

Arnold in America:
A Study of Matthew Arnold's Literary Relations with America
and of
His Visits to This Country in 1883 and 1886

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INTRODUCTION:

Victorians were not specialists.
MA criticized our lack of culture, but we say we are practical.
MA was cultured despite 35 years of school inspecting.

MA's letters to his family give only a partial one-sided account of his trips to America.

v. Arnold's trip was called a failure. He made money. And he stuck to his guns. He did not seek to be popular, but honest. "If his journey was a failure, it was American that failed, not Arnold."

CHAPTER ONE - ARNOLD ON DEMOCRACY BEFORE 1883 - PAGE 1

MA called a group of French men, in 1859, "The most truly cultivated in the world."
3 - Overall, of course, MA feared the spread of democracy without high standards.
4 - He loved the influence of old aristocracy, but thought them currently barbarians.
6 - He thought the South's seceding would lead to diversity and increase the odds of cultivation in America.
7 - The US is "a colossal expression of the English middle-class spirit."
8 - Since the Aristocracy and Clergy were declining, he hoped the Middle Class would pick up the cultural slack.
9 - 10 He worked on this mission indirectly, torn between the issues of the day and eternity. Plato would have been less had he focused on Athens of his day.
But, he really thought the practical solution public education.
13 - Clough said that a meal in America was rather a matter of business than enjoyment.
15 - De Tocqueville's Democracy in America was first published in 1835. MA quoted from it in his 1861 "Popular Education in France." But the quote is not favorable. MA also looked to Renan for info on America. He liked French sources.
16 - MA wrote in 1866, "I should be sorry to be a Frenchman, German, or American, or anything but an Englishman."
17 - Arnold fought the Americanization of England, and hoped the State would do more.

CHAPTER TWO – LITERARY AND PERSONAL RELATIONS WITH AMERICA BEFORE 1883 – PAGE 18

- 19 – Emerson may be the first literary American MA met; they met in 1848.
- 25 – MA's poems were little noticed in the US for at least 6 years. Clough reviewed them poorly from America. And, a review of his education writing was positive, due to research, but did not think the "gratuitous sneers" at America worthy of the volume (having no research behind them).
- 27 – By the mid – 1860s though his literary reputation in America was established.
- 28 – Henry James wrote favorably of MA's Essays in Criticism.
- 33 – On Whitman, someone said his merit was not being like anyone else. MA replies, "to me this seems to be his demerit; no one can afford in literature to trade merely on his own bottom and to take no account of what the other ages and nations have acquired: a great original literature American will never get in this way." The US has to join the European current to be great.
- 36 – Emerson and Whitman wrote negative things about MA's thought and poetry.
- 37 – Only Henry James liked him in America. And HJ was only accidentally American and temperamentally European.
- 38 – MA was not popular in the 1860s in US. One of MA's distinguishing traits is his going from a particular situation to generalizations. He did this with meetings of individual Americans.
- 39 – Again, MA got no royalties from his American publications due to a lack of copyright laws.
- 40 – MA met Henry James' Daisy Miller.
- 43 – James on meeting MA in Italy.
- 44 – Switch to discussing MA's US reception in the 1870s.
- Culture and anarchy was published in 1869. It has many sharp references to America. But it was not reprinted or reviewed in the US.
- 45 - Literature and Dogma (1873) took was more timely and got reprinted and reviewed. It says practically nothing about America. America loved it.
- 47 – MA acknowledged that the US's preference for business to learning came from England.
- 48 – MA graciously turned down an offer to teach at Johns Hopkins. He couldn't get away from family obligations.
- 49 – In 1878 MA's poems were reviewed favorably in the New York Times.
- 50 – In 1879 we get "Mixed Essays." It was reprinted in America. One review liked his condemnation of Puritans.
- 51 – The Atlantic Monthly admitted that, "our whole nation is one enormous middle class."
- 52 – She said one sign though of America's redemption was its buying of MA's poems.
- 53 – In 1882 MA wrote "A Word about America." In it he referred to American reviews of his work. In it he reprinted the Nation's odd assertion that in America only one man in 100,000 changes his shirt more than once a week or uses a fork. This did not endear him to America.

55 – This might not have endeared him to the US. But, he had been printed without compensation for years and needed money. His fame could be traded in on.

56 – MA is ready for his “Invasion of America.”

57 – MA thought traveling with wife and daughter expensive, but Flu wouldn’t let him go alone and the daughter could take care of Flu.

57 – There was irony in that this critic of America’s focus on business was going to the US to make money.

61 – MA was as sharp against other nations as he was of his own. But, Americans did not know this. They only knew that a critic was coming.

CHAPTER THREE – FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICA – PAGE 62

62 – The London Times sent MA off as very famous in America and certain he’d tell them what he thought and not what they wanted to hear.

64 – The author is aware that only giving itineraries and such of MA’s trip may seem like gossip. But, MA is so significant, that his gossip is significant.

65 – But first an overview: He landed in New York on October 22nd of 1883. He first lectured in New York, with Numbers, on the 30th.

In November and December, he lectured in New England.

For Christmas he went to Philadelphia.

66 – In January 1884 he went to the Midwest – Milwaukee, Chicago, and St. Louis. He returned through Canada.

He sailed back to England on March 8th, 1884.

The times were prosperous after the great depression of the 1870s.

The Metropolitan Opera was set for opening of the day MA arrived. Carnegie took MA there on his first night, to the opening, to see Gounod’s Faust.

67 – Journalists interviewed him upon his arrival and the articles were similar and appeared on the 23rd of October.

68 – Called typical, his first interview is cautious. He says he cannot comment on American institutions as he has no information. He is not sure that he’ll really get to know America in the short time he has.

He says a book on Asia is not good, it is like “the character of Christ written by a Jew. One prefers to go to more authentic sources.”

69 – 70 – The author quotes a New Orleans journalist who has a very overly sensitive response to MA’s largely innocuous first remarks in America. He vitriolic hatred was typical. One called him a “sort of philosophical hermaphrodite, yet lacking in the grace of the androgyne.”

71 – Many had heard of him, but few read his works. So reputation, not reality, colored reactions.

72 – It became unpopular to like him.

73 – His speech at Haverford College was cancelled due to religious objections. This made MA popular with students.

74 – The Spectator, of England, liked Emerson’s faith in democracy in contrast to MA’s hate of the multitudes and all of the tendencies of his time.

77 – Hated or loved, MA was written about with “blaring publicity.”

Here we get a description of Carnegie’s Oct 30th reception for MA in the Windsor on 14th street.

- 78 – His reception was a high social event.
- 79 – Henry Ward Beecher read MA's work several times over and said MA's personal criticism improved him.
- 80 – Great description of MA as husky, healthy and deep voiced. "like a sailor's."
- 81 – Another said he spoke as an educated "brick-layer."
- 82 – He apparently desires to make himself agreeable, and treats everyone with an indiscriminate and rather undignified friendliness. *The queerest man in the world* for a critic of manners and customs."
- MA had never been popular. So it was weird for him to find himself the center of so much attention.
- MA wrote that the "dislike of a crowd is gone out of the American entirely."
- 83 – Americans, MA wrote, "seem to desire constant publicity and to be on the go all day long. Very fatiguing."
- 83 – 84 – Carnegie writes at length on Arnold's visit in his autobiography. He seems to highlight MA's skill at listening.
- 86 – Henry Beecher ran for mayor against Seth Low.
- 2,000 came to see MA and there were scalpers. He gave the "remnants" speech. This though many other events were happening that night.
- 93 – The first lecture was not a success. The author suggests people came to see MA out of gratitude for his un-copyrighted, unremunerated writing. But, hearing one read an essay is not as good as reading it yourself.
- 94 – After a few days in NYC, on Nov. 5th, he moved on to Boston.

CHAPTER FOUR – THE INVASION OF NEW ENGLAND - PAGE 95

- 95 – Boston's dominance of America's literary life was unquestioned in 1883. It had 375,000 in population and felt close to Harvard. So MA gave them his lecture on Emerson.
- 96 – Many other literary events were happening that evening. MA's was possibly not the greatest literary event of the season. Here he first dined with Oliver Wendell Holmes.
- 97 – Against his wishes, newspapers printed the gist / contents of MA's speeches before he delivered them. Boston papers already commented on the remnants speech being "in direct opposition to the American ideal."
- 98 – The dignified audience burst out into applause several times during his speech.
- 100 – The Boston papers disliked, though, his lack of faith in democracy.
- 101- The Punch poem on MA. The author apologizes for including so many articles. But, says the attitude towards "the funny man" in America is important in MA's analysis of American newspapers.
- After this first lecture in Boston, MA took to lecturing 5 or 6 times a week.
- 102 – MA debuted his revised Literature and Science lecture. It has his "hairy quadruped probably arboreal in habits."
- 103- Talks of his father's lingering memory in the US.
- 104 – MA meets an Indian.
- 105 – MA liked the nature, but tired of one-night-stands. He was very popular with undergraduates. Harvard students organized his reading there. But, money was not

to be made in the charter. So he read his poems and offered to return money to any who wished.

106 - He read poorly. And, he read an elegy on geist and one on a canary.

107 - He sat on Harvard President Elliot's house and held his head in his hands due to depression over not making himself heard. Eliot had him get in touch with Churchill for elocution training.

108 - These lessons helped enormously, the author, CL, says.

Nov 13th, 1883, MA meets P.T. Barnum.

109 - Here, coincidentally??, we learn of MA's phrase launching with the term "remnants."

112- Meeting Mark Twain. Twain was very entertaining that evening.

113 - MA's "Is he never serious?" line.

114 - He liked the Clark's easy manner and commented, later, favorably, on the lack of class and lack of animosity towards the rich in America.

115 - Walt Whitman published an article saying that visitors that tour with the rich and high up have not seen America.

119 - Commentary on the movement of MA's head.

Lectures ranged from 50 cents to 5 dollars for 3. Usually they were a dollar.

120 - Nov 19th, 1883, MA goes to Brooklyn where he spoke to 3,000! Mayor Low was there and they applauded him at the end.

Nov 20th, he is still working on the Emerson lecture. CL thinks it one of his best essays.

122 - A description of the difficulties of travel.

123 - In Princeton students organized his unscheduled lecture. Again students were interested in him. Perhaps due to his religious doubts, which he grasped earlier than other Victorians. Also his poems expressed doubt and uncertainties of youth. And, he was interested in the future.

124 - They also liked his urbane defense of the classics in the face of the rise of science. Here again, authorities ignored MA and the youth took to him.

MA was bored by literature and science but repeated it due to a craze for hearing it.

126 - At Yale he said the future of the nation depended on the standards set by such universities as Yale. The Yale News ran no account of the speech, but did two editorials on football.

New York took offense that his literary lectures were only given in New England.

127 - In Newport they ran an article called, the defects of MA.

129 - MA read and commented on his poems and particular lines.

132 - Katherine Lee Bates, who wrote "America the Beautiful" wrote a poem on MA. She wondered why he didn't talk of religious matters as he had with Literature and Dogma.

134 - CL promises now to be less moment to moment and more about the interaction of ideas!

137 - He is still, though, listing every dinner and date.

138 - MA taken around to schools. He shook hands with all the teachers. He "takes your arm or puts his hand on your shoulder.."

139 - The papers victimized him with apocryphal stories.

- 142 – Apparently MA’s handwriting was hard to read. Here revisions in the Emerson lecture are detailed.
- 145 – Boston folk were often initially generous in MA’s criticism of Emerson.
- 146 – Later they accentuated umbrage.
- 148 – The content of Emerson is esteemed above his style. This means he is like Marcus Aurelius and St. Paul.
- 154 – Mrs. Arnold editing MA’s letters to remove offense.
- 158 – The praise in Boston converted Flu and Lucy to Emerson.
- 159 – Controversy over food.
- 164 – Final criticisms of MA in New England.

CHAPTER FIVE – WASHINGTON / PHILADELPHIA / JERSEY CITY – PAGE 165

- 165 - New Yorkers were rather amused at Arnold’s boldness in speaking of Emerson in Boston as severely as he did.
- 166 – Dec 17th on to DC.
- Some politicians used MA, some were wonderful. He wrote of the latter in A word More about America (written after his return to England).
- 167 – He 1st delivered Literature and Science. The politician then asked scientists and politicians to debate him. Politicians got up and praised him. Then Frederick Douglas moved to end it all with a round of applause.
- 168 – This was seen to be very rude – but politicians often grand stand.
- 169 – He dined with Henry Adams and George Bancroft.
- 170 – In Virginia not many came to see him as “Jersey Lily” Langtry was also on that night.
- MA felt more at home in the South than the North.
- 171 – They retained English manners. And, his sympathies had been with the South during the Civil War. But he thought the topic “a bore” as War is seldom fruitful or important.”
- 173 – He gave a lecture in an unheated hall and caught a cold, while in competition with Mrs. Langtry.
- 176 – MA said he’d like to meet farmers to find cultivation. The Times laughed at the idea of a farmer reading Greek.
- 178 – MA graciously accepted a compliment. But it might have been cooked up.
- 179 – Emma Lazarus wrote a poem about him. She said he wasn’t a poet.
- 181 - In leaving the South on of the most pleasant parts of the trip ended. Nice statement on the needs of a civilization.
- 182 – America is not interesting because it lacks culture and beauty. A December 29th, New Jersey aesthetic society meeting showed that America lacked distinction and beauty. He followed a piano rendition of Old Black Joe and God Save the King. After him the Star Spangled Banner, then another song and another little song.
- 188 – A description of MA.
- 189 – Two more reviewers disappointed, in Brooklyn.
- 191 – MA will not take the honorary degree without an honorarium.
- 192 – But this story is false.

- 193 – Complains of his agent.
 194 – Compared to Oscar Wilde. And many people disliked the agent.
 195 – But the honorarium story may reflect Americans irritation with his need to make money and mannerisms.
 A paper noted that the talk should have been called Literature OR science, as he doesn't argue for both.
 196 – “Socially he charmed us all, he chatted with everyone, he smiled on all.”
 197 – A poor review. The eyeglass was commented on.
 199 – Everyone was captivated by his personality. MA dissed Cornell and they did not invite him to lecture there.
 200 – Cayuga Lake rolling blue and free before me.” IN THE BOOK
 203 – Summary of Americans antagonism and empathy with him.

CHAPTER SIX – THE MIDDLE WEST / CANADA / AND THE RETURN TO ENGLAND – PAGE 204

- 204 – MA wrote fewer letters on this leg of the tour, so CL has to rely more on newspaper reports.
 205 – Also with fewer notables in the Midwest, we have fewer biographies and archives to rely on.
 205 – ARNOLD in Cleveland! He gave the numbers speech. Someone bought the tickets to make the show popular.
 206 – Went to Oberlin College in Oberlin OHIO. Make OBERLIN the town in which the Church scene happens IN THE BOOK.
 207 – Compared with Wilde again. Oberlin paper says religious folks may well doubt his orthodoxy.
 209- CL calls a Detroit review ‘Philistine,’ (and it does denounce intellectualism for earning bread).
 Ann Arbor to Chicago.
 214 – In Chicago, again, at a reception, American songs are sung.
 215 – Also in Chicago, poor child read his poems to him. He sent her a gilded edition a year later.
 In Milwaukee he lectured in a Unitarian church and stayed with a Unitarian minister, Mr. Gordon. Gordon had men him in England, moved to Milwaukee, and started the church. In Michigan, “The water is alive, and moving right up to the shore; ducks, which came down from the . . . there came a long narrow pack of floating ice, washed from shallow creeks along the shore; beyond that the width of waters, as blue as I ever saw in the Mediterranean.”
 217 – Jan 25th, 1884, Madison, Wisconsin and meeting an old friend from England.
 219 – Galesburg, Illinois. Whereas Americans read newspapers on the train, the English read books.
 221 – Happy to see the Mississippi and Missouri rivers meet in St. Louis.
 222 – Describes American newspapers, “They are given over to what Americans call news, which is of a highly sensational character.” “I suppose it is the demand of the population that gives the character to the newspapers.” “The newspapers are written for the world of consumers whose taste needs improvement rather than an

increase of ability in management.” He liked the management and the ability to gather so many current stories, but not the content.

223 – In Indianapolis, Reverend Myron Reed, defender of Literature and Dogma hosted. He lectured at Plymouth Church.

224 – Flood feared in Louisville.

225 – Cincinnati

226 – A reviewer says MAs thought and Plato and Isaiah prove that the remnant can't save America.

227 – CL argues for MA that the remnant did save Greece and Greek thought and the Isaiah the Jews for the long run. He writes, “to dismiss contemptuously the wise minority is to be satisfied with exactly those standards of Philistinism of which Arnold was continually warning us.”

229 – 230 – Arnold is beset by bands and distractions and remained composed. The article says, “Hail to Arnold the ruler of his own spirit.”

Outside of Oberlin, the Midwest produced small unappreciative audiences.

232 – CL calls Canada an “aristocratic old-world civilization” and an “English society.” There were also French regions he traveled in. Did MA change his message for the two groups?

236 – No! He gave the same lecture to both groups, showing CL that he was not a panderer.

237 – MA preferred Quebec to America.

238 – He liked that Quebec had two populations living peacefully side by side. In the US the faults of a single people were single nation, nay, perhaps of a single class. England avoided this via contact with Europe.

238 – He said Roman Catholic education was great, but could not stand. It would be best if it were blended with the Protestant system. He then spoke of the narrow-mindedness of the Roman Catholics. And, said that Canada wouldn't prosper until the Church of Rome got more liberal.

239 – The MC walked out and MA continued saying he loved the liberal movement in Protestantism in the US and hoped it would extend to the Church.

240 – If this were to happen, it would come via literature. He expressed happiness at the large book stores in the US. He was not trying to be popular.

243 – The farewell speech at the “authors' club.” He was asked what he thought of America. The four months of grueling lecturing, unappreciative audiences, were encapsulated.

244 – MA's speech on America. He said he owed everything to the literary class – to the class of writers. The public hasn't comprehended what he has said and those who did, didn't like the contents. He said without the literary people he would not have been noticed in the US. And, he claimed the literary folks liked him as he put his heart into his work. The masses in England and the US do not like literary types. And, so the literary class must take to its own work seriously or all is lost.

245 – For his last lecture he distributed invitations to 400 school teachers.

246 – He gave them Literature and Science and was well heard by all.

Emma Lazarus and Carnegie saw him off in the pouring rain. Carnegie told the papers that he'd come for money and made some. CL thinks he made about \$6,000.

247 – MA wrote that he toured without pandering, which is hard in that appetite for public sensation high in America.

248 – CL concludes that MA's "austere and uncompromising doctrines had certainly hit the mark." He was the philosopher with his eyes on eternal human history talking to the enterprising men of business who didn't think beyond the commerce of their own times. He went against all America stood for.

249 – Americans may have said that they were too powerful to listen to this picayune critic. Or if his darts struck home, they attacked his manners and personality. They did this with a vengeance. In the months after his visit, apocryphal stories multiplied.

The honorarium story,

The pancake story, "Try one they are not nearly so revolting as they look."

252 – The Chicago incident.

252 – MA won't like God.

253 – This popular dislike says something about America.

254 – MA had taken himself very seriously. But, he didn't flatter England either and they gave him no such slander.

255 – The American attacks showed some need to attack. He had reached them and hit the mark.

256 – Few people would now disagree with MA's essay on Emerson. In is worth noting that he came to this conclusion while harried and in the presence of many Emerson admirers.

257 – MA had changed some of his ideas. In "A word more about America" (Feb 1885), he praised our political and social institutions generously. And he admitted that the Philistine was better able to "Think straight and see clear" than the British one. The NY Times liked this.

258 – MA gave Literature and Science 30 times and Numbers and Emerson about 20 each. Over 40,000 came to these 70 lectures. And all without flattery.

259 – Unlike Spencer and Dickens, MA came as a "humanist, interested in the highest culture of the man himself, not in the multiplication of the things around man."

CHAPTER SEVEN – ARNOLD AND AMERICA: 1884 – 1888 - PAGE 260

260 – Lucy Charlotte Arnold married Frederick Whitridge in December of 1884.

260 – As a gift to take back to NYC, MA said, "I have given her Bishop Wilson's Maxims to take with her, a lovely book; how he would have condemned New York!"

261 – MA came to NY to visit his daughter in the Summer of 1886.

In the Fall of 1885 he went to the continent to investigate schools. He returned in January of 1886.

262 – MA wrote, "I have had five and thirty years of inspecting, and I should like to retire from it before I drop." And, "I think the American press, the great danger of the nation, grows worse and worse, from all I can see . . ."

Mrs. Arnold went to America in 1886 without MA. He had a report to finish. He sailed on May 22nd arrived on May 30th and went to Philadelphia on June 7th.

264 – He only lectured twice on this trip. It was on his foreign school report.

266 – He held his lecture notes in his left hand and often close to his face as he read.

267 – A paper said that Americans had a “Passion for self-improvement.”

270 – Whitman wasn’t into MA, but heard good things about him as a person

272 – MA called Arlington cemetery the only well-kept public thing I have seen in America.”

These lectures were largely unreported and must have been more pleasant.

273 – In both stops (Philly and Buffalo) they compared MA to Thomas Arnold.

274 – He spent most of this visit in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where he botanized, fished, swam, and played with his infant granddaughter.

He most kept his eye on the Irish question.

276 – To fish he wore, “leather pumps, old-gold hose clocked with vermilion, trousers of a tawny and seal-brown check; a waist coat of bewildering beauty, woven in many colors; a velvet coat, a scarf of cerulean flecked with cherry; a monocle of great brilliancy, and a Scotch cap.”

277 – He had heart pains several times and left because “this climate makes me feel to sensibly my mortality.”

278 – He still called America “uninteresting, so without savour and without depth.”

279 – The Arnolds returned to England in early Sept 1886.

281 – In Early 1887 he published General Grant. He wrote of America in his “Milton” essay and then again in Civilization and the United States. Americans were up in arms about this when MA died.

282 – The Grant review appeared in Jan and Feb of 1887.

283 – The American press took great offense at the Grant articles.

284 – Mark Twain also attacked MA’s treatment of Grant.

286 – MA wrote articles questioning America’s copyright laws.

288 – His relations and speech concerning the widespread nature of excellence did not win him favors with America.

289 – The Milton address and Civilization in the US weren’t much known until after MA’s death.

290 – Civilization in the US takes up the “human problem “ in the US, which MA had avoided in “A word more about America” in 1885. In CITUS he says the US is not interesting as it lacks civilization. The great sources of interest were distinction and beauty. The US likes the average, whose defects it covered by boasting and lacked beauty altogether. He also takes shots at the names of our towns.

291 – It was lambasted hard.

292 – One mock interview has him disliking the sun, the moon and the poles.

294 – Some liked it

295 – MA replied to criticism of CITUS in his last letter ever. He died on April 15th 1888. Henry James was at the funeral.

299 – Though newspapers attacked him in death, literary journals were kinder.

Americans took interest in his will and finances! Upon finding out how poor he was Carnegie and others gave money for his widow.

301 – He thought we needed fewer serious universities rather than the wide proliferation of mediocre ones.

302 – The next chapter will look at Arnold’s influence in the generation after his death.

CHAPTER EIGHT – ARNOLD IN AMERICA: 1888 - 1928 - PAGE 303

303 – The impact of his personal tours has dwindled in comparison to the impact of his oeuvre.

304 – In the 1880s liberalism was that of rugged individualism. It produced the elective system in education.

305 – MA's love of State and refinement were attacked.

306 – CL tells us Whitman offered a rude poetry exulting in the joys of strength and of undisciplined vigor. MA, "offered a sane and cool criticism of society, education, religion, and literature." Whitman, CL says, offered what was already there, MA's gives no one had offered before. The gifts were scorned and the giver ridiculed. Late 19th century liberalism rejected MA because he didn't go for selfish individualism, "but a more salutary discipline of mankind by the classical standards of perfection."

Essays in Criticism came out after his death too.

307 – The New York Times continued the rejection of MA in their review of the Essays. They accepted his literary criticism and rejected all else.

He was rejected from 1894 to 1904 and accepted from 1914 to 1924.

311 – He was lampooned through out the first time period.

312 – Someone wrote, "Arnold found God as uninteresting as he found America, and set his etymology to work to reconstruct the Deity more in accordance with his literary tastes."

313 – Some of the transition in MA's estimation were due to people who were offended by him still being alive.

314 – This decade, 1904 – 1914, was the transition out of Victorianism.

316 – While one editor of the New Republic praised Arnold, Randolph Bourne attacked.

318 – Look for Stuart Pratt Sherman's "Matthew Arnold, How to Know Him," from 1917.

319 – Babbitt's review points to MA's modernity. That is his skepticism that is very Greek and dismissive of authority. MA, "saw with admirable clearness the role that the humanistic idea should play in a democracy. In this respect he was ahead not only of his own time, but of ours . . ." The author sees MA's aristocratic thought as a bulwark against imperialism.

320 – I like this comment as it points to the role of knowing we have a distinct culture in internationalism including border protection.

321 – MA's social criticism was being accepted because we were moving into an era of criticism.

322 – The Nation, in 1922, says we have forgotten MA because we have become him. Hi is in Babbitt and Mencken.

323, His education and theological theory have become ours.

In an age of criticism we have become less thin-skinned.

325 – We have come to the critical temper that sees things as they really are.