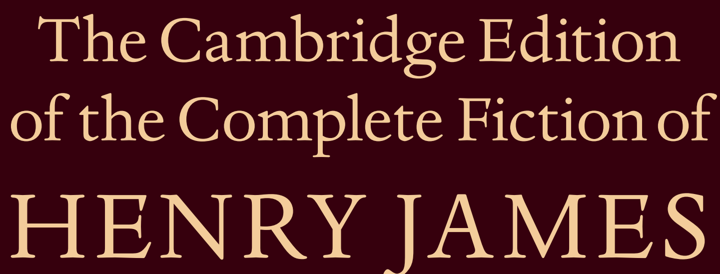

The Cambridge Edition
of the Complete Fiction of
HENRY JAMES

The Aspern Papers and Other Tales, 1884–1888

Edited by
Rosella Mamoli Zorzi
Simone Francescato

THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF THE COMPLETE FICTION OF

HENRY JAMES

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HENRY JAMES

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13 The Spoils of Poynton
14 What Maisie Knew
15 The Awkward Age
16 The Sacred Fount
17 The Wings of the Dove
18 The Ambassadors
19 The Golden Bowl
20 The Outcry
21 The Sense of the Past
22 The Ivory Tower
23 A Landscape Painter and Other Tales, 1864–1869
24 A Passionate Pilgrim and Other Tales, 1869–1874
25 Daisy Miller and Other Tales, 1874–1879
26 The Siege of London and Other Tales, 1879–1884
27 The Aspern Papers and Other Tales, 1884–1888
28 The Lesson of the Master and Other Tales, 1888–1891
29 The Middle Years and Other Tales, 1892–1894
30 The Turn of the Screw and Other Tales, 1895–1898
31 The Beast in the Jungle and Other Tales, 1899–1903
32 The Jolly Corner and Other Tales, 1903–1910
33 The Prefaces
34 The Notebooks

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CONTENTS

List of Illustrations — *page* IX
Acknowledgements — XI
List of Abbreviations — XII
General Editors' Preface — XVII
General Chronology of James's Life and Writings — XXV
Introduction — XXXII
Textual Introduction — XCII
Chronology of Composition and Production — XCVII
Bibliography — CIII

The Aspern Papers and Other Tales 1884–1888

Pandora — 3
Georgina's Reasons — 47
A New England Winter — 114
The Path of Duty — 170
Mrs. Temperly — 207
Louisa Pallant — 239
The Aspern Papers — 275
The Liar — 365
The Modern Warning — 413

Glossary of Foreign Words and Phrases — 473
Notes — 479
Textual Variants I: Substantive Variants up to Copy Text — 579
Textual Variants II: Substantive Variants after Copy Text — 622

Emendations 753

Appendices 755

A: Extracts from James's Notebooks 757

B: Prefaces to the New York Edition 767

ILLUSTRATIONS

1 Palazzo Soranzo Cappello, Rio Marin, Venice. Photograph courtesy of the Archivio Carlo Montanaro, Venice. *page* cxxi
2 Verrocchio's Colleoni. Photograph courtesy of the Archivio Carlo Montanaro, Venice. cxxii

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The present volume of the Cambridge Edition of the *Complete Fiction of Henry James* aims at providing new textual data for a chronological selection of James's short stories, some of which have received considerable scholarly attention over the years. As such, it is necessarily indebted to the important work of many Jamesian critics of the past and the present, to whom the editors' gratitude goes. This volume would never have reached completion without the unstinting generosity and tireless support of our Volume Editor, Adrian Poole, whose innumerable corrections, suggestions, and identifications of allusions were essential. We are deeply grateful to our General Editors, Philip Horne and Tamara Follini, for carefully revising our many drafts and files and also for suggesting significant changes, and also thank Philip for allowing us to use his ongoing work on James's *Notebooks*. We would like to extend our thanks to our General Editor in the United States, Michael Anesko, for his careful and generous corrections, and to Pierre Walker and Greg Zacharias, not only for their important work on James's correspondence but also for sending us unpublished letters regarding the tales here presented. Gratitude goes to Oliver Herford for supplying the texts to the Prefaces to the *New York Edition*, and to Sarah Wadsworth for allowing us to use her unpublished findings on one of the tales.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The Tales

AP	'The Aspern Papers'
GR	'Georgina's Reasons'
L	'The Liar'
LP	'Louisa Pallant'
MT	'Mrs. Temperly'
MW	'The Modern Warning'
NEW	'A New England Winter'
P	'Pandora'
PD	'The Path of Duty'

The following are sources where the tales (abbreviated in square brackets) appear.

AB	*The Author of Beltraffio* (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1884) [P, GR, PD]
AM	*Atlantic Monthly* [AP]
AP	*The Aspern Papers; Louisa Pallant; The Modern Warning* (London and New York: Macmillan, 1888) [AP, LP, MW]
C	*Century Magazine* [L, NEW]
DMOS	*Daisy Miller and Other Stories*, ed. Jean Gooder (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985) [P]
EIM	*English Illustrated Magazine* [PD]
HNM	*Harper's New Monthly Magazine* [LP, MW]
HW	*Harper's Weekly* [MT]
LoA	*Library of America*

LonL	*A London Life*, 2 vols. (London and New York: Macmillan, 1889) [L, MT]
NYE	*The New York Edition of the Novels and Tales of Henry James* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907–9), vol. XII [AP, L], vol. XIII [LP], vol. XVIII [P]
NYS	*New York Sun* [P, GR]
Poole	*The Aspern Papers and Other Stories*, ed. Adrian Poole, new edition (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013)
SR1	*Stories Revived*, vol. I (London: Macmillan & Co., 1885) [P, PD]
SR2	*Stories Revived*, vol. II (London: Macmillan & Co., 1885) [GR]
TTC	*Tales of Three Cities* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1884) [NEW]
TTC2	*Tales of Three Cities* (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1884) [NEW]

Other Works by Henry James

Amb	*The Ambassadors*, ed. Nicola Bradbury, *CFHJ* 18 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)
CFHJ	The Cambridge Edition of the *Complete Fiction of Henry James*
CLHJ	*The Complete Letters of Henry James*, ed. Pierre A. Walker and Greg W. Zacharias; Michael Anesko and Greg W. Zacharias (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006–) (NB: Quotations from this source will appear as clear text; i.e., evidence of HJ's cancellations and insertions will not appear unless warranted by their context.)
DM	*Daisy Miller: A Study*, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1879)

CN	*The Complete Notebooks of Henry James*, ed. Leon Edel and Lyall H. Powers (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987)
CTW1	*Collected Travel Writings: Great Britain and America: English Hours, The American Scene, Other Travels*, ed. Richard Howard (New York: Library of America, 1993)
CTW2	*Collected Travel Writings: The Continent*: *A Little Tour in France, Italian Hours, Other Travels*, ed. Richard Howard (New York: Library of America, 1993)
CWAD1	*The Complete Writings of Henry James on Art and Drama*, vol. 1, *Art*, ed. Peter Collister (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016)
CWAD2	*The Complete Writings of Henry James on Art and Drama*, vol. 2, *Drama*, ed. Peter Collister (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016)
EL	*Essays in London and Elsewhere* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1893)
H	*Hawthorne* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1879)
HJL	*Henry James Letters*, ed. Leon Edel, 4 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974–84; London: Macmillan, 1974–84)
LC1	*Literary Criticism: Essays on Literature, American Writers, English Writers*, ed. 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*, ed. Leon Edel and Mark Wilson (New York: Library of America, 1984)
LL	*Henry James: A Life in Letters*, ed. Philip Horne (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1999; New York: Viking Press, 1999)
LPB	*Letters from the Palazzo Barbaro*, ed. Rosella Mamoli Zorzi (London: Pushkin Press, 1998)

NC2	*Henry James. Nouvelles completes 1877–1888 II*, ed. Évelyne Labbé (Paris: Éditions de la Pléiade, 2003)
NSBMY	*Notes of a Son and Brother and The Middle Years: A Critical Edition*, ed. Peter Collister (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2011)
PE	*The Painter's Eye: Notes and Essays on the Pictorial Arts*, ed. John L. Sweeney (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956)
PoL	*The Portrait of a Lady*, ed. Michael Anesko, *CFHJ 7* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016)
PP	*Partial Portraits* (London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1888)
PPL	*Portraits of Places* (London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1883)
PS	*Parisian Sketches: Letters to the New York Tribune 1875–1876*, edited and introduced by Leon Edel and Ilse Dusoir Lind (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1958)
S1864–1874	*Henry James: Complete Stories 1864–1874*, ed. Jean Strouse (New York: Library of America, 1999)
S1874–1884	*Henry James: Complete Stories 1874–1884*, ed. William L. Vance (New York: Library of America, 1999)
S1884–1891	*Henry James: Complete Stories 1884–1891*, ed. Edward W. Said (New York: Library of America, 1999)
S1892–1898	*Henry James: Complete Stories 1892–1898*, ed. John Hollander and David Bromwich (New York: Library of America, 1996)
S1898–1910	*Henry James: Complete Stories 1898–1910*, ed. Denis Donoghue (New York: Library of America, 1996)
SBOC	*A Small Boy and Others: A Critical Edition*, ed. Peter Collister (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2011)
TS	*Transatlantic Sketches* (Boston, MA: James R. Osgood & Co., 1875)

WD	*The Wings of the Dove* (London: Archibald Constable & Co., 1902)
WWS	*William Wetmore Story and His Friends*, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1903)

Other Works

Appleton's 1879	*Appleton's Dictionary of New York and its Vicinity* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1879)
HJE	Robert L. Gale, *A Henry James Encyclopedia* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989)
Murray's 1868	*Handbook for Travellers in Southern Italy* (London: John Murray, 1868)
Murray's 1877	*Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (London: John Murray, 1877)

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), 113 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, and 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, for example, 'A London Life' (June–September 1888, *Scribner's Magazine*) before 'The Lesson of the Master' (July–August 1888, *Universal Review*).
2) Where two tales have the same start date, the priority is determined by which completes its publication earlier. Thus, for example, 'The Modern Warning' (originally entitled 'Two Countries', June 1888, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*) precedes 'A London Life' (June–September 1888, *Scribner's Magazine*).
3) 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, for example, 'De Grey: A Romance' (July 1868, *Atlantic Monthly*) precedes 'Osborne's Revenge' (July 1868, *Galaxy*).
4) Because it cannot usually be determined exactly *when* a magazine dated only 'June' actually appeared, 'June' is treated as preceding any particular date in June, including '1 June'. Thus 'The Private Life' (April 1892, *Atlantic Monthly*) precedes 'The Real Thing' (16 April 1892, *Black and White*); and principle 4 overrides principle 2, so that 'The Author of "Beltraffio"' (June–July 1884, *English Illustrated Magazine*) precedes 'Pandora' (1 and 8 June 1884, *New York Sun*).
5) 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, for example, 'is n't' and 'did n't' have here been partially 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* and *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 is born on 15 April 1843 at 21 Washington Place in New York City, second of the five children of Henry James (1811–82), speculative theologian and social thinker, and his wife Mary Walsh Robertson James (1810–82). Siblings: William (1842–1910), psychologist, philosopher, Harvard professor; Garth Wilkinson ('Wilky', 1845–83); Robertson ('Bob', 1846–1910); Alice (1848–92), diarist.
1843–5	Taken to Paris and London by his parents; earliest memory (from age 2) is of the Place Vendôme in Paris.
1845–7	Returns to United States. Childhood in Albany.
1847–55	Family settles in New York City; taught by tutors and in private schools.
1855–8	Family travels in Europe: Geneva, London, Paris, Boulogne-sur-mer.
1858	Jameses reside in Newport, Rhode Island.
1859–60	James family travels: HJ at scientific school, then the Academy (later the University) in Geneva. Summer 1860: HJ learns German in Bonn.
1860–2	James family returns to Newport in September 1860. HJ makes friends with future critic Thomas Sargent Perry and artist John La Farge, fellow students at William Morris Hunt's art academy. From 1860 HJ 'was continually writing stories, mainly of a romantic kind' (Perry). In 1861 HJ injures his back helping extinguish a fire in Newport. Along with William James, exempted from service in Civil War, in which younger brothers fight, and Wilky is seriously wounded.
1862	Enters Harvard Law School for a term. Begins to send stories to magazines.

1864	February: first short story of HJ's 113, 'A Tragedy of Error', published anonymously in *Continental Monthly*. May: Jameses move to 13 Ashburton Place, Boston. October: first of HJ's many reviews, of Nassau W. Senior's *Essays on Fiction*, published unsigned in *North American Review*.
1865	March: first signed tale, 'The Story of a Year', appears in *Atlantic Monthly*. HJ appears also as a critic in first number of the *Nation* (New York).
1866–8	Summer 1866: becomes friends with William Dean Howells, novelist, critic, and influential editor. November 1866: James family moves to 20 Quincy Street, beside Harvard Yard. November 1867: meets Charles Dickens at home of James T. Fields, and 'tremble[s] ... in every limb' (*Notes of a Son and Brother*). HJ continues reviewing and writing stories in Cambridge.
1869–70	On 27 February 1869 lands at Liverpool. Travels in England, meeting John Ruskin, William Morris, Charles Darwin, and George Eliot; also in Switzerland and Italy. 1870: death of his much-loved cousin Minny Temple.
1870–2	May 1870: reluctantly returns to Cambridge. August–December 1871: publishes first novel, *Watch and Ward*, in the *Atlantic Monthly*; January–March 1872, publishes art reviews in *Atlantic*.
1872–4	May 1872: HJ accompanies invalid sister Alice and aunt Catherine Walsh, 'Aunt Kate', to Europe. Writes travel pieces for the *Nation*. October 1872–September 1874: periods (without family) in Paris, Rome, Switzerland, Homburg, Italy again. Spring 1874: begins first long novel, *Roderick Hudson*, in Florence. September 1874: returns to the US.
1875	First three books published: *A Passionate Pilgrim, and Other Tales* (January); *Transatlantic Sketches* (April); *Roderick 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, and Rome. May 1877: *The American* published in Boston.
1878	February: *French Poets and Novelists* published, first collection of essays, first book published in London. May: revised version of *Watch and Ward* published in book form in Boston. June–July: 'Daisy Miller' appears in *Cornhill Magazine* and is quickly pirated by two American periodicals, establishing reputation in Britain and America. September: *The Europeans* published. Meets William Ewart Gladstone, Alfred Lord Tennyson, and Robert Browning.
1879	June: first English edition of *Roderick Hudson*, revised; October: *The Madonna of the Future and Other Tales*; December: *Confidence* (novel); *Hawthorne* (critical biography).
1880	April: *The Diary of a Man of Fifty and A Bundle of Letters*; late winter 1880: travels to Italy; meets Constance Fenimore Woolson in Florence. December 1880: *Washington Square*.
1881–3	October 1881: returns to US; travels between Cambridge, New York, and Washington, DC. November 1881: *The Portrait of a Lady.* January 1882: death of mother. May: returns to England till father dies in December 1882. February 1883: *The Siege of London*, *The Pension Beaurepas*, and *The Point of View*; summer 1883: returns to London and will not return to US for twenty-one years. November 1883: Macmillan publish fourteen-volume collected edition of HJ's fiction. September 1883: *Daisy Miller: A Comedy*; December 1883: *Portraits of Places* (travel essays). November 1883: death of Wilky James.

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 and 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 3 vols.
1886–7	February 1886: *The Bostonians* published. 6 March: moves to flat, 34 De Vere Gardens, in Kensington, West London. October 1886: *The Princess Casamassima* published. December 1886–July 1887: visits Florence and Venice. Continues friendship with American novelist Constance Fenimore Woolson.
1888	*The Reverberator*, *The Aspern Papers [&c.]* and *Partial Portraits* all published.
1888–90	1889: Collection of tales, *A London Life [&c.]*, published. 1890: *The Tragic Muse.* Temporarily abandons the novel form in favour of playwriting.
1890–1	Dramatizes *The American*, which has a short run in 1891. December: young friend and (informal) agent Wolcott Balestier dies of typhoid in Dresden.
1892	February: story collection *The Real Thing and Other Tales* published. March: death of Alice James in London.
1893	Volumes of tales published: March, *The Real Thing*; June, *The Private Life [&c.]*; September, *The Wheel of Time [&c.]*; also, June, *Picture and Text* (essays on illustration) and *Essays in London and Elsewhere* (critical and memorial essays).
1894	Deaths of Constance Fenimore Woolson (January) and Robert Louis Stevenson (December).

1895	5 January: premiere of *Guy Domville*, greeted by boos and applause. James abandons playwriting for years. Visits Ireland. Volumes of tales published: May, *Terminations*; June, *Embarrassments*. Takes up cycling.
1896–7	*The Other House* (1896), *The Spoils of Poynton* (1897), *What Maisie Knew* (1897). February 1897: starts dictating due to wrist problems. September 1897: takes lease on Lamb House, Rye.
1898	May: has signed up with literary agent James Brand Pinker, who will act for him for the rest of his life. June: moves to 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 1904: sails to US for first time in twenty-one years. November: *The Golden Bowl* published. Visits New England, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, the South, St Louis, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Lectures on 'The Lesson of Balzac' and 'The Question of Our Speech'. Meets President Theodore Roosevelt. Elected to American Academy of Arts and Letters.

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 *New York Edition* (published 1907–9, 24 vols.). January 1907: *The American Scene* published. August 1907: hires new amanuensis, Theodora Bosanquet. 1908: *The High Bid* (play) produced at Edinburgh.
1909–11	October 1909: *Italian Hours* (travel essays) published. Health problems, aggravated by failure of the *New York Edition*. Death of Robertson ('Bob') James. Travels to US. William James dies 26 August 1910. October 1910: *The Finer Grain* (tales). Returns to England August 1911. October: *The Outcry* (play converted into novel) published.
1911	In autumn, begins work on autobiography.
1912	June: honorary doctorate at Oxford. October: takes flat at 21 Carlyle Mansions, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea; suffers from shingles.
1913	March: *A Small Boy and Others* (first autobiographical book) published. Portrait painted by John Singer Sargent for seventieth birthday on 15 April.
1914	March: *Notes of a Son and Brother* (second autobiographical book) published. (The fragment of a third, *The Middle Years*, appears posthumously in 1917.) When World War One breaks out, becomes passionately engaged with the British cause, working with Belgian refugees and later wounded soldiers. October: *Notes on Novelists* published. Begins *The Ivory Tower;* resumes work on *The Sense of the Past*, but is unable to complete either novel.
1915	Honorary president of the American Volunteer Motor Ambulance Corps. July: quarrels with H. G. Wells about purpose of art, declaring 'It is art that *makes* life, makes interest, makes importance'; becomes a British citizen in protest against 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 14 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

This volume* presents nine tales by Henry James that were written and published between 1884 and 1888, after James had achieved success with 'Daisy Miller' (1878) and *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881), two works centred on the so-called 'international theme' – the confrontation between American and European ethics and mores. Most of these tales belong to the period when James was writing *The Bostonians* and *The Princess Casamassima* (both published in 1886), the two novels where James more overtly dealt with contemporary political issues, feminism, and social protest.

