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‘Glued together, gushing’: Sticking with John Addington Symonds

Shane Butler, *The Passions of John Addington Symonds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 416 pp., 9 illustrations, £134.50, $135.00, ISBN 9780192866936

Simon Joyce, *LGBT Victorians*: *Sexuality and Gender in the Nineteenth-Century Archives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 304 pp., 12 illustrations, £81.00, $105.00, ISBN 9780192858399

Tom Crewe, *The New Life* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2023), 384 pp., £16.99, ISBN 9781784744694

You’ve got to wonder what the gondolier made of it all. In May 1891, Roger Fry—not yet famous as Bloomsbury’s art critic—was being propelled along the canals of Venice, deeply immersed in a conversation with John Addington Symonds about the ethics of pederasty. ‘Almost a special subject with him’, Fry later observed wryly in a letter to Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson. Symonds was a puzzle. For Fry, he was the most ‘pornographic person’ he had ever met. At the same time, he was ‘most apostolic’—a designation referring not to Christian piety, but to the broad-minded, liberal intellectualism of the Cambridge Apostles, a group to which both Fry and Dickinson had belonged at King’s College, Cambridge. So while Symonds was a ‘curious creature’—‘very dogmatic & rather overbearing in discussion’—he nevertheless espoused ‘nice humane broad views of life’.[1]

It is the ‘pornographic’ Symonds that has most set pulses racing in recent years. Or more precisely, it is the queer Symonds: the co-author, with Havelock Ellis, of *Sexual Inversion* (1897), the first significant sexological work in English on homosexuality; the self-conflicted confessor of the long-suppressed *Memoirs* (1891); the passionate disciple of Walt Whitman

[1] Roger Fry to Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson, 28 May 1891, King’s College, Cambridge, Lowes Dickinson Papers.

and enthusiastic chronicler of male same-sex desire from Ancient Greece to Michelangelo. Superb new editions of Symonds's works by Sean Brady, Amber Regis and Ivan Crozier have facilitated a wealth of engaging research on these topics.[2] The 'apostolic' Symonds, in contrast, still proves something of a scholarly embarrassment. As a historian of Renaissance Italy, Symonds's unfashionable commitment to Hegelian teleology and the empiricism of Ranke has seen him cast as stolidly Victorian, especially in comparison to Walter Pater's commitment to the 'relative spirit'. Even his kinder critics admit that his poetry often reads like second-hand Shelley, even if it has more kinks than Keats. He seems not to have got the memo about queer style either: too earnest for the glittering epigrammatic paradoxes of Oscar Wilde; too matter-of-fact for the deferrals, occlusions and obscurities of Pater or Henry James. On the cusp of modern sexuality, perhaps—but a reluctant recruit to modernism.

Three recent books on Symonds and his circle—two monographs and a novel—gamely stick with the pornographer, while shaking off any sense that his characteristic sincerity and sentimentality (about sex and other things) are mere stylistic *faux pas*. Shane Butler's *The Passions of John Addington Symonds* presents Symonds as writer whose preoccupation with embodied experience allows him to articulate a distinctive queer phenomenology, grounded in tactility and sensitivity to the material world. Similarly, in Simon Joyce's *LGBT Victorians*, Symonds navigates possible frameworks of same-sex desire that embrace the pleasures of the queer body's physical healthiness, whether in the gymnasia of Ancient Athens or in the marshes of Whitman's 'Calamus' poems. Tom Crewe's novel *The New Life*—a fictional reimagining of Symonds's and Havelock Ellis's collaboration on *Sexual Inversion*—is also fascinated with its protagonists' sensory worlds.

