NOTES

PROLOGUE

1. Mark Rutherford, Last Pages From a Journal With Other Papers, ed. Dorothy V. White (London: Oxford University Press, 1915), p. 289. This work will be cited throughout as LP.

CHAPTER ONE

6. In his reminiscences of Bedford, C. F. Farrar remarks that Rutherford's account of Sundays "wakes memories of my own childhood." He also remembers the story of the boy: "I presume it was a book in vogue in Bedford for the inculcation of early piety, for I well remember it, with its horrifying illustration of the incident." *Old Bedford* (Bedford: F. R. Hockliffe, 1926), pp. 261-62.
9. Farrar, facing p. 177. The Old Meeting remained unchanged until 1849, when it was demolished and rebuilt at a cost of £2000 (Tibbutt, pp. 60-61). Although Bunyan himself was a Baptist, the Old Meeting, where he preached from 1656 onward, was Independent. Valentine Cunningham notes that the joint Baptist and Congregational membership of Bunyan Meeting combined various modes of Baptism (*Everywhere Spoken Against: Dissent in the Victorian Novel* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975], p. 39). See also Chadwick, 1:412, on the frequent exchanges in worship between the two denominations. Although I disagree with Cunningham's interpretation of White's response to his religious background and situation, some of my remarks in this chapter are indebted to his painstaking scholarship.
10. Maclean, p. 54n.
12. Tibbutt, pp. 51, 56. Dorothy White remarks that "his father was superintendent, and it was his father who revolutionized the system of the children's Sunday School by releasing the children from attendance at the long . . . service in church, and giving them a suitable service of their own" (GD, 315).
14. See Maclean, p. 35; Tibbutt, p. 42; Brown, p. 422.
17. Ibid., p. 588.
23. Cunningham, p. 249.
25. The universities were slow to open their doors to Dissenters: the B.A. degree was opened to Nonconformists in 1854 at Oxford and the M.A. in 1856 at Cambridge; by 1871 the ancient universities were open to Nonconformists in all things except fellowships, college headships, and professorships of divinity. (See Henry W. Clark, *History of English Nonconformity* [New York: Russell & Russell, 1965], pp. 406–08). Cunningham points out (p. 20) that it was not, however, until 1915 at Cambridge, and 1920 at Oxford, that the B.D. and D.D. were opened to non-Anglicans.
29. Owen Chadwick claims that Independent students were widely read, that Congregationalists were far in advance of Methodists in perceiving the spiritual upheaval ahead, and that the instructed Independent ministry "could not avoid the intellectual doubts of the fifties" (*The Victorian Church*, 1:406). Tudor Jones (p. 256) qualifies this assessment, arguing that, while the elite were troubled by
historical criticism, in general "the reaction of the Congregationalists to the Higher Criticism was mainly negative" until the 1880s.


32. William White, Sr., To Think or Not to Think? (London: Robert Theobald; Bedford: John G. Nall, 1852), p. 8.

33. Letter to the editor of The Nonconformist, signed by Robert M. Theobald, William Hale White and Frederic M. White, March 31, 1852. Also published as an Appendix of To Think or Not to Think?

34. Ibid. Cf. EL, 64; To Think or Not to Think?, p. 11.

35. See To Think or Not to Think?, p. 14., Cf. Maclean, p. 78.

36. Letter to the editor of The Nonconformist. White quotes the same remark in EL (64) with minor changes.

38. *To Think or Not to Think?*, p. 4, Cf. EL, 65–66, and the letter to *The Nonconformist*.

39. Ibid., p. 7.

40. Letter to *The Nonconformist; To Think or Not to Think?*, pp. 11–12; EL, 66.

41. DNB; Maclean, p. 85. citing *The Norfolk News*, March 14, 1874, comments, "He had been forced to leave Bedford because of some vague charges of lack of orthodoxy made against him by his enemies."


43. Letter to *The Nonconformist*.

44. Letter to *The Nonconformist; To Think or Not to Think?*, p. 15; EL, 68.

45. *To Think or Not to Think?,* p. 12.

46. Ibid., p. 28.


48. *To Think or Not to Think?,* p. 11.

49. Ibid., p. 15.


51. *To Think or Not to Think?,* pp. 12–13.

52. Ibid., p. 13.


54. *To Think or Not to Think?,* p. 12.

55. *The People*, p. 151.

56. *To Think or Not to Think?,* p. 14.