The tales were written after James had definitively opted to live in England. In his early thirties he had established himself in London, taking rooms at 3 Bolton Street in December 1876, after spending a year in Paris, where he had arrived as correspondent for the *New York Tribune* on 11 November 1875. These 'apprenticeship' years were extremely important for James, and left indelible traces on him. In Paris he met the Russian expatriate writer Ivan Turgenev, who introduced him to Gustave Flaubert. He also became acquainted with Edmond de Goncourt, Alphonse Daudet, Guy de Maupassant, and Émile Zola, the heirs of Balzac, representatives of French literary realism and its new developments in naturalism. James's admiration for their commitment to formal and stylistic ideals was tempered by his distaste for their choice of subjects drawn from 'low life' and their eagerness to represent physical, mental, and spiritual degradation.

In the French capital he was also exposed to theories of painting and writing that invoked new concepts both of 'realism' and of 'impressionism'. On a previous trip to Europe in 1874, James had witnessed the public debate surrounding impressionism raised by a series of so-called Salons des Refusés.

* Although this edition is the result of the close collaboration of the two editors, for the purposes of scholarly responsibility we declare that Rosella Mamoli Zorzi is responsible for the contents relating to 'A New England Winter', 'Mrs. Temperly', 'Louisa Pallant', 'The Aspern Papers', and 'The Modern Warning', and Simone Francescato is responsible for 'Pandora', 'Georgina's Reasons', 'The Path of Duty' and 'The Liar'.

The first such salon had taken place in 1863 in response to the rejection by the official Paris Salon of paintings by artists including Édouard Manet, Camille Pissarro, and James McNeill Whistler, and continued with further 'alternative' salons in 1874, 1875, and 1886. James was initially not in favour of the new movement. However, he later grew to admire it, in particular thanks to his friend and fellow American, the painter John Singer Sargent.[1] Echoes of this period and these experiences can be found in the French background of the painter Florimond in the story 'A New England Winter' and in the portraits painted for the Paris house in 'Mrs. Temperly'.

Between 1877 and 1881, from London, James made three visits to the Continent. His 1877 trip took him first to Paris in September and then to Florence and Rome in October and November. In the meantime, in May 1877 his novel *The American* had been published in book form in Boston. In 1880 he was in Rome again, where he saw the American sculptor William Wetmore Story (of whom he would eventually, reluctantly, write a biography that expresses much of James's divided feelings about the life of the expatriate artist, *William Wetmore Story and his Friends* (1903)). He met the writer Constance Fenimore Woolson in Florence, a friendship that would develop until Woolson's tragic early death in 1894. In 1881 he travelled via Marseilles to San Remo, Genoa, Milan, and Venice, where he struggled to finish his third and most ambitious full-length novel of his early career, *The Portrait of a Lady*, published later that year in November.

Eager to revisit his homeland after a five-year absence, James had set off for America the month before, in October 1881. He saw his family in Cambridge, and visited New York and Washington, where he spent time with Henry Adams and his wife, Marian 'Clover' Hooper. He had to leave the capital suddenly, however, when his mother died on 29 January 1882, the beginning of a more permanent severance from his American origins and such roots as the vagrant lifestyle of his family had encouraged him to acquire. Though he returned to London in May, and made a tour of France in the summer, he sailed back to the United States in December of the same year, arriving just too late to see his father alive. The death of

[1] Viola Hopkins Winner, *Henry James and the Visual Arts* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1970), pp. 50–1. For James's revision of his views on the impressionists, see also Peter Brooks, *Henry James Goes to Paris* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 30–2.

Henry James Senior marked the end of his youth and early manhood; in April 1883 he would be forty years old. After several months in Boston and Washington, Henry James – no longer 'Junior' – returned to London in the summer of 1883: he was to remain absent from his native land for the next twenty-one years.

Back in England, James learnt of his brother Garth ('Wilky') Wilkinson's death (15 November 1883). This new loss was added to that of both of his parents, who had died within the year 1882. However, before learning of Wilky's death, James expressed 'an earnest wish to hear that Wilky has laid down forever the burden of all his troubles. All the last news of him is a record of unmitigated suffering, & he was long-ago ready to go' (Letter to Elizabeth ('Lizzie') Boott, 14 October 1883, *CLHJ 1883–1884* 1:243). As much tenderness as James felt towards Wilky – who had been as a young boy his 'extremely easy yokefellow and playfellow' (*SBOC* 22) and had lived with him recently in Boston – he could only wish his suffering would cease. In the letter to Lizzie Boott, James's sympathy focused on Wilky's sad return from the American Civil War, a tragic reminder of which was a sketch of his wounded brother in his possession done by their elder sibling William; later he inserted it in *Notes of a Son and Brother* (1914), where he remembered Wilky's happy, sociable character. James's moving tribute to his brother there suggests that Wilky never recovered, physically or emotionally, from the war.[2]

The phase of James's career covered by the tales in this volume was thus marked at its start by a sharply enforced rupture of his personal connection with the land of his birth. By the same token it threw him back all the more powerfully on the literary connections he had already forged in Europe, both in London and Paris. In February the following year, 1884, James spent a month in the French capital, seeing his old friends Daudet, Zola, and Edmond de Goncourt. About them he wrote to his friend and fellow novelist, W. D. Howells: 'They do the only kind of work, to-day, that I respect; & in spite of their ferocious pessimism & their handling of unclean things, they are at least serious and honest' (*LL* 153). Turgenev had also commanded his

[2] James was much closer to Wilky than he was to his youngest brother, Robertson ('Bob'), another, albeit less obvious, victim of the Civil War, who lived on until 1910. Wilky never really recovered, and after failing in a Florida enterprise and other ventures, he suffered from rheumatism and a heart condition. This is why James thought his condition so desperate.

respect, without such attendant discomfort, but the Russian writer had died the previous September. This was yet another close personal loss, deeply felt by James, as he wrote to Grace Norton on 23 February 1884: 'I greatly miss Turgenieff, & see how much his presence here has been for me in all these last visits of mine to Paris' (*CLHJ 1883–1884* 2:42). Turgenev's friendship in 1875 had been one of the great joys of James's Parisian life. Before meeting him, James had written a highly appreciative essay on the Russian writer in the *North American Review* of April 1874. When Turgenev died, James wrote a long essay published in the January 1884 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*, underlining his greatness both as a writer and as a man, 'the most touching of writers, the most lovable of men' (*LC*2 1007); in James's memory many places in Paris were linked with the *déjeuners* they had shared. One of James's most important critical reflections on the novel, his essay on 'The Art of Fiction' (September 1884), while generally indebted to the literary climate of Paris and the circle of Flaubert and the Goncourts, singled out the Russian writer as a master and model of inspiration.

This essay gave coherent expression to James's long-lasting interest in the aesthetic parallels between the art of fiction and the art of painting. He had long been a keen observer of the visual arts, and of artists. On 23 February 1884, for example, James renewed an acquaintance with John Singer Sargent that had begun in the autumn of 1882. Sargent's portrait *Madame X* (Madame Gautreau), shown at the Paris Salon of 1884, had caused a commotion that may have contributed to the artist's moving to England, on James's advice. On 2 June 1884 James wrote to his old friend Lizzie Boott about Sargent: 'I saw & shall probably see again a great deal of him; I was able, I think, to make things pleasant & easy for him. I like him extremely (he is more intelligent about artistic things than all the painters here rolled together) & in short we are excellent friends' (*CLHJ 1883–1884* 2:135). In 1885 James was to spend time in the artistic colony in the English countryside at Broadway, in the Cotswolds, where such painters as Sargent, Frank Millet, Edwin A. Abbey, and others gathered in the summer to paint *en plein air*, as James described them in articles later collected in *Picture and Text* (1893).[3]

[3] The articles were published between 1886 and 1891, mainly in *Harper's Weekly* and *Harper's New Monthly*. See *The Complete Writings of Henry James on Art and Drama*, vol. 1, *Art*, ed. Peter Collister (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 404–93.

In September 1884 James published *A Little Tour in France*, a collection of essays about the French *provinces*, through which he had rambled in September and October 1882. He described to Isabella Stewart Gardner from Paris how he had spent six weeks 'wandering about the provinces—Touraine, Anjou, Poitiers, Gascony, Provence, Burgundy'. Then he had proceeded to see the castles of the Loire and 'a hundred more castles & ruins, as well as cathedrals, old walled towns, Roman remains & curiosities of every sort' (*CLHJ 1880–1883* 2:228). The tour had provided a blessed respite from a year of grief, in the interim between the death of his mother the previous January and the death of his father the following December.

In November 1884 James's ailing sister Alice joined him in England. He went to meet her at Liverpool, finding her exhausted from the voyage, and accompanied her to London, where she took lodgings at 40 Clarges Street, near to his own in Bolton Street. Early in 1885, in desperate pursuit of better health, Alice moved to the seaside resort of Bournemouth on the south coast, where she was joined by Katharine Loring (1849–1943) and her sister Louisa. From this time, Katharine would be Alice's devoted companion until her death in 1892. Meanwhile brother Henry was busily engaged on *The Bostonians*, which started serial publication in the *Century* in February 1885. When James went to visit Alice in Bournemouth at the end of April, he spent a good deal of time with another invalid, Robert Louis Stevenson, with whom he developed a close friendship. They had first met back in 1879, but were prompted to closer engagement by James's essay 'The Art of Fiction' and Stevenson's reaction to it, 'A Humble Remonstrance' (December 1884), where he had taken issue with the older writer, declaring that 'No art – to use the daring phrase of Mr James – can successfully "compete with life"'.[4] A friendly correspondence had ensued along with an invitation to visit, and James spent many evenings with the Stevensons in Bournemouth. In 1888 he would publish a long and laudatory essay on the author of *Treasure Island*, *Kidnapped*, and *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, and in 1900, after Stevenson's early death in 1894, thousands of miles away in Western Samoa, a long review of his correspondence – in effect another

[4] *R. L. Stevenson on Fiction: An Anthology of Literary and Critical Essays*, ed. Glenda Norquay (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), p. 93.

portrait of his friend. James and Stevenson were both friends of Sargent's, and one wonders if the wish to write a 'literary portrait', apparently no longer fashionable, expressed at the beginning of James's 1888 essay, might be linked to Sargent's portrait of Stevenson (1885) that he admired ('Sargent's little picture of him, shuffling about in his room & pulling his moustache. It is very queer & charming').[5]

On 2 May 1885 James was shocked to read in *The Times* that his Boston publisher, James R. Osgood, had gone bankrupt. Since signing a contract with Osgood two years previously for a full-length novel and three short stories, he had been looking forward to the largest financial returns his work had achieved so far: $4,000 for the novel and $2,000 for the tales, on delivery of the completed manuscripts.[6] Osgood's collapse left James in such difficulties that he had to borrow $1,000 from his brother William. When Benjamin Ticknor took over Osgood & Co., James wrote to him at the end of June, negotiating a new contract to supersede what had turned out to be the 'insanely unprofitable' one with Osgood (*LL* 177). He retained for himself the rights of *The Bostonians* in Britain and successfully demanded that the rights for America should revert to him in five years' time. But the experience had been deeply demoralizing, and it sapped the confidence with which he was settling down to his next full-length novel, *The Princess Casamassima*.[7]

Returning to London for a few days in June, James found a cottage on Hampstead Heath for his sister Alice and Katharine Loring. He went to Dover in August to make progress with *The Princess Casamassima*, which

[5] Fred Kaplan, *Henry James: The Imagination of Genius. A Biography* (New York: William Morrow, 1992), p. 310. In fact Sargent painted three portraits of Stevenson: the first (December 1884) was later destroyed, possibly by Stevenson's wife, Fanny; the second (August 1885), representing Stevenson 'shuffling about' while his wife sits in an armchair, with an open door between them, is now at the Crystal Bridges Museum (Bentonville, Arkansas); the third (1887), of Stevenson sitting and smoking in a straw armchair, is now at the Taft Museum (Cincinnati, Ohio). See *John Singer Sargent*, eds. Elaine Kilmurray and Richard Ormond (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1998), p. 120, and *Sargent: Portraits of Artists and Friends*, ed. Richard Ormond and Elaine Kilmurray (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2015), pp. 108–11.

[6] Michael Anesko, '*Friction with the Market': Henry James and the Profession of Authorship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 84.

[7] See the *CFHJ* edition of *The Bostonians*, edited by Daniel Karlin (2019), pp. cxvii–cxxii. See the *CFHJ* edition of *The Princess Casamassima*, edited by Adrian Poole (2021).

would begin serial publication in the *Atlantic* the following month, then on to Paris for eight weeks, while Alice and Katharine moved to 7 Bolton Row, five minutes away from his own lodgings in Bolton Street. Yet after nine years there, he was himself ready to move.

Coming back from Paris at the beginning of November 1885, James started looking for a new apartment. The following month he wrote to Grace Norton that he had found it in Kensington, at 34 De Vere Gardens, where he would move the following March, and which would remain his London base for the next ten years or so, until leaving for Lamb House in Rye. The year of 1886 was largely taken up with *The Princess Casamassima*, which finished serialization in October and was promptly issued in book form; the much delayed *Bostonians* had appeared as a volume in February.[8] James was acutely disappointed by the lack of success of these two novels – a significant decline from the acclaim enjoyed by 'Daisy Miller' (1878), *The Portrait of a Lady (*1881*)*, and other fictions just a few years earlier – and the scanty pecuniary returns were a measure of his failure to sustain, let alone to extend, the popularity for which he strove.

With *The Princess* finally published, James was ready to reward himself with a trip to the Continent. On 3 December 1886 he left England, stopping in Milan and Pisa and arriving in Florence five days later. His apartment and servants were taken over by Alice. He spent December at Bellosguardo, the delightful hilltop south of the Arno, in the Villa Brichieri, rented by his close friend, the novelist Constance Fenimore Woolson, who was staying nearby at the Villa Castellani. When Woolson moved into the Villa Brichieri in January, James moved down to the city, to the Hôtel du Sud. His essay on Woolson was published in *Harper's Weekly*, on 12 February. Ten days later he left for Venice to stay with Katharine de Kay Bronson, an American lady who had been living there since 1875 with her daughter Edith. The Bronson couple were old friends from Newport. James was given hospitality in the Gothic Palazzo Giustinian Recanati,[9] adjoining Mrs Bronson's Casa Alvisi on the Grand Canal, in front of the Salute Church. This was a sort of wing

[8] *The Bostonians* was published on 16 February 1886 in Britain; *The Princess Casamassima* on 22 October 1886 in Britain and on 2 November 1886 in the United States.

[9] Documented in contemporary photographs; now totally transformed into a plain twentieth-century building.

for Mrs Bronson's many guests, who included the poet Robert Browning and and his sister Sarianna. During that month James caught a cold and thought his jaundice had been caused by the 'pestilent if romantic emanations' of the city,[10] alluding to a current nineteenth-century view of Venice.

By 12 April he was back in Florence, staying again at the Villa Brichieri, but sharing it this time, on different floors, with Constance Fenimore Woolson. Here he began 'The Aspern Papers', based on a story he had heard three months before, shortly after arriving in Florence (see below). Although in his Preface to the tale, written many years later, James linked the story to Claire Claremont, former mistress of Lord Byron, both his Florentine and Venetian hostesses may also have provided inspiration for the women at the centre of the story. On 25 May he left for Venice again, staying this time with Daniel Sargent Curtis and Ariana Wormeley Curtis at the magnificent Palazzo Barbaro, where he was to return more than once, celebrating it finally as Milly Theale's Palazzo Leporelli in *The Wings of the Dove* (1902). Meanwhile he was finishing 'The Aspern Papers', announcing it to his editor Aldrich as 'brilliant, & of a thrilling interest' (12 June 1887, *HJL* 3:185). Though he sent the whole manuscript by 21 June, it was not published until the following year in the *Atlantic Monthly* (March–May 1888), in three parts (not two, as James had wished). It was to become one of James's most popular tales.

During his second Venetian stay in 1887, the Curtises' salon was frequented also by the writer Paul Bourget, for whom James had written a letter of introduction. Bourget was a friend of Luigi Gualdo (1844–98), an Italian writer who also wrote in French and lived in Paris, and who liked talking about possible subjects for stories or novels with his friends and acquaintances. James seems to have met him in Venice,[11] and he may have heard Gualdo's story of the portrait of an imaginary child, about which he was to enquire some years later, writing to Bourget.[12]

[10] Letter to Mrs Edmund Gosse, 14 April 1887, *Selected Letters of Henry James to Edmund Gosse 1882–1915: A Literary Friendship*, ed. Rayburn S. Moore (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana University Press, 1988), p. 45.

[11] See Daniela Sannino, *Portrait de l'artiste en passeur: Luigi Gualdo mediatore e critico letterario tra Italia e Francia* (Napoli: Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, 2009), p. 398, note 418.

[12] On 22 September 1895 James thought about 'Gualdo's charming little subject of *The Child*' (*CN* 131) and again in 1900; he even wrote to Bourget to find out if Gualdo had ever written and published the story. Bourget replied that Gualdo had not, and James made a note on 11

On 1 July 1887 James travelled back to England, passing at a leisurely pace through Vicenza, Mantua, Cremona, Brescia, Bergamo, and Stresa, where he spent a week with his aged friend, the actress Fanny Kemble. James had already visited Brescia in September 1869, at the suggestion of Charles Eliot Norton (*CLHJ 1855–1872* 2:97–8), on his way to Venice; he had been fascinated there by a beautiful Greek bronze statue representing Victory in the museum, and about which he had written to his mother (*CLHJ 1855–1872* 2:97). Stresa, a tourist destination on Lake Maggiore, would be used as a partial setting in 'Louisa Pallant' (first published in February 1888) and later in *The Wings of the Dove* (1902).

