there a literal heaven or a hell? What is Christianity? Which church is Christian? The High Church? The Broad Church? The Roman Catholic? The Protestant? What is man? Was he created by God according to the account in Genesis? Or did man derive from lower forms? How is God related to man? Does man have freedom of will? What is morality? Is man morally responsible? What is man's conscience? What about immortality? If there is life after death, what is it like? Does man remember his earthly life after he has entered the life beyond? Can the living commune with the dead? These and many other questions were inherent

¹Eleanor Bustin Mattes, In Memoriam: The Way of the Soul (New York: The Exposition Press, 1951), p. xv.

in Victorian England with its vast explosion of knowledge, both scientific and historical, and the constant flux in social, economic, and political structure.

The poetic, philosophic originality of Tennyson, plus his highly impressionable, moody, brooding, melancholy nature, plus the shock of sudden death of one dear to him-- this combination threw Tennyson upon his own personal spiritual resources for maintaining his belief in a beneficent God of ultimate good. In the midst of confusion and perplexity born of his loss, he did not reject his innate conviction of a God of love. His healthy skepticism helped him to examine the old traditional beliefs in the light of new scientific discoveries, and his indomitable hope and faith sustained him in his "quest for the meaning and value" during the years from 1833 to 1850.

If In Memoriam is a "poem of despair," it is also a poem of courage and hope leading finally to reassurance. Tennyson did not turn away from the discrepancies Science was revealing between geological facts and the Biblical account of creation. He was actively interested in the exploration of the earth's surface and its contents; he was fascinated by astronomy; and he pondered the facts about the theory of evolution and its impact upon traditional views of life and history. He measured the Christian argument against the new challenges. Since the new Science included new methods of arriving at Truth, Tennyson drew upon these implications as he re-studied the Universe,

Nature, Mankind, and a loving God and His purpose for man. And he pondered the question of immortality: he must see Hallum again.

Tennyson's memorial poem shows his vulnerability to doubt, to anxiety, to fear; but it also shows that his abiding hope and his will to believe sustained him through intense travail of the soul. He was determined to let nothing stand in his way of Truth: no prejudice, no superstition, no dogmatic creed, no hidebound suspicions or suppositions. If Science could unravel the mystery of the Universe, he would use scientific knowledge as his ally. Tennyson deliberately threw himself open to life situations as a specimen of the Victorian controversy of doubt versus faith, to prove or to disprove the accepted knowledge about God and world order. Was the world at odds with permanence and stability? Was Science an enemy of Religion? Why? How? Could religious faith and Science work hand in hand to discover the whole Truth?

This reading of In Memoriam, then, has examined Tennyson's pursuit of Truth. His experiment in self-testing was not without pain. Some of the poems in the Memoriam sequence reveal pure autobiographical confessions of frustration. Others show a stoic detachment. Some reveal a numbed, hurt creature struggling in despair. Sometimes the poet is bitter and rebellious and feels isolated from all mankind. Many doubts assail the faith and trust he relies upon in pursuit of Truth. Sometimes the sorrow experience is an evil thing,

and again it fulfills a purpose within the will of God. But whatever his reaction to his experience, Tennyson did not seek to conceal the most intimate nature of his reflections on death and sorrow and the state of the soul. His moody vacillation from doubt to hope to faith, sometimes with intense depressive periods and at other times with a calm acceptance that somehow a Divine purpose was at work, make the poem, indeed, a depiction of the "way of the soul."

As he went through "growing pains" that often appeared as wandering and directionless, he found himself at times looking to the Bible for authority, and again searching the new Science for answers. He depended upon his intuition always, and at times it seemed to waver. He read, meditated, studied, and even willed some dreams and a "trance." There were lucid moments when he saw reality. There were emotionally loaded hours and days and nights when nothing but feeling led him to any answers. Even after rays of light began to come, he had a "falling back" and a "rallying" before he made the long slow climb back to the comfort of a protective authority. His silent years were some of his busiest and most fruitful in terms of mental and moral decision. The way back led through painful pressures, through long postponement of marriage, through a stalemate in publishing any of his work.

In Memoriam is, after Tennyson's first paralytic stalement of sudden shock had passed, a record of deliberate self-testing of a faith in action: Tennyson wanted to

know the truth about God and immortality. He prepared himself as a receptor for any evidence. Sensitive soul that he was, and articulate, Tennyson voiced the wavering path of emotional-rational reaction through sorrow to consolation. And his anguish became the voice of all who mourn with Jeremiah: "Is there no balm in Gilead?"

CHAPTER II

A VICTIM OF SORROW

Although the chronology of the poems cannot be established for a certainty, the earlier lyrics in In Memoriam record the initial shock and despair of Tennyson following the news of Hallum's death.

Arthur Hallum had been Tennyson's closest friend since Cambridge and between the years of 1828 and 1833. The two had common ties and experiences from which a mutual admiration and rare friendship had developed. Quiet and shy, Tennyson was drawn into a wider intellectual and social world by the outgoing personality of Hallum. Through the warm relationship, Tennyson had grown in self-assurance. Though Hallum was two years younger, Tennyson looked to him as the leader. Hallum had encouraged Tennyson's poetic endeavor and had taken a dominant role in the publication of Tennyson's first volume of poems, giving it his public approval. Hallum's attachment and engagement to Tennyson's sister Emily had tightened the friendship between the two young men. They had traveled abroad together and were on numerous occasions guests in each other's homes.

Hallum was vacationing with his father in Vienna in September of 1833 when news of his death reached Tennyson. Lockhart's scurrilous attack on Tennyson's second volume Poems 1833 had appeared in the Quarterly, and Tennyson was smarting under the blow. In this state of lonely depression,

he reacted with shock and a sense of personal resentment to the sudden death of his friend at the age of twenty-two. To both Tennyson and Emily, the blow was debilitating. Under the influence of the first despondency and a feeling that he was a victim of sorrow and disappointment, Tennyson began the long series of poetic expressions which make up In Memoriam.

Thoughts of death and preoccupation with sorrow are central in most of the poems considered to be Part I of In Memoriam. This sequence ends with the first Christmas after Hallum's death.

Tennyson withdrew from public life and entered into what has been called his "ten silent years." Slowly, one by one, lyrical expressions of private grief filled the pages of his notebooks. This early even, he appears to have been sounding the depths of his own belief about death and the hereafter.

At first he could not think of Hallum as dead. It was important that he keep his memory filled with the living, physical Hallum. Tennyson did not attend Hallum's funeral, but he visited a cemetery (ii) and stood beneath a yew tree, speculating.

Old yew, which graspest at the stones
 That name the underlying dead,
 Thy fibres net the dreamless head
 Thy roots are wrapped about the bones.

He had a sudden desire to merge with the tree if by doing so he could be with his friend.

He wrote several poems about the homecoming and burial of Hallum's body in England in late December of 1833. He addressed (ix) the "Fair Ship" that brought Hallum home, pleading a calm voyage and "deep peace in the wide air." He contrasted the heaving waves that controlled a dead calm within, to the calm despair in his heart. So unbelievable was the thought (xvi) that Hallum was the "dark freight" on board the ship, that if Tennyson should await the ship's passengers stepping lightly down the ranks, he would not have found it at all strange were Hallum to be there among them and "strike a sudden hand in mine." He got comfort (xviii) from the knowledge that Hallum's body was back on English soil among familiar names. He conjectured about the life

That dies not, but endures with pain
 And slowly forms the firmer mind,
 Reassuring the look it cannot find,
 The words that are not heard again.

He contemplated (xvi) the wild confusion of grief, feeling its schizophrenic nature.

Can calm despair and wild unrest
 Be tenants of a single breast,
 Or sorrow such a changeling be?

Thus early in his grief (xvi) he had begun to analyze what it all meant. Was he like a ship

That strikes by night a craggy shelf
 And staggers blindly ere she sink?
 And stunned me from my power to think
 And all my knowledge of myself?

He became sensitive to comments (xxi) of those around him about how he "wore his grief." Said one, "This fellow

would make weakness weak." Another accused, "He loves to make parade of pain!" A third asked: Is this an hour for private sorrow's barren song? When England has such problems as the uneducated rising to thrones of power? Is this a time to sicken and swoon when Science is discovering new moons? He answered that they did not know Hallum. He "sings because he must" of sorrow sing, while the public chided him for his social uselessness as a poet.

A letter (vi) from a friend scolded that "loss is common to the race." That loss is common has not made my own less bitter, he answered; rather, more. Then he reflected that each day some heart breaks. Too common! he added.

Common to the way of sorrow, Tennyson often romanticized the past (xxiii) when he and Hallum had read Greek and philosophy together, and the "four sweet years arose and fell/From flower to flower, from snow to snow." He wondered now if "The haze of grief/Makes former gladness loom so great?"

One night (vii) he stood before the dark house on Wimpole Street where Hallum had lived. He had not been able to sleep. Perhaps he could derive comfort from the pilgrimage to the dark house. But morning brought the drizzling rain with the knowledge that "He is not here; but far away." Hallum in the physical was getting vague and dim. He was far away. Where? He "let Hallum go" for the moment, but reluctantly.

Tennyson contemplated (iii) the universe: Is it meaningless? Does man merely imagine meaning? Sorrow whispered

that the stars were rudderless and ran blind amid the waste places. Sorrow lies, he told himself. Sorrow is cruel fellowship. Sorrow could not interpret the universe. He would not embrace sorrow, then.

Lying awake at night (iv), Tennyson exercised his power of will and felt the chilling tears turn to frost. In a dialogue with his heart, he bemoaned his "helmless bark," and when the morning came, his will awoke: "Thou shalt not be the fool of loss."

Often (v) he felt it a sin that he should voice his grief, but his unquiet heart and brain were at least numbed somewhat by his effort to put into rhyme the ache he felt, he told himself. Even so, the poem became only a bare outline of the whole story of his sorrow, he added. On one instance (xiii) he sensed through his numbness that because he could speculate on sorrow with objectivity, he had not yet felt the full force of loss.

During an autumn storm (xv) one night, he considered whether Hallum were in a superior place of rest. He rather doubted, yet to fear that it was not so, brought wild unrest. He had rather believe.

On a dreary day (xxvi) Tennyson felt compelled to vow that the passage of time would never lessen his love for Hallum. If God who knows all can foresee that he will forget Hallum, he hoped that before morning the Shadow would take him and prevent his committing such a contemptible act of disloyalty.

With the coming of the first Christmas after Hallum's death, Tennyson reflected (xxvii) that emotion unused is life unlived. He did not envy the man who could not feel loss.

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

He had partially accepted the idea that deep sorrow had its place in human experience.

Three Christmas poems of 1833 (xxviii - xxx) reflect Tennyson's attempt to sum up the sorrow experience. The church bells which had always controlled his troubled spirit, now touched his sorrow with joy. Remembering past Christmases deepened his grief. But the family kept Christmas for custom's sake. The family circle could not sing their usual merry songs. Instead, they sang with tear-dimmed eyes of the Hope (Christ) of immortality. Souls do not lose their sympathy, they sang. Although they change, they do not change to us. They are somewhere. And the song brought with it the feeling of Hallum's presence.

Thus the first few months had been a time of testing for Tennyson. And he had met the test. He had accepted the reality of physical death which all sorrowing initiates must learn, but who find great difficulty in doing. He had learned with the heart the impartiality of death. His loss was "common to the race." He had learned that self-pity and abject sorrow were paralytic to recovery from loss.

He had contemplated the power of human will in human destiny, and had exercised his will to control his sorrow.

The act of his writing the poems reveals a certain determination to reach self-understanding by putting his frustration into words. He deliberately invited experiences (the dark house, the storm, the yew tree) which would quicken his emotional responses and bring to the surface his submerged self. He concentrated on interpreting the many phases of loss and sorrow, enduring the pain of objectifying his own heartache.

From the futile searching "out there" for Hallum--before the dark house, in the autumn storm, beneath the yew tree--he had come at Christmas time to feel Hallum's spirit among them. He had exchanged the emphasis on physical reality to a truer reality of the eternal spirit. And he had recognized that the spirit of the church bells and the Christmas songs of Hope in immortality were the connecting link between his sorrow and his first step in acceptance.

He had begun to search for evidences that would assure him of that life beyond. No longer would trite creeds meet his need. Hallum's new home became important to him.

And he had come to know (i) that the sorrow experience is usable to humanity.

That men may rise on stepping stones
Of their dead selves to higher things.

CHAPTER III

A REACH AND A GRASP

With the passing of the first Yule-tide after Hallum's death, Tennyson seems to have passed a milestone in the acute stage of his mourning. He had accepted personally the physical death of Hallum. On the one hand, he had interpreted his own exorbitant grief as a destructive influence; yet, he had felt a self-scorn following those instances when he had been able to consider objectively and somewhat with detachment the mystery of death and immortality, almost as if they were unrelated to his own loss. Perhaps he viewed with alarm his eloquent expression of grief, wondering that he could so objectify his passionate feelings.

It is a matter of record that Tennyson heard the "two voices" in the darkest gloom of his bereavement and wondered whether life was worth the struggle. Perhaps it was precisely in this despair that he decided to investigate the "worth"; which is to say, he decided "to continue." He would make his experience a meaningful step toward a new vision of the shallowness of worldly streams and the depth of Divine ones. Out of his grief, then, there came a submission. Sorrow, the "double-edged tool," could scar or beautify. By his resignation and complete yielding, perhaps he could appropriate the blessings of sorrow toward the working out of a triumphant faith. He need not become

a victim of sorrow. He could reach for understanding. Nor would he close his eyes to new evidence outside the traditional creeds. As members of the Cambridge Apostles, both Tennyson and Hallum had been conversant with philosophy and science, as well as religion. Now Tennyson would explore these thoughts. In this mood he broke out of the narrow confines of self and traveled the boundless fields of knowledge of the Universe, of God, of Eternity.

During the second year after Hallum's death, Tennyson's "diary-like elegy" reveals his new grasp on reality as he made a conscious attempt to pursue the "continuity of Hallum's afterlife" as a way to life and faith.

Several of the earlier poems (xxxix - xxxv) of the second year¹ treat on the immortality of the soul. Tennyson studied the Gospel story of Lazarus (xxxix, xl) and pondered the absence of any record of Lazarus' spiritual whereabouts while his body lay four days in the tomb. To know what it is to die would surely have been helpful to Mary and the others, Tennyson felt. Why was the Bible silent on this issue? He pondered on the "higher love" of Mary as she bathed the Savior's feet.

He considered the contrasting religious views (xliii) of the day: the naive, simple, traditional faith that asks no questions, and the reasoned, rational faith one arrives

¹Part II of In Memoriam, covering xxviii, lxvii, is generally accepted as belonging to the second year after Hallum's death.

at pragmatically. He conjectured about belief in the sacred "flesh and blood" of Christ. He deliberated on the eternal quality of love (xxxiv, xxxv), seeking to prove the truth of immortality by the "higher love" as an evidence of a continuance of life after death. Unless there is immortality, life has no meaning or purpose. Man had always intuited the basic truth of immortality.

In several poems (xl - xlvii) Tennyson reflected his preoccupation with the state of the soul in physical death. Is death like a long sleep between life on earth and the final awakening in eternity? Does individual consciousness survive death? Does the soul develop or grow in the after-life? Tennyson had in life shared in Hallum's spiritual growth; now (xli) he felt strangely isolated, separated from Hallum.

But thou art turn'd to something strange
And I have lost the links that bound
Thy changes; here upon the ground,
No more partaker of thy change.

If it could be that "I could wing my will with might"--that he could leap across the degrees of changes in the afterlife--he could appear before Hallum. But "a spectral doubt" (xl) that he would not be a suitable mate now for Hallum, who had developed "the full grown energies of heaven," made him cold. He would be a "life behind" Hallum.

On the other hand, he considered (xliii) the theory that death is but a sleep

And every spirit's folded bloom
Thro' all its intervital gloom
In some long trance should slumber on;

from which the soul will awaken to its last thoughts of earthly life.

And love will last as pure and whole
As when he loved me here in time.

Then he and Hallum would renew their relationship. So that Hallum's flashes of memory would help them keep in touch, he hoped his guardian angel would "speak out/In that high place" and remind Hallum.

Tennyson's ponderings on the afterlife and the nature of consciousness after death appear normal and natural for a thoughtful person reaching beyond the grave toward a loved one. These ponderings show also that he had now grasped the idea of the reality of the soul. Hallum was no longer "lost" to him, but was in some unknown state. How to make identity with him again was his next conjecture. Clearly it was not to be an act that took place physically.

As he speculated on the birth of a baby (xlv) who eventually "rounds out" a separate mind through which he becomes an individual, so perhaps, Tennyson decided, is the "blood and breath" life the period during which the soul works out a sense of identity, which in afterlife it continues and perfects. He discarded as "...faith as vague as all unsweet" the theory that upon entering the state of death, separate soul identities merge into a larger soul (xlvii). He preferred the idea of the soul's maintaining its identity. "And I shall know him when we meet."

Tennyson's meditative lyrics reflect a wide reading

background in the current topics in philosophy and theology. It was as though he were consciously furnishing his mind with the necessary facts with which he would find evidences of a future with Arthur Hallum. Each new idea he pursued relentlessly until he had checked it for accuracy in detail. Always beneath his contemplative search for truth, his sorrow remained constant. At times the sorrow arose to the surface in doubt, confusion, and frustration. At other times he was able to dispel the doubt and gloom and to write courageously of the intuitions of his soul. ,

Failing to find definite answers in philosophy and theology, he turned to the new science for evidence that the spirit lives after breath leaves the body. Current findings in geology disturbed him (lv-lvi-lvii). Was his dream of immortal life only a mockery? At these moments of doubt, the consolation of his elegiac lyric reverted to lamentation (lvii).

I hear it now and o'er and o'er
 Eternal greetings to the dead;
 and "Ave, ave, ave," said,
 "Adieu, adieu," for evermore.

Again he pled with the spirit of Hallum to remember him (lx-lxv). If love survives, he would not worry about the dead remembering. And always it was the inner experience that assured Tennyson of the truth which he sought so earnestly in some outward manifestation.

Several poems (lxvii-lxxi) treat of Tennyson's reflections about dreams and "Death's twin brother," sleep.

Hovering between waking and sleeping, he "courted" dreams about Hallum for the momentary sense of communion with him. In one dream he relived the journey to France the two had made in 1830. In another dream he was troubled that he had transferred his sorrow to Hallum. One nightmare brought him a sense of public scorn for his grief which he had felt to be an honor. But an angel blessed him with the knowledge that from grief joy is born.

By September, which marked the first anniversary of Hallum's death, Tennyson was regularly feeling the spiritual presence of Hallum. He had accepted also the idea (lxxiii) that God had needed Hallum in another world; in heaven Hallum's life was being fulfilled with the fame and glory Tennyson felt he would have won in earthly life.

The second Christmas found Tennyson beginning to think (lxxvi-lxxvii) in terms of his poetic art and the great themes worthy of putting into rhyme.

The year past had been a year of growth in faith for Tennyson. He had grasped control of a debilitating grief. He had consciously turned to any and all sources of truth for the answer to his anguish: to philosophy, to theology, to science, to nature. He had learned that there are great truths not provable by scientific standards and methods. And he had learned that no theology or philosophy could explain the certainties of man's intuition and the mystery of God's ways with man.

CHAPTER IV

THE TIME OF TESTING

From the Christmas season of 1834 forward, Tennyson made progress toward serenity. Reflecting upon the family circle's resumption of Yuletide's ancient observances, he noted (lxxviii) no tears, no mark of pain in evidence. Not that sorrow had waned nor grief lessened nor regret died.

No--mixt with all this mystic frame,
Her [regret] deep relations are the same,
But with long use her tears are dry.

He had not forgotten; he had simply adjusted to physical death.

Perhaps the healthiest signs of his start on the road back were his recognition that sorrow has a place in man's life and his decision that he would attempt to profit from the sorrow experience. Had he himself died first, Tennyson meditated (lxxx), Hallum would bear

...the burthen of the weeks,
But turn his burthen into gain.

This knowledge, then, freed him from the burden of grief so that he could examine possibilities of spiritual gain. Just as the sudden autumn frost ripens the grain (lxxxix), so Tennyson's love had been ripened through sudden death.

Tennyson had gone through the first period of his grief in a mood of shock, despair, and rebellion. The quality of his emotional nature, the strength of his unique love, and the power of his strange habitual attachment to Arthur Hallum had led Tennyson to think first only of the earth

side of dying: the hushed lips, the quiet feet, the missing handclasp, the lighting-up of recognitions, the painful reminiscences. Time hung suspended while he wrestled with his troubled spirit in a self-imposed loneliness. Not until the shock of blinding, crushing bereavement had abated was he able to live in the mind again. Once the intellect took over, Tennyson had grasped control and had begun an earnest search for assurance that his parting with Hallum was not the end.

His search, of course, was more than this. The sorrow experience had motivated efforts to answer the doubts and questionings of a brilliant but indecisive young man who had in dalliance been "marking time." With recognition of the self-maturation qualities of his sorrow, plus the determination to profit from his experience came Tennyson's almost immediate awareness of the "theme" which the great body of his artistic creation would take: God is love. Man gets this knowledge from the God within himself. If God is love and love does not die, then sorrow is not really loss. Love is the greatest proof of immortality. This belief is inherent in man. Scientific proof of God's existence avails nothing. Man must experience this intuitive truth. Now his mind joined his heart in full commitment.

If Tennyson's sequential order of the In Memoriam poems is examined carefully, one may notice a turning point in spirit and message (lxxxiii) after the poet decided to look toward the future and to put the past behind him.

Oh thou, New Year, delaying long,
 Delayest the sorrow in my blood,
 That longs to burst a frozen bud
 And flood a fresher throat with song.

Much of the content of the remaining poems in the sequence centers around Tennyson's deliberate self-testing of his newly acquired ideas and concepts.

He began rebuilding a new life (lxxxv) by making a new friendship in the person of a young professor of Greek at the University of Glasgow (later to marry his sister Cecilia). It was as though Hallum had spoken from the grave:

My old affection of the tomb
 A part of stillness yearns to speak;
 "Arise, and get thee forth and seek
 A friendship for the years to come.

I watch thee from the quiet shore;
 Thy spirit up to mine can reach;
 But in dear words of human speech
 We two communicate no more."

Although he could not transfer "the whole I felt for him to you," he offered to Professor Edmund Lushington his friendship as an "imperfect gift," a second bloom. As is natural with the sorrowing, he was reluctant to replace the object of his affection.

As if to test his emotional recovery, Tennyson early in that year (lxxxxvii) made a pilgrimage to Trinity College, Cambridge, to roam the streets of the town and to "see the rooms in which he dwelt." Visiting the "gray flats," he "felt the same though not the same." Another name was on the door; new students sang and clapped hands, making him aware that he had forever passed a certain milestone.

Lyrics xc-xcv record Tennyson's attempt to establish contact now with Hallum. He had become reconciled to the fact of reunion beyond the grave; now he yearned for communion here in this life. He pled (xci) for Hallum to return and "wear the form by which I know/Thy spirit..." But he rejected spiritualism as a means of communication (xcii). No ghosts or hallucinations did he wish. Suddenly arose the thought that since spirits cannot visit the physical sensual world, perhaps Hallum's spirit could visit his spirit. "Descend and touch and enter," he pled. Close on the heels of such a request, he was sure that a "pure heart" and a "clear head" were prerequisite in a man who would hold such a communion with the dead.