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[2] *John Addington Symonds (1840–1893) and Homosexuality: A Critical Edition of Sources*, ed. by Sean Brady (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); *The Memoirs of John Addington Symonds: A Critical Edition*, ed. by Amber K. Regis (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds, *Sexual Inversion*, ed. by Ivan Crozier (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

The Passions of John Addington Symonds is an ambitious and wide-ranging study, impressively immersed in aspects of Symonds's work that have received little attention from critics, especially the poems in *Animi Figura* (1882) and *An Introduction to the Study of Dante* (1872). It is also something of a methodological treasure trove for scholars interested in queerness and the senses. Symonds's work enters into conversations about historicism and the 'queer touch' (Carolyn Dinshaw, Eve Sedgwick), queer phenomenology (Husserl via Sara Ahmed), photography and the 'punctum' (Roland Barthes), and post-human vibrant matter (Jane Bennett). One particular strength of this focus on embodiment is the clarity it brings to Symonds's engagement with aesthetics, in which 'beauty is a force that quickens our relationships to objects both "real" and "represented"'.[3] In a careful discussion of his theoretical essays and writings on Italian Renaissance art, Butler proposes a model of Symonds's 'tact' based in a sensuous, haptic response to art. The aesthetic, for Symonds, threads its way 'through the middle region of the scale' between the affective and the cognitive: 'Art is [...] obliged to cast down roots into sense, and to flower up into thought, remaining within the province where these extremes of consciousness interpenetrate'.[4] Butler's explication of this position carefully challenges work by scholars such as Whitney Davis, who views Symonds's aesthetics as holding to a Kantian disinterestedness. Instead, his position emerges as a specifically Hegelian iteration of the 'materialist aesthetics' that Benjamin Morgan has traced in Symonds's contemporaries, such as Pater and Vernon Lee.[5]

Tactility also plays a central role in Symonds's conception of the visual. This is brought nicely into focus in a discussion of his *Study of Dante* (1872). Butler dwells on the glossy materiality of the photograph of Dante's death mask which opens Symonds's book, encouraging us to

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[3] Butler, *Passions*, p. 33.
[4] John Addington Symonds, 'Caricature, The Fantastic, The Grotesque', in *Essays Speculative and Suggestive* (London, Chapman and Hall), I, pp. 240–55 (at 253–54).
[5] Benjamin Morgan, *The Outward Mind: Materialist Aesthetics in Victorian Science and Literature* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2017).

appreciate its physical presence in the light of nineteenth-century theories of visual-haptic perception. This leads into an absorbing discussion of Dante's own metaphors of surface, distance and movement—many of which become important to Symonds for figuring his own (queer) feelings of spatial and emotional displacement. The entanglement of sight and touch is something of a commonplace in recent work in literary studies on embodied and situated cognition, much of which builds on James G. Gibson's 'ecological theory of perception'.[6] Butler reminds us that such ideas have a long and complex history in relation to nineteenth-century visual technologies. Oliver Wendell Holmes's fascinating articles on the stereoscope and the stereograph (1859–63), for example, talk rhapsodically about 'the mind feel[ing] its way into the very depths of the picture': 'We clasp an object with our eyes, as with our arms, or with our hands, or with our thumb and finger, and then we know it to be something more than a surface'.[7]

Symonds's *Memoirs* are full of stolen, clasping glances—the 'haptic looking' of the queer cruiser, greedy for imagined touches. Butler's book is most engaging in its attentive exploration of how these sorts of experiences make it on to the page. A particularly striking example is Symonds's description of some erotic graffiti he saw whilst walking the 'sordid streets' of London which 'pierced the very marrow of [his] soul'.[8] He seems initially to have been hesitant about including it in the manuscript of his *Memoir*, though he ultimately added it in the margin: '"Prick to prick, so sweet"; with an emphatic diagram of phallic meeting, glued together, gushing.'[9] Butler has great fun teasing out the 'extraordinary promiscuity' of such 'expressions of desire, which scoop up metaphors and analogs with exhilarating abandon'.[10] While critics

[6] See for example Jonathan Kramnick, *Paper Minds: Literature and the Ecology of Consciousness* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018).
[7] Oliver Wendell Holmes, 'The Stereoscope and the Stereography', in *Classic Essays of Photography*, ed. Alan Trachtenberg (New Haven: Leete's Island Books, 1880), pp. 71–82 (at 75, 77).
[8] *Memoirs*, p. 366.
[9] Symonds, *Memoirs*, p. 374, n. 35.
[10] Butler, *Passions*, p. 249.

such as Jonathan Kemp see the image as a fundamentally phobic one that amplifies discourses of 'the sameness of male-male eroticism' and renders anal sex as 'the true *l'amour de l'impossible*', Butler finds a more tactful way out of this sticky situation.[11] 'This moment of insistent [...] consubstantiality,' he proposes, 'arguably suggests options not fully reducible either to autonomous sameness or hierarchical difference. One surface blends with another, generating a composite that partakes of each and in which both participate.'