By 21 July he was back in London. The same month he wrote to Grace Norton that he had started a new novel, which would 'be called [probably] *The Tragic Muse*' (*HJL* 3:198), on which he was to work for the next three years. It was published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, January 1889–May 1890. The novel was centred on an actress and the world of the stage. James's interest in the theatre intensified; he published an essay titled 'The Acting in Mr. Irving's *Faust*' (December 1887) while he was writing the novel. Following on from *The Tragic Muse* (1890), James would for several years try his hand at writing for the theatre himself, leading up to the West End performance of his play *Guy Domville* in January 1895. The lack of success of this experience left him deeply bruised, but it helped to develop what he called the 'scenic method' that distinguished the fiction writing to which he returned.

James had been revitalized by the time he had spent on the Continent in the first half of 1887. But his resurgent confidence was checked by the pace at which his editors moved, or failed to. He complained that the 'things' he had written while abroad were being 'buried in the bosom of the *Century*, *Harper*, *Atlantic* etc., who keep them, annoyingly, for what they suppose to be the mystic hour' (*HJL* 3:197–8). Of all the stories James had sent out, only one appeared in 1887 – 'Cousin Maria', published by *Harper's Weekly* with illustrations by C. S. Reinhart in August (reprinted in 1889 in *A London Life*

September 1900 that the subject was 'quite *disponible*' (*CN* 192). Gualdo's hint was the 'germ' for the unfinished 'Hugh Merrow' and for 'Maud-Evelyn' (1900). In fact Gualdo *had* published his 'Una creazione' on this subject as far back as 1877, in the August and September issues of *Fanfulla*: the painter in this story is called Gustavo Zorne, and one wonders whether the name was suggested to Gualdo by that of the Swedish painter Anders Zorn (1860–1920).

under the revised title of 'Mrs. Temperly'). Several essays were published, however, among them one on John Singer Sargent in the October number of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. Though Sargent himself had left for America, James went to the painters' colony in Broadway for a couple of days in October 1887 (*HJL* 3:200), repeating a visit he had enjoyed now for three years in succession. In December there appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine* his review essay about a memoir of Emerson. In the same month James participated in the ongoing debate on international copyright by writing a letter to the American Copyright League.

At the beginning of 1888 James felt that his situation had deteriorated badly, since the publication of *The Bostonians* and *The Princess Casamassima* '[had] reduced the desire, and the demand, for my productions to zero', although he still hoped that all his 'buried prose [would] kick off its various tombstones at once' (letter to W. D. Howells, 2 January 1888, *HJL* 3:209). An afternoon at the theatre with Frederic Leighton two days later (*HJL* 3:211) must have reminded him of the enormous success of the painter as compared with his own as a writer. In 1884 James had been struck by the 'worldly prosperity and success' of John Everett Millais and Leighton, and contrasted 'the great rewards of the successful painter, here, and his glory and honour generally, with the so much more modest emoluments of the man of letters'. James added: 'Leighton in particular overwhelms me—his sumptuosity, his personal beauty, his cleverness, his gorgeous house, his universal attainments, his portraits of duchesses, his musical parties, his perfect French and Italian—and German—his general air of being above all human dangers and difficulties!' (letter to Grace Norton, 28 March 1884, *CLHJ 1883–1884* 2:83–4).[13]

The gloom induced by his own dangers and difficulties was alleviated as his buried works began to kick off their tombstones. In February his short novel *The Reverberator* started its six-month serial run in *Macmillan's* and 'Louisa Pallant' appeared in *Harper's New Monthly*, while the following month saw 'The Aspern Papers' begin to appear in the *Atlantic*, followed by 'The Liar' (May–June), 'Two Countries' (June, later retitled 'The Modern Warning'), 'A London Life' (June–September), 'The Lesson of the

[13] The editors thank Greg Zacharias for advance access to the text of this letter.

Master' (July and August), and 'The Patagonia' (August–September), in various magazines on both side of the Atlantic, not to mention essays on Maupassant, Stevenson, Loti, the Goncourts, and 'London'. The year 1888 also saw the publication in volume form of *Partial Portraits* (May), *The Reverberator* (June), and 'The Aspern Papers' (with 'Louisa Pallant' and 'The Modern Warning') in September. Altogether, this was a year for James of remarkable revival. His friend and fellow writer W. D. Howells noted as much – that in 1888 James was presenting 'simultaneously some of the best work' of his life in the form of the short story:

> With 'The Aspern Papers' in *The Atlantic*, 'The Liar' in *The Century*, 'A London Life' in *Scribner's* and 'Louisa Pallant' and 'Two Countries' in *Harper's* [. . .] the effect was like an artist's exhibition. One turned from one masterpiece to another, making his comparisons, and delighted to find that the stories helped rather than hurt one another, and their accidental massing enhanced his pleasure in them.[14]

James's London life continued in his spacious De Vere Gardens flat. He visited Alice, now settled with Katharine in Leamington, passing 'several hours with her every month', as he wrote to Grace Norton (*HJL* 3:217); saw his old friends Mrs Kemble and Edmund Gosse; and went to the Royal Academy to see 'two great portraits', *Mrs Marquand* and *Mrs Boit*, sent over by Sargent. He was busy writing *The Tragic Muse* and also many letters, including those mourning the premature death in March of his old friend Lizzie Boott Duveneck (as she had become on her recent marriage to fellow artist Frank Duveneck). In October and November James travelled to the Continent for a brief holiday in Geneva – where he saw Woolson – and to Genoa, Monte Carlo, and Paris, to be back in London at the end of the year.

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The 'germs' for most of the tales in this volume were recorded in James's *Notebooks*: the writer often considered 'a situation' and a 'subject' interesting and likely to develop into a story. For 'Pandora' James wrote that

[14] Michael Anesko, *Letters, Fictions, Lives: Henry James and William Dean Howells* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 268. William Dean Howells, 'Editor's Study' [stories reprinted in *The Aspern Papers* and *A London Life*], *Harper's Monthly 77* (October 1888), 799–804; 800.

he wanted to explore further the subject of the 'self-made girl', as he had previously done in 'Daisy Miller'. Very often the 'germ' of the tale was a story or anecdote that someone had told him at dinner or tea; this is true for the origin of 'Georgina's Reasons', 'The Path of Duty', and 'The Aspern Papers'. Sometimes the idea for a story seems to have come to James from reading a book, as in the case of 'The Modern Warning'. For the other tales in this volume there is no 'germ' recorded in the *Notebooks*: 'Cousin Maria' (which became 'Mrs. Temperly') is mentioned only as a possible alternative to 'Louisa Pallant' for *Harper's Weekly* (*CN* 35).

In some of these nine stories James went back to the 'international theme' that had made 'Daisy Miller' a success. If 'Pandora', after a brief episode on board a ship from England, is entirely set in the United States, the presence of a puzzled German observer, Count Vogelstein, has the effect of presenting the American 'self-made girl' from a European perspective, though she is also a new phenomenon to the habitués of Washington society. In 'Georgina's Reasons' the theme emerges towards the end, through a Neapolitan setting in which two American sisters form a sharp contrast with the title character. All these tales from 'Daisy Miller' onwards feature prominent contrasts between different 'types' of American, especially American women, some of whom are comparatively 'Europeanized' and some of whom are distinctly not. In 'A New England Winter' the cold, 'Puritan' Boston stands out against the artistic atmosphere of Paris, through the figure of the impressionist painter, Florimond Daintry, and his mother's preoccupations. In 'The Path of Duty' the focus is on British hypocrisy – seen through the eyes of an American woman: in his 1876 letters James often wrote about his negative impressions of English mores and of the Tories,[15] much as he appreciated London as a place where he could write. In 'Cousin Maria' (later 'Mrs. Temperly'), the Paris where an American woman takes her daughters to give them the best the Old World can offer (including a husband for at least one of them) is a world of manners much more refined than in America, even if not so sincere. 'Louisa Pallant' focuses on the corruption present in an American

[15] On the other hand, the 'Liberal' Reform Club was much appreciated by James, who found in its members a social network useful to advance his professional career. See Greg Zacharias, 'Liberal London, Home, and Henry James's Letters from the Later 1870s', *Henry James Review*, 35.2 (2014), 127–40.

woman who has lived most of her life in Europe: she is no longer a naive and innocent heroine. At least two of the three main American characters in 'The Aspern Papers' are similarly corrupted, both the critic who tries to get hold of the eponymous papers and the very old woman living in Venice, a city recognized as a symbol of European deception and intrigue. In 'Two Countries' (later 'The Modern Warning') British tradition and conservatism are opposed to American democracy, defended by two hyper-patriotic characters. The theme of the marriage of an American girl to a British lord had been treated very differently by James in 'An International Episode' (1878), where the American Bessie Alden, with whom Lord Lambeth has fallen in love, finally refuses him, as Isabel Archer in *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881) refuses the marriage offered to her by Lord Warburton, in a choice of personal freedom over wealth and status.

In some of these tales James seems to confront the technological developments of the age, while in others the focus is on the inward presence of 'conscience'. The new 'age of newspapers and telegrams and photographs and interviewers' (*AP* 6) is one of the themes of 'The Aspern Papers', as it had been in the novella *The Reverberator*, published very shortly beforehand. James was becoming increasingly interested around this time in the erosion of 'the private life' and the means taken to protect personal privacy from the threat of exposure to publicity. Technological advances are associated with the emergence of a more independent type of young woman, as in 'Pandora', where 'the rise in prices, the telephone, the discovery of dynamite, the Chassepôt rifle, the socialistic spirit' are among 'the complications of modern life' (*SR1* 89) – which include the possibilities of marrying a new kind of American girl.

Several of these tales test the possibilities of one of James's favourite narrative devices, the 'unreliable observer' (most notably in 'Pandora', 'Louisa Pallant', 'The Liar') who sometimes coincides with the homodiegetic, first-person narrator ('The Aspern Papers'). In 'The Path of Duty' James also experiments with a written and self-contradictory document providing a frame to the tale: the unnamed American woman who is the author of the memoir writes 'it out for you' (*S1884–1891* 123) – that is, for *another* unnamed American – only to declare a few paragraphs later, to the reader's bafflement, that she will never 'betray' the characters of the story by sending or sharing this writing: 'after I have written out my reminiscences for your delectation, I shall simply keep them for my own' (*S1884–1891* 124).

This type of framing device, descending from the tradition of the discovered manuscript, was used in different ways by James: in the early tale 'A Light Man' (1869) ('I resume these old notes' (*S1864–74 399*)), 'The Solution' (1889) ('Oh yes, you may write it down' (*S1884–91* 664)), 'Sir Edmund Orme' (1891) ('I found these pages' (*S1884–91* 851)), 'The Visits' (1892) ('One of the listeners had taken many notes' (*S1892–98* 147)), 'Glasses' (1896) ('Yes indeed, I say to myself, pen in hand' (*S1892–98* 525)), 'The Way it Came' (1896) ('These pages evidently date from years ago' (*S1892–98* 609)), and most successfully in 'The Turn of the Screw' (1898). In these stories James not only recovers a long-standing literary device, he alters it by questioning the reliability of the manuscript's author.

James's interest in female attire and house decoration is evident in several of the stories here, such as the description of Rachel Torrance's clothes and ornaments and the Daintrys' very different Boston interiors in 'A New England Winter', the elegant Parisian Parc Monceau house in 'Mrs. Temperly', the wealthy abode on New York's Fifth Avenue of the bigamist's second marriage in 'Georgina's Reasons', and the fictional British country house of Stayes in 'The Liar', not to mention the unadorned and dilapidated palace of the Bordereau ladies in 'The Aspern Papers'. James still relies on the representation of a certain material environment as a tool for characterization, a realist tenet earlier practised by Balzac.

Of course there are echoes of James's own experiences of different localities in America and Europe: for example, the contrast between Boston and New York, which are seen respectively as America's intellectual and business capitals, their different 'mentality' being embodied by specific characters, such as the Theory sisters and Georgina Gressie in 'Georgina's Reasons', or Miss Daintry and Rachel Torrance in 'A New England Winter'. There is the contrast between London and Paris, the latter of which is ever-present in James as an appealing alternative to the British capital. There are the classic Grand Tour destinations of Florence, Genoa, Naples, and Venice. We also find some less usual settings such as Washington DC, the spa town of Homburg in Germany, and the beautiful Italian town of Stresa on Lake Maggiore. These were all places James had visited, and many of them fictionalize familiar touristic destinations of the period, as well as the routes leading to them. We find the trip from Washington to Mount Vernon in 'Pandora', the visit to the Royal Bourbon Museum,

Posillipo, and Pompeii near Naples in 'Georgina's Reasons', the observation of spa town rules in Homburg ('Louisa Pallant'), and the familiar descent into Italy along the Simplon road through the many tourist towns on the banks of Lake Como ('The Modern Warning') and Lake Maggiore (again 'Louisa Pallant') on the way to Milan. These routes and attractions were all widely advertised and promoted in popular guidebooks such as Murray's and Baedeker's.

'Pandora'

In a long notebook entry dated 29 January 1884 (see Appendix A), James expressed his determination to return to the figure of the young American woman, previously epitomized in his highly successful 'Daisy Miller' (1878). The play he derived from it, 'Daisy Miller: A Comedy' had been published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. James planned to make a concise story, involving a hero, 'a foreign secretary of Legation—German—inquiring & conscientious', and a heroine coming from a 'humble social background' who makes a position 'for herself—&, indirectly, indirectly, for her family' in the American capital. The story was to be set in New York and in Washington in particular. In a letter to Isabella Stewart Gardner from Washington DC (23 January 1882), James wrote of his observation of local women in a way that called for a comparison with the heroine of this story: 'There are also some charming girls—not rosebuds, e.g. Miss Bayard and Miss Frelinghuysen, who are happy specimens of the *finished* American girl—the American Girl who has profited by the sort of social education that Washington gives' (*CLHJ 1880–1883* 2:90). About a year later, in another entry during his American stay after his parents' death, James referred to this 'specimen' as the 'self-made girl' ('a very good subject for a short story. Very modern, very local; much might be done') (17 May 1883, *CN* 22). In his Preface to the volume of the *NYE* (XVIII) that includes 'Daisy Miller' and 'Pandora' (Appendix B), we find a longer reflection on the figure of the 'self-made girl' as well as on the character who was to become Pandora. Apparently James found inspiration in 'a young lady present at a certain pleasure-party, but present in rather perceptibly unsupported and unguaranteed fashion, as without other connexions, without more operative "backers", than

a proposer possibly half-hearted and a slightly sceptical seconder'. This young lady was presented to James as

> an interesting representative of a new social and local variety, the "self-made", or at least self-making, girl, whose sign was that—given some measurably amusing appeal in her to more or less ironic curiosity or to a certain complacency of patronage—she was anywhere made welcome enough if she only came, like one of the dismembered charges of Little Bo-Peep, leaving her "tail" behind her. (*LC2* 1271–3)

James's choice of the protagonist's name, Pandora, is particularly elusive and has puzzled critics. According to Hesiod's version of the Greek myth, Pandora ('all gifts') was the first woman created by the gods. Out of curiosity, she opened a jar given to her by Zeus, thus releasing all the evils of humanity, leaving only hope inside. This mythical figure had many literary and iconographic versions in the nineteenth century, from Goethe to Dante Gabriel Rossetti.[16] A possible connection with Goethe's unfinished play *Pandora* (1810) is strengthened by the fact that Goethe figures as one of the authors read by the female protagonist in the story. Adeline Tintner also mentions, as possible sources of inspiration for James, six paintings of the mythical Pandora displayed in London in 1883, among them a blonde *femme fatale* by Rossetti. Jean Gooder argues that the name might also refer to the doll-sized mannequins then used in the couturiers of Paris.[17] As for

16 Their possible connections with James's tale are explored by Adeline Tintner in *The Pop World of Henry James: From Fairy Tales to Science Fiction* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1989), pp. 111–22. Tintner argues that 'the mention of Goethe perhaps is there to suggest that German aspect of the legend in the person of Count Vogelstein, whose "curiosity" about Pandora exposes him to the demon of unrequited love. Goethe's *Pandora* expresses the love of an older man for a young girl who leaves him. Count Vogelstein, like Goethe, is an Epimetheus figure' (p. 112). She also adds: 'Pandora, by the time James wrote his legend, was embedded in two traditions, that followed by Hawthorne and Longfellow, where a chest is opened by a curious girl who lets loose evil, and that followed by Calderon and Goethe, where a girl favoured by the Gods is presented with a chest whose contents, Science and Art, are also gifts to the world' (*ibid.*).

17 'A "Pandora" was the name given to the doll-sized figures used especially by Parisian fashion houses to model outfits for their customers. These dolls, complete to every accessory, were exported for display. […] There is a temptingly apt irony, for a tale figuring Henry Adams, in the anticipation of the "manikin" of *The Education of Henry Adams* (1918).' *Daisy Miller and Other Stories*, ed. Jean Gooder (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 277.

real women who may have inspired James's heroine, Sarah Wadsworth has proposed that this character could be based on Alice Mason (1838–1913), whom James befriended in Rome in the 1870s. By the time James was taking notes for the story, Mason, whose life was marked by gossip and scandal and whose personality resembled that of James's heroine, had started to cruise the Mediterranean on board a chartered steam yacht called *Pandora*.[18]

The male protagonist of the story, the Prussian diplomat Otto Vogelstein, stands out as one of the only two German reflectors in James's *oeuvre* to observe and criticize American culture, the other being Dr Staub in the epistolary story 'A Bundle of Letters' (1878).[19] Both these two characters somehow reflect James's reservations about Germany and the German character, which one finds in his letters and travel essays. Although Vogelstein strongly recalls the American expatriate Winterbourne in 'Daisy Miller', interestingly, at the early stages of their acquaintance, Daisy actually compares her young compatriot to a German:

> She asked him if he was a "real American"; she shouldn't have taken him for one; he seemed more like a German—this was said after a little hesitation—especially when he spoke. Winterbourne, laughing, answered that he had met Germans who spoke like Americans; but that he had not, so far as he remembered, met an American who spoke like a German. (*DMOS* 11)

Pierre Walker has noticed that the only German diplomat mentioned in James's letters from 1875 to 1880 was Baron Friedrich von Holstein

[18] Sarah Wadsworth, 'The Real Thing: Henry James and the Material World', unpublished conference paper, University of Aberdeen, 16–19 July 2014.

[19] See Evelyn Hovanec, *Henry James and Germany* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1979), p. 113. The character of Vogelstein echoes observations on the German character in James's travel essays. In 'Homburg Reformed' (1873) James wrote: 'The success of the Fatherland one sees reflected more or less vividly in all true German faces, and the relation between the face and the success seems demonstrated by a logic so unerring as to make envy vain. It is not the German success I envy, but the powerful German temperament and the comprehensive German brain. With these advantages one needn't be restless; one can afford to give a good deal of time to sitting out under the trees over pipes and beer and discussion tinged with metaphysics. But success of course is most forcibly embodied in the soldiers and officers who now form so large a proportion of every German group' (*CTW2* 641). James did not favour Germany, especially in comparison with France and Italy. In his essay 'Venice: An Early Impression' (1873) he wrote: 'Germany is ugly, [...] Munich is a nightmare, Heidelberg a disappointment (in spite of its charming castle) and even Nuremberg not a joy forever' (*CTW2* 345).

(1837–1909), whom James met when he was living in Paris in 1875–6.[20] His name appears in two letters of 1876 (14 March to William and 24, 25 May to Alice). In the first James writes:

> I have seen something of late of one Baron Holstein, German secrétaire d'ambassade—one of the most acute & intelligent men I have ever met. We occasionally dine together—he being the only detached male that I know (he is by the way the gentleman whose attentions to Mrs. Sumner—he was then secretary in Washington—were the prime cause of the explosion of the Hon Charles, & the consequent separation.) (*CLHJ 1872–1876* 3:81)

Holstein served as member of the legation in Washington between 1866 and 1867, and his relation to the above-mentioned Alice Mason, then newly married to Senator Charles Sumner, led to Holstein's withdrawal and to the separation (and later divorce) of the couple.[21]

Another possible source for the name Pandora can be traced back to the American celebrity Blanche Roosevelt Tucker-Macchetta (1853–98), singer, actress, and writer, whom James saw in London in 1886 and who elicited scathing comments from the American writer. In a letter to Francis Boott dated 15 August of that year, he wrote: 'I have but just escaped from the jaws of Blanche Roosevelt, who used to sing in opera—didn't she?—& who is now here married to a Milanese, trying to be literary & assaulting me (with compliments) on my productions' (*CLHJ 1884–1886* 2:153). Roosevelt made an opera out of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's Hesiod-based poem 'The Masque of Pandora' (1875) with music composed by Alfred Cellier (1844–91), which was performed unsuccessfully on 10 January 1881 at the Boston Theater, featuring Roosevelt in the role of Pandora. In the introduction to her own book on Longfellow (*The Home Life of Henry W. Longfellow* (New York: C. W. Carleton & Co., 1882)), Roosevelt refers to a letter by the poet, showing that he had grown used to addressing her as 'Pandora' (21). Longfellow's collection also contained a poem titled 'Charles Sumner', dedicated to the recently deceased senator (who had died in 1874).

[20] We are indebted to Pierre Walker for generously suggesting this connection.

[21] Born in Boston in 1838, Alice Mason married William Sturgis Hooper in 1857. He died in 1863 and three years later she married Sumner; they separated shortly thereafter and divorced in 1873.

As the 29 January 1884 notebook entry shows, 'Pandora' was to feature Washington alongside New York as a primary setting. James had visited Washington in 1882 (and again in 1883) and participated in the social life of the city, thanks to his friends Henry and 'Clover' Adams.[22] In a letter to Sir John Clark from Washington DC, dated 8 January 1882, James wrote:

I find here our good little friends the Adamses, whose extremely agreeable house may be said to be one of the features of Washington. They receive a great deal & in their native air they bloom, expand, emit a genial fragrance. They don't pretend to conceal (as why should they?) their preference of America to Europe, & they rather rub it into me, as they think it a wholesome discipline for my demoralized spirit. One excellent reason for their liking Washington better than London is that they are, vulgarly speaking, "someone" here, & that they are nothing in your complicated Kingdom. (*CLHJ 1880–1882* 2: 65–66)[23]

In the story James included a literary rendition of the Adamses as Mr and Mrs Bonnycastle ('I might even *do* Henry Adams and his wife', he noted on 29 January 1884).[24] The name Bonnycastle may echo that of the Hardcastles in *She Stoops to Conquer*, a play frequently performed in James's childhood in New York (*SBOC* 91) and, at the same time, it may allude to the Adamses' 'extremely agreeable house'.

'Pandora' is one of the first stories James decided to publish in a popular newspaper. Embittered by the mediocre profits from Macmillan's (see

[22] Henry Adams (1838–1918), the famous historian, was a descendant of two presidents of the United States. His autobiography, *The Education of Henry Adams* (1907), is one of the great texts of American intellectual history. He was also the author of *Democracy* (1880), a novel on Washington's political life. After Marian 'Clover' Adams (1843–85) took her own life, a fine funerary monument by Augustus Saint-Gaudens, the Adams Memorial (1891), was erected, which James went to see in 1905. See also 'The Modern Warning' for analogies regarding her suicide.

[23] On the rendition of the Adamses in the story, see Robert L. Gale, '"Pandora" and Her President', *Studies in Short Fiction*, 1 (Spring 1964), 222–5; George Monteiro, 'Washington Friends and National Reviewers: Henry James's "Pandora"', *Research Studies*, 43.1 (March 1975), 38–44.

[24] Marian Adams was fictionalized in another short story, 'The Point of View' (1882); for her reaction to it see *The Letters of Mrs. Henry Adams, 1865–1883*, ed. Ward Thoron (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1936), p. 403. In her biography of Marian Adams, Natalie Dykstra refers to her Washington salon as 'a gilded cage, which "left out on the whole more people than it took in", as Henry James described it in his short story "Pandora"' (*Clover Adams: A Gilded and Heartbreaking Life* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2012), p. 125).

the letter to Frederick Macmillan, 29 January 1884, *CLHJ 1883–1884* 2: 4, 5), in January 1884 he agreed to sell two stories ('Pandora' and 'Georgina's Reasons') to Charles A. Dana (1819–97), then owner and editor (1868–97) of the *New York Sun* (see Textual Introduction). Dana was gathering material from various American authors for a syndicated publication (the 'coordinated publication of fiction in multiple newspapers').[25] Such authors included Bret Harte, W. D. Howells, and Mark Twain. Critics have debated the reasons why James decided to publish in popular newspapers in spite of his well-known contempt for them. However, in a letter to William (10 October 1883), James had given another reason for his possibility of publishing in the *Sun*: 'To be so well paid as that is to have leisure to work carefully, artistically, and according to one's taste and that's the real and only seduction of the thing to me' (*CLHJ 1883–1884* 1:237–8), adding that 'one would be supplying a very large general public with artistic work'.[26]

Further evidence for James's desire both to earn more and to reach a wider audience can be found in three letters addressed respectively to his sister Alice, to Thomas Bailey Aldrich (editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*), and to his friend Thomas Sergeant Perry:

> I am writing a couple of short tales—as a trial, to begin with—for Dana & the Sun! The die is cast—but I don't in the least repent of it—as I see no shame in offering my productions to the widest public, & in their being "brought home", as it were, to the great American people. I have lately finished two nouvelles for Osgood & the Century: one to be published in three & one in two instalments. After this I am to do one in six, on the same contract, & that will finish this business. It will have had its advantages, but it will not have been (owing to my want of greediness in making my bargain) supremely lucrative. I am, however, trusting to the Dana business to more than make up for that. (letter to Alice James, 5 February 1884, *CLHJ 1883–1884* 2:10)[27]

> And three or four short tales, from my teeming hand, are to appear (this is a profound secret)—have been, in a word, secured, *à prix d'or* in—*je vois* [*sic*] *le donne en mille*—the New York Sunday Sun!! This last fact, I repeat, is really as yet *a complete*

[25] Charles Johanningsmeier, 'Henry James's Dalliance with the Newspaper World', *Henry James Review*, 19.1 (1998), 38.

[26] According to Johanningsmeier the possibility of reaching a wider audience and earning more money probably prevailed over James's reluctance to circulate his works in the *New York Sun*, a minor venue, though still a respectable one (*ibid.*, 40).

[27] The editors thank Greg Zacharias for advance access to the text of this letter.

& sacred secret. Please bury it in oblivion & burn my letter. I mention it, with the preceding items, simply to denote that by July 1865 [*sic*] I expect to have described as be[ing] in the enjoyment of a popularity which will require me to ask $500 a number for the successive instalments of *The Princess Casamassima* [...]. (letter to Aldrich, 3 February 1884, from Paris, *CLHJ 1883–1884* 2:22)

I am engaged to write (that is, to publish two ~~novels~~ "serials" next year—one of six months', the other of a year's duration. So I have work cut out, & so have you, if you read me. These are to be the best things I have done, & the former a remorseless exploitation of Boston. Look out, in Marlborough St; I am especially hard on the far end. Lately I have been doing some short things which you will see in due time—in the Century, & eke three or four in (horresco referens!) the New York Sunday *Sun*! This last item by the way, is for the present, till the things appear, a profound secret. That journal has bribed me with gold—it is a case of gold pure & simple; & moreover the reasons against my ~~offering~~ exposing myself in it do not seem to me serious. Meanwhile, tace.

(letter to T. S. Perry, 6 March 1884; *CLHJ 1883–1884* 2:55)

Sarah Wadsworth has recently advanced another explanation for James's willingness to appear in the *Sun*, linked to the particular subject of 'Pandora'. According to her, 'James's story contains, redeems, and disseminates the narrative of the "self-made girl" in the very forum in which her prototype was subjected to public scrutiny, insinuation, and outright condemnation.'[28]

As the dates of these letters suggest, James most likely composed the stories for the *Sun* in the months immediately before their June 1884 publication.[29] 'Pandora' obtained mixed reviews. The negative ones deemed it unimpressive ('traverses much the same ground that Mr. James has passed over in several "international sketches"' (*Christian Union*)), downright bad ('a complete failure' (*New York Tribune*)), or simply compared it unfavourably to James's earlier work ('In "Pandora" we are introduced to a highly disagreeable "Daisy Miller", a trifle more honest, but not less provincial' (*Independent*)).[30] Those that were positive mostly praised James's characterization of the two protagonists and his ability to sketch Washington society. One reviewer in the *Daily Tribune* wrote: 'Nothing could well be more genial

[28] Unpublished conference paper, University of Aberdeen, July 2014.

[29] See Johanningsmeier, 'Henry James's Dalliance', 39.

[30] For details of the reviews of these tales see below.

and delightfully humorous than the story of "Pandora" […] The distinctness with which the character of Pandora is brought out, and its perfectly consistent development, are above all praise. Washington society has never been touched by so able a pen. Count Vogelstein is infinitely diverting.' With regard to the description of the capital, in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* we read: 'A subsequent journey to Washington enables Mr. James to turn a seeing eye upon that capital, and, as always, he finds fresh and adequate forms of expression for what he sees.' The *Literary World* even concluded that 'Pandora' was 'by far the cleverest thing in [what was] decidedly a miscellaneous collection [*The Author of Beltraffio* (1885)] '. Some reviewers proudly advertised it as a work that made amends for the unpatriotic portrait of the American woman James had offered in 'Daisy Miller'. In the twentieth century the story was praised by as illustrious a reader as Ezra Pound, who particularly admired James's skilled satirical portrait of a German diplomat: '*Pandora*, of the best. Let it pass as a sop to America's virginal charm; as counter-weight to *Daisy Miller*, or to the lady of *The Portrait*.'[31]

Many critics have interpreted this story in the light of 'Daisy Miller', inspired by James's reference to his famous work in the text (it is the book Vogelstein reads on board the transatlantic steamer). The nature of Pandora's aggressive social climbing has been a recurrent topic in criticism, which has related it to the promotion of her family and Mr Bellamy, her 'passive' fiancé,[32] and to the reaction of those who surround her (Mrs Dangerfield, the Bonnycastles, and, obviously, Count Vogelstein). Peter Buitenhuis has pointed out that the story exemplifies James's full awareness that reality is often perceived through 'literary schemata' (Vogelstein identifying Pandora with the Daisy Miller of his book), praising also the indirectness through which glimpses of Washington's social and political life are offered to the reader.[33] Comparing it to 'Daisy Miller', Evelyne Labbé underlines the stronger presence of realistic, sociological details, provided by the observation of a systematic reflector (Vogelstein) and the worldly Mr Bonnycastle (*NC2* 1473).

[31] Ezra Pound, 'A Shake Down', *The Little Review*, 5 (August 1918), 25.

[32] Adeline R. Tintner, *The Book World of Henry James: Appropriating the Classics* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1987), p. 266.

[33] Peter Buitenhuis, *The Grasping Imagination: The American Writings of Henry James* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), pp. 122–6.

'Georgina's Reasons'

This was the second story James wrote for Dana's newspaper, along with 'Pandora', in the first half of 1884. The earliest 'germ' for it can be found in an extended notebook entry dated 26 March 1884 (see Appendix A), where James mentions being struck by a 'very incredible' story told to him by his friend, the famous British actress Fanny Kemble (1809–93), about 'a young girl, in one of the far Western cities of America, who formed an attachment to a young US officer quartered in the town and of whose attentions to her her family wholly disapproved'. James was particularly impressed by the situation of 'two persons secretly married, and one of whom (the husband, naturally) is tied by a promise to be silent, yet wishes to break this marriage in order to recover his freedom – to marry again, to beget legitimate children. The interest of the other is that the marriage never be known – her honour, her safety concerned, &c.'. Although James found the anecdote 'singularly crude & incoherent', he basically left all the details he had thus received unvaried for the final draft of the story (*CN* 26–7).

In a letter dated 24 December 1886, written by James to his friend John Hay, the American statesman and writer (1838–1905), further information emerges concerning the inspiration for the story and James's disappointment about the final outcome:

> Let me add that it wasn't King[34] who told me the tale of "Georgina's Reasons." He has told me many—but for that ugly narrative I am not indebted to him. It was imparted to me by my dear old friend Fanny Kemble, to whom it had been told by her brother-in-law, Edward Sartoris, who had it from his queer little daughter-in-law Nelly Grant—endowed for that occasion only, it would appear, with the favor of articulate speech. She gave it (as I understood the matter) as something that had befallen—or been transacted by—a girl she personally knew in some American—*western*—town. It struck me as a *theme*, & I pulled it about a little, put it in New York, Naples, &c (pour donner le change) & made frankly, I think, a very bad & unsuccessful story of it. (*CLHJ 1884–1886* 2: 275)[35]

[34] A dear friend of James and Hay, Clarence King (1842–1901) was an American pioneering geologist and art critic; influenced by the works of John Ruskin, he was a co-founder of the Society for the Advancement of Truth in Art (1863), an American group similar to the English Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.

[35] See also George Monteiro, *Henry James and John Hay: The Record of a Friendship* (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1965), pp. 100–1.

Meanwhile a real-life model for the character of Mildred Theory, the ailing and intelligent sister of Kate, the woman Captain Benyon would like to marry, may be found in James's own sister Alice, whose first nervous crisis had occurred as early as 1868.

'Georgina's Reasons' is an odd item in the Jamesian catalogue as it features an unprecedented version of the young American woman abroad, and seems partly inspired by the Victorian sensation stories, involving bigamy, exemplified by Mary Elizabeth Braddon's best-selling novels *Lady Audley's Secret* (1862) and *Aurora Floyd* (1863), which James had reviewed in his twenties (*LC1* 741–6).[36] Some of the newspapers that reprinted the story thus blatantly advertised it for its sensational content. Like 'Pandora', this story was published in the *New York Sun* (20, 27 July and 3 August 1884) and concomitantly in nine other American newspapers (see Textual Introduction). One of these, the *Chicago Tribune*, featured the following headline: 'GEORGINA'S REASONS! / Henry James's Latest Story / A woman who commits bigamy and enforces silence on her husband! Two other lives made miserable by her heartless action!'[37]

The contemporary reviews were mainly negative, insisting on the disturbing, embarrassing subject and lack of verisimilitude. Most of them openly sided with the male protagonist, Raymond Benyon, and were very harsh on the title character. In the *Boston Daily Advertiser* we read:

> "Georgiana's [*sic*] Reasons" is a disagreeable and almost impossible story. Georgina's beauty does not save her from being a hateful woman whose reasons are sure to have been unworthy. Captain Benyon, who begins by loving and ends by hating her, is a fine fellow, but neither he nor the lovely Miss Theory and her sister can save "Georgiana's [*sic*] Reasons" from being essentially unpleasant.

In the *Chicago Daily Tribune*: '"Georgina's Reasons" is the indecent history of an atrocious crime. Its exceeding cleverness cannot atone for the baseness of its subject. The evil woman represented is too horrible to contemplate: the good women are failures; and the reader turns with relief to the silly woman, Mrs. Percival.' Or again: '"Georgina's Reasons" is unpleasant in subject and

[36] Tintner, *Pop World of Henry James*, pp. 159–64; Donatella Izzo, *Portraying the Lady: Technologies of Gender in the Short Stories of Henry James* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), pp. 192–212); Roslyn Jolly, 'Henry James in Mid-Career: "Georgina's Reasons" and the Possibilities of Style', *Style*, 47.3 (2013), 345–8.

[37] Leon Edel, *Henry James: The Middle Years 1884–1894* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1963), pp. 56–7.

almost unwholesome in tone' (*Christian Union*). An anonymous reviewer even came to describe the female protagonist as a 'moral monster' (*Independent*). In judging the story 'the most disagreeable' included in the collection headed by *The Author of Beltraffio* (1885), a reviewer in the *New York Times* wrote:

such a subject as that which forms the theme of 'Georgina's Reasons' is not in Mr. James's province. The heroine, though she may be married, is a wanton of the basest type. Her degradation comes, as Mr. James rather laboriously explains it, not from any outburst of passion but from curiosity. His ingenuity in the construction of a character such as Georgina's is apparently all he cares for. The bond of marriage in this story, uncertain though Mr. James has made it, is a mistake in an artistic sense, and it seems as if artistic perfection is what Mr. James most craves for. Had Georgina's child been born without the best suspicion of legitimacy it would have been better for the dramatic effect of the story. Altogether, the subject is very *risqué* and uncomfortable.

Some reviews remarked upon James's failure in imitating the current French literary fashion. The critic of the *Literary World* commented:

As for *Georgina's Reasons* and *The Path of Duty*—such productions are common in French literature of a certain class, but they are rather new to English fiction. If the sexual relations in their baser aspect must form the theme of the novelist, one would prefer the free, bold treatment of a Fielding to the morbid vein of analysis that Mr. James has assumed. It is hard to see how such writing can be profitable either to author or reader.

The reviewer concluded that the story was 'simply a study in depravity, as revolting as it could well be'. *Lippincott's Magazine* also dismissed James's story as a failed attempt at exploring the violation of the moral code, and as a poor imitation of the French school of *'l'art pour l'art'*. The *Critic* associated the tale specifically with the degenerate products of French literature.

James himself retrospectively provided a negative judgement on this tale in two letters, in the aforementioned one to John Hay ('a bad and unsuccessful story') and in one to F. W. H. Myers[38] dated 13 November 1894:

Of *Georgina's Reasons* I mainly remember that I thought them pretty bad at the time—I mean thought the tale a feeble one, and that impression has remained with

[38] Frederick William Henry Myers (1843–1901) was one of the founders of the Society for Psychical Research (1882), and his work influenced William James. Henry James made his acquaintance in 1879 (see *NC2* 1482, note 6).

me. I daresay it is one of the worst I was ever guilty of. I have been looking for it this a.m.—to appreciate your remarks better, but I find that I seem to be without the volume that contains it. The thing is dim to me; what they did, and what they should have done; there only sticks to me rather definitely the memory of the limited anecdote (told me by a friend, a lady, as something told to *her*—and having happened in some American western town) in which I originally saw the adumbration of a story. In general, moreover, I think that after one has done, *tant bien que mal*, a thing of that sort, one becomes intensely irresponsible about it—getting away from it as from a kind of relinquished execution or terminated connection. That, at least, is the feeble way *I* feel. One saw it, one did it, with all the vividness that was in one at the time; but the act accomplished, and the spasm over, one can't *relive* that experience, one can only thirst for another with different material. So it is that I, at least, can never lift my finger to defend or to explain. There they are, poor things, and *why* they were I did once seem to know; but I have always consentingly forgotten. So moreover it is that when the ingenuous ask which of one's "things" one likes best, I am filled [with] a secret horror at being supposed to "like" any of them. I loathe them all! What I "like" is the art—more than I can say; and the works have only a temporary tolerance—reflected from that. None the less I am inconsequent enough to like immensely those who also tolerate. (*HJL* 3:488–9)

The character of Georgina Gressie resurfaces in a poem titled 'Henry James' by R. L. Stevenson (collected in *Underwoods*, 1887), where she is alluded to in unflattering terms as 'that far different she / Gressie, the trivial sphinx' (*HJL* 3:207, footnote 2). More recent critics have generally concentrated on understanding the extent of James's participation in the sensation genre (see footnote 37 above). The main interpretational issue regards identification of the 'reasons' behind Georgina's behaviour. According to some, the story could be read as a pioneering fictional account of a woman's insanity.[39] Others have identified, behind the writer's conscious imitation of the sensation genre, an underlying subversion of the gender roles spread by this very genre: Georgina's behaviour, thus, could never find a proper explanation or justification in a male-oriented society.[40] Jolly reads the whole tale as 'a story that invokes a range of genres without committing exclusively to any

[39] Tintner, *Pop World of Henry James*, pp. 162–4, but also Jolly, 'Henry James in Mid-Career', 351–4.

[40] Izzo, *Portraying the Lady*, p. 201.

one of them', thereby illuminating 'some of the stylistic choices and challenges James faced as an author in the mid-1880s'.[41] Many commentators have also noticed the secondary characters, pointing out the similarities, of the names if nothing more, between Kate and Mildred Theory in this story and Kate Croy and Milly Theale in *The Wings of the Dove*. Mildred Theory also offers some similarities with the invalid Rose Muniment in *The Princess Casamassima*, another fictional character partly inspired by Alice James. In 1975 a film adaptation of the story for German TV was made by director Volker Schlöndorff, who, according to Moeller and Lellis, had 'deliberately turned a detached, third-person narrative into a subjective, first-person drama'.[42]

'A New England Winter'

The first idea James had for 'A New England Winter' was recorded in his *Notebook*s on 18 January 1881:

> Mrs. T., living in America (say at Newport,) has a son, young, unmarried, clever and selfish, who persists in living in Europe, and whom she therefore sees only at long intervals. He prefers European life, & takes his filial duties very lightly. She goes out to see him from time to time, but dares not fix herself permanently near him, for fear of boring him. At last however he comes home, to pay a short visit, and all her desire is to induce him to remain with her for some months. She has reason to believe that he will grow very tired of her quiet house; & in order to enhance its attraction she invites a young girl—a distant relative, from another part of the country, to stay with her. (*CN* 17: for the full version of this note, see Appendix A)

The story was first published in the 1884 August and September issues of *Century* magazine, then collected in *Tales of Three Cities* in the same year

[41] Jolly, 'Henry James in Mid-Career', 345.

[42] Hans-Bernhard Moeller and George Lellis, *Volker Schlöndorff's Cinema: Adaptation, Politics, and the 'Movie-Appropriate'* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2002), p. 121. 'In portraying a man's desire to possess an unresponsive woman, Schlöndorff employs [the] mechanism of voyeurism, of a male gaze directed at an idealized woman, to create a visual analogue to the character's internal state. In giving a story of female resistance an uncomprehending male point of view, he strengthens the woman's mystery and power.' See Volker Schlöndorff, dir., *Georgina's Gründe: Nach der Erzählung 'Georgina's Reasons' von Henry James*, camera Sven Nykvist, film, 63 mins, Bavaria on behalf of WDR/ORTF, broadcast première 27 April 1975, ARD Television.

(see Textual Introduction). It developed in more complex ways than the notebook outline suggests. James inserted two more characters, those of Miss Daintry and Mrs Mesh, and he gave Rachel Torrance, the 'distant relative, from another part of the country', an especially lively characterization, while moderating some of the son's cleverness. More importantly, the initial hypothesis of a Newport setting gave way to a very accurate description of both the topography and the social mores of Boston, a city which James had already used in less detailed ways in *The Europeans* (1878) and was to portray more fully in *The Bostonians*. Moreover, in the *Notebooks* there is no hint of the son being a painter, and an impressionist, a topic that becomes important in a story where both impressionism and naturalism are explicitly referred to, even if mostly in ironic terms.

The conclusion to the note (see Appendix A) shows James imagining more than one possibility for the denouement. He thinks first of the son's advances being rejected, and of his return to Europe 'in disgust and dudgeon [. . .], while the mother is left lamenting!' Then he imagines an alternative 'happy ending', perhaps aimed at the magazine readers, in which the girl surrenders to the young man's passion and they marry. Both possibilities leave the mother alone, and the separation from her son complete. In the event, the finished story provides an outcome more merciful to the mother, who travels to Europe with her son. James's notebook entry had suggested the presence of another woman with whom the son is entangled in Europe, as so many American young men are in his fiction – Florimond, he envisioned, has 'a connection with some woman abroad' – but she is never mentioned in the finished work.

James played out the confrontation between America and Europe by contrasting Boston and Paris. However, the description of Boston is strongly detailed and has a variety of characteristics, while Paris as such remains hazily in the background. Boston appears as the 'cold' city of the Puritan tradition, symbolically represented by the abundant snow, but it also has more nuanced characteristics and is described in some detail in the walks of Mrs Daintry and her son Florimond. Mrs Daintry walks from the Back Bay to Beacon Hill, from the new filled-in marshy area south of the Charles River to the old Boston neighbourhood, even now the most elegant part of the city; important historical landmarks of the city are explicitly mentioned, such as the Public Garden and Boston Common, or the most elegant

and exclusive literary club, the Athenæum, where Mrs Daintry borrows her books; the State House golden dome built by Charles Bulfinch; the gallery of Doll & Richards, where painters such as Winslow Homer, Lizzie Boott, John La Farge, Émile Lambinet, and Childe Hassam exhibited in the 1880s and 1890s. John Appleton Brown (1844–1902), mentioned in the story as exhibiting at Doll's, was a minor American impressionist whose work was in fact shown there, and James wrote on his paintings twice, in 1872 and 1875.[43]

If the story takes place mainly on Beacon Hill and in the new areas of the Back Bay, other parts of the city are carefully described, such as for example the busy suburbs along Washington Street, to the south-west, where Florimond, the young 'impressionist', wanders in slushy streets crowded with thronging pedestrians, obstructed by horse-cars, bordered with strange, 'promiscuous' shops, which seem at once 'violent and indifferent'. Particularly in the description of this area, James offers lively passages in a realistic style while also documenting the new Boston of horse-cars, railways, and the telegraph in addition to the Harvard spaces in Cambridge.

James's depiction of the (not particularly gifted) painter Florimond makes him a (weak) representative of impressionism, of which, as mentioned above, James was initially not in favour. This character is one among the many fictional painters who appear in James's stories, from Mr Locksley in the early 'A Landscape Painter' (1866) to Walter Puddick in 'Mora Montravers' (1909). Florimond, however, although he has lived in Paris for six years, does not seem to belong to the bohemian milieu there, even if he asserts that he misses the 'studio talk', the connection with 'naturalists (in art and literature)' when he is in Boston: his neat appearance makes him belong more to the tradition of Boston than to that of Paris. We also find a character described in Orientalizing terms, the 'Smyrniote'-looking Rachel Torrance, from Brooklyn, an outsider who, with her black hair, coins in her coiffure and seamless clothes, seems to represent a dramatic alternative to the restrained Bostonian spinster, Miss Daintry, but also to the good if excessively motherly Mrs Daintry, who gives in to the 'new' as regards her home, but keeps an attentive eye on the heirlooms her sister-in-law has inherited.

[43] Adeline R. Tintner, *The Museum World of Henry James* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1986), p. 107.

James had first imagined the story being told 'as a journal of the mother', perhaps desiring to experiment once again with the diary form he had deployed a year earlier in 'The Impressions of a Cousin' (1883), but he abandoned this for a traditional omniscient narrator who addresses the reader, although in some parts, especially the beginning, the story is presented from Mrs Daintry's point of view. This decision points to what Buitenhuis underlines as 'a major change' in James's technique in 'A New England Winter', proposing that the story is 'in part an attempt to make a series of impressionistic verbal paintings of Boston'.[44] James wrote to Howells from Paris on 21 February 1884 about this tale: 'It is not very good—on the contrary; but it will perhaps seem to you to put into form a certain impression of Boston' (*CLHJ 1883–1884* 2:29). Howells would no doubt have been very sensitive to James's efforts; in the novel he published a year later, *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, he too would use Boston as the setting for the novel's action, and choose the Back Bay as the setting for the grandiose house of the newly rich protagonist.

On 2 January 1884 James jotted down several names in his *Notebooks* that feature in some of his immediately subsequent fictions, notably 'Daintry' and 'Florimond', which he would use in this tale, but also 'Benyon' in 'Georgina's Reasons', 'Vandeleur' and 'Ambrose' in 'The Path of Duty', 'Ambient' in 'The Author of Beltraffio', and 'Mathias' and 'Chancellor' in *The Bostonians* (*CN* 23). Most of them came from the London *Times* of that date. However, the name of Florimond seems to link this story with Longfellow, and other references to the popular American poet are present in the text. Mrs Daintry is said to have chosen this name for her son because 'every one was reading old ballads in Boston' when the 'rosy babe' was born. In 1841 Longfellow had published his *Ballads and Other Poems*, and in 1876–9 he published an anthology in thirty-one volumes, *Poems of Places*, with a section on Scottish ballads. The ballad of Florimond, 'who slew the dragon by the sea', does not appear here, however, but in the anonymous *Complaynt of Scotland* (1548), reprinted in 1872 by the Early English Text Society. A very well-known poem by Longfellow, 'The Children's Hour' (1860), is explicitly quoted in James's tale to contrast the absence of Mrs Mesh's children in their

[44] Buitenhuis, *Grasping Imagination*, pp. 133, 137.

mother's life with the affectionate three girls in the poem who rush downstairs to embrace their father. These references to Longfellow might lead one to surmise that Mrs Daintry's servant, Beatrice, might be connected to the protagonist of *Evangeline* (1847), as they both come from Nova Scotia.

In spite of James's reservations about this tale, Howells responded appreciatively: 'The study pleases me throughout; the mother with her struggles—herculean struggles—with such shadowy problems; the son with the sincere Europeanism of an inalienable, wholly uninspired American. As for the vehicle, it is delicious.'[45] Favourable reviews praised the description of Boston (*Boston Daily Advertiser* and the *Hartford Daily Courant*),[46] although the story was judged unpatriotic by the *Literary World*. The *Boston Daily Advertiser* also appreciated the character of Rachel Torrance, 'a beautiful and rather unusual girl'. In general, however, reviews were not particularly enthusiastic: the *Athenæum* judged 'Lady Barberina' a better story, and the *New York Daily Graphic* simply associated it with 'Lady Barberina' (1884); the *Chicago Tribune* considered the story 'a little dull and very incomplete'. The story has been discussed by Buitenhuis (1970) and by Tintner (1986);[47] the latter sees the figure of Mrs Mesh as partly suggested by Isabella Stewart Gardner, the great future collector and founder of the museum in Boston that bears her name, who lived at the time on Beacon Street (in close proximity to Mrs Mesh, whose home is round the corner on Arlington Street) and whom James saw with some frequency in the first eight months of 1883.

'The Path of Duty'

According to a notebook entry dated 29 January 1884 (see Appendix A), the germ for 'The Path of Duty' derived from a story mentioned to James by Gertrude Tennant (1819–1918), art patron and renowned hostess of a London literary salon. The story was about a young Lord Stafford, son of the Duke of Sutherland, who had been in love with Lady Grosvenor for years before she married Lord Grosvenor. The young man, pressured by his family, engages to marry the daughter of Lord Rosslyn, but shortly

[45] Anesko, *Letters, Fictions, Lives*, pp. 247.

[46] See Contemporary Reception, for specific dates.

[47] Buitenhuis, *Grasping Imagination*, pp. 136–9; Tintner, *Museum World*, pp. 199–205.

afterwards Lord Grosvenor dies and his wife, Lady G., becomes free. Should young Lord S. hold to his promise of marriage or find a way out of it, and present himself in due course to Lady G.? What would Lady G. do if he did so? James was fascinated by this story 'capable of several different turns, according to the character of the actors' (*CN* 23), but he discarded the possibility of the young girl consenting in advance to her potential husband having a secret affair with the older woman. As James reasoned, they did things differently across the Channel: 'If I were a Frenchman & a naturalist, this is probably the treatment I shld. adopt,' James observed. (For a full version of this note, see Appendix A.)

There were at least three possible points of view, James noted, and it was easy to imagine more than one issue, 'though only one is rigidly honourable' – the path of duty that would provide the tale's title. It was what lay behind or beyond the English proprieties that intrigued him, the possibility of a dangerous liaison between lovers who have officially renounced it, and the plight of the 'poor little bride' supposed to have got what she wanted. It was a situation at the heart of some of his greatest long fictions, from *The Portrait of a Lady* to *The Golden Bowl* (1904). James could see that 'the note on which this particular story would close', a 'noble renunciation', would be an arrangement 'congenial to the characteristic manner of H.J.— I shall probably try it'. James also added that perhaps it would help to have the story told by someone outside the triangle, observing at fairly close quarters, to a visitor from a much greater distance, an American, say. In the event the tale does indeed feature a highly characterized first-person narrator, an American woman in whom the triumphantly virtuous lovers confide. With comparable virtue, she refuses to share the written memoir of their story with anyone – except of course with us, the readers (see above).

The story appeared in the December 1884 issue of the *English Illustrated Magazine* (see Textual Introduction). It was received rather unenthusiastically by contemporary reviewers, who paired it with 'Georgina's Reasons' for the presence of the disturbing themes so dear to contemporary French writers: 'In "The Path of Duty", Mr James exhibits a maze of moral entanglement with an art which is distinctly of the modern French school' (*Chicago Daily Tribune*). While commenting on the whole collection in which it appeared in February the following year (*The Author of Beltraffio*, 1885), an anonymous reviewer for the Boston *Literary World* dismissed this story

as 'the least successful and least interesting of the number'. Some reviews insisted on its obscurity and ineffectiveness: '"The Path of Duty" is tortuous and involved, and when uncoiled the strand you hold escapes you entirely' (*New York Times*); '"The Path of Duty" is over a ground scarcely debatable, from beginning to end' (*The Independent*).

Critics have placed this tale with other works specifically related to England and its social manners, such as the long stories 'The Siege of London' (1883), 'Lady Barberina' (1884), and 'A London Life' (1888).[48] Comparisons have been made between it and *The Golden Bowl*, specifically between the characters of Joscelind and Maggie Verver, and between the couple Tester–Vandeleur and Prince Amerigo–Charlotte Stant.[49] A central problem, as for 'The Liar', has been that of establishing the reliability of the anonymous narrator, the American lady living in London, who is Ambrose Tester's confidante.[50]

'Mrs. Temperly'

There is no sign of a 'germ' in James's *Notebooks* for this story, but only a reference of 12 January 1887 where James suggests he might replace it with 'Louisa Pallant' if *Harper's* editor Schuyler should not like it. However *Harper's* did accept it, and on 5 February 1887, having just heard that they were going to publish his story, then entitled 'Cousin Maria', James wrote to John Foord (1842–1922), editor at *Harper's Weekly*, from Florence, asking to have the proofs, unless it were too late, as the story had been sent 'in MS, & not in type-copy', and experience had taught him 'that in this case the printed text is apt to be terribly impure'. James promised to send it back 'with the minimum of delay'. He also said that the story was written 'in an attempt to supply Harper's Weekly" [*sic*] with a tale of the proper length

[48] John L. Kimmey, 'James's London Tales of the 1880s', *Henry James Review*, 8.1 (Fall 1986), 37–46.

[49] Marius Bewley, *The Complex Fate: Hawthorne, Henry James and Some Other American Writers* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1952), pp. 88, 95; Ora Segal, *The Lucid Reflector: The Observer in Henry James's Fiction* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 177–9.

[50] Bewley, *Complex Fate*; Edmund Wilson, 'The Ambiguity of Henry James', in Gerald Willen (ed.), *A Casebook on Henry James's 'The Turn of the Screw'* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1960), pp. 115–53.

for one of its "holiday numbers". It proved too long—very short things are difficult for me to do'.[51]

The problem of length was a familiar one to James, and 'Cousin Maria' was in fact issued in three instalments in *Harper's Weekly* (6–20 August 1887), with 'ugly big drawings', as James thought them,[52] by Charles S. Reinhart (1844–96), the American illustrator (see Textual Introduction). In spite of James's negative observation, however, recent archival work by Amy Tucker has shown that James did not dislike *all* the drawings Reinhart did of his work, and was especially opposed to the way they were reproduced in magazines. After Reinhart's illustrations for 'Cousin Maria', 'Louisa Pallant', and 'Two Countries' had been published, James wrote to the artist that he wanted to buy his drawings (though not those for 'Cousin Maria', which he did not like). About the other illustrations he wrote to Reinhart in 'a state of thunderous excitement' on 27 July 1888, underlining how Reinhart's work 'to be fully appreciated [...] must be seen as it comes from your hand', losing a lot 'in the way it's interpreted for publication'.[53] No doubt, as Tucker has shown, the mere bloated scale of the drawings in the magazine was excessive and deprived James of the authorial control he always wished to keep over his published work. James was to write approvingly on Reinhart in his essay 'Our Artists in Europe' (*Harper's New Monthly*, June 1889) and in an article in *Harper's Weekly* (14 June 1890), revised for publication in *Picture and Text* (1893).

Much like the earlier 'The Siege of London' (1883), 'Mrs. Temperly' develops a variant of the international theme in which an American woman attempts to gain a place in upper-class European society. In the latter story a lady from California seems to conquer with ease a French milieu. It deals with the love of a young American painter for a young American woman, Dora Temperly, whose mother is trying to arrange life for her and her other two daughters, Effie and Tishy, by finding a husband for at least the first in

[51] Unpublished letter of Henry James to John Foord, 5 February 1887, Morgan.1 MS (Koch Collection) 34 DVG. Courtesy of Philip Horne.

[52] Letter of 22 January 1889, *The Correspondence of Henry James and the House of Macmillan, 1877–1914*, ed. Rayburn S. Moore (London: Macmillan, 1993), p. 149.

[53] Amy Tucker, *The Illustration of the Master: Henry James and the Magazine Revolution* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), p. 156.

Paris. The story begins in a big hotel in New York on the eve of the family's departure, while the rest is set in Paris. Dora, the girl loved by the painter, Raymond Bestwick, is totally subject to her mother's will and destined to be the duenna, even if too young to be such, in the society where a rich French nobleman is found for one of her sisters.

This lightly satirical rendering of the hunt for husbands on the part of mothers, a theme developed differently soon after in 'Louisa Pallant', is perhaps at its best in the description of the French interiors which Mrs Temperly manages to arrange and use for her receptions. Her success is ensured by the elegant residence she has taken up in a fashionable area of Paris, near the Parc Monceau, and by the presence in her rooms of the splendid Madame de Brives, a marquise, who opens all doors to the best society in Paris, brings in refined gentlemen as well as a secretary of a foreign embassy, and provides a husband for one of the girls, Effie.

There are several references to art in the story, starting with the figure of Dora, who can be perceived as 'angular', 'like a figure on the predella of an early Italian painting' – 'angular' was an adjective James used throughout his life to describe the figures in this type of painting, even in his autobiography (*SBOC* 208). Various 'valuable specimens of contemporary French art' have been chosen by Mrs Temperly to adorn her walls, among them a portrait by Jules Bastien-Lepage (1848–84), known for his landscapes with peasants and for his portraits, among them one of the famous actress Sarah Bernhardt. In 1876 James wrote on Bastien-Lepage's portrait of the Minister of Education Henry Alexandre-Wallon, praising the painting as 'a very fine portrait in a secondary manner' (*PS* 119). Six years later he praised the painter's skill in his portrait of Joan of Arc (*CWAD1* 341). A bust of Effie ('the work of one of the sculptors who are the pride of contemporary French art') clinches her social success, while no portraits of any kind are ordered for Dora or the other sister, the dwarfish Tishy. (This name will be used again by James in *The Awkward Age* (1899)). Raymond is said to see Dora as 'the Cinderella of the house', suggesting a comparison with the famous fairy tale.[54]

The *New York Times* totally disparaged the story, writing: '"Mrs. Temperly", we defy the most appreciative of readers to understand at all. You have a

[54] Tintner, *Pop World of Henry James*, pp. 30–6.

picture of a good American hotel and a well fitted-up Parisian salon, and through them flit Mrs. Temperly, the vacuous Dora, and the dissatisfied Raymond. Of all sketches it is the most sketchy. It leaves no more trace behind it than would a drop of ether.' On the other hand, despite finding it 'very slight', the *Boston Daily Advertiser* appreciated it as 'a delightful study of a very interesting type of American womankind'.

'Louisa Pallant'

The germ for this story was recorded by James in his *Notebooks* on 12 January 1887 (see Appendix A), on the same day as those for 'The Marriages' (1891) and 'The Aspern Papers': 'The idea of a worldly mother & a worldly daughter—the latter of whom has been trained up so perfectly by the former that she excels & surpasses her, & the mother, who has some principle of goodness still left in her composition, is appalled at her own work.' He imagines the story being told by an elderly American for whom the mother was once an object of romantic attachment, and who is now responsible for a wealthy young nephew, whom he fears the women are out to 'bag' (*CN* 34–5). The story takes up the theme of 'Mrs. Temperly', a mother's quest for a great marriage for her daughter(s). Here, however, the focus is on the interior crisis of Mrs Pallant, who realizes her daughter has learnt her lesson too well and become 'so hard, so cruelly ambitious' (CN 34).

The story was first published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, February 1888, with illustrations by Charles S. Reinhart (see Textual Introduction). It also found a place in volume XIII of the *New York Edition*, headed by *The Reverberator*, along with three much earlier tales which all first appeared in the 1870s, 'Madame de Mauves' (1874), 'A Passionate Pilgrim' (1871), and 'The Madonna of the Future' (1873). In the Preface, 'Louisa Pallant', partly set in Homburg, is presented together with 'Madame de Mauves' (see Appendix B), a story in which the title character's 'widowed mamma' is described as 'fonder of Homburg and Nice than of letting out tucks in the frocks of a vigorously growing daughter' (Ch. 2).

James kept the first-person narrator envisaged in the *Notebooks* and the very words he had started to imagine for the beginning of the story (see Appendix A). He developed it along the lines laid down, abandoning the name of

Mrs Grift (close to the maiden name of his friend Robert Louis Stevenson's wife – Fanny van de Grift) for Mrs Pallant, a name intriguingly echoing Pallanza, a town on Lago Maggiore where the second part of the story is set, and choosing Bad Homburg, for the first part, over the other possible venues of Switzerland and Florence that he had toyed with. The choice of settings seems derived from a John Murray guidebook. Bad Homburg, a German spa town famous until recently for its gambling (banned in 1872), had featured in the earlier tale 'Eugene Pickering' (1874). Mrs Pallant, who refused the narrator twenty years earlier in favour of a rich man, is now spending time there with her daughter Linda. She is trying on the one hand to economize – ironically her marriage for money has left her poor – and on the other to find a rich young man for her daughter. From Bad Homburg the tale ends up in Baveno and Stresa on Lago Maggiore. Part of this itinerary, the St Gotthard route, had been exploited by James in another early story, 'At Isella' (1871), where the narrator explicitly peruses his 'Murray's North Italy' (*S1864–74* 612).

When she sees that her former suitor's nephew is captivated by her all too perfect daughter, Louisa Pallant seems to have a crisis of honesty, and warns the young man off. We are not told what she says to young Archer Pringle, and when James's friend Laura Wagnière asked him about this he replied:

> I don't think I know! Your curiosity is communicative and makes me wish immensely I did.
>
> But that isn't part of the story—what Mrs. Pallant said to the young man. It was something pretty bad of course to make him give up. But the particular thing is a secondary affair whether it were true or whether it were false. The primary affair is that she told him something, no matter what—which *did* make him give up. The primary affair is also the nature and the behaviour of the lovely and inscrutable Linda. (10 March 1888, *HJL* 3:225)

James expanded further in this letter, on his having 'no light on what she said', dealing with the hypotheses apparently suggested by Mrs Wagnière.

The collision between American sincerity and acquired European falsity is a familiar one, but here it takes a complex form, as Mrs Pallant is appalled to recognize in her daughter a corrupt image of her own self, and makes reparation, as it seems, for the way in which she has brought her up. The narrator might in fact be unreliable as he was 'wounded' and left alone by Linda's

mother's early refusal, a theme also developed by James in 'The Diary of a Man of Fifty'.[55]

In his 'Editor's Study' (*Harper's Monthly*, 77 (October 1888)), Howells praised the story, finding it 'an unmixed pleasure if you delight in a well-taken point of view', and appreciating the characterization of the 'imagined narrator'. 'Just for attitude, just for light, firm touch, the piece is simply unsurpassed outside the same author's work.'[56] Howells noticed that James left it to the reader to decide whether the attitude of the mother towards her daughter was justified, just as he left the reader to decide if Lady Chasemore's suicide was justified and justifiable in 'Two Countries' (later 'The Modern Warning'). In the *Detroit Free Press* 'Louisa Pallant', with 'The Aspern Papers' and 'The Modern Warning', was judged as a group of 'interesting tales by that popular author, Henry James', written in 'Mr. James's own graceful style', while *The Athenæum* considered it 'a trivial tale'. Thirty years later in the *Little Review* (1918), Ezra Pound pronounced this story 'a study in the maternal or abysmal relation, good James'.[57]

'The Aspern Papers'

'The Aspern Papers' is one of James's most successful and popular stories. Its origin is described at length in James's *Notebooks*, Florence, 12 January 1887:

Hamilton (V.L.'s brother) told me a curious thing of Capt. Silsbee—the Boston art-critic & Shelley-worshipper; that is of a curious adventure of his. Miss Claremont, Byron's ci-devant [former] mistress (the mother of Allegra) was living, until lately, here in Florence, at a great age, 80 or thereabouts, & with her lived her niece, a younger Miss Claremont—of about 50. Silsbee knew that they had interesting papers—letters of Shelley's and Byron's—he had known it for a long time & cherished the idea of getting hold of them. To this end he laid the plan of going to lodge with the Miss Claremonts' [sic]—hoping that the old lady [,] in view of her great age & failing condition, would die while he was there, so that he might then

[55] Philip L. Nicoloff, 'At the Bottom of Things in Henry James's "Louisa Pallant"', *Studies in Short Fiction*, 7.3 (Summer 1970), 409–20.

[56] Anesko, *Letters, Fictions, Lives*, p. 268.

[57] Pound, 'Shake Down', 29.

put his hand upon the documents, which she hugged close in life. He carried out this scheme—& things *se passèrent* [happened] as he had expected. The old woman *did* die—& then he approached the younger one—the old maid of 50—on the subject of his desires. Her answer was—"I will give you all the letters if you marry me!" H. says that Silsbee *court encore* [is still running away]. (*CN* 33–4)

James goes on to describe a fortuitous visit by the Countess Gamba, whose husband was a nephew of Teresa Guiccioli, Byron's lover. The Guiccioli family refused to show Byron's letters to anyone – the countess herself had actually burned one of them. (This notebook entry appears in full in Appendix A.)

One can see that the plot of the story was all there in this entry, even if embryonically. James has an unnamed first-person narrator tell the story of his hunt for the American poet Jeffrey Aspern's papers, kept by two women, Juliana Bordereau, the old lady who had had an affair in her youth with the poet, and her unmarried niece, Tita, living in a dilapidated old palace in Venice, where the empty central *sala* is recognizably similar to those painted by John Singer Sargent. The choice of a first-person narrator is essential to the story, whether one agrees with defining him as an 'unreliable narrator', as Wayne C. Booth does, untruthful in his telling and immoral in the actions he narrates, or whether one agrees with Philip Horne, who underlines the 'distance in time between the narrator and his past self', allowing us to 'recognize that his present re-presentation of his past thoughts and actions may express different intentions and a new process of judgement'.[58]

As described at the start of this section, James spent over six months from December 1886 to the end of June 1887 in Florence and Venice, moving between them, but he wrote most of this tale in April and May, on Bellosguardo, looking down on Florence. The story was ready by 12 June 1887, when he wrote to his editor Thomas Bailey Aldrich shortly after arriving back in Venice:

I send you herewith (in another parcel,) the first half of the type-copy of a story—without having sounded you first on the subject. You may see in this a subtle device

58 Philip Horne, *Henry James and Revision: The New York Edition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 269. See also Wayne C. Booth *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 354–63; and Susanne Kappeler, *Writing and Reading in Henry James* (London: Macmillan, 1980), pp. 14–21.

to entrap you [...] If you don't dislike it—& I don't see why you should, as it is brilliant, & of a thrilling interest—I should be very glad that you should print it early. If you do I will give you another of the same—or of a somewhat smaller length. This thing ("The Aspern Papers") makes 2 parts of the maximum size—that of the longest instalments of the *Princess.* I think it would suffer a grave injury from being cut otherwise. [...] The second half is in London, being type-copied, & I am expecting it within *a week.* The moment it comes it will follow its mate.

(*LL* 189–90)

A 'portion of the *2d* part' arrived from the copyist before he had finished the letter so James sent this off too. He was keen to receive payment in advance: 'I blush to own it, but I am in want of money' (*LL* 190). On 21 June he sent the 'remainder and end' of the tale, again from Venice (*HJL* 3:189).

'The Aspern Papers' was originally published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, in March–May 1888, in three parts (see Textual Introduction). The volume of the *New York Edition* (1908) which included other tales[59] had a frontispiece, 'Juliana's Court', which referred to 'The Aspern Papers'. In his correspondence with the photographer Alvin Langdon Coburn (1882–1966), James had recommended that he capture an image of the Palazzo Cappello for this frontispiece – the palace that he admitted having had in mind while composing the tale,[60] telling Coburn that he had already written to the occupant, Constance Fletcher (6 December 1906, *HJL* 4:428). However, as in the case of the Palazzo Barbaro for the *Wings of the Dove*, James did not insist. If the views he suggested did not 'yield satisfaction', Coburn could photograph some other *riva* or palace ('do it at a venture'), the gist being to find 'a symbolized and generalized Venice' (*HJL* 4:427–8). The photographer should 'judge for yourself, face to face with the object, how much, on the spot, it seems to lend itself to a picture' (*HJL* 4:426). Coburn seemed to fulfil James's wish to have a 'representative, or symbolic, scene or object', a wish he had expressed in his letter to his agent, J. B. Pinker: the photogra-

[59] Vol. XII included 'The Turn of the Screw', 'The Liar', and 'The Two Faces'.

[60] In a letter to Jane von Glehn (née Emmet; later Emmet de Glehn) of 1913, James also mentioned the Palazzo Cappello where Constance Fletcher and her mother had lived: 'Constance Fletcher & her place in Venice. "Yes, of course I thought of that old palace-garden in the Aspern Papers – & it was her extraordinary mother who spoke of the place to me as so "comme il faut."' Unpublished letter of Jane von Glehn to Roger Quilter, copying HJ's to her, 22 September 1913, BL Add. MS 70597, fols. 41–4. Courtesy of Philip Horne.

pher presented the image of a small ornamental tree beside a modest doorway, which became the frontispiece for the *New York Edition* of 'The Aspern Papers'.[61]

The subject of the preservation or accessibility of the letters of a great poet or novelist was always fascinating to James, who on occasion can be seen to relish the cultural enrichment that comes with the possibility of reading an author's letters, but sometimes seems more in sympathy with the instinct for privacy destroyed by 'the investigative "curiosity" of modern culture'.[62] It is well known that James burnt letters in his possession on several occasions. However, we can exemplify his ambivalence on this subject by quoting from his review of Balzac's *Correspondance* in 1876, where he admits to being thankful for the volume in spite of his 'bad conscience': 'it is always a question whether we have a right to investigate a man's life for the sake of anything but his official utterance—his results' (*LC2* 69).

This review was written more than ten years before 'The Aspern Papers', and James in the meantime had become more and more sensitive to the excessive publicity given to private lives by modern journalists. He strongly disapproved of Julian Hawthorne's 'blackguardly betrayal' of confidence in an article on his father's old friend James Russell Lowell in 1886,[63] and the following year he expressed his views on Mary Mercy McClellan's 'inconceivable letter about the Venetian society whose hospitality she had been enjoying'. McClennan's article, published in the New York *World*, was a sign, James wrote (17 November 1887), of 'the invasion, the impudence and shamelessness, of the newspaper and the interviewer, the devouring *publicity* of life, the extinction of all sense between public and private' (*CN* 40).

[61] Anesko, '*Friction with the Market*', p. 154.

[62] Richard Salmon, *Henry James and the Culture of Publicity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 91.

[63] Gary Scharnhorst, 'The Aspern Papers and the Ethics of Literary Biography', *Modern Fiction Studies*, 36.2 (Summer 1990), 211–17; 215. In a rich discussion on the subject, Declan Kiely also mentions James's 'uneasiness with the practice of setting before the public texts culled from unpublished papers whose author never intended them to see the light of day' regarding Julian Hawthorne's 1872 publication of his father's *French and Italian Notebooks*; see '"Pardon My Too Many Words": Henry James Manuscripts and Letters at the Morgan Library & Museum', in Colm Tóibín, Marc Simpson, and Declan Kiely (eds.), *Henry James and American Painting* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press and the Morgan Library and Museum, 2017), p. 101.

This episode was the starting point for his novel *The Reverberator* (published in *Macmillan's* from February to July 1888).[64] Other comments on the publication of letters by great writers such as Flaubert or George Sand, as well as Balzac, underline James's anxious position as regards the 'ironies of the traffic between the private and public aspects of writing'.[65] The question of the right to burn or publish the papers of a famous person would be again the subject of an 1892 story, 'Sir Dominick Ferrand'.

James discusses the change in attitudes towards the subject of the rights to privacy and the desire for knowledge, especially where an artist is concerned, in the 1908 Preface to the *New York Edition* of 'The Aspern Papers'. He connects these issues with the idea of 'a palpable imaginable *visitable* past', represented in this case by Miss Claremont, the old, old lady, who had in her youth been an intimate of Byron and Shelley, and had lived until very recently without James being at all aware of her:

> The Italian side of the legend closely clung; if only because the so possible terms of my Juliana's life in the Italy of other days could make conceivable for her the fortunate privacy, the long uninvaded and uninterviewed state on which I represent her situation as founded. Yes, a surviving unexploited unparagraphed Juliana was up to a quarter of a century since still supposeable—as much so as any such buried treasure, any such grave unprofaned, would defy probability now. And then the case had the air of the past just in the degree in which that air, I confess, most appeals to me—when the region over which it hangs is far enough away without being too far.
>
> I delight in a palpable imaginable *visitable* past—in the nearer distances and the clearer mysteries, the marks and signs of a world we may reach over to as by making a long arm we grasp an object at the other end of our own table. The table is the one, the common expanse, and where we lean, so stretching, we find it firm and continuous. That, to my imagination, is the past fragrant of all, or of almost all, the poetry of the thing outlived and lost and gone, and yet in which the precious element of closeness, telling so of connexions but tasting so of differences, remains appreciable. (*LC2* 1177)

[64] See Richard Salmon's introduction to the *CFHJ* edition of the novel (2018), pp. xxvii–xxxv.

[65] Adrian Poole, introduction to *The Aspern Papers and Other Stories*, ed. Adrian Poole (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. viii.

Wayne C. Booth underlined the discrepancy between the early notebook entry and the interest in the '*visitable* past' expressed in the Preface, suggesting that the narrator's descriptions of Venice have a different tone from the rest of his narration, more James's than the fictional character's.[66] Millicent Bell has further argued that James's focus on the *visitable* past is self-contradictory, as the Romantic past of Aspern and Juliana is *not* in fact retrieved: the papers are never actually 'palpable', they only exist in the surmise of the narrator or the reported voice of Tita. A void is at the centre of the story, the impossibility of reconstructing the very past which is called for in the Preface. This is a failure that, for J. Hillis Miller, is at the heart of the narrative making 'The Aspern Papers' 'a story about the impossibility of knowing and possessing the historical past through narrative'.[67]

The anecdote from which the story grew was heard in Florence, as mentioned above. If one wonders why James should have transposed the setting from Florence to Venice, various explanations can be found, including the one offered by James in the Preface: 'Delicacy had demanded, I felt, that my appropriation of the Florentine legend should purge it, first of all, of references too obvious; so that, to begin with, I shifted the scene of the adventure. Juliana, as I saw her, was thinkable only in Byronic and more or less immediately post-Byronic Italy' (*LC2* 1179).

If 'delicacy' as regards the real persons of the anecdote is to be considered, the reference to 'Byronic' Italy is telling. The legend of Byron's excesses in Venice was still alive in James's time, fostered as it had been by Byron himself.[68] Byron's legend fitted perfectly with the image of Venice as the place of beauty and dissolution, as the city of intrigue and conspiracy. Both these elements may have worked on James's imagination, suggesting the change of setting to a city which he was visiting at the time. James was well aware of the 'black legend' of Venice, made even more popular in the *Histoire de la République de Venise* (1819) by the French historian Daru. As late as 1903, in *William Wetmore Story and His Friends*, James was quoting darkly romantic

[66] Booth, *Rhetoric of Fiction*, pp. 359–60.

[67] J. Hillis Miller, *Literature as Conduct: Speech Acts in Henry James* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005), p. 19.

[68] In the first book edition of 'The Aspern Papers', James added the name of Casanova, which again is associated with the eroticism and moral corruption of Venice. See variants in the present volume.

passages from Story's letters: 'before me the dagger of the cloaked bravo or of the jealous husband gleams, and I hear the splash of the body as it falls into the dark canal' (*WWS* 1: 194). James distanced himself from Story's view, but the number of references to 'the black legend' present in the book shows he was very much aware of this tradition, which went back to Elizabethan times, together with the myth of the city's sensuous beauty.[69] It is not a coincidence that James should set the story of Juliana's passion in the city celebrated for its erotic power. Venice's 'accretions of history' have been underlined.[70]

The descriptions of Venice in the tale may be usefully compared with those in the several essays that James devoted to it (see *CTW2* 287–364). James's great art gave new life to the hackneyed representation of Venice: the city is not only the background to a story of deceit and intrigue; it becomes the mirror of the labyrinthine psychology of both the narrator and his antagonist, Juliana Bordereau, whose moves are no less clever, ambiguous, and deceitful than those of the narrator. If the unnamed narrator is devious and lying – he presents himself with a fake *carte de visite* and a false name – his antagonist, Juliana, is an equally subtle character, who manages to extract huge sums from him but keeps him at a distance while continuing to solicit his interest, not least by dangling in front of him the portrait of the poet. Her duplicity is underlined by the 'horrible green shade' that covers her once beautiful eyes, like a mask.

Several sources have been indicated for this 'green shade'. Edel suggested James's great-aunt Wyckoff as a possible source for the figure of the ancient Juliana, connecting her presence in New York to the 'visitable past'.[71] In *A Small Boy and Others,* James remembers an old Russian Countess Gerebsoff reclining on a chaise longue 'under a mushroom hat with a green veil' (*SBOC* 223). In his 1876 review of Balzac's *Correspondance*, he explicitly translated and quoted Balzac's description of his visit to Ludwig Tieck (1773–1853): 'He had an old countess, his contemporary in spectacles, almost an octogenarian—a

[69] Tony Tanner, *Venice Desired* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), pp. 157–209.

[70] Anthony Curtis, *The Turn of the Screw and The Aspern Papers* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), p. 12; Rosella Mamoli Zorzi, '*The Aspern Papers*: From Florence to an Intertextual City, Venice', in Dennis Tredy, Annick Duperray, and Adrian Harding (eds.), *Henry James's Europe* (Cambridge: OpenBook Publishers, 2011), pp. 103–11.

[71] Leon Edel, '*The Aspern Papers*: Great-Aunt Wyckoff and Juliana Bordereau', *Modern Language Notes* (June 1952), 392–5.

mummy with a green eye-shade, whom I supposed to be a domestic divinity' (*LC2* 86).[72] It may further have been inspired by the veil worn by the protagonist of Hawthorne's story 'The Minister's Black Veil' (1836), or by the veil worn by Venetian '*spose non sposate*' (unmarried brides, i.e. spinsters), represented in Cesare Vecellio's *Habiti antichi* (1598), as Anthony Marasco has suggested.[73] The 'green shade' has also been seen in relation to Andrew Marvell's poem 'The Garden' (1681), generally relevant to the garden of 'The Aspern Papers', a space where the relationship between the narrator and Tita develops, but also a place where the narrator can only live alone, as in Marvell's poem.[74] Joshua Parker has suggested to the editors of this volume that the 'green shade' may be identified with the green eyeshade or visor worn by bank accountants, which would echo Juliana's greed for and handling of money.

More generally, Philip Horne was the first to notice a possible source for the tale in the novel *The Italians* (1875) by Frances Elliot reviewed by James in 1875 (*LC1* 1011–13). Horne writes:

> It is thrilling to find fore-echoes of *The Aspern Papers* in a review of *The Italians* (1875) by Frances Elliot ('a mistress of the art of disappointing one'), where a count besieges a marchesa and her niece; the marchesa 'falls asleep, one night, burning all papers,' starting a fire from which the count 'turns up' to save the ladies; and once betrothed he has a crucial 'sudden disaffection' from the niece.[75]

[72] The latter part of this sentence in the original is 'quasi octogénaire, une momie à garde-vue vert, qui m'a paru être une divinité domestique': Honoré de Balzac, *Correspondance 1819–1850* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1876), vol. II, p. 51. Sarah Chambré's welcome indication of a source in *Le Père Goriot* ('La vieille demoiselle Michonneau gardait sur ses yeux fatigués un crasseux abat-jour en taffetas vert [...] qui aurait effarouché l'ange de la Pitié', p. 59) reinforces the possibility of a Balzac source. Balzac had used a 'garde-vue en taffetas vert' previously in his novella *Ferragus* (*La Comédie humaine*, vol. IX, *Scènes de la vie parisienne, Tome I* (Paris: Imprimerie de E. Martinet, 1843), p. 73).

[73] Anthony Marasco, 'Venice and the Veil: A Note on the Motives of Juliana Bordereau in *The Aspern Papers*', in Francesca Bisutti and Pia Masiero (eds.), *A Rosella: Saggi in onore di Rosella Mamoli Zorzi* (Venice: Supernova, 2012), pp. 149–58.

[74] Jeanne Campbell Reesman, '"The Deepest Depths of the Artificial": Attacking Women and Reality in "The Aspern Papers"', in Joseph Dewey and Brooke Horvath (eds.), '*The Finer Thread, The Tighter Weave*': *Essays on the Short Fiction of Henry James* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2001), pp. 42–68; Horne, *Henry James and Revision*, p. 283; Adrian Poole, *The Aspern Papers and Other Stories*, ed. Adrian Poole, new edition (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 241.

[75] Philip Horne, 'Independent Beauty', *Journal of American Studies*, 21.1 (April 1987), 87–93; 90.

As for the actual plot of the story, Pushkin's 'Queen of Spades' (1834) has seemed to a number of critics a plausible possibility for a source: in Pushkin's story the protagonist in the depths of night sneaks into the old lady's quarters and tries to steal her secret; confronts her – and she collapses – and he is baffled and defeated.[76] In Pushkin's story the object of desire is money and at the end it turns into a ghost tale.

Much discussion has also centred on the figure of the American poet, Jeffrey Aspern, for whom Edgar Allan Poe, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Walt Whitman have been proposed as models. As for the living characters in the tale, the character of Mrs Prest is known to be based on Mrs Bronson, famous for her generosity and help to poor Venetians as well as to poor American artists such as Whistler. James's complex friendship with Constance Fenimore Woolson – which included their living together in the same house on Bellosguardo, even if on different floors, unbeknownst to friends and family – may have contributed to the characterization of the spinster Miss Tita. James's dismay and despair on hearing of Miss Woolson's probable suicide in 1894 seem full of a sense of guilt, as if Constance had expected more than friendship from him.[77] As for the marginal figure of the narrator's friend and Aspern 'fellow worshipper', John Cumnor, the Victorian reader would have associated the name with Matthew Arnold's Oxford poem *The Scholar Gipsy* (1853), with its references to the Cumnor hills and its celebration of 'the elusive figure of the poet who will come no more'.[78]

The very house that inspired the fictional abode of the Misses Bordereau was clearly identified by Henry James to the photographer Alvin L. Coburn as the Palazzo Soranzo Cappello on the Rio Marin, in the letter quoted above. Constance Fletcher, the novelist, with her mother and Eugene

[76] See Neil Cornwell, 'Pushkin and Henry James: Secrets, Papers and Figures', in *Two Hundred Years of Pushkin*, eds. Robert Read and Joe Andrews (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2004), vol. 3, pp. 193–210; and Joseph S. O'Leary, 'Pushkin in "The Aspern Papers"', *The Henry James E-Journal*, 2 (2000); and Angus Wrenn, 'Henry James (1843–1916): Henry James's Europe', in Michael Bell (ed.), *Cambridge Companion to European Novelists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 311.

[77] Edel, *Middle Years*, pp. 224–7; Lyndall Gordon, *A Private Life of Henry James: Two Women and His Art* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1998), pp. 276–80. 'The shattered dream of Constance Fenimore Woolson', in *Two Lovers of Venice. Byron and Constance Fenimore Woolson*, ed. Carlo Campana, Gregory Dowling, Rosella Mamoli Zorzi (Venice: Supernova, 2014), p. 52.

[78] Poole, Introduction to *The Aspern Papers* (2013), p. xv.

Benson, the American painter, probably lived there already in 1887: Benson went to say goodbye to James at the end of James's first 1887 Venice visit.[79] The Palazzo Cappello, like all Venetian palaces in the course of the nineteenth century, surely had some of the same dilapidated qualities that were present in what James described as the 'ghostly old villa' of Bellosguardo,[80] in Florence, where he wrote the story.

As for the names of the Misses Bordereau, the French meaning of *bordereau*, an account register, a bill, 'even an invoice',[81] could point to Juliana's greed for money. Bordereau, seen as a 'memorandum [...] a list of documents', hints at the objectified view of Juliana, seen by the narrator only as the keeper of the papers.[82] The name of 'Tita' was changed to 'Tina' in the *New York Edition*: James may have changed it, feeling it was 'somewhat incongruous' if it brought to mind the imperial power of Titus, the Roman Emperor. But it might also be so because Tita in Venice is mostly a man's name, such as Giovanni Battista Falcieri (known as 'Tita') (1798–1874), the personal servant of Lord Byron, present at his death in Missolonghi in 1824. James may have been conscious of this. The suggestion has been made that James may have taken the name from Constance Fenimore Woolson's character in *Anne* (1880–2).[83] The character of Tita in Woolson's novel refers to a very young and somewhat wild girl, whose name comes from 'Petite'. James may have wanted to clarify the incongruity of her name in the *New York Edition*: Tita/Tina was neither tiny nor petite – she was tall.

James pronounced his novella 'brilliant' from the start, and on receiving the first printed volumes from his publisher he declared the book 'charmingly pretty'. On 13 October 1888 he wrote to Frederick Macmillan from Geneva – he was now writing *The Tragic Muse* and visiting Constance Fenimore Woolson – that 'if the public would only show some practical agreement in

[79] Edel, *Middle Years*, p. 213.

[80] Letter to R. L. Stevenson, 19 December 1886, *CLHJ 1884–1886* 2:267. The editors thank Greg Zacharias for advance access to the text of this letter.

[81] Rod Mengham, 'Wall to Wall: Figuring "The Aspern Papers"', in N. H. Reeve (ed.), *Henry James: The Shorter Fiction* (London: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 41–59; 41.

[82] George Monteiro, 'The "Bordereau" of The Aspern Papers', *Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes and Reviews*, 22.1 (Winter 2009), 33–5; 33.

[83] Jeannine Hayat, 'Fiction ou réalité: Les biographies de Constance Fenimore Woolson', *Revue LISA e-journal* (1 January 2005), 12; Gordon, *Private Life*, pp. 208–20.

this estimate there would be no wormwood mingled with my honey'.[84] The quality of 'The Aspern Papers' was at least partly recognized the following month by a review in the *New York Sun* (11 November 1888): it was 'one of Mr. James's finest achievements'. Although 'insignificant in plot and of moderate quality in respect of the characters', it was judged 'a masterly study of human nature and emotions'. Other reviews insisted on the 'scanty materials', acknowledging the skill of the writer in the 'admirable psychical analysis' (*New York Tribune*); *Life* underlined the 'skill' of the author and so did the *Literary World*, considering James's 'master hand' in treating such a 'slight' incident. The *Sun* reviewer also underlined the 'special charm' given to the story by its Venetian setting, judged a 'slight Venetian pastoral' by the *Critic*, although treated with great vitality. The *Saturday Review* similarly emphasized the charm of the story for 'Lovers of Venice'. The *London Daily Telegraph* commented on the 'subtle fun' which would 'fail [...] to be appreciated' by its readers. Most of the reviews dealt with the title story rather than with the other tales in the volume, with the exception of the *Academy*, which treated at length 'The Modern Warning'. As mentioned above, W. D. Howells in *Harper's Monthly* hailed 'The Aspern Papers', along with other stories ('The Liar', 'A London Life', 'Louisa Pallant', 'Two Countries' ['The Modern Warning']) as masterpieces in 'an artist's exhibition'.[85] Ezra Pound however considered it 'inferior' without giving any reason for his judgement.[86]

The popularity of 'The Aspern Papers' has generated a number of etchings, and adaptations for stage, film, and opera. Edward Piper's lithographs were reprinted in a special edition of *The Aspern Papers* (1990) in memory of the artist (1938–90). In 1993 Peter Milton created a portfolio of eighteen reproductions of drawings made for *The Aspern Papers*, basing his etchings on a visit to the Palazzo Capello in Rio Marin, in Venice. Michael Redgrave first staged *The Aspern Papers: A Comedy of Letters* in 1959 at the Queen's Theatre, London. (It is notable that the anonymous narrator is given a name – with James's initials and his first name: 'Henry Jarvis'.) Two years later it was translated by Marguerite Duras and Robert Antelme and staged by Raymond Rouleau at the Théâtre des Mathurins in Paris. The following

[84] *Correspondence of Henry James and the House of Macmillan*, ed. Moore, p. 148.

[85] Anesko, *Letters, Fictions, Lives*, p. 268.

[86] Pound, 'Shake Down', 29.

year the Redgrave version transferred successfully to Broadway, since when it has enjoyed several revivals, including one in 1984 when Redgrave's daughter Vanessa won an Olivier award as best actress for her portrayal of Miss Tina. Another stage version by Martin Zuckerman was produced off Broadway in 2008. *The Golden Age*, a play by A. R. Gurney vaguely inspired by *The Aspern Papers*, was performed in New York in 1984 with an Upper East Side setting.[87]

The film and television productions based on this novella are helpfully listed by J. Sarah Koch in 'A Henry James Filmography'.[88] There have been four movies: *The Lost Moment* of 1947, written by Leonardo Bercovici and directed by Martin Gabel; *Les Papiers d'Aspern* of 1981, directed in Portugal and co-written with Michael Graham by the French-based Argentinian film-maker Eduardo De Gregorio; *Els Papels de Aspern* of 1991, directed and co-written with Manuel Valls by the Catalan director Jordi Cadena; and *The Aspern Papers* directed by Mariana Hellmund in 2010, set in Venezuela. The latest movie has been collaboratively produced by James Ivory, Charles S. Cohen, Joely Richardson, Francois Sarkozy, Film House Germany's Christian Angermayer and Klemens Hallmann, and Summerstorm's Gabriela Bacher. Ivory's presence is important because he explicitly and publicly said that he had always hoped he could film *The Aspern Papers* in Venice.[89] He was not the director in this case, but the executive producer; the director was a first-time French film-maker, Julien Landais, and the film project was announced to much acclaim at the Cannes Festival in May 2016. Part of the appeal was undoubtedly the fact that Vanessa Redgrave (who had played Olive Chancellor in Ivory's *The Bostonians*, 1984) starred as Juliana.[90] The film was based on a script adapted from the 2002 stage play

[87] A. R. Gurney, *The Golden Age: A Play in Two Acts* (New York: Dramatists Play Service, 1984). We thank Philip Horne for this information.

[88] In Susan Griffin (ed.), *Henry James Goes to the Movies* (Lexington, KT: University of Kentucky Press, 2002), pp. 340–1.

[89] Interview for 'Incroci di Civiltà' at the Teatro Goldoni, Venice, 2015. Rosella Mamoli Zorzi, 'The Aspern Papers: Again and Yet Again?', in *Reading Henry James in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Dennis Tredy, Annick Duperray and Adrian Harding (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019), pp. 105–15.

[90] One should note that the Redgrave family's list of Henry James adaptations extends to 'The Turn of the Screw' as well. Only two years after his stage success with 'The Aspern Papers',

by Jean Pavans,[91] one of the most important French translators of James's works, whose *Les Papiers de Aspern* had been staged by Jacques Lassalle that year at the Théâtre Vidy-Lausanne, in a co-production with the Comédie-Francaise. The actors included Françoise Seigner (Juliana), Catherine Hiegel (Tita), and Jean-Damien Barbin (Morton). It was staged again in 2003 and 2004 at the Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier. The play was also performed at the Comédie Française and staged by Jacques Lassalle in 2002. The movie, based on an English translation of Pavans' play, was presented at the Venice Film Festival in 2017.

There have been eight television productions, including the filming of Dominick Argento's important opera, *The Aspern Papers*, that premièred in Dallas in November 1988 and was revived twenty-five years later in 2013. In this opera, Aspern is a composer and the setting is moved to Lake Como.

Michael Halliwell has written on Argento's opera as well as on Philip Hagemann's (US 1988) and Redgrave's 1959 stage versions.[92] Italian composer Salvatore Sciarrino created a *Two-Act Singspiel* (1978), with a libretto by Giorgio Marini and Sciarrino, out of fragments of the text, and British composer Michael Hurd produced an opera in 1995 (in Australia). There is a novel based on 'The Aspern Papers': Emma Tennant's *Felony: The Private History of 'The Aspern Papers'* (2002), where James becomes a character writing *The Aspern Papers* and showing it to Constance Fenimore Woolson. In John Drury's long poem, *Burning the Aspern Papers* (2003), the author imagines Tina reading Aspern's poems to Juliana just before burning them, and comparing her own relationship with the narrator to Juliana's with Aspern.

Michael Redgrave played the role of the Uncle in Jack Clayton's 1961 film adaptation *The Innocents*; his daughter Lynn Redgrave later played the role of the governess for the 1974 American television adaptation, *The Turn of the Screw*, by Dan Curtis.

[91] Jean Pavans translated James's works for the La Différence editions from 1990 onwards; he has also translated works by Wharton, Stein, and Pinter. Among his recent works are *Le Musée Intérieur de Henry James* (2016). Pavans wrote a libretto based on *The Beast in the Jungle* for composer Arnaut Petit in 2011. His recent translation of Shelley's *La Révolte de l'Islam* (2016) is also relevant to the film version of *The Aspern Papers.*

[92] Michael Halliwell, *Opera and the Novel: The Case of Henry James*, ed. Walter Bernhart (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), pp. 368–413, 413–25, and 425–6.

'The Liar'

'The Liar' is set entirely in England and explores the complex triangle between a painter, a mythomaniac colonel, and his wife. The story is also about the revealing power of portraits, a theme for which James seems to go back to Hawthorne and which he addresses on several other occasions, such as 'The Story of a Masterpiece' (1868), 'Travelling Companions' (1870), 'The Sweetheart of M. Briseux' (1873), 'The Real Thing' (1893), and 'The Beldonald Holbein' (1901), but also in novels like *The Tragic Muse*, *The Wings of the Dove*, and *The Sense of the Past*. The origin of 'The Liar' has two different versions. The first is a notebook entry dated 19 June 1884, where James traces a story outline inspired by Alphonse Daudet's novel *Numa Roumestan* (1881) that he highly esteemed and discussed extensively in two essays in the *Atlantic Monthly*, in 1882, and in the *Century Magazine*, in 1883 (later reprinted in *Partial Portraits*, 1888).[93] In this entry James considers the possibility of writing a 'very short' tale about a pure and intelligent woman married to an attractive man, but a 'tremendous, though harmless, liar'. The main event would be the woman becoming a liar herself in order to protect him. Another version of the story's origin is provided by James in the Preface to volume XII of the *New York Edition*, where he mentions having found inspiration in getting acquainted with a 'most unbridled colloquial romancer' and his 'magnificent' wife during a London dinner (*LC2* 1189–90). F. O. Matthiessen and Kenneth Murdock explain the disparity between these two versions by arguing that James probably forgot the earlier notebook entry with the passing of time, thus relying more on the later 'personal' experience.[94] As Philip Horne suggested to us, the Colonel in the story also reminds one of a passage from a letter written by James during his 1870 stay in the Malvern water-cure establishment: 'There, socially, with my friend Jameson are the swells—including that tremendous old liar Major Jones who is forever whopping about his tigers in India & his

[93] On the same date as the notebook entry, James wrote a letter to Daudet thanking him for having sent a copy of his last novel *Sapho*. He appreciated the book although he thought that the male protagonist, whom he misnamed Jean Gauvin (instead of 'Gaussin'), was lacking definition.

[94] F. O. Matthiessen and Kenneth Murdock. *The Notebooks of Henry James* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 62.

salmon in Norway & his wild goats in Chinese Tartary—a good specimen I suppose of a very common English figure' (to Alice James, 27 February 1870, *CLHJ 1855–1872* 2:308).

As for other possible literary influences, Robert J. Kane postulated James's debt to Hawthorne's 'The Prophetic Pictures' (from *Twice-Told Tales*, 1837).[95] No real-life models have been convincingly suggested for the characters in the story. Very little help can be found in a letter James wrote on 13 October 1896, in reply to a man called Anton Capadose who complained about the use of his name in the story. James explained:

"Capadose" must be in one of my old note-books. I have a dim recollection of having found it originally in the first columns of *The Times*, where I find almost all the names I store up for my puppets. It was picturesque and rare and so I took possession of it [...] my romancing Colonel was a charming man, in spite of his little weakness. (*HJL* 4:39)

'The Liar' was first published in the *Century Magazine* in May and June 1888 (see Textual Introduction), and was generally praised in the contemporary reviews. It was one of the tales that W. D. Howells described as 'masterpieces' in his review in *Harper's Monthly* (October 1888), as cited above.[96] In the *Literary World* an anonymous critic wrote:

Of the stories contained in this volume [*A London Life*], "The Liar" is by far the best. It is a study in the perversities, not in the great tragedy-compelling faults of human nature, and the clever and lightly cynical delineation fits the theme perfectly—the drama does not overstep the line of the most conventional immobility of behavior. The gratuitous fictions of Colonel Capadose, his betrayal by a too faithful portrait, the sudden dismay and unshaken fidelity of his wife, are points skilfully taken and marvelously sustained.

A positive critique also came from the *Boston Daily Advertiser*:

In "The Liar", however, Mr. James is at his best; his art at his finest. This is a delightfully acute study of a modern Münchausen and the vulgarizing effect which marriage with him had upon a perfectly truthful woman. We need say nothing of the analysis of character, but we may note that the plot is admirably contrived to help it

[95] Robert J. Kane, 'Hawthorne's "The Prophetic Pictures" and James's "The Liar"', *Modern Language Notes*, 65 (April 1950), 257–8.

[96] Anesko, *Fictions, Stories, Lives*, p. 268.

forward, and that through its means, the psychological problem attains an almost dramatic interest.

The reviewer in the *New York Times* appeared to appreciate the tale's conceit, albeit in an equivocal way:

> "The Liar" is rather a story of art than anything else. Is it possible for a man to paint a picture so powerfully that every stroke of the brush tells that it is the portrait of a liar? That was what the clever Mr. Lyon, the artist, did. To keep his hand in he made his sitter get off all kinds of bouncers [lies]. The bigger the lie the more perfect becomes the work. "The Liar" is one of Mr. James's eccentricities.

The *Critic* lamented the fact that a good writer like James was wasting his energies devoting them to dangerous subjects: 'In "The Liar" Mr James utterly spoils the effect of the story by following the example of Corneille in "Le Menteur" and prefixing a title that "leaves nothing to be desired"—with a vengeance. Lessing has a story of a raven trying to breed eagles; but, verily, here is an eagle with a nestful of ravens.' Neither was Robert Timsol in *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* impressed by the tale; he wrote:

> "The Liar" is an exquisite character-sketch, and bearable, since nobody is killed and nothing badly broken,—for there was not much to break. Mr. James would be a genius if he could be touched by a coal from the altar: almost any altar would do, if it had warmth upon it. But he is past his first youth, and perhaps no longer open to the softening influences which might make it possible for his admirers to regard him as a being of like passions with themselves.

Yet praise came from twentieth-century critics and writers, including Ezra Pound, who wrote in 1918: '"The Liar" is superb in its way, perhaps the best of the allegories, of the plots invented purely to be an exposition of impression. It is magnificent in its presentation of the people, both the old man and the Liar, who is masterly'.[97]

The majority of scholars tend to associate this story with other works by James that are similarly focused, as earlier pointed out, on the revealing power of portraits and on a triangle of relations, in particular the early tale 'The Story of A Masterpiece'.[98] Many years later, in the course of dictating

[97] Pound, 'Shake Down', p. 29.

[98] Edna Kenton, 'Some Bibliographical Notes on Henry James', *Hound & Horn* (April–May 1934), 535–40, 535; Segal, *Lucid Reflector*, p. 101; Winner, *Henry James and the Visual Arts*, p. 94;

notes on his unfinished novel, *The Sense of the Past*, James recalled 'The Liar' as he wrote 'I don't want to repeat what I have done at least a couple of times, I seem to remember, and notably in The Liar—the "discovery," or the tell-tale representation of an element in the sitter written clear by the artist's projection of it on canvas' (*CN* 530).[99] However, the question that has puzzled critics is the identification of the real liar in the story. Early readers of the story ultimately saw Capadose as the culprit. A turning point in criticism was Marius Bewley's reading in 1952, the first to question the reliability of the main reflector Oliver Lyon. Bewley proposed that Lyon could be as big a liar as the mythomaniac Capadose.[100] Wayne C. Booth followed and expanded this argument, explaining that James made his central reflector unaware of his own hidden motives as a disappointed lover. For Booth, a few unequivocal intrusions by a reliable narrator in the text would 'underline the difference between Lyon's picture of himself and the true picture'.[101]

'The Modern Warning'

James entered the 'germ' for this story in his *Notebook* on 9 July 1884: 'This idea has been suggested to me by reading Sir Lepel Griffin's book about America. Type of the conservative, fastidious, exclusive Englishman (in public life, clever, &c,), who hates the U.S.A. & thinks them a contamination to England, a source of *funeste* warning, &c, & an odious country socially' (*CN* 29) (see Appendix A). James then goes on to outline the plot, in which the patriotic American girl falls in love with and marries the man who hates the United States, while questioning whether he need supply his heroine with a brother as well as the possibility of her suicide. The book that James had read was *The Great Republic*, *A Criticism of America*, by Sir Lepel Griffin (1838–1908), a British administrator and diplomat in the Indian Civil Service for almost thirty years. Griffin's book was the result of a three-week visit to the United States and it caused controversy when it

and more extensively Daniel T. O'Hara, '"*Monstrous Levity*": Between Realism and Vision in Two of Henry James's Artist Tales', *Henry James Review*, 28.3 (2007), 242–8.

99 See Christina E. Albers, *A Reader's Guide to the Short Stories of Henry James* (New York: G. K. Hall, 1997), p. 471.

100 Bewley, *Complex Fate*, pp. 84–7.

101 Booth, *Rhetoric of Fiction*, p. 351.

came out in 1884. The *Spectator* reviewed it in December that year, recognizing the necessity to counter the usual praise of America in recent books but declaring that 'The voice of criticism […] must proceed from accurate knowledge and impartial view. Of these two indispensable qualifications, Sir Lepel Griffin possesses neither the one nor the other.' Sir Lepel Griffin had presented the United States as

> the apotheosis of Philistinism, the perplexity and despair of statesmen, the Mecca to which turns every religious or social charlatan, where the only god worshipped is Mammon, and the highest education is the share-list; where political life is shunned by an honest man as the plague; where to enrich jobbers, and monopolists, and contractors, a nation has emancipated its slaves and enslaved its freemen; where the people is gorged and drunk with materialism, and where wealth has become a curse, instead of a blessing.[102]

In spite of James's explicit mention of Griffin's volume, one may also think of James Bryce's *American Commonwealth* (1888), the only book whose popularity bore comparison with Alexis de Tocqueville's classic *Democracy in America* (1835 and 1840). Bryce (1838–1922) visited the United States in 1870, 1881, and 1883. He was a professor of jurisprudence at Oxford, a Liberal politician, and later British ambassador to the United States (1907–13), and was well known to James from 1877 onwards, his first years of residence in London. In 1879 James described Bryce to his brother William, perhaps prematurely, as 'a distinctly able fellow' (*CLHJ 1878–1880* 1:126). One cannot help noticing that 'Bryce' rhymes with 'Grice'. In both Lepel's book and Bryce's James found sources for a story published with the title 'Two Countries' in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in June 1888, with illustrations by Charles S. Reinhart, which would become 'The Modern Warning' in a collection published by Macmillan in September of the same year. (See Textual Introduction).

In this tale James developed again his 'international theme', creating the characters of the deeply patriotic American young woman, the conservative and aristocratic British politician, and that of the American brother,[103]

[102] Quoted in George Monteiro, 'Americanism in Henry James' "A Modern Warning"', *American Literary Realism*, 43.2 (Winter 2011), 169–70.

[103] On the possible interpretation of marriage as a metaphor for political relations between nations, see Mary Burke, 'The Marriage Plot and the Plot against the Union: Irish Home Rule

as sketched in the *Notebook* entry. The story begins at Cadenabbia, where Macarthy Grice joins his mother and sister Agatha. Agatha's excursion on the lake with Sir Rufus Chasemore, who is courting her, anticipates the betrayal of her country and of her brother.[104] James added a book by Sir Rufus to his sketch of the story as we find it in the *Notebooks*. This book, *The Modern Warning*, is written after a brief visit to the United States, during which his prejudices about Agatha's country are only confirmed.

The end of the story is melodramatic and was perceived as such by contemporary reviewers. James eventually used the possibility of suicide as he did also in 'The Patagonia' (1888). One is tempted to connect Agatha's sudden suicide by poison with the suicide of Marian 'Clover' Hooper Adams, in Washington on 6 December 1885.[105] Clover and her husband Henry Adams were close friends of James, who spent much time with them in Washington in 1882 (see above). That capital is central to this story, as it is after his visit to Washington that Sir Rufus tells his wife that he wants to write a book on America. The political world of Washington has matched his negative judgement of the country. Leon Edel also speculates that Lady Chasemore's suicide may owe something to that of Clover Adams ('the tale itself, with its sharp words between Americans and English—its dialogue between the civilizations of the Old and New World—contains echoes of Henry James's talks with Mrs Adams.'), although he concedes that Agatha Grice herself owes nothing to James's incisive and argumentative friend.[106] Kaplan suggests that the suicide of a friend of Paul Bourget's in Rome may have influenced James.[107]

James added another strand to the international theme of America versus England by giving the Grices an Irish origin, kept alive by Macarthy's name. Sir Rufus also has Irish antecedents, his grandmother is Irish, but this is not enough to bridge the gulf between them. The different Irish strands have

and Endangered Alliances in Henry James's "The Modern Warning"', *Irish Studies Review*, 23.2 (2015), 184–93.

104 Virginia C. Fowler, *Henry James's American Girl: The Embroidery on the Canvas* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), p. 48.

105 See Monteiro, 'Americanism in Henry James', p. 173.

106 Edel, *Middle Years*, p. 104.

107 Kaplan, *Henry James*, p. 320.

been thoroughly analysed by Denis Flannery.[108] Alice James, whose diary shows a keen interest in Ireland and the burning issue of Home Rule, appreciated the story.

The possibilities of misinterpreting James's representation of America and Britain by partisan readers on either side of the Atlantic were endless, it seems. James himself thought the international theme of the tale might be found 'overdone, threadbare' in his *Notebook* entry. Yet he could scarcely have anticipated the interpretation of the story as a celebration of America in a savage response by the *Scottish Review* (13 April 1889): 'In *The Modern Warning* we find the American Eagle screeching anew, and disposed to wave aloft the Star Spangled Banner, while he dances on the faded worn-out Union Jack, and we feel inclined to say, "My dear bird, do not screech so loud. Nobody denies the glories of the Great American nation! And at any rate be logical. If Great Britain is the home of a worn-out despised nation, be not so exuberantly exultant over every American girl who contrives to get herself chosen as a wife by a son of that degenerate race."'[109]

Howells included 'A Modern Warning' in his praise of the 1888 collection of stories published by Macmillan. The conclusion of the story with a suicide was however generally criticized: it was 'unworthy of Mr. James' (*Saturday Review*); 'Mr James neither need nor should have ended it by the suicide of the luckless Agatha, distracted between wifely and sisterly love. Tragedy interspersed with comedy is good literature; comedy ending in tragedy, though unfortunately only too true to life, is not good literature, or very rarely so' (*Academy*); 'in the name of all probability we must protest against Mr. James's needless slaughter of Lady Chasemore [...] her suicide comes upon the reader with a shock of surprise which immediately turns to indignation at the author for perpetrating such wanton murder!' (*Literary World*). *The Athenæum* found 'the realistic sketch of Mr. Macarthy Grice, an American chauvinist', 'amusing', although it underlined that 'the tragedy of the conclusion' was 'out of harmony with the comedy of the opening of the story'. On 18 November 1888 William James wrote to Henry after receiving the book edition, commenting favourably on 'The Aspern Papers' but

108 Denis Flannery, 'Irish Strands and the Imperial Eye: Henry James's "The Modern Warning"', *Henry James Review*, 31.1 (2010), 39–45.

109 Kevin J. Hayes (ed.), *Henry James: The Contemporary Reviews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 217.