59. From J. D. Morell's *Philosophy of Religion*, quoted by William White in *To Think or Not to Think?,* p. 16. White cites examples of statements in the periodical, apparently approved by the editors, which deal directly with the question of the inspiration of Scripture. Some appear to be more advanced than the heretical views of the three students. See pp. 16–21.

60. Stone, p. 38.

61. See Theobald's *Letter to the Council and Subscribers of New College*, p. 5.

62. Unpublished letter, March 6, 1852, Bedford Public Library Collection. It is interesting to see that White was still involved in painting at this time.
64. Valentine Cunningham observes that the students "did know that a creed was embodied in the college's trust deed, and had admitted this in a letter to the *Nonconformist*" (p. 274 and n. 3). As Cunningham notes, the Bedford Public Library Collection includes a copy of the Schedule of Faith for Tutors and Students at New College, in the hand of Robert Theobald. But in the students' letter to *The Nonconformist*, the remark that they knew of an existing college creed is made in the context of a request for a copy of that document, so that they might know on what grounds their views on inspiration were judged unacceptable. The students claimed to have received no response to this and their other two requests. Nor is it clear when the Bedford Public Library copy was written out. Moreover, the creed certainly contains no allusion to the inspiration of Scripture.
65. EL reproduces the letters from Maurice and Kingsley; Martineau's letter is in the Colbeck Collection of the University of British Columbia. White also received supportive letters from Samuel Edgar of Kimbolton, Thomas Lynch of London, J. T. Dobney of Oxford, H. Kiddle of Crondall, the Colenutts of Ryde, Caleb Morris, William Chignell, and others. Wilfred Stone reminds readers that at this time William White was respected and admired by the Bedford Russells, "the richest family in England," and was friendly with John Bright and G. J. Holyoake. See Stone, p. 41 and n.
72. Cunningham notes that "when Arnold was Oxford's Professor of Poetry and bringing out *Culture and Anarchy*, Dissenters were still excluded from fellowships and from university government" (p. 21).
by his second son." Bedford Public Library Collection. Stephen quotes
Mill "on the Calvinistic theory . . . crushing out any of the human
faculties, capacities, and susceptibilities."
74. Cunningham, p. 64.
75. Ibid., p. 253.
On the growing respectability of Nonconformity in the nineteenth
century, see also Jones, pp. 231–35.
77. See, for example, R. J. Rayson, "Is *The Revolution in Tanner's Lane*
Holderness responds in "*The Revolution in Tanner's Lane,*" *Essays*
78. Lucas, p. 77.
79. Ibid.
80. The disclaimer appeared in a letter to the editor of *The British Weekly*,
July 30, 1896, p. 232, signed "Reuben Shapcott."
81. Valentine Cunningham plausibly suggests that Mrs. Broad is "made
the target for White's resentment against his mother" (p. 275).
82. Lucas justly observes that White's potentially fine study of marriage
is flawed by the characterization of Priscilla. Her "vapid stupidity"
threatens to make her ridiculous and the "marriage a farce" (p.98).
83. Writing of Binney in 1874, White spoke of how he and hundreds of
other young men were "impelled . . . to walk across London every
Sunday in all weathers to the Weigh House Chapel five and twenty
years ago," impelled "to almost passionate enthusiasm. It was simply
the power which he possessed . . . to identify the Bible with genuine
human experience. Abraham, Paul, and other Biblical heroes, whom
he was never weary of depicting, were made to stand in our place,
and their experience became our own. That was the meaning of his
almost miraculous influence." (*The Norfolk News*, March 14, 1874;
quoted by Maclean, p. 192.)
84. Cunningham, p. 275: "Personal resentments appear to have generated
the picture of the Broads." For the argument concerning White's
general misrepresentation of Nonconformity, see pp. 259–77. There
was, incidentally, a minister named John Broad in Hitchin,
Bedfordshire. Tibbutt notes (p. 62) that he was present at the opening
of the rebuilt Bunyan Meeting in 1850. The name may have stuck in
White's memory.
85. On Hillyard, see Tibbutt, pp. 42–52.


88. Brown, p. 424. Compare Tibbutt, p. 53, and the "Act Book" of Bunyan Meeting, quoted by Cunningham (p. 271), which stresses his lack of "imagination and humour" and the "somewhat heavy" nature of his preaching.

89. Unpublished letter, April 8, 1853, Bedford Public Library Collection.

90. William White's name "appeared on the list of the Board of Trustees until his death" (Maclean, p. 97, n. 2).

91. Maclean, p. 97, n. 2.

92. *To Think or Not to Think?*, p. 27.

93. Jones, p. 246, alluding to Miall's *The British Churches in Relation to the British People*.

94. Ibid., p. 248, describing "What Is the Spiritual State of Our Churches?"

95. Dale, pp. 590–92; cf. Sellers, pp. 20–26, for the impact of evangelicalism and later the Tractarian movement on Calvinist doctrine and church order.

96. Jones, p. 244. Cunningham details the ways in which Nonconformity was vital and progressive in the Victorian period. See pp. 249–77.

97. Dorothy V. White deciphers the "D——" of the *Autobiography* as Ditchling (GD, 463n). See Maclean, pp. 140–41, on the Ipswich, Ditchling, and London pulpits. Although he preached in Unitarian pulpits himself and went to hear William Chignell preach as a Unitarian minister, White was never tempted to join what Cunningham (p. 39) calls a "last halt on the way to a region beyond Christianity." White's son Jack remarked that "in conversation with me on the subject," his father "impressed upon me the illogicality" of the Unitarian position ("William Hale White: 'Mark Rutherford,' 1831–1913, Notes by His Second Son." Unpublished pamphlet, Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. Misc. c. 445).

98. "He said he had never changed anybody," Dorothy writes (GD, 114).

99. From one of White's unpublished "three small notebooks," in the Colbeck Collection, UBC. The entry appears to be a draft of EL. The image (from *Paradise Lost*, II, 405) was a powerful one for him; it occurs throughout his work.
CHAPTER TWO

3. Dr. W. Hale-White, unpublished "Notes about W. Hale White (Mark Rutherford)" ['"Notes By His Eldest Son"'], Bedford Public Library Collection.
4. "Notes by His Second Son."
5. Dorothy White corroborates the general truth of this account in The Groombridge Diary. After leaving New College, she writes, Hale "went for six months to Portsmouth, apparently for no particular purpose; then, for something to do, took a mastership, after two days left the school with 'the horrors. . . . " (GD, 71-72). See also GD, 336-37: "The other day he told me about his experience as a schoolmaster at Stoke Newington. . . . He said that was the first attack of the malady which has since pursued him all through life."
6. See the preface to EL by his son, William Hale-White.
7. Rutherford's experience is similar to that of other Victorian protagonists. David Copperfield, for example, also left alone in an attic room, experiences the same intensification of visual perception and the same distortion of time and space: "I thought of the oddest things. Of the shape of the room, of the cracks in the ceiling, of the paper on the wall, of the flaws in the window-glass making ripples and dimples on the prospect, of the washing-stand being ricketty on its three legs" (David Copperfield, ed. Nina Burgis [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981], p. 38). Suffering also alters the experience of time in his memory: Copperfield's five days of anguish solitudes occupy "the place of years in my remembrance" (p. 51). Similarly, Dorothea Brooke found that her honeymoon in Rome "remained through her after-years," and that in "certain states of dull forlornness . . . all her life [she] continued to see the vastness of St. Peter's, the huge bronze canopy . . . and the red drapery which was being hung for Christmas spreading itself everywhere like a disease of the retina" (Middlemarch, p. 144).


10. Ibid., pp. 87, 88, 91.

11. Ibid., pp. 89–90.


16. In a later chapter I shall comment upon the possible sexual dimension of the idée fixe.


20. “Saul,” in *Miriam's Schooling and Other Papers*, p. 34.

21. Lucas, p. 82.

22. Ibid., pp. 79, 82.


26. Dorothy Vernon White, MS. “Groombridge Diary,” vol. I. Colbeck Collection, UBC.

27. For White's discussion of the temptations in the wilderness, see his essay “Some Notes on Milton,” in P, 110–24.

28. Johnson’s doubts of his salvation are well known. When John Ryland reminded him, near death, that we have “great hopes given us,” Johnson replied, “Yes, we have hopes given us, but they are conditional, and I know not how far I have fulfilled those conditions.” George Birbeck Hill, ed., *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, 2 vols. (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1966), 2:156.
NOTES TO PAGES 91–132


30. Ibid., pp. 76, 146.


33. See also GD, 58.

34. Unpublished letter to Jack White, July 1, 1887, Bedford Public Library Collection. Compare, among other examples, ‘‘but I must wait and be still,’’ in an unpublished letter to Jack White, May 11, 1884; ‘‘There is nothing to be done but to wait and be silent,’’ in a letter to Miss Partridge (L, 266); ‘‘I must wait like a beleaguered garrison and hope for relief’’ (GD, 75).

35. ‘‘Notes by His Second Son.’’