Butler's focus also opens up other promising new areas of enquiry about the relationship between queerness and sensory perception. The finely honed sensory capabilities of *fin-de-siècle* aesthetes have long been recognised, at least implicitly, as aligned with emergent homosexual identities at the end of the nineteenth-century. Symonds seems to have regarded himself as unusually, even abnormally, receptive to sound, colour and scent (what, in his *Memoirs*, he calls 'hyperaesthesia').[12] In *Sexual Inversion*, he ponders aloud as to whether one 'may compare inversion to such a phenomenon as coloured-hearing in which there is not so much defect, as an abnormality of nervous tracks producing new and involuntary combinations.'[13] Recent work by scholars such Ralph James Savarese, M. Remi Yergeau and Erin Manning has begun to investigate the 'neuroqueer' dynamics of what might be called 'sensory diversity', prompting better awareness of the particular capabilities of different situated body-minds.[14] Such work, though, has tended to focus on contemporary culture, and there is undoubtedly more work to be done on understanding the significance of these experiences in earlier historical periods.

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[11] Jonathan Kemp, *Homotcpia* (New York: Punctum, 2015), p. 117.
[12] Symonds, *Memoirs*, p. 311.
[13] *Sexual Inversion*, p. 311.
[14] M. Remi Yergeau, *Authoring Autism: On Rhetoric and Neurological Queerness* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017); Ralph James Savarese, *See It Feelingly: Classic Novels, Autistic Readers, and the Schooling cf a No-Good English Prcfessor* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018); Erin Manning, *For a Pragmatics cf the Useless* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2020).

Literary critics love nothing more than stories about the transformative effects of reading. It is unsurprising, then, that one episode from Symonds's *Memoirs* that has frequently piqued attention is his account of his first youthful encounter with Plato's *Phaedrus* and *Symposium*: 'the revelation I had been waiting for, the consecration of a long-cherished idealism'.[15] Butler's study is propelled by a similar wide-eyed enthusiasm for Symonds's writings. Its chapters, as Butler admits, are essayistic, rather than purposefully analytical. Like Symonds's own works, they are intellectually wide-ranging and capacious: Byron, Homer, Dante, Stevenson, Henry James, via Herder, Baumgarten, Winckelmann, Freud. It's sometimes a bit of a sausage fest. (I would have loved to hear more about Symonds's relationship with Mary Robinson, whose poetry collection *The New Arcadia* (1884) he compared favourably to the verse of Walt Whitman.) Some readers might find the transitions between Butler's meticulous philological pursuit of Symonds's Classical references and his excursions into contemporary theory (affect, psychoanalysis, new materialism) a little dizzying. But his perceptive close reading and telling eye for detail always make the effort feel worth it. The study as a whole coheres around an admirable commitment to think holistically, with and alongside Symonds's own intellectual frameworks, about the experiential, fleshy complexities of navigating queer feelings in both art and life.

Simon Joyce's *LGBT Victorians* is, in many respects, a more tightly focussed study. Its most significant interventions are in the history of sexuality, where it argues for the significance of a range of nineteenth-century figures in complicating our understanding of the relationship between sexuality-based and gender-based identities (or, in today's terms, the 'LGB' and the 'TI'). Many of Joyce's case studies will be familiar to scholars in the field—Anne Lister, Fanny and Stella, Symonds, Edward Carpenter, *Teleny*—though his careful survey is revelatory on the tangled contradictions and discontinuities that dominate Victorian attempts to categorise

[15] *Memoirs*, p. 152.

bodies and desires. The study situates its readings alongside influential work in gender studies and queer theory—David Halperin, Eve Sedgwick, Alan Sinfield, Jules Gill-Peterson—using these to perceptively tease out the dynamics of the often-awkward alliances between queer and trans* methodologies.

Joyce's primary interest in Symonds is as a representative figure of Oxford Hellenism, where he builds on Linda Dowling's influential argument linking gender conformity and liberal citizenship.[16] In Joyce's account, this circle's investment in Ancient Greek masculinist pederastic models ultimately leads to the effemophobia (and the 'bottom shaming') that is prevalent in late-Victorian queer discourses. These also bolster a range of age-, class- and race-based hierarchical structures of same-sex desire that are both ethically problematic and politically naïve. Or to put this another way: The gondolier ferrying Symonds and Fry around Venice—young, working class, southern European—may not have been all that surprised to hear his employer waxing lyrical about pederasty.

A summary of this kind might risk making Joyce's argument sound rather moralizing. Where it succeeds, though—especially in the Symonds chapter—is in demonstrating just how conflicted nineteenth-century queer writers were about the distorting power imbalances of their sexual relationships, and how discomfited they were about reconciling the physical expression of homosexual desires with hegemonic masculinity. Things get sticky again for Symonds in his encounters with the poetry and philosophy of Walt Whitman. As Joyce notes, under Whitman's influence he began to 'rethink his sexual identity in terms of a potentially more reciprocated love of male comrades, only to encounter further problems in conceptualising and justifying his love of working-class men'.[17] Once again, the challenges of these relationships are figured through tropes of contact and proximity. Given his fascination with tactility,

[16] Linda Dowling, *Hellenism and Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).
[17] Joyce, *LGBT Victorians*, p. 21.

Symonds was immediately drawn to Whitman's evocative term for the 'personal and passionate attachment of man to man': 'adhesiveness'.[18] Yet pinning down the valency of this notionally haptic metaphor proved something of a challenge. As Joyce shows us, for Symonds there was a great deal at stake in whether it referred specifically to physical expressions of desire. Both 'adhesiveness' and its straighter counter-part, 'amativeness', have their origins in the science of phrenology, two terms in a vast array of descriptive categories for making sense of one's character in the nineteenth-century. One reading of Whitman's initial use of the term might plausibly suggest that 'adhesiveness' is akin to the rarefied and spiritualized same-sex love celebrated by the Oxford Hellenists. This would set it in contrast with the physical and reproductive sex of 'amativeness'. At the same time, though, the intense physicality of same-sex bonds in Whitman's 'Calamus' poems—in which intimate reciprocated touch serves to cement democratic bonds of comradeship—offers an alternative 'adhesiveness' that is decidedly centred in the body.

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On 5 April 1895, Oscar Wilde's reputation suffered a remarkable reversal. On the collapse of his libel trial against the Marquess of Queensberry, Wilde was arrested for 'gross indecency', immediately imprisoned and subsequently denied bail. A few days later, Henry James wrote to his friend Edmund Gosse, scrawling as a postscript on the envelope: '*Quel dommage—mais quel Bonheur—que J.A.S. ne soit plus de ce monde*' ('What a shame—but how fortunate—that J.A.S. is no longer alive').[19] As Shane Butler observes, it is unclear whether James meant that 'Symonds's death merely spared him the painful spectacle of the trial', or whether he feared 'the risk of a similar fate for [Symonds] himself'.[20] Tom Crewe's novel *The New Life* keeps

[18] Walt Whitman, *Democratic Vistas, and Other Papers*, (London: Walter Scott, 1888), pp. 67–68.
[19] Henry James, Letter to Edmund Gosse, in *Selected Letters of Henry James to Edmund Gosse, 1882–1915: A Literary Friendship*, ed. by Rayburn S. Moore (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), p. 126.
[20] Butler, *Passions*, p. 268.

Symonds—or at least his fictional *alter ego* 'John Addington'—alive long enough to stage his response to Wilde's incarceration, casting him as a bravely outspoken champion of same-sex desire in the face of society's persecution of queer men.

The novel begins in summer 1894, interweaving the initially separate narratives of John Addington and 'Henry Ellis'. Cruising by the Serpentine in Hyde Park one afternoon, John meets the young, handsome, working-class compositor, Frank Feaver, who becomes his lover and eventually moves into his family home—alongside John's wife Catherine—to serve as his 'secretary'. Meanwhile, the shy and sexually inexperienced Henry has just married Edith, who is struggling to reconcile her devotion to Henry with her passionate attraction to her friend Angelica. Henry and Edith's shared commitment to socialist politics and progressive values leads them to gradually negotiate an open marriage in which they can live apart. In contrast, John's marriage comes under increasing strain as his relationship with Frank becomes less guarded. In a series of exchanged letters, John and Henry develop their ideas for what will become *Sexual Inversion*. Just as the book is poised for publication, the scandal that breaks around Wilde's imprisonment changes everything. Shocked and terrified by the aftermath of the trials, John only haltingly agrees to proceed with the book's publication. This initially passes without incident, though some months later a radical bookseller (based on George Bedborough) is prosecuted under the Obscene Publications Act for stocking it. At a public rally in its defence, John practically outs himself in a passionate defence of same-sex love. While neither John nor Henry ultimately defend the book at its trial, the novel concludes with their quiet shared belief that speaking honestly about human sexuality is a necessary step towards the social tolerance that will bring about the 'New Life'.

Historical fiction, even of a speculative kind, is a tricky genre to get right. The sorts of details that preoccupy pedantic historians can easily end up stymying narrative momentum and displacing the effective development of character. Authors also render themselves peculiarly

vulnerable to attack from fact-checking scholars and critics, intent on wielding their intellects to wreak revenge upon art. Many reviewers of *The New Life* felt obliged to praise the novel for its commitment to recreating (as Boyd Tomkin put it) 'the language, the outlook and the conventions of 1890s London', as if the text's principal achievement was an archaeological one.[21] In fact, Crewe is savvy enough to leave most of these details in the background, and he wisely avoids attempting a pastiche of the prose styles of Symonds or Ellis. Readers hoping for a novel packed with detailed minutiae about the intellectual underpinnings of Victorian Platonism, *fin-de-siècle* socialism, Whitmanesque democracy, or the connection between early lesbian and feminist movements will be disappointed. All of these cultural currents are gestured to, but principally as the backdrop to the personal relationships—and particularly the unruly bodies and desires—of the novel's main characters.

Crewe is brilliant on the sensuous and the sensory. But there are places where his depiction of Symonds's thought feels rather out of step with recent scholarly developments. There is little sense of the tensions that existed between Symonds's and Ellis's very different approaches to understanding homosexuality (in brief, the literary-historical and the medical or sexological). The production of sexual knowledge is generally framed as a valiant fight against prejudice and censorship, rather than a fraught negotiation of competing discursive practices that might have significant real-world consequences. I wondered whether making more of the sheer *strangeness* of late-Victorian sexology might have brought some humour to a novel that is otherwise intently serious. (A whistling competition for Edith and Angelica, the novel's lesbian couple, perhaps?) Elsewhere, Crewe's treatment of the hierarchical dynamics that motivate Symonds's relationships with working-class men feel rather sanitised. A less decorous writer might have afforded us access to the darker sexual fantasies of a man whose own autobiography

[21] Boyd Tomkin, 'The Orwell Foundation: 2023 Political Fiction Book Prize Winner', https://www.orwellfoundation.com/political-fiction/the-new-life/

recounts that his earliest 'half-waking dreams' involved being called a 'dirty pig' by a bunch of naked sailors.[22]

In other respects, though, Crewe's novel responds beautifully to the fascination with touch and surfaces that Shane Butler and Simon Joyce bring out in their academic studies of Symonds's works. For the critic Lara Feigel, *The New Life* is 'one of the most embodied historical novels [she] has read'—its characteristic strength is its ability to make us 'feel the physical sensations' of its protagonists.[23] There is lovely stuff here on the meeting-points between body and world: inky fingers, uncomfortable clothes, cum-stained bedsheets. Water 'pour[s]' off young men's naked skin in the sunshine, 'as if light were the very thing they bathed in, something sticking and clinging' (20).[24] Walter Pater and Gerard Manley Hopkins would love it. The oppressiveness of Victorian middle-class domesticity is sustained through objects (mantelpieces, fire grates) that 'push firmly [..] back' against those who are to be expelled from the family home (179). Everyone is pressing up against restrictive boundaries (the word 'pressure' crops up around fifteen times). And this is Victorian London, so everything's cloaked in a ubiquitous groping fog ('it touched your face and squeezed itself out on your tongue like a smelly, greasy piece of dishcloth' (188)).

Crewe is also perceptive in utilizing the novelist's prerogative to investigate areas of Symonds's life where conventional biographical or scholarly approaches have (perhaps necessarily) fallen short. The difficulties of Symonds's marriage to Catherine North have, as Butler's study reminds us, already provided the imaginative ballast for Henry James's story 'The Author of *Beltraffio*' (1884), in which a novelist's wife becomes destructively obsessed with protecting her young son from the (unspecified) moral taint of her husband's influence.

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[22] *Memoirs*, p. 530.
[23] Lara Feigel, 'Review of *The New Life*: Desire on Trial', *The Guardian*, 29 December 2022, https://www.theguardian.com/books/2022/dec/29/the-new-life-by-tom-crewe-review-desire-on-trial
[24] Crewe, *The New Life*, subsequent references are made parenthetically in the text.

The New Life picks up on the scant but intriguing details about this relationship in Symonds's *Memoirs* to portray a marriage that is kept alive only by Catherine's strategic, exasperated silence. Crewe imagines the eventual breakdown of the Symonds's marriage, precipitated by John's decision to publish *Sexual Inversion*. In one of the novel's most powerful scenes, John is confronted by his wife about the double standards that attach to men's and women's sexual agency, forced to acknowledge that in his own sexual freedoms (even as a gay man) extend far beyond those of his wife. Crewe's opening paragraph gives a nice sense of his skill at conjuring the crowded, lonely atmosphere of precarious kinship and frustrated sexual desire that comes to dominate the novel:

> He was close enough to smell the hairs on the back of the man's neck. They almost tickled him, and he tried to rear his head, but found that he was wedged too tightly. There were too many bodies pressed heavily around him; he was slotted into a pattern of hats, shoulders, elbows, knees, feet. He could not move his head even an inch. His gaze had been slotted too, broken off at the edges: he could see nothing but the back of the man's head, the white margin of his collar, the span of his shoulders. He was close enough to smell the pomade, streaks of it shining dully at the man's nape; clingings of eau de cologne, a tang of salt.[25]

The sequence turns out to be one of John's sex dreams, culminating in some embarrassed 'emissions' on the bedsheets. There's no record—as far as I'm aware—of the historical Symonds sampling the crowded pleasures of the London Underground, though it's not unimaginable that things might have got a bit steamy on the Metropolitan Railway before he departed for Davos in 1877. Crewe's prose seems perfectly designed to respond to the affect theory and phenomenology that underpins Butler's scholarly study. Here, the body's position

[25] Crewe, *The New Life*, p. 3.

in space creates a phantom sensation that lurks at the edge of possibility ('almost tickled'). Visual connection becomes enfolded in the material and tactile as it is 'slotted' and 'broken off'. The boundaries between self and other are insisted upon only to pre-empt their desired dissolution ('close enough', 'close enough').

Europe's railways were a fertile resource for Symonds's sexual imagination, often motivated by a desire for a fleeting moment of shared recognition in a crowd. In a letter to his friend and long-term confidante Henry Graham Dakyns in 1872, Symonds shared a particularly memorable encounter with what he described as a 'man-woman, so strong & sweet & magnetic' on a train in Northern Italy: 'How strange […] to feel the palpitation of a being like oneself so near one's own & not to be able to touch! Perhaps it is better not to touch & try & find no fusion'.[26] The anecdote nicely encapsulates what each of these books finds distinctive in Symonds's works. He identifies only tentatively with the gender deviance of this 'man-woman' (a term which maps only awkwardly onto the categories of German sexology to which he would turn in his later work). Yet their connection is figured as one that is grounded on a sensitivity to a shared material presence, the pull of the 'magnetic' or the tremor of a 'palpitation'.

Tactility here is as much about queer community and coalition as it is about sexual desire. It is an aspect of Symonds's 'apostolic' liberalism that the earnestness and occasional sentimentality of Crewe's novel captures perfectly, and one that sometimes gets lost in scholarly work framed by the theoretical assumptions of psychoanalysis and post-humanism. Ultimately, though, the success of all three books rest on their refusal to reconcile the messy contradictions of the apostle and the pornographer.

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[26] Symonds, Letter to Henry Graham Dakyns, *Letters*, II, 252 (10 December 1872).

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