Then the communion took place (xcv). On a summer night in the garden where he and Hallum had often visited, Tennyson had sat heart-hungering for his friend. While re-reading Hallum's letters, he found his wish granted in a sort of waking "trance" in which Hallum's spirit seemed to join his. The letters became a spoken voice to him.

And all at once it seem'd at last
The living soul was flash'd on mine.

At length the trance ended, and at dawn the vague experience made him doubt whether it had happened. He could not explain what had occurred, so intangible was the visitant.

Next in the sequence appears a lyric (xcvi) on the subject of doubt. A woman friend had chided him, saying doubt was born of the Devil. His answer was that honest

doubt in reverent search for truth reflects more faith than is found in half the creeds of unquestioning faith.

When Charles Tennyson and his bride left for Vienna (xcviii), where Hallum had died, Tennyson inexplicably associated the city with death, and his former acceptance of death was shaken. "All her splendor" (Vienna) seemed but evils that prey on man. Yet he recalled Hallum's description of Vienna's stately progress and the contentment of her people. Implied, perhaps, is the fact of his own self-recognized emotional distortion of truth. Emotional judgment had not met the test of accuracy in rational affairs of the intellect.

Lyrics xcix-ciii reveal Tennyson's entrance to a new, wider life. Shortly after the second anniversary of Hallum's death, the Tennyson family left Somersby, his childhood home associated with Tennyson's father who had died in 1831, and Hallum's visits, and moved to Epping Forest. The departure renewed his sense of loss. Love for his childhood home now blended with his love for the dead, the two always to be associated in memory in the future.

On the night before the move (ciii), he had a dream in which he caught a new vision of the spiritual value of grief. Again he sensed the relation between his love and his poetic aspirations. His love for his friend had deepened into love for all mankind. In the dream, Hallum asked the Muses to accompany Tennyson down the broad stream of life. Tennyson felt that Hallum approved the accumulating lyrics

which were to become In Memoriam. The dream ended in contentment.

The Christmas of 1835, the third Christmas since Hallum's death and the family's first one at Epping Forest, found the old bond of grief broken in a new way. There were solemn thoughts in memory of the past, but the family dropped the custom of keeping Christmas in the traditional way. It had lost its meaning there in the new home. Physical ties with the dead were back at Somersby Rectory and the village cemetery. New Years was the time for beginnings. Tennyson would like the bells at the unfamiliar church to ring out all the ills of the age and ring in a new order (cvi). Personally, he would ring out "the grief that saps the mind," and look toward the future. In the new home past memories came with greater difficulty.

In February they kept Hallum's birthday with cheer: books, music, song. Determined to put away old griefs, the poet reflected (cviii) on the "profit in barren faith, / And vacant yearning." He had cut himself off from others and from inspiration by his "own phantom chanting hymns." He resolved to overcome his gloomy speculation of the mysteries of death. "If sorrow makes us wise," he would use the fruit of such wisdom in an active faith. Sorrow dissipated and made living ineffectual.

In several poems (cix-cxiv) the poet rehearsed the sterling qualities of character he remembered in his friend. Wisdom for him (Tennyson) would include emulating

the best attributes of his ideal. Real wisdom, he reflected, is controlled by love and faith, such as Hallum had demonstrated.

Tennyson considered the distinction between knowledge and wisdom, a favorite Tennysonian theme ("The Prologue," "Locksley Hall," "The Princess"). Wisdom first and knowledge second, he seemed to say (cxiv).

For she [knowledge] is earthly of the mind
But wisdom heavenly of the soul.

Wisdom should guide the footsteps of knowledge as a "higher hand." Knowledge "cannot fight the fear of death" (prove life eternal).

"...regret for buried time" (cxvi) made "sweet April" and "the life re-orient" awaken Hallum's senses to "trust/ In that which made the world so fair." Rather than "yearning for the friendship fled," he would look forward to the "strong bond which is to be." Time would hold him in his proper place (cxvii) in order to enhance that future meeting.

In the work of Time, he contemplated, man shall be shown to be of "higher race" (cxviii) through progress "of himself" and from "within himself." This indicates, perhaps, his belief in human will as an enobling power. He had added a new concept to moral evolution in which pain and suffering become instruments of moral growth.

Again while the city slept (cxix), he visited the house where Hallum had once lived, not this time as one who weeps.

I smell the meadow in the street;

I hear a chirp of birds; I see
 Betwixt the black fronts long withdrawn
 A light-blue lane of early dawn,
 And think of early days and thee,

And bless thee...

In his thoughts, scarcely sighing, he felt this time the pressure of Hallum's hand in his. He returned in peace. Hallum was present.

He had not fought with his doubts about death and immortality in vain. Man is more than mortal (cxx). Let the man of science prove that man is only "cast in clay." Let the scientist "shape his action like the greater ape"; he was born to other things." He is a man created by God, born to fellowship with Him in love.

Lyric cxxii appears to embody a plea from the poet to Hallum that he be present with him at "breast and brow" while he matures in his conviction about "The thoughts of life and death," and until his imagination blossoms and the looked-for Promise (intuited), now mysterious, would find fruition.

Tennyson's retreating from and returning to the scientific conflicts of his day, and his constant re-shuffling and re-ordering of his experience indicate a trial and error method of self-testing whereby the reader can trace his growth in faith as well as in poetic development.

As he read of the new geological findings and studied the processes of physical change and decay in nature (cxxiii),

he vowed to dwell in the spirit and "dream my dream" as truth. Even though all of life reveals a process of change, this does not cancel out eternality of the soul. He had not found God in the designs of nature nor in the logic of the day (cxxiv). Although he beheld God in Nature--for He is there--man comes first to know Him as spiritual reality through his own intuitive powers. Like a child in doubt and fear, he had listened to the "blind clamor" of his own heart and thus beheld the unseeable God (cxxv). He had never lost this hope, whatever bitter notes his song had sounded, and even though he had often seemed to contradict with his tongue the wisdom of his heart. Because Love was present, hope had not "lost her youth." Love, the primary force of life, will abide with him until he reaches the mystic deep.

Love is his lord and king and all is well in a universe where love dwells (cxxvi). The superficial philosophies of the day bring little comfort in the face of the upheavals of the age, but the "deeper voice" of love is reassuring (cxxvii). He felt the smile of Hallum "knowing all is well."

His love "that rose on stronger wings" through his encounter with Death (cxxviii) now joined his lesser faith (common faith that attends to ordinary human affairs, without such a divine experience as death) in a trust that Time shall prove good as result from the unproductive labors, the toils, the conflicts and the creeds of the age.

"Dear friend, far off," "strange friend, past, present,

and to be," "loved deeplier, darklier understood"--how exactly chosen are the words to express the age-old sentiment of the sorrowing! Love never dies (cxxxix). Our partial knowledge dies in the revelations of a perfect vision. Death can only cut off the interchange of words, of touch, of acts of love. Death cannot touch that which is Divine, eternal, everlasting.

This is what the sorrowing must know for a certainty, must feel. The distance, the waiting--these can be borne. But the sorrowing must know that love abides--forever.

Tennyson felt Hallum's presence (cxxx) fused with all that is good in the universe. His voice was in the air; he was in the beauty of the sunset; he was in the heavens and in the flowers that grow.

My love involves the love before;
 My love is vaster passion now;
 Tho' mix'd with God and Nature thou,
 I seem to love thee more and more.

This is no wild worship of the pantheist. It is the Christian faith that the soul lives forever, and is alive and influential among the living.

In an apostrophe to the "living will," Tennyson seems to be pleading for the submission of human will to the Divine will (cxxxix). Only in this free choice to act within God's will may man receive the inspiration and power to rise to purity, so that "we may lift from out of dust" a voice to God who had conquered Time and works with us. Trust and faith will be proved when we are all diffused in the Divine soul with those we love.

CHAPTER V

AFFIRMATION OF FAITH

"Blessed are they that have not seen,
and yet have believed." John 20:29

A brief recapitulation of Tennyson's train of reaction to Hallum's death makes more vivid his personal interpretation of his sorrow experience and its impact on "the way of the soul" in his search for a sustaining faith to live by. His immediate reaction to the sudden death was a universal shock and sense of personal loss. During the first weeks of confusion and numbness, he groped in a world of unreality, too paralyzed to act or to think. Slowly he began to sense the reality of loss. In Hallum's continued absence, Tennyson tried mentally as well as emotionally to confirm the death, but the "unfinished business" of the prolonged return of Hallum's body to England, and the re-burial, kept in abeyance Tennyson's total acceptance of physical death. He was concerned about Hallum's journey back and the final resting place.

With the first Christmas, his sorrow became a despair of loneliness. He brooded and meditated, fighting emotional acceptance of a terminated friendship. The need for Hallum's physical presence was yet acute. Missing his presence, he began to seek proof that Hallum was nevertheless present in some form knowable to Tennyson. What is the state of the dead? Is there consciousness or oblivion? Did Hallum still have an awareness of him? How could a sense of fellowship

Carrie Freeburger
Jessica Barren
2304 5th Street #203
Lubbock, TX 79401

be re-established? These questions began his quest for an unmistakable assurance that death was not the end. His longing, unique love for his friend was his strongest motivation at first. Love demanded a faith in the unknown, then. What was love and what was its source? Is love eternal or a passing emotion? He was aware of the power of love in his own life. For some time he "willed" a continuance of the sense of Hallum's presence. He was not always successful in "feeling" him near.

His sorrow took the doubter's role as he meditated the intangible world of the spirit, the truth about death, life, and eternity, and the nature of the soul. Sorrow became his greatest stimulant for truth finding. His first steps of exploration lay within the usual areas of faith. He had assumed the reality of immortality. Now that he had a personal interest in life beyond the grave, a sense of urgency compelled him to penetrate the notions of theology for that promised assurance and solace.

But when he scanned the natural world for evidences of an afterlife, of immortality of the soul, of an existent God in control of the universe, of a purpose for man's existence, his death, and his destiny, Tennyson became conscious personally in a new way--the way of the sorrowing--of the discrepancies between evidences in the natural world as opposed to the religious teachings in which he had grown to manhood, and of the spiritual intuitions upon which he had relied heavily for intangible truths.

Perhaps his greatest despair (lvi) came at the moment when he could see the least possibilities of compatibility between the world of Science and the world of religious creed based upon hope and faith and the historical account of Creation. It seems to be at this moment in his experiences that he made his decision to pursue Truth with any and all means at his disposal. At Cambridge Tennyson had become conversant with the progress of Science. Science was exploding old truths through new means of discovery. He would draw upon the new information and make of himself an experimental specimen on which he would try out each of the opposing theories.

His testings took many turns, sometimes through a delirium of psychic pain, at other times through a bewildering labyrinth of conflicting ideologies, and again through the nebulous hinterlands of speculations, dreams, and trances. His testings were at times conventionally logical; again, they were unconventionally wild and seemingly undisciplined. Always he modified his course to meet the needs of his changing emotions, queries, convictions. His original inquiry into the mystery beyond and his insistence upon and idealization of a love that is eternal resulted after years of searching in an affirmation of a faith that evidently "squared away"--for him--the conflicts, and with which he apparently lived in harmony until the age of eighty-two years.

If Tennyson thought of himself as an exemplar in the test of faith for his age, that idea came much later.

In Memoriam reflects a genuine personal anguish. It sprang from Tennyson's private need to express a personal experience of sorrow. It records his confessional, an ever-changing sensibility through his differing moods of sorrow, and his "conviction that fears, doubts, and suffering will find answer and relief only through faith in a God of Love."¹ It became as it grew a formal elegiac tribute to the memory of the dead. But it is essentially more. It is the frank record of an earnest, courageous, dedicated search of a human being for Truth.

Tennyson's acute sensitivity to the world of the senses, his extraordinary intuitive powers exemplified from early youth, his superior intellectual acumen, and his religious background and academic foundation fitted him peculiarly for the role of questioner. This role is demonstrated and its findings recorded in In Memoriam.

The "Epilogue"² is a marriage poem celebrating the wedding of Tennyson's sister Cecilia and Edmund L. Lushington. Actually, it has but one important connection to In Memoriam.

According to Tennyson, "In Memoriam begins with a

¹Hallam Lord Tennyson, Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir by his Son, Volume I (London: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1898), p. 304.

²C. Robert Stange and Walter E. Houghton, Victorian Poetry and Poetics (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1959), p. 83.

funeral and ends with a marriage--begins with death and ends in a promise of a new life--a sort of Divina Commedia, cheerful at the close."¹

Love had survived the grave and "is more/Than in the summers that are flown." The poet has grown to "something greater than before." He cherishes memories of the dead who is thought of as "living in God"--one God who lives and ever loves. Love reigns over the new union which perhaps may be blessed with a new-born soul to be a link to the future. The poet likes to think that perhaps the "stiller guest" is wishing the couple joy. Thus Hallum is present.

So the "Epilogue" rounds out the cycle of creation in a spirit of optimism. The "far-off divine event,/To which the whole creation moves," apparently refers to the perfection of man as he enters the Kingdom of God at the end of the process of life.

It is generally agreed that the "Prologue" was written much later than the other poems of In Memoriam, bearing the date of 1849. Most properly it forms the conclusion of Tennyson's sorrow experience in that it is Tennyson's final affirmation of faith.

Since it is known that the one-hundred and thirty-one lyrics were composed in no particular order, with no idea of their becoming a whole, or for publication until Tennyson

¹Hallum Lord Tennyson, Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir by his Son, Volume I, p. 304.

found he had written so many, his final arrangement of the poems provides a unity, if not immediately apparent. The theme of death and regeneration could be no better introduced than by an affirmation of faith in the spirit of hope, both of which are supplied by the "Prologue."

The "Prologue"¹ is a celebration of immortal Love in the form of a prayer of invocation. Its forty-five lines are addressed to the "Strong Son of God."

Strong Son of God, immortal Love,
Whom we, that have not seen thy face,
By faith, and faith alone, embrace,
Believing where we cannot prove;

Thine are these orbs of light and shade;
Thou madest Life in man and brute;
Thou madest Death; and lo, thy foot,
Is on the skull which thou hast made.

Although the prayer is addressed to Christ as immortal Love, the second stanza recognizes Him as owner (lord) and Creator of the universe, of man and brute (two separate creations), and of Death (of which He is conqueror).

The faith the poet professes is intuitive; "and faith alone" seems to emphasize along with line four that intuition is his only basis of belief. He "embraces" and needs no other proof, no visible (sense or scientific) evidence that immortal Love is.

Thou wilt not leave us in the dust:
Thou madest man, he knows not why,
He thinks he was not made to die;
And thou hast made him: thou art just.

¹C. Robert Stange and Walter E. Houghton, Victorian Poetry and Poetics, p. 45.

The poet professes faith that because God made man, he was not made (merely) to die, although man may not know (the divine purpose when he is created). He has faith that God will not leave him in the dust (desert or let him remain in the flesh). Since God made man and God is just, God has some purpose for man; man senses this intuitively (because he has expectancy for eternal life placed in him).

Thou seemest human and divine,
 The highest, holiest manhood, thou.
 Our wills are ours, we know not how;
 Our wills are ours, to make them thine.

The word "seemest" admits lack of logical proof of the human-divine character of the "highest, holiest manhood." Faith would accept; rationality might question the Biblical statement. The poet has not made a stand here unless the spirit of triumph pervading the entire prologue is considered.

Man does not understand the doctrine of free will except to accept the theology and principle of faith and obedience as a part of the divine purpose. Man's natural unwillingness to submit his will to God might offer a reason to the skeptical rationalist. One interprets the stand of the poet to be sympathetic to the doctrine.

Our little systems have their day;
 They have their day and cease to be;
 They are but broken lights of thee,
 And thou, O Lord, art more than they.

Our "little systems"--perhaps is meant man-made theological creeds and philosophical principles--come and go with each age. None can wholly conceive of God's magnitude and majesty. Creeds and principles might change. God remains.

Tennyson seems to be considering the controversy between Protestant and Catholic creeds and even the Broad Church and the High Church of his day. He is dismissing creeds as "broken lights" of a thorough understanding of God.

We have but faith; we cannot know,
 For knowledge is of things we see;
 And yet we trust it comes from thee,
 A beam in darkness: let it grow.

Let knowledge grow from more to more
 But more of reverence in us dwell;
 That mind and soul, according well,
 May make one music as before,

But vaster. We are fools and slight;
 We mock thee when we do not fear:
 But help thy foolish ones to bear;
 Help thy vain worlds to bear thy light.

Tennyson seems to be distinguishing between the works of faith and of knowledge as they come into conflict with man's ability to accept. Faith is intuitive trust in the unseen in which no evidence is visible to the senses. Yet, since knowledge (acquired through the senses and intellectual interpretation) also comes from God, as a beam (light) in darkness (the unknown), man should let it grow as well. Acquisition of knowledge should be done with a reverence and respect (put to the right use because of its divine origin). Mind (knowledge of things seen) and soul (spiritual intuition) working together should produce a greater harmony in conformity with God's will and direction.

Men are fools to interpret the two mediums of "knowing" as if they conflict. Science (with its new techniques for discovery of new truths) seems to contradict intuitive faith

only because man has partial knowledge and insufficient faith.

"Fools" lack wisdom. Help us when we do not fear (hold in awe) all the great truths of Thy world, the poet admonishes.

Before seems to refer to a time in the historical past when man saw no conflict between sense-intellectual perception and intuitive perception. The Victorian upsurge of scientific exploration was putting a strain on man's willingness to see the harmony. Tennyson felt that he understood now, and his doubt had dissolved much of his skepticism.

Forgive what seem'd my sin in me,
 What seem'd my worth since I began;
 For merit lives from man to man,
 And not from man, O Lord, to thee.

Forgive my grief for one removed,
 Thy creature, whom I found so fair.
 I trust he lives in thee, and there
 I find him worthier to be loved.

Forgive these wild and wandering cries,
 Confusions of a wasted youth;
 Forgive them where they fail in truth,
 And in thy wisdom make me wise.

Since the poet now recognizes the death of Hallum to be within the Divine will, he feels that he has sinned not only by his questioning but by his prolonged grief. Love for God and faith and trust in Him should have transcended strong human attachment. He now "trusts" that Hallum is "in Thee" and therefore worthier to be loved.

Tennyson makes no verbal commitment to a logical understanding of the course of events. Things "seem" and he "trusts" and he asks forgiveness for what "seemed" his sin. He has acknowledged that he has no right to question Divine

providence. He wants more knowledge so that he can grow in wisdom.

This, then, is Tennyson's spoken affirmation standing as an introduction to the lyrical account of his "wild and wandering cries, confusions of a wasted youth."

The truth of this spoken statement is apparently close to the truth of his subjective experience. As he looks back on the "silent years," he feels that he has reached a more-or-less objective evaluation of his "human condition" under trial and an explanation of the manner in which he has reached the truths of his affirmation.

This reading of In Memoriam has been partially motivated by a caution that "In Memoriam is the whole poem...It is a diary of which we have to read every word."¹ It is through the step by step development of Tennyson's new faith that the reader is able to see best Tennyson's doubts and fears as the psychological pattern of his travail unfolds in a confessional, culminating in the body of beliefs that he found compatible to live with. A personal experience of deep emotional nature, such as an acutely felt sorrow, suggests its own pattern of expression. It is the essence of the poet's changing emotions that lets him find the apt words and the true tone appropriate to the content. The "Prologue" bears little of the anguish with which much of the message of the poem is burdened. For this reason, only

¹Eleanor Bustin Mattes, In Memoriam: The Way of the Soul, p. xi.

a careful reading of the poem reveals the self-test of the poet's faith. Most of all, after the first grief had subsided, Tennyson wanted to know. It is possible that he came to know and to embrace more--and different--truths than are contained within his "Prologue" statement.

Evidences inherent in the situation would have led an individual like Tennyson to make the tests he made, whether or not he thought of his "quest for truth" as a testing out of his faith. In Victorian England Science was busy showing the discrepancies between the facts it was revealing and the Bible account of Creation. Many people felt that unless the Genesis account of Creation held up, the whole structure of Christianity would fall. The Victorian mind had not yet accepted the fact that doubt was good when it provoked man's pursuit of truth. Science had suggested the uncomfortable theory of the world's continual progress from beast up to man and perhaps to something beyond.

Religion viewed Science as an enemy of Christianity. Doubt was thus evil. Blind faith was Christian faith. Man is here as an act of Divine creation. There is a life beyond the grave, where the separate self will survive and will "know as it is known." Death, then, is a state of full knowledge in which man has a memory of his earthly life.

Tennyson was caught in the middle of traditional religious beliefs and the enlightenment at Cambridge where he had been exposed to the latest ideas of Science. He was aware of the dogmatic stand taken by both Christianity

and the rational materialism of the age. He did not see the degree of conflict that most people of the age saw.

The death of Hallum found him with no definite conviction. Suddenly to know was imperative. He felt himself to be a "Christian" because he acknowledged God's existence. But the state of man's soul after death had apparently been of little real concern to him, even though he had intuitively considered the soul as immortal. Suddenly to know was vital to him.

His strongest intimation of the reality he was to test came about through his unique love for Hallum, his intuitive nature, his flights into high realms of imagination and speculation, and his mystical experiences to which he was subject.

Running through the moody vacillation of the poems in In Memoriam appear "peaks" of rare understanding and acceptance reached through Tennyson's "checking out" evidences at his disposal. There are also "peaks" of rejected theories. Careful examination reveals that not all "peaks" of conviction were embodied in his affirmation when he got around to the formal statement in his "Prologue."

Tennyson's major experimental premise was his belief in a God of immortal love; therefore, the soul was eternal. When empirical Science seemed to dispute his thesis by pointing out a hostile Nature in a world of change and destruction, Tennyson counteracted with proof of man's experience of God through traditional theology, through the ability to apprehend spiritual truths intuitively, and

through moments of mystical experiences. At moments of greatest disturbance, he fell back on "hope." This instinct for faith, he felt, was instilled in man by God. Most of all, his personal "sense" of eternality meant that a Creator had placed it in him.

From his sorrow experience Tennyson's response seemed to follow a formula: sorrow prompts despair; despair prompts doubt; doubt causes inquiry; inquiry brings knowledge; intuition examines knowledge and reaches wisdom. Therefore, he deduced that sorrow is permitted by God, and doubting sanctioned if it is done earnestly and reverentially in a search for truth.

Tennyson recognized that much is revealed, but much is hidden from man. In his limited knowledge, man can use his intellect to conjecture, but he must not reject use of his wisdom of intuition in the area of spiritual truth.

There are instances in which man has but faith--no visible evidence--of God. Reason has its limitations. There are questions man must leave unanswered until he will know "behind the veil." Man, then, must trust in God's reality, "believing where he cannot prove." Properly, man walks by faith.

Tennyson's unique love for Arthur Hallum withstood the test of his own faith during his life time; and it immortalized not only the object of his love, but "the way of the soul" as long as man shall read In Memoriam.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Buckley, Jerome H. Tennyson The Growth of a Poet. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960.
- Buckley, Jerome H. The Victorian Temper: A Study in Literary Culture. New York: Random House, 1964.
- Dixon, William Macneile. A Tennyson Primer. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1896.
- Johnson, E.D.H. The Alien Vision of Victorian Poetry. Hamden: Archon Books, 1963.
- Levine, Richard A. Backgrounds to Victorian Literature. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1967.
- Lounsbury, Thomas H. The Life and Times of Tennyson. New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1962.
- Mattes, Eleanor Bustin. The Memoriam: The Way of the Soul. New York: Exposition Press, 1951.
- Stange, C. Robert, Walter E. Houghton. Victorian Poetry and Poetics. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1959.
- Tennyson, Hallum Lord. Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir by His Son, Volumes I and II. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1898.