36. Maclean, p. 276: ‘‘No man could say more truly: ‘I wait on God.’’’

CHAPTER THREE

1. See ‘‘A Letter from the Authoress of ‘Judith Crowhurst’’’: ‘‘When I got home I transferred my emotion to my deserted heroine, and tears blotted the paper’’ (MP, 141).


3. See, for example, Wilfred Stone, ‘‘Hale White and George Eliot,’’ *University of Toronto Quarterly* 25 (1956): 437–51; S. D. Kapoor, ‘‘An Ideal Come True,’’ *The Calcutta Review* 1 (1970): 411–22; Stephen Merton, ‘‘George Eliot and William Hale White,’’ *The Victorian Newsletter* 25 (1964): 13–15; Claire Tomalin, ‘‘Maggie Tulliver’s Little Sisters,’’ *The Listener* 94 (October 16, 1975): 515–17. Of these, Stone’s article is still the best. He argues that Hale, ‘‘in his own peculiar way’’ (p. 445), was in love with Marian Evans, and speculates that he refused the ticket to see Rachel because he believed it came from Lewes.

4. White appears to have disliked Lewes. Lady Robert Cecil noted that ‘‘the influence of G. H. Lewes upon George Eliot’s career seemed to
him as unaccountable as it was unfortunate. What was the attraction? 'A literary man! A London literary man!' " Lady Robert Cecil, "Mark Rutherford," The Nation & The Athenaeum, October 27, 1923, p. 151.


7. See "George Eliot as I Knew Her," in LP, 134. Compare "Confessions of a Self-Tormentor": "Some years afterwards I wrote to her asking her if she could get work for a starving man whom she had known in other days" (MP, 121). This episode can also be viewed as one of White's sporadic attempts to affiliate himself with the literati. In 1879, he maneuvered a meeting with Browning by sending him a portrait of John Bunyan. White thought this an appropriate gift because of Browning's allusion to Bunyan in "Ned Bratts," which White admired. He visited Browning on May 15, 1879, and again on June 25, 1881. His notes concerning these occasions, and Browning's letters to him, are in the Colbeck Collection, UBC.


9. I shall return to these stories in chapter 4, where they illuminate White's marital experience.

10. "Notes by His Second Son."

11. "Notes by His Eldest Son."


13. His son writes, "He told me how he admired Dumas' plots, that he could never satisfactorily form a plot himself" ("Notes by His Eldest Son"). Compare "A Letter from the Authoress of 'Judith Crowhurst': "My tale was a youthful blunder. It was not really a tale. I introduced, in order to provide interest, all sorts of accessories—unts, parsons, gamekeepers, nurses, a fire and some hairbreadth escapes, but they were none of them essential and they were all manufactured" (MP, 140).

14. "Notes by His Second Son."

15. See Dorothy White's preface to Last Pages From a Journal.

17. Although White disliked Arnold's arrogance and his facile analyses of Nonconformity, he admired much of his poetry and urged Dorothy to read "The Buried Life," "Dover Beach," and "Thyrsis." See GD, 88, 177, 168-69.


20. "Notes by His Second Son."

21. Ibid.

22. "Notes on the Book of Job," A, 286. Compare Mark Rutherford's thoughts: "I was much overworked. It was not the work itself which was such a trial, but the time it consumed. . . . Day after day sped swiftly by, made up of nothing but this infernal drudgery, and I said to myself—Is this life?" (A, 257).


25. He testified to his affection in A Letter Written on the Death of Mrs. Elizabeth Street (1877).


27. There is a similar passage in the essay "Talking About Our Troubles" (P, 66-67).


29. In her book Autobiographical Acts: The Changing Situation of a Literary Genre (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), Elizabeth Bruss illuminates Bunyan with a remark that equally describes Hale White: "Bunyan's religious convictions do not artificially circumscribe his identity; rather, they seem to provide the only possible foundation for attaining it. By joining himself with Job and David, Bunyan can experience himself as a martyr rather than as a vague and wounded consciousness" (p. 53).

30. Bruss, p. 34.
34. White's statement is qualified also by our knowledge that he published *More Pages From a Journal*, which contains seven short stories, after Dorothy was with him. He left her LP, to "destroy or publish just as you think fit" (GD, 12).
35. "'Notes by His Eldest Son.'"
36. "'Notes by His Second Son.'"
37. Stone, p. 124, n. 9.
38. Similarly, "'according to Molly, if they are mentioned, he turns his back and says 'I acknowledge no books'" (GD, 36n).
39. "'The Black Notebook,'" Colbeck Collection, UBC.
42. Unpublished letter to Holyoake, January 20, 1882, Bedford Public Library Collection. White's first real essay was addressed to Holyoake: *An Argument for an Extension of the Franchise: A Letter addressed to George Jacob Holyoake* (1866).
43. Letter to Holyoake, January 20, 1882.
44. Quoted by Stone, p. 124; and Stock, p. 80. The letter is in the Houghton Library of Harvard University: Howells Collection, MS. Am. 800.20.
45. The book to which he refers is *A Description of the Wordsworth & Coleridge Manuscripts in the Possession of Mr. T. Norton Longman.* It is very much worth the postage.
46. Only in *Clara Hopgood* does White indirectly offer a fairer self-judgment. Baruch Cohen suggests that the neglected author Morris Robinson was "'original and reflective'" but "'had no particular talent.'" His "'excellence lay in criticism and observation, often profound, on what came to him every day'" (CH, 210). Morris Robinson not only has the same initials as Mark Rutherford; Robinson's book *After Office Hours*, from which Clara quotes, contains extracts from White's "'Black Notebook.'" Some of these were published with revisions in MP. See pp. 220, 223, 252, for notes similar to those in CH, 176–78.


CHAPTER FOUR

1. "Unworldly" is the adjective Jack White uses to describe the group of friends who frequented Mrs. Street's house, and later White's own home. "Notes by His Second Son."

2. Ibid.

3. "Notes by His Eldest Son."

4. Ibid.

5. "Notes by His Second Son."

6. "Notes by His Eldest Son."

7. Unpublished letter to Mrs. Colenutt; quoted by Maclean, p. 253. This letter is not now in any of the public collections.

8. "Notes by His Second Son."

9. Ibid.

10. Unpublished letter to Willie, July 28, 1884, Bedford Public Library Collection. Compare White's letter of the same date to Miss Partridge, announcing the engagement: "As for myself, . . . I am struck dumb with my own ignorance of myself" (L, 26).

11. For critical discussions of White's marriage and its relationship to his fiction, see Maclean, especially pp. 266–71; Stock, especially pp. 35ff.; Stone, especially pp. 184–99. Of these, Stock's argument is the most helpful. He suggests that there are two kinds of unhappy marriages in the fiction and locates the source of the first in White's father's marriage (a cold and unfeeling partner) and the source of the second in White's own (a self-centered partner who eventually comes to value the human qualities in his/her neglected spouse). There is also a fine discussion of marriage in White's novels as "consolation against or refuge from the limitations of the community" in Lucas, pp. 95–110.

13. Lucas mentions this scene, where Mrs. Coleman looks in a lighted window from the street and sees her husband and Pauline in earnest conversation: "The sudden switch of point of view—for we customarily see her through Zachariah's eyes—allows us to understand a good deal about Mrs. Coleman's sense of exclusion from her husband's life" (p. 97).

14. "Notes by His Second Son."

15. Mark Rutherford goes to Wollaston's shortly thereafter and falls in love with Theresa. He is distressed to find that "in the very height of my love for Theresa, my love for Mary continued unabated" (A, 132).

16. "Notes by His Second Son."

17. See preface to LP, iii, n. 2. The story was revised in 1908 (LP, 138n.). The Colbeck collection, UBC, has a corrected manuscript of the story in White's hand, with "[circa 1880]" beside the title.

18. Stone also recognizes the autobiographical and symbolic nature of the story. He argues that White here acts out his "aggressive impulses," which "in the dream... [were] consummated in murder, thus releasing the pressure [of frustration] and making room for healthier feelings" (p. 190).

19. See *David Copperfield*, chapter 58. One may also hear the echo, in all these examples, of David's Aunt Betsey: "Blind, Trot, Blind."

20. For example, Miss Arbour and Esther leave their husbands (but are unable to remarry); George Allen's wife dies and he goes to America.


22. See also chapter 2 above.


24. In his provocative reading of this scene, John Lucas suggests that the stripping of the lily symbolizes Catharine's "desire to give herself to Cardew" (p. 109), but this is surely too strong.

25. Ibid., p. 102.

26. MS. "Groombridge Diary," vol. 1, Colbeck Collection, UBC.

27. Note, for example, the emphases in his remarks to his eldest son: "there are many things in which I am far more strict than church-going people. I cannot tolerate deceit, sensuality, filthy conduct, harshness, or brutality. I insist on perfect truthfulness, perfect tenderness, perfect purity, perfect kindness and perfect reverence for the great God who


29. The letter appointing White to the position of Third Class Clerk in the Accountant General's Department, dated December 23, 1858, is in the Bedford Public Library Collection.

30. When he retired he received a special commendatory letter from the Lords of the Admiralty, a laudation he esteemed sufficiently to keep and later show to Dorothy. "He is actually the least bit proud of it. To see him proud is a funny sight, as funny as it is rare! He even allowed that it was a most unusual thing for the Lords to step out of their way to praise a subordinate" (GD, 352). He left the letter to his eldest son in his will, to be preserved as a family heirloom. Both William and Jack Hale-White refer to the letter and to their father's pride in it. Partially reproduced in GD, 352n., it is now in the Bedford Public Library Collection.

31. Unpublished extracts from Mrs. William White's diaries, in "Notes by His Eldest Son." Mrs. White records hearing her son preach several times in 1859. See also Maclean, pp. 154–55.


33. Cf. CH, 257.

**CHAPTER FIVE**

1. The exact date of composition of the "Black Notebook" is not clear. There are some dated entries from 1888 to 1901.


3. Ibid., p. xv.


5. Ibid.


8. Ibid., p. 165.

10. Ibid.


12. Compare LP, 286: "There is one thought which never fails, a rock which amidst all doubt is never shaken, and it is our own weakness; our powerlessness to comprehend, although we may apprehend, the infinity of God. It swallows up death and every earth-begotten limit." White's essay on Job foreshadows modern biblical interpretation. See, for example, Bernhard H. Anderson, *Understanding the Old Testament* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1957), pp. 484–97, for a reading that is similar in several points to White's.


14. See also LP, 256–57.


18. The "White Notebook," Colbeck Collection, UBC.

19. Ibid.

20. The last date before this entry is February 1894.

21. Compare Clara Hopgood: "she thought to herself how strange the world is—so transcendent both in glory and horror; a world capable of such scenes as those before her, and a world in which such suffering as hers could be; a world infinite both ways" (p. 110).

**Chapter Six**

1. White speaks of his paper on sunspots in L, 71. For comments on the stars, see pp. 105, 131, 327, 366, 387.


errors, see A Description of the Wordsworth & Coleridge Manuscripts in the Possession of Mr. T. Norton Longman, p. 43.
4. "The Black Notebook." (The text is Amos 5:8.)
5. The revised translations for succeeding editions of the Ethic were done with the help of Amelia Hutchison Stirling. Her letters to White concerning translations and corrections are in the Bedford Public Library Collection.
7. For references to Virgil, see L. 146, 152–53, 157, 169.
8. Ethic, p. xxv.
9. Ibid., p. xxvi.
10. Coleridge, George Eliot, G. H. Lewes, J. A. Froude, Arnold, and others were inspired by Spinoza's amor intellectualis Dei. Basil Willey calls Spinoza "the first great saint of modern rationalism" (More Nineteenth-Century Studies, p. 117).
12. Preface to the Ethic (1883), p. vii. Compare William Hale White, trans., Tractatus de Intellectus Emendatione of Benedict de Spinoza (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1895), pp. xxii–xxiii: "Positive ideas, which the imagination cannot paint, are expressed negatively, and hence it is concluded that they are not positive, but mere negations. Such positives, for example, are 'infinite,' 'increate,' 'independent,' 'immortal' and 'incorporeal.' The distinction between picture and thought is one on which Spinoza earnestly insists, not only in the Treatise but in the Ethic."
15. Ibid., p. xxxviii.
17. Ibid., p. xiv.
20. Ibid.
24. *Ethic*, part II, proposition 13. Compare preface to the *Tractatus*: "The idea is the mental correlate of the external object; or, rather, the idea and the object are the same thing conceived under two different attributes. Soul and body are not utterly diverse entities, but the same thing, the soul being the idea of the body" (p. ix).
27. Ibid., p. xxix.
28. Ibid., p. xxxi.
29. Ibid., p. xxxiii.
30. Ibid., p. xxxviii.
31. Ibid., p. xxxviii.
32. Ibid., p. xxxvi.
33. Ibid., p. xxxviii.
34. Ibid., pp. xxx–xxxi.
35. Stone, p. 104.
36. Compare Preface to the *Ethic* (1894), p. lxxviii: "Is pain also nothing positive, mere privation? Is the mystery of agony solved by the theory that to God material was not wanting to create those who suffer?"
38. Ibid., p. liv.
39. Ibid., p. c.
40. Preface to the *Ethic* (1894), p. xcvi; my emphasis.

**CHAPTER SEVEN**

1. R. Tudur Jones confirms White's view of Morris's power as a speaker. He remarks that around 1830 a change came over Congregational preaching: "The precursor of the new style was Caleb Morris, minister at Fetter Lane from 1827. He was followed by the better-known Thomas Binney. . . . Both adopted an unaffected style of preaching which made an immediate appeal to the younger members of the audiences and particularly to the theological students who flocked to hear them" (p. 220). James Grant, in *The Metropolitan Pulpit*, 2
vols. (London: George Virtue, 1839), also comments on Morris's eloquence, observing that Morris's congregation was "distinguished for their intelligence" (2:199), and that while in his sermons Morris was partial to "the syllogistic form of reasoning" (2:200), he was a great speaker. "As an expositor of Scripture," Grant ranks Morris "very high among the ministers of London" (2:202).

2. Grant states (2:202) that doctrinally Morris was a Moderate Calvinist, but did not dwell on "controversial matters." He was, according to Grant, "an original thinker, . . . and one who fearlessly . . . [gave] expression to his views."

3. Claude Welch remarks that the "characteristic focus of this concern for the humanity of Jesus . . . was typical of the nineteenth century: it was peculiarly the self-consciousness and the knowledge of Jesus that provided the test questions." (Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century, 1899–1890 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 1:233.


7. Welch, 1:103.


10. Dorothy White tells us that her husband had hanging above his bed a picture of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane (GD, 208).


13. Compare White's comments on Luther: "Luther's religion, . . . like Bunyan's, is really Christianity: it is the worship not of an abstraction, but of Jesus. . . . It must not be mere admiration, but a passionate
devotion which grafts Him on us, so that in Him and by Him we live’’ (B, 114-15).

14. White stresses the difference between Morris’s spoken and written sermons. White thought his own attempts to reproduce this eloquence in print failed sadly: ‘‘These are but black cinders. They were once aglow, white with fire’’ (LP, 247). Of the sermon on the Prodigal Son, White remarks: ‘‘I can feel even now the force which streamed from him that night, and swept me with it, as if I were a leaf on a river in flood’’ (LP, 245).

15. ‘‘For this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found’’ (Luke 15:24).

16. The allusion is to James 2:17.

17. In the unpublished ‘‘Dorothy Book,’’ White comments on Dorothy’s lesson for her Bible class, November 28, 1909, concerning the events commemorated in Advent. He writes: ‘‘It is not only a history of a series of events once transacted and now ended: it is a history enacting at the present moment: it is not only this, but a history within ourselves. Advent comes to me, the Messiah is born for me: He lives for me; is crucified[,] rises and is glorified in me.’’

18. Lucas, p. 100. I view the ‘‘crisis’’ as the shattering of the old self and the beginning of new life.

19. Other characters in White’s fiction are also helped by Thomas à Kempis. Dorothy records that on May 22, 1908, White gave her her own personal copy of The Imitation as a gift (GD, 31).


23. Ibid., p. 257.


27. White himself visited Mazzini (see GD, 299). Jack White also describes "two little notes of invitation" written to his father "by Mazzini in his small and delicate hand" ("Notes by His Second Son").

28. The major flaw in the novel is Baruch's behavior, which is insufficiently accounted for. His apparent fickleness in transferring his affections from Clara to Madge with such rapidity is disturbing.


30. Linda Hughes, in her interesting essay "Madge and Clara Hopgood: William Hale White's Spinozan sisters," Victorian Studies 18 (1974): 57-75, goes so far as to claim that the three principles from Spinoza's Ethic that White believed had had a fundamental influence on his life—the concept of the union of body and mind, the concept of the control of the passions through "adequate" ideas, and the doctrine of immortality—"provide the key to understanding Clara and Madge" (p. 57). Hughes argues that Clara, by rejecting impulse in favor of a "clear and active intellect," and in her "rigorous adherence to a moral code," is the "most consistent spokesman for the Spinozan values" (pp. 66, 65) in the novel. Certainly Clara can be seen as embodying some of Spinoza's values. But the primary springs of her action lie elsewhere. In general, as John Lucas says, the novel is "wonderfully fleshed out; and it hardly ever lends itself to the kind of schematizing analysis that mars Linda Hughes's . . . study" (p. 110).

31. It is suggestive in this connection that, although exact dates are not given, the "Black Notebook" entries indicate that White was reading Luther between 1894 and 1898. Clara Hopgood was published in 1896.

