

BLISS CARMAN'S MAJOR YEARS:

A CHRONOLOGICAL STUDY OF

HIS WORK IN RELATION

TO HIS THOUGHT

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AN ABSTRACT OF

BLISS CARMAN'S MAJOR YEARS: A CHRONOLOGICAL STUDY OF HIS WORK IN RELATION TO HIS THOUGHT

This thesis deals with the chronological correlation between Carman's work and his thought during his major years, that is, the first forty-five years of his life, within which his major works were written and within which the main aspects of his thought were presumably formed. The Introduction points out that the common defect of all previous critical commentary has been the lack of a sound chronology of Carman's writings, without which no developmental analysis is valid. The present author meets this problem by ascertaining first, through a detailed study of Carman's manuscripts, letters, and other materials, the most reliable chronology that can be determined. The results of this research are embodied in Appendix A.

Empirical analysis of the chronological data shows that the work of Carman's major years falls into four periods of productivity. It being reasonable to assume that any development would bear some relation to these distinctly marked periods of creative activity, analysis of Carman's work and thought is in conjunction with these productive periods rather than with any preconceived developmental phases.

Accordingly, Chapter II examines Carman's first period of productivity, his juvenile years, and finds the prominent elements

are his long-standing intimacy with nature and his intensive study of Emerson, Thoreau, classics, and philosophy. Chapter III looks at the next productive period, beginning with the composition of "Low Tide on Grand Pré" from which Carman dates his poetic awakening, and shows the moment of revelation embodied in that poem merging with Emersonian transcendentalism and Roycean idealism to produce Carman's general idealistic outlook based on deep awareness of nature. Chapter IV deals with the creative upsurge and lull of Carman's third productive period, when his work evinces an interest in the physical side of life. Seeing the body as an important aid to spiritual insight, Carman is led to postulate that evolution, inspired by love, proceeds from physicality to spirituality. Richard Hovey's attitude towards the body, Carman's affair with Jessie Kappeler, and the social Darwinism of the time probably contribute to his ideas. Chapter V discusses the final productive period, one of renewed activity. The work of this period emphasizes Carman's formulation of an unitrinian theology based on François Delsarte's theory of trinitarian expression and George Santayana's rational idealism. As the poet's unitrinianism unfolds, his writing becomes increasingly rational and didactic and he disparages his earlier poetry. The concluding chapter notes this tendency continuing into the work of Carman's later years (marked by a notable decline in output) and finds that nothing essentially new is added to his thought.

Overall, then, though some sort of idealism is common to the poetry of all Carman's productive periods, the idea of a consistent developmental continuum is too strong a contention. A more accurate description of the thought revealed in Carman's work is that it periodically evinces the effect of different experiences and influences.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The development of Bliss Carman's work in relation to his thought has long interested Carman critics. The differing critical opinions range from those of H.D.C. Lee, Carman's first book-length critic, to those of Donald Stephens, his last. Thus Lee, writing in 1912, states:

The work of Bliss Carman considered as a record of the evolution of his thought falls easily into three periods. The early poems of Low Tide on Grand Pré show the poet at one with Nature; conscious, as Mr. Stopford Brooke remarks Browning was at times, of being "a living piece of the great organism, having his own rejoicing life in the mightier life which includes him; and feeling with the rest the abounding pleasure of continuous life reaching up through growth to higher forms of being, swifter powers of living." The poems of Behind the Arras mark a temporary rupture of this close intimacy with Nature and a period of depression and doubt. Having once, however, known joy and confidence, the poet believes in their existence and works toward their recovery. He analyses his former experiences, and on the results of this builds up a philosophy of life. The following volumes indicate that this philosophy has stood the test of practice, and are all more or less expository of its principles.¹

Odell Shepard, in 1923, also writes that Carman's work ranges "through three distinctly marked periods," though his description of these three periods differs somewhat from Lee's. The first period, including Low Tide on Grand Pré (1893) and the Vagabondia poems (1894 and 1896), Shepard describes as "strongly Romantic, even 'gothic' in its obscurity and wilful idiosyncrasy." The second period, beginning with Behind the Arras (1895) and continu-

ing into From the Green Book of the Bards (1903), is "one of equally excessive rationalism," where "obstinate questionings begin to disturb the poet's mind, so that much of the grace . . . of the earlier style is sacrificed to the lucidity demanded by rapidly increasing didacticism." The third and final period, beginning with From the Book of Myths (1902) and Sappho, (1903) joins the extremes of the first two periods, wedding imagination and reason into "a new poetic unity."²

James Cappon, in 1930 the third of Carman's early critics, takes a position mid-way between Lee and Shepard. Describing the difference between Carman's early and later efforts, he states:

In his later work there are new notes of course, and the vague romanticism and visionary elevation of his first songs become a closer reflection of his real experience. But the form of vision which gives him wings does not change. It is always a transcendental exaltation of experience, often a little mystical yet always trying to maintain itself on a foundation of rational thought.

Nevertheless, Cappon also sees three periods to Carman's work and thought: the early period of "vague romanticism and visionary elevation," a middle period where his "cosmic philosophy is busy moulding this mystical symbolism into more definite forms of thought and vision," and a later period where "the mystical light was fading into that of common day."³ For Cappon, the first period roughly corresponds with Low Tide on Grand Pré (1893), the second with Behind the Arras (1895) through the Pipes of Pan series (ending 1904), and the third with The Rough Rider (1909) and subsequent volumes. His grouping is very approximate; many of Carman's poems

are seen as exceptions or reversions or, like the four prose volumes, as transitions. Cappon's general feeling is also that Carman's work evidences a steady qualitative decline beginning from towards the end of the second period.