32. MS. "Groombridge Diary," vol. I. After reading the Autobiography, Dorothy made inquiries about the author. Having met White's daughter Molly at Miss Partridge's home, Dorothy sent her a copy of Miss Mona, "hoping that it might fall into her father's hands." It was Miss Partridge, however, who was responsible for bringing the book to White's attention.

33. See L, 254. For White's reviews of Dorothy's novels, see The Nation 3 (July 11, 1908): 519-20 (Miss Mona), and The Nation 5 (July 10, 1909): 532-34 (Frank Burnett). Among White's unpublished papers in the Bedford Public Library Collection are his clippings of some of Dorothy White's earlier ephemeral pieces.

34. The "1910 Manuscript" (a fragmentary account of White's relationship with Dorothy) is in the Colbeck Collection. The "Dorothy
"Hale's Book" was a parallel to her Diary ("Dorothy's Book"): in April 1908, Hale and Dorothy "decided each to keep a book in which we shall write down extracts from each other's letters" (GD, 82n.). The MS. Diary adds "with any comments that suggest themselves. The books shall be diaries about one another." The "Dorothy Book" is in the Colbeck Collection, UBC. Dorothy "edited" the MS. Diary and the "1910 Manuscript" in later years; many pages and passages are inked out, often with explanatory notes by her. She destroyed the last five pages of the "1910 Manuscript," adding two pages in her autograph. As White's manuscript was written at a time when "difficulties" arose to prevent their marriage, it seems likely that the destroyed section refers to that subject.

35. The "1910 Manuscript."
36. Obituary of Mrs. Hale White in The Times, July 28, 1967, by her nephew, Mr. Simon Nowell-Smith. He adds that one of her favorite words was *jolly*. Dorothy was also renowned as a cricketeer, "a demon over-arm bowler in an era of lobs and long skirts."

37. "The Dorothy Book."
38. Unpublished letter to Mrs. Horace Smith, December 25, 1909, Colbeck Collection, UBC.
39. MS. "Groombridge Diary," vol. II.
41. From Dorothy's marginal remarks in the "1910 Manuscript."
42. MS. "Groombridge Diary," vol. I.
43. Some omissions from the published *Groombridge Diary* are still preserved (in spite of heavy cancellations) in the MS. Diary. Doubtless for reasons of decorum, Dorothy left out most allusions to their physical intimacy. The MS., however, contains frequent references to kisses and embraces, terms of endearment, playfulness. These allusions give a solidity and homey genuineness to the relationship that the published version fails to convey. Even in the MS., though, some reading between the lines is necessary to guess Dorothy's feelings in relation to White's grown-up children. The few references delicately imply that she keenly felt the potential awkwardness of her position and was grateful when the extent of her commitment to White, and his to her, was recognized.

44. MS. "Groombridge Diary," vol. I.
45. Ibid.
46. The "Dorothy Book."

47. He goes on: "It is hateful to add, and yet there are people in the world who make it necessary, that our lives have been without stain. We neither of us could have said this if intercourse without marriage had been permitted." On September 2, 1908, White wrote to Mr. Horace Smith that a nominal marriage would be "unnatural and unendurable" to both of them, and that not marrying was for him "the greatest piece of self-denial which in the course of a long life not unfruitful in trials of endurance, I have had to make" (unpublished letter, Colbeck Collection, UBC). In a letter to Miss Partridge, July 19, 1908, White wrote: "That there is but little chance of marriage is a great trial, but the reasons against it seem insuperable to both of us, and they are not all summed up in the fact that I am seventy-six" (L, 264).

48. On October 21, 1908, he wrote to Mr. Horace Smith that his trouble was "enlargement of the prostate gland," and that the "only effectual remedy" was a dangerous operation, which itself would be no guarantee that "the disease would not recur" (unpublished letter, Colbeck Collection, UBC). In spite of the risk, the operation took place on November 19, 1908.

49. On May 6, 1908, White gave Dorothy—with her parents' permission—a gold ring, which she wore on her right hand until her marriage, when she transferred it to her left (GD, 22n.). The MS. says that, in a church, "he put the ring on and we knelt and said the Lord's Prayer together" (vol. 1).

50. Dorothy's "Additional Notes to the Dorothy Book," Colbeck Collection, UBC.

51. "Lectures on Romans," ed. Hilton C. Oswald, in The Works of Martin Luther (St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia, 1972), 25:291: "our nature has been so deeply curved in upon itself because of the viciousness of original sin that it not only turns the finest gifts of God in upon itself, . . . it even uses God Himself to achieve these aims."

52. The "Dorothy Book."