Though all three of these early critics tend to see Carman and his works differently, they have one thing in common: they use an incorrect assumption upon which to base their division of Carman's work into periods of development. Grouping his work by published volume, they try to prove development from one volume to another. Had Carman published his work chronologically, this would be a valid procedure; unfortunately for Carman critics, he did not. Instead, his method was to print some of his work in journals, and then, when he had enough poems on the same general theme, to publish a volume composed of previously printed and unprinted items written over many years. From the time of his first volume of poetry, Low Tide on Grand Pré, Carman followed this procedure, saying then that:

The poems in this volume have been collected with reference to their similarity of tone. They are variations on a single theme, more or less aptly suggested by the title, Low Tide on Grand Pré. It seemed better to bring together between the same covers only those pieces of work which happened to be in the same key, rather than to publish a larger book of more uncertain aim.⁴

Carman confirmed his method in a later letter to Miss M.E. Cramer, observing that his work

has almost all been printed sooner or later in the magazines and newspapers. Then whenever I wished to make up a volume, I would select all the poems of a certain kind and issue them with the most appropriate title I could find.⁵

Similarly, each prose volume collects essays, written and printed over a period of years, around a unifying theme.

What Carman's publishing procedure means is that the date upon which a book is published is an inaccurate indication of when the poems or essays collected therein are written. A good illustration is provided by From the Green Book of the Bards (1903); the poems it contains range from 1887 to 1902. Similarly, the poems in From the Book of Myths (1902 rev. 1903) extend over a ten-year period dating from the summer of 1892. Each volume embraces all three of Lee and Shepard's periods of development and two of Cappon's periods. As this kind of time-spread is common to virtually all Carman's volumes, it is clear that any analysis of chronological development based on dates of book publication can only be misleading. This is the major defect of the early critical studies of Carman and perhaps also the reason for their divergent opinions.

Carman's later critics realize that his method of publication creates certain difficulties for any attempt at developmental discussion of his work and thought. Each of them tries to respond to the difficulty in a different way. The earliest and most scientifically valid response is that of Muriel Miller, writing in 1935. She uses the evidence of an index to Bliss Carman's poetry scrapbook, printed in 1931,⁶ to ascertain the earliest date of printing of each poem which Carman had clipped from journals and entered in his scrapbook. Correlating this information with the dates of his books of poetry, she attempts to determine and list Carman's poetic

output by year of first publication. Her chronology leads her to draw certain conclusions about Carman's development in poetry and life; she sees six periods to his work. The first, from 1861 to 1886, she sees as his formative years of "prentice work." The second period, from 1887 to 1892, is one of mystical lyricism. The third, from 1892 to 1896, she sees as the "pivotal centre of Carman's poetic career," the period where he shows his versatility in many kinds of poetry. The fourth period, from 1896 to 1902, she describes as a largely transitional period "scanty of output and relatively poor in quality."⁷ The fifth period, on the other hand, is one of spiritual recovery, of poetry of love, and extends from 1902 to 1905. The last--and longest--period, from 1905 to 1929, is one of decline, the result of an increasingly didactic attitude. Miss Miller's chronological listing has four serious defects: first, she relies strictly upon dates of printing (rather than those of writing); second, she clusters the poems in twelve-month periods without any attempt to determine further the specific date or order of composition; third, she confines herself to Carman's poetry and ignores his prose; and fourth, her listing, at certain points, is both incomplete^{*} and incorrect.^{**} In addition, certain

^{*}For example, "A Friend's Wish," from More Songs From Vagabondia, is omitted as are a number of Carman's early poems.

^{**}For example, Last Songs From Vagabondia is dated at 1901 rather than 1900; "Premonition" is erroneously credited to Carman rather than Hovey; poems such as "At the Portal of Spring," "An Autumn Song," and others assigned to 1904, are actually retitlings of various poems published between 1895 and 1903; "The Tidings to

bibliographical information probably unknown to her has since become available. Nevertheless her list has the merit of at least recognizing the problem of chronology and attempting to deal with it.

The next response to the question of chronology is that of Desmond Pacey in 1958. Pacey feels Carman's "peculiar method of publication precludes a strictly chronological approach to his poetry." Instead, he tries to "group Carman's books and consider them as exemplifying the various aspects of his poetic personality." Pacey divides Carman's volumes into four groups: the Vagabondia series, the Pipes of Pan series, the books of brief lyrics, and a miscellaneous group. As Pacey realizes, even his choice of volumes in each grouping is open to objections, but he uses his groupings only for the sake of discussion of certain poems. He does not pretend that his is a valid developmental analysis of Carman, though he does say that Carman's later work puts "greater stress on the didactic and rational elements in poetry."⁸

The latest Carman critic is Donald Stephens. Writing in 1964, he presumably feels that a chronology of Carman's work is irrelevant, since he contends that "there is no development or growth in Carman's poetry." Stephens makes this statement because he feels Carman was an extremely derivative poet, easily influenced

Olaf" and "Olaf Hjorward" are confused with each other with a resultant dating error of eight years; and the first printing of many poems is attributed to a later year (such as 1931) than is actually the case.

by others and almost without a mind of his own. He says the periods of poetic development mentioned by other critics are rather "patterns of style and thought" illustrating influences which remain unsynthesized. He states that "all the primary elements of Carman's poetry were with him at the beginning of his career," and that, when Carman "found anything that he thought was one of his 'bests,' he used it again and again until it became stagnant and odious to the reader."⁹ However, such statements about lack of development, as well as those about development, can only have logical validity if founded on a reliable calendar of Carman's writings--which Stephens's book is not.

Thus, though the critical opinions of Carman's work range from sympathetic to antipathetic, from contending development to denying it, the defect common to all analyses is that they are not based on a sound chronology of Carman's work. The alternative course, and the one this thesis chooses to follow, is initially to attempt the task of determining when each poem was written, or, where that information is lacking, when it was first published. Only after ascertaining the most reliable chronology possible, is it valid to proceed to any analysis of the correlation between Carman's work and his thought. Through consulting Carman's dated manuscripts in the Archives at Queen's University and at the University of New Brunswick, I was able to construct a calendar of the composition dates for many of his poems. Various references in Carman's letters helped me to date other writings

for which no known manuscript source exists. The results of this chronological study are embodied in Appendix A.

After establishing a more reliable chronology of Carman's poetry and prose, the task is to see what sort of development, if any, emerges from a close study of the period under consideration, that is, the first forty-five years of Carman's life, within which his major works were written and within which the main aspects of his thought were presumably formed. Empirical analysis of the data in Appendix A indicates the work of these major years falls into four periods of productivity. These are: by default, a juvenile period from 1861 to 1886, during which Carman writes no work he deigns to include in one of his collections of prose or poetry; an early creative period, including Carman's writings from June of 1886, the composition date of his first collected poem ("Low Tide on Grand Pré"), to spring, 1892; a period of great upsurge in output, starting in March, 1892 and continuing until the creative lull of 1897 and 1898; and a final period of renewed activity, commencing in 1899 and maintained until 1905. It should be emphasized that these divisions are founded purely on the basis of empirical observation of the fluctuations in Carman's creative output, clearly evident in Appendix A.

It would logically seem that, were there any development to Carman's thought and work, this development would bear some relation to these distinctly marked periods of creative activity and could be perceived most objectively through an analysis of each

productive period rather than through the analysis of any preconceived developmental phases. This objective method is the one employed by the present thesis. The conclusions reached after examining each productive period are that there is a correlation between Carman's work and his thought and that the underlying assumption of Carman's writing can be generally characterized as idealism, by which is meant the opposite of materialism. However, to describe this correlation as a developmental continuum divisible into phases is too strong a statement; there seems to be little real progress in Carman's outlook. Indeed, as the ensuing chapters, each analyzing one of the four periods of productivity, indicate, the fluctuations in Carman's output tend to coincide with his exposure to new experiences or influences; it is almost as if Carman, presented with new insights, absorbs them, exhausts their poetic application, and then settles back to await fresh, and perhaps inconsistent, stimuli.

Carman's first period of productivity, then, is that of his juvenile years. His few (uncollected) poems of this time are primarily light technical experiments, though certain essays state his intimate kinship with nature, his replacement of orthodox Anglicanism with Emersonian transcendentalism, and his deep-felt admiration of Thoreau. The second productive period, beginning with the composition of "Low Tide on Grand Pré" from which Carman dates his poetic awakening, evinces the effect of the moment of revelation embodied in that poem. Together with transcendentalism and the

idealistic philosophy of Josiah Royce, this experience merges into a general idealistic outlook based on deep awareness of intimacy with nature, which is revealed in the poetry. In Carman's third period of productivity, from 1892 until 1898, his poems manifest an awareness of the body. Seeing the body as a major aid to spiritual insight, Carman is led to conclude an evolutionary relationship between physicality and spirituality. Love is also stressed as the motive force behind the spiritual evolution of nature and man. The main influences on Carman's attitude seem to be Richard Hovey's belief in spiritual revelation through physicality and the insights Carman gains from his own affair with Jessie Kappeler. Carman's fourth and final productive period, starting in 1899, shows a stress on the organic harmonizing of body, mind, and spirit in everyday life. This apparently derives from François Delsarte's theory of expression, which, when supplemented by George Santayana's rational idealism, leads to Carman's formulation of an unitrinian theology based on the idealization of Goodness, Truth, Beauty, Love, and Evolution. As Carman's unitrinianism unfolds, the combined consequences of rationalism and didacticism become increasingly manifested in his poetry and prose and he tends to repudiate his earlier work. This same point in time marks the end of Carman's major years.

These, then, are the main themes of the work in each of Carman's four periods of productivity. It seems apparent that, though some sort of idealism is common to the poetry of all these

periods, there are also some inconsistencies; the idea of a developmental continuum is clearly too strong a contention. A more accurate description of the thought revealed in Carman's work is that it periodically evinces the effect of different experiences and influences. In the subsequent chapters, each devoted to one productive period, these conclusions will become increasingly confirmed.

CHAPTER II

JUVENILIA

During Carman's first period of "productivity," the years from 1861 through 1886, little poetry is written and even less survives. None is included in Carman's various volumes. One reason for the lack of surviving work is Carman's own opinion of his early verse; in a letter to H. D. C. Lee, he observes, "I did not write any poetry of any consequence until I was about 25 if you except one or two translations from Homer's Hymns."¹ This statement about the worth of his early poems is essentially valid; most of them are light works intended only to accompany gifts or for similar purposes. Nevertheless, a few poems, together with some miscellaneous essays he writes, do rise above the rest in content or purpose. Except for these materials, most of the information about the "fair seed-time" of Carman's soul comes from his own and Charles G. D. Roberts's² reminiscences. As a whole, this data demonstrates Carman's intimate kinship with nature, his replacement of orthodox Anglicanism with Emersonian transcendentalism, and his deep-felt admiration of Thoreau.

Born in Fredericton, New Brunswick, on April 15, 1861, Bliss Carman was the son of William Carman, Registrar of the Supreme Court, and Sophia Bliss, a distant cousin of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Both parents were descended from United Empire Loyalist

stock and belonged to the Church of England, as did Carman in his youth. The poet grew up in Fredericton, attending the Fredericton Collegiate School (1872-1878) and the University of New Brunswick (1878-1881). He studied at Edinburgh during 1883, but spent 1882 and 1884-1886 in his home province. His main academic interests were Classics, Literature, and Philosophy: his occupations included teaching, surveying, and law.

The conventional picture of these beginnings, as painted by most of Carman's critics, emphasizes one or more of the distant kinship to Emerson, the United Empire Loyalist heritage, or the supposedly parochial environment of Fredericton, a city of only 6000 people. Muriel Miller's attitude is typical: though primarily stressing Carman's ancestry, she also writes of New Brunswick as a province "where reverence for authority and an implicit acceptance of the traditional in life were inculcated into the youth of his day."³ Similarly, James Cappon describes Fredericton as "a small town, half rural with its gardens and surrounding woods."⁴ The overall impression produced, one of a conservative and soul-stifling atmosphere, is not a fair representation of the situation. To use the facts of Carman's ancestral background as a deterministic mould through which his whole character is critically interpreted, is to exaggerate greatly their importance. As well, through Fredericton may have been a small city, according to Alfred Bailey ("Creative Moments in the Culture of the Maritime Provinces") and Charles G. D. Roberts ("Bliss Carman"), it was not

a parochial one; it was the governmental, religious, educational, and cultural centre of the province, with a constant influx of the latest ideas from Britain.⁵ In other words, neither Carman's ancestry nor his small-city environment is of over-riding importance to his outlook.

Instead, since Carman specifically agrees with Wordsworth that "the child is father of the man,"⁶ probably the best indicators of the tenor of Carman's outlook are his comments on his education, an education in which Nature, in her various guises of seasonal beauty, is a primary instructress. He describes their relationship in the reminiscences of "The Golden Age," when the world appears to the young Carman as "all a beautiful, vast, incredible dream." Part of the quality of his infant intercourse with Nature is shown by his description of Springtime play in evergreen-bough wigwams, where he and his sister

seated there, often in speechless content, lead the adequate life of childhood, without question and without misgiving. Whether we were most often Indians or hunters or royal personages, I do not recall; but I can still smell the odor of the dead spruce leaves; I can see the pale-green shafts of the tulips beginning to thrust themselves up through the breaking ground; I can feel the growing power of the sun, and hear in the still Spring days the small silvery lisping sounds from the remnants of the melting snow bank, as it dripped itself away into the earth, or settled now and then with a sudden crunch of its dissolving mass. The glamour of life was in that time, the unvanquishable zest, the untarnished faith, and we two insignificant mannikins, playing in the sun and creeping under our shelter of boughs, tasted the pride of emperors and lived the pageantry of kings.

It is indicative of his intimacy with Nature that not the child's

games, but the smell of the spruce leaves, the sight of emerging tulips, the touch of the sun's "growing power," and the sound of the melting snowbank, impress themselves most vividly in his memory. His childhood sense of the imminent presence of Nature, of her intimate relationship with him, and of the loving wonder that he feels, is such that he lives at the child's height of vision, where "every flower was a miracle, every pebble a precious stone," all "deeply touched with inevitable magic." This same sense of rapt fascination at the "wonder-work that bewitched our imagination in childhood"⁷ is given expression in the first stanza of "The Great Return," a prayer to Nature printed in December, 1891:

O Mother, I have loved thee without fear
And looked upon the mystery of change,
Since first, a child, upon the closing year
I saw the snowflakes fall and whispered, "Strange!"⁸

Carman's response to the changing beauty of the Mother is one of love, trust, and marvel. This early mode of vision is on a child's unquestioning experiential level of, in Wordsworth's words, "unconscious intercourse with beauty/Old as creation" (Prelude, I, 562-3).

Carman's golden age continues through his early years at Fredericton Collegiate School (1872-75). In this period of dreamful youth," he says later, the "morning hours were ever the richest and most enchanted of all." He then comments on their relevance to his own life:

What accident, sorrow, evil, or dismay can actually undo the spirit that has drunk of the everlasting springs of truth and looked on beauty in the morning light? Age cannot quench that soul, nor penury shut it away from joy. It still transcends "outrageous fortune," and comes into its own in spite of all defeats.⁹

The passage insists that spiritual experience of nature's beauties enables one to transcend the vicissitudes of time and outrageous fortune. To this degree, the benefit that Carman derives from the morning hours of his early years is transcendental in the Emersonian sense that "In the presence of nature a wild delight runs through the man, in spite of real sorrows."¹⁰

In 1875, Carman becomes a student under George Parkin, a man whom he later describes as one of his "greatest teachers."¹¹ Parkin, a New Brunswick classicist just returned from a one-year leave of absence at Oxford, was deeply interested in education and imperialism, later becoming Secretary of the Rhodes Scholarship Foundation. As a teacher, he inspires Carman, giving him "an enthusiasm for learning and for poetry"¹²--Parkin's favourites were apparently Homer, Horace, Arnold, Tennyson, Browning, Rossetti, Morris, and Swinburne¹³--and a code of personal conduct: "to be zealous, to be fair, to be happy over our work, to love only what is beautiful and of good report, and to follow the truth at all hazards."¹⁴ Parkin's role in Carman's intellectual and moral education is complemented by Carman's self-development when Parkin takes him on long woodland trips "outside school hours"¹⁵; in the preface to The Kinship of Nature, Carman recalls these outings with

his teacher:

Those were the days when we were all young together, whether at Greek or at football, tramping for Mayflowers through the early spring woods, paddling on the river in intoxicating Junes, or snowshoeing across bitter drifts in the perishing December wind,--always under the leadership of your indomitable ardour. In that golden age we first realized the kinship of Nature, whose help ^{is}₁₆ for ever unfailing, and whose praise is never outsung.

During his excursions with Parkin, Carman's unconscious intercourse with Nature and her beauties becomes a conscious pleasure, a realization of his kinship with her and of her unfailing readiness to aid him.

Towards the end of these collegiate days and in his subsequent college years (1878-1881), Carman spends most of his summers on "camping trips and long expeditions by canoe into the wilderness regions of Northern New Brunswick." Of these expeditions, Roberts reports:

These long canoe trips, of course, took place in the vacation months, the closed season for all beasts and birds of interest to the hunter. And we respected the game laws. Yet we always carried two or three guns with us, in case of the unexpected. But the cold, clear amber waters of the northern interior of New Brunswick swarm with trout, and we were all keen sportsmen--except Carman. He would never touch a gun at all, lest he should inadvertently shoot something; and though we could sometimes persuade him to cast a fly, it was always in the hope that he would not catch anything. And he never did. . . .

I have never seen Carman so happy, so utterly at home, as on these wilderness expeditions. He was essentially native to the woods and the lonely inland waters. He paddled and handled his canoe like an Indian. He trod the forest trails like an Indian, noiseless, watchful, taciturn, moving with a long, loose-kneed slouch, flatfooted, and with toes almost turned in rather than out--an Indian's gait, not a white man's!¹⁷

It is significant that Carman, even at this age, has such a great respect for animal life that he will not join in the traditional wilderness hunting or fishing activities; instead, he is "utterly at home" in the woods, "happy," "essentially native." His relationship with Nature and natural creatures is not that of an intruder, but rather that of Nature's child, brother to her creatures. He shares in the kinship of nature.

Also in these college years, Carman admits religious disbelief. In "Emerson," he later writes about this time of crisis:

It was a time when science was destroying superstition. To many a conscientious mind, being bred under the shadow of scrupulous orthodoxy, and yet beginning to be touched with divine doubt, the process of change was full of sadness.

The "shadow of scrupulous orthodoxy" to which Carman refers is orthodox Anglicanism. Until the end of his grammar school days, this was his religion, stemming in part from his parental upbringing and possibly also from the influence of Parkin, who was, as Carl Berger points out in The Sense of Power, a devout Anglican.¹⁹ But, when Carman's university studies introduce him to new ideas in science--perhaps the theory, outlined in Darwin's The Descent of Man (1871), that man is evolved from the same animal family as the chimpanzee--his religious beliefs are undermined and "divine doubt" ensues. In this moment of spiritual crisis Carman turns to "Emerson's incomparable words."²⁰

Though Carman does not state which of Emerson's essays particularly influenced him, it seems reasonable to suppose that

"Nature," one of Emerson's basic works, would have been among them. In this essay the sage of Concord discusses the ultimate "cause" (purpose) of nature under the Aristotelean headings of material purpose ("Commodity"), effective purpose ("Beauty"), formal purpose ("Language"), and final purpose ("Discipline"). Nature as commodity confers material benefits on man; nature as beauty fills a spiritual need of man; nature as language provides a "vehicle of thought"; and nature as discipline educates the Understanding (common sense) and the Reason (spiritual intuition). "All the uses of nature," Emerson concludes, "admit of being summed in one, . . . It always speaks of Spirit." He elaborates: "the noblest ministry of nature is to stand as the apparition of God. It is the organ through which the universal spirit speaks to the individual, and strives to lead the individual back to it." In other words, Emerson's ontological position in this essay is that ultimate reality is spiritual: all physical things are seen as aspects of a larger spiritual reality where "A Fact is the end or last issue of spirit."²¹ This spirituality is immanent in both the Me (the individual soul) and the Not-Me (Nature--which, in this sense, includes nature, art, all other men, and one's own body). The Oversoul is the transcendental unity within which soul and Nature are joined.

Similarly, the epistemological basis of Emerson's position is that, while common sense perceives only material appearance, intuition, a superior faculty, transcends the limitations of the

senses and perceives the spiritual reality which infuses and connects material things. Hence derives the necessity for reliance on one's own intuition. In accordance with these ontological and epistemological assumptions, then, Emerson sees historical religion and its accumulation of dogma as a barrier between God and man.²² He therefore calls for an "original relation" between the individual and the universe, for a "religion by revelation"²³ to each man through the medium of nature.

In terms of Carman's particular religious crisis, Emerson's message comes "with revelation and hope"; his effect is medicinal:

To the thoughtful boy, beginning to turn his eyes inward for the source of light, yet enamoured with the engaging loveliness of the earth, it seemed the height of tragedy to have the pillars of established faith removed. Not every one had the hardihood to accept all the conclusions of the new science without shrinking. There was need of a great friend whose unflinching courage might serve as a stay amid tottering creeds and overthrown convictions.

That friend was Emerson. Other philosophers and scientists, inflexible in the cause of truth, might overturn the temples of our fathers, but that gentle yet intrepid spirit gave us a more spacious house of worship, bidding us abandon the old without a regret. He taught us to look with equanimity upon the decay of dogma, and reassured us with confidence in the free spiritual life which dogma had overcrusted and obscured. He made us glad of our loss and lighthearted at being freed from an encumbrance. We perceived that while the signs and vestments of our paternal religion might vanish like smoke, the breath of goodness at the₂₄ core of things remained potent and quickening as before.

The nature of Emerson's aid to Carman is that he provides the young Frederictonian with a religious argument that enables him to turn his sense of spiritual loss into a realization of spiritual benefit. By persuasively characterizing historical religion and

associated dogma as a barrier between God and man, Emerson gives Carman a reason to feel not only that he is "freed from an encumbrance," but also that he is actually closer to God because he is living the "free spiritual life which dogma had overcrusted." In this way the Concord transcendentalist provides Carman with "a more spacious house of worship"--all of nature--while reassuring him about the continuing potency of "the breath of goodness at the core of things." Thus is Carman's intimacy with nature, through Emerson's influence, elevated into religious status.

Also notable in the above passage is the description of Carman, still "enamoured with the engaging loveliness of the earth," "beginning to turn his eyes inward for the source of light." The former phrase suggests sensitivity to the message of spirit that nature's beauty conveys; the latter, development of spiritual intuition. Both indicate personal tendencies which make Carman receptive to Emerson's essay and which it, in turn, can only encourage. It should be stressed, however, that the direct effect of Emerson's work is on Carman's mind and not on his poetry. "Nature" helps change Carman's orientation from orthodox religion towards transcendentalism, but since he writes virtually no real poetry until "Low Tide on Grand Pré," Emerson's influence cannot appear until many years later, when it is merged with Carman's intervening studies, with his various experiences, and with Roycean idealism, into a general idealistic philosophy based on nature. By that time, it is inaccurate to attribute ideas purely to Emer-

son's authority when they may also be due to Carman's own experiences or the effect of various idealistic thinkers.

Carman's academic interests in college include classics and literature. Having graduated from the Collegiate School as a gold medalist in Latin and Greek, he repeats his success at the University of New Brunswick, gaining his B. A. in classics and receiving the gold medal for Latin prose. It can be surmised from these achievements that Carman has a good knowledge of Platonic idealism which, as one component of Emersonian idealism, provides an additional basis for Carman's ready acceptance of Emerson's wider thought. In literature, besides his reading of the English classics and the American Transcendentalists, Carman's interest in contemporary poetry, first kindled by Parkin, is also pursued. Writing later about himself and his classmates in the "early eighties," he says that the modern poets in vogue were Tennyson, Browning, Morris, Rossetti, Arnold, and Swinburne, all of whom they read with some delight. Carman mentions Swinburne as their favourite though he is "not so much a mentor as a sorcerer"²⁵ and, even as that, is soon outgrown.²⁶

After graduation, Carman spends the year 1881-1882 in private reading, preparing for further study in Great Britain. His poetic translations from Homer and Horace date from this period as does a poem inspired by Horace's "Est qui nec veteris pocula massici nec partem solido demere de die spemit." Towards the end of this poem, Carman uses the Greek idea that gods and nymphs

are immanent in natural objects, terming this idea the "mystic lore of Hellas."²⁷ The usage is significant in that it suggests Carman's receptivity to the transcendental concept of immanence, common in his later poetry.

In September, 1882, Carman's year of private reading ends with his enrollment at Edinburgh in preparation for the University of London B. A. external examinations. Feeling himself already prepared in English and Classics, he takes only three courses: Natural Philosophy with P. G. Tait "whom everyone could follow in his general course,"²⁸ Logic and Metaphysics, and Mathematics. He has no trouble with the first two courses, but the London exam in Mathematics he fails. That he dismisses Natural Philosophy so easily perhaps reflects his mode of vision.

Also during this year in Edinburgh, Carman writes a few poems, two of which are particularly notable for what they reveal of his thought. The earlier is "On a Portrait," reproduced here in full because, like the rest of his youthful work, it never appears in any of his books:

No other thought but of serene delight
 Had Greece whose crown was laurel leaves and gold.
 For these the sun-trod blue Aegean rolled;
 And floated her, a star in the deep night.
 Elsewhere we learned of striving war and might
 She taught us with repose our lives to hold,
 With royal mind supreme to live, and mould
 The outer action by the inner light.

A restful calm delight in every shade
 Is pictured here. No fairer crown could be
 Than this, thy lovely hair in comely braid.
 Why weary we ourselves with toil to seek

Repose and beauty in old minstrelsy, 29
That live and smile for us in this fair Greek!

The theme of the sonnet is simply that a picture is worth a thousand words, especially when the thousand words must first be translated "with toil" from the "old minstrelsy" of Greece. The last three lines of the octave define the "serene delight" that Carman feels is Greece's contribution to world thought: to live according to the Platonic values of beauty ("with repose our lives to hold"), truth ("With royal mind supreme to live"), and goodness ("mould / The outer action by the inner light"). These values, in absolute form, are also the goals of the spiritual ascent towards which Platonic idealism aims. It is worth noting that Emerson too is a strong advocate of the Platonic absolutes; he affirms in "Nature" that "Truth, and goodness, and beauty, are but different faces of the same All."³⁰ Of course, Platonic idealism is only one element of Emerson's broader transcendentalism; however, it is an element with which Carman is well acquainted and which he chooses to stress in this particular poem.

What is significant about the other Edinburgh poem is Carman's use of nature. In "Ma Belle Canadienne," not only are the lover's emotions and thoughts paralleled with the four-fold progress of the seasons into which the poem is divided, but also part of Nature's role in his life is indicated:

He saw the swallows come and go;
The mornings dawn, the evenings glow;
The hawthorn bloom, the beech grow sere.

All to his very heart were dear,
 They shared his joy, and calmed his fear.³¹

It is not just that nature's beauties bring him pleasure; he finds as well a calming influence in natural cycles---the swallows' annual migration, the progress of the day, the cycle of the year. The cyclic processes of Nature exhibit order amidst eternal flux. Even though the order is one of birth and death, it is nonetheless comforting to the dying lover, for in the same way that nature ensures rebirth after death, he can look forward to a vision of "eternal spring" at the end of the poem. Carman's use of natural cycles here is a seed that later (1883) flowers into his law of rhythm, the concept through which he expresses his vision of order and unity in the universe. It is reasonable to assume the mention of nature's calming influence stems from his own experience.

Upon his return from Edinburgh in August, 1883, Carman accepts a temporary teaching position in the Fredericton Collegiate School. At the same time, intrigued with the problems posed by French verse forms, he is "writing quantities of verse, all in intricate and rigid forms which he taught himself to handle not only with ease but with severest exactness."³² Of the thirty-eight poems found by Lorne Pierce which are dated before "Low Tide on Grand Pré" (June, 1886), twenty-two of them fall into the four and one-half month span from November 17, 1883, to March 29, 1884.³³ Four of these poems are written as rondeaux (following the example of Carman's earlier "Ma Belle Canadienne") and six as triolets.

There is also one ballade, and three each of poems using rondel, sonnet, quatrain and other verse-forms. Though in most of the poems concern with content is subordinated to concern with form (that is, many of them are written to accompany gifts or for other light purposes), the profusion of verse-forms shows that this was an experimental period not without importance.

Also during the first half of 1884, Carman writes an essay of appreciation titled "The Hermit of Walden." An important feature of this essay, incorporating diverse quotations from the writings of Emerson and Thoreau, is that it shows how extensively and intensively Carman knows their works. In the case of Emerson, Carman's earlier devotion is clearly maintained; to him Emerson is "the most incisive writer and truest thinker of the west," one to whom "lovely nature spoke" and who reciprocated: "her he loved well and cherished, and taught the world to reverence." More specifically, Emerson is a "friend and aider of those who would live in the spirit," a master who shows us "higher ways of life, where the morning comes early and the air is clear all the day."³⁴

As for Thoreau, Carman calls him Emerson's "son in transcendentalism," his "disciple," the "most devoted lover that nature had known." Thoreau is, to his Fredericton admirer, "tenacem propositi virum, a man steadfast and unflinching, whither his ideal led over rough paths to the lofty upland of simplicity, purity and truth." From Walden, A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers, "The Maine Woods," and Thoreau's poetry, Carman quotes passages

relevant to his own experience of nature, such as Thoreau's comment that "The morning wind forever blows, the poem of creation is uninterrupted [sic]; but few are the ears that hear it." Similarly, he picks Thoreau's encounter with a French-Canadian woodcutter and observes, "He is just such a man as I once met on the upper St. John." Another example is Carman's quotation of Thoreau's loving praise of Homer and Virgil, praise with which he agrees. That Carman emphasizes these partial similarities between himself and Thoreau is important; he attempts to emulate Thoreau's life-style. In his essay, Carman notes that Thoreau "tried two or three different occupations, teaching and land surveying among them"; a few months later, Carman gives up teaching and spends the next half-year as a surveyor. Similarly, after commenting upon Emerson and Thoreau as masters who "show us higher ways of life where the morning comes early and the air is clear all the day," Carman declares "but it is better to be strong and go up into the hills and behold the morning for ourselves" and states of Thoreau that "he lived an ideal life that we will do well to imitate in many respects." Carman also seeks to "live in the spirit" and to "behold the morning"³⁵ for himself.

Of Carman's period as a surveyor, only one poem exists, written in July, 1884. Its title is simply "Quatrain":

Some maple leaves even in summer's heat
 The fevered flush of anguished grief had caught,--
 The very waywardness of sadness sweet
 Was it in memory or in weird forethought?³⁶

The emotion of "anguished grief" is seen in the precociously-aged redness of the maple leaves, and the poet's instinctive conclusion is to look to memory or to forethought for the explanation. Yet the first alternative requires either previous existence or racial memory transcending death, while the second alternative accepts supra-sensory perception of a trans-rational pattern. In 1884, both alternatives are somewhat transcendental, lying outside the worlds of sense or reason. It is significant that such a poem should be the only production of Carman's surveyor days.

In the autumn of 1884, Carman returns from his surveying trip and during the next year contributes some reviews to the University Monthly. These reviews show that the young Frederictonian has moved away from his earlier infatuation with Swinburne, Morris, and Rossetti, to a more objective appraisal of their work and their defects. Swinburne's defect is his lack of restraint;³⁷ that of Morris and Rossetti, their "want of vigour and freedom and inspiring inevitable naturalness."³⁸ More importantly, three of the articles include references to Thoreau. The first of these is a commentary on F. B. Sanborn's Life of Henry D. Thoreau; in the other two reviews, Thoreau's place, though important, is secondary. That Carman's attitude to Thoreau is constant is illustrated in his avowal that

to those who would live in the spirit, he must always stand for the accomplishment of an ideal. He stood to his own convictions, and lived out his own life with strength and with love. And in the day of trial, when, among his fellow-men, the time had come for speech and

for action he was not found wanting.³⁹

Thoreau's "strong, lofty and unique personality"⁴⁰ is still a model of "undying strenuousness for the spiritual life";⁴¹ Carman's devotion to the Thoreauvian ideal is maintained.

The influence of Emerson, as well as that of Thoreau, is a continuing one. At the same time as he discusses Thoreau in his reviews, Carman lauds Emerson in his irregularly-kept diary:

In the ages we have had all that body or Soul can give! . . .⁴²
Now we should have a pure spirit. Emerson is therefore good!

Carman feels that spirit is the essential need of his time, the area where progress is most wanted. He thus sees Emerson, as the "friend and aider of those who would live in the spirit,"⁴³ not only to fulfill a useful function, but also to perform a positive good. Throughout his days Carman does not forget Emerson's aid to his own spiritual life.

By spring of 1886, then, Carman's philosophy can be characterized as transcendentalism, primarily based upon a long-standing intimacy with nature and extensive study of Emerson and Thoreau. The intimacy with nature is built on the child's loving marvel at her beauty, the youth's conscious pleasure at his kinship with her, and the man's transcendental cognizance of her as infused with spirit, a part of the Oversoul. The study of Emerson, who provides philosophical system, and of Thoreau, who provides an ideal model of "strenuousness for the spiritual life,"⁴⁴ is strengthened by Carman's previous acquaintance with Plato and other Greek classics, and by

his coursework in philosophy. Carman's outlook is thus seen to result both from his personal experience of nature and from the influence of other thinkers.

CHAPTER III

POETIC AWAKENING

Carman's second period of productivity begins in June, 1886, with the writing of the earliest poem included in one of his books. This "first poem,"¹ "Low Tide on Grand Pré," embodies a moment of revelation which so strongly impresses itself on Carman's mind that he still recalls it forty years later in his second last work, "Forever and Forever." The insights gained through this experience deeply affect Carman's outlook. The other major influence of the period, also first encountered in summer 1886, is the idealistic philosophy of Josiah Royce. Though Carman's affection for Emerson continues, Royce provides the young Frederictonian with a more systematic exposition of idealism and with a sound rational confirmation of the truths realized through his moment of illumination. Together with transcendentalism and Roycean idealism, Carman's revelatory experience merges into a general idealistic outlook based on deep awareness of intimacy with nature, which is manifested in the poetry.

In biographical terms, the years 1886 to 1892 mark a time of change in Carman's life. With both his parents recently deceased--his mother in February, 1886, his father a year earlier--there is no longer anything to tie him to Fredericton. Accordingly,

he enters Harvard in September, 1886, with the vague idea of studying to become an English professor. He soon abandons this intention, completing only Royce's philosophy course and spending his second year at Harvard as an unregistered student. During this time he writes poetry in a convivial college atmosphere and prints a few poems in various newspapers and periodicals. In the first half of 1888, Carman leaves Harvard to return to the Maritimes, where he divides the next eighteen months between his home in Fredericton and Roberts's home in Windsor, Nova Scotia. In February, 1890, Carman accepts a position as literary editor of the weekly New York Independent, but leaves it in early 1892. At that same time there begins the great upsurge in poetic output which is treated in Chapter IV.

"Low Tide on Grand Pré" is a poem of nostalgic despair; in it, Carman contrasts the joy felt in a previous moment of revelation to the grief he now feels. The poem opens with the setting sun casting such "unelusive glories"² over the barren shore that Carman can "almost dream they yet will bide / Until the coming of the tide," can almost visualize the beauty of the scene transcending the temporal limitations of the material world to approach the permanence of perfect beauty. The critical qualifier is "almost"; though the glories of the sunset are not elusive, the dream-vision that nature's beauty can inspire is. Unable to use this beauty as a spiritual aid to vision, the disappointed poet realizes that, in any case, no "ecstasy of dream" can change the

fact that his companion during a previous vision is absent. In this context, the stream of water is also a "grievous stream" of time which takes the writer wandering through the fields of Acadie in search of that "beloved face." Carried back along this stream of memory, the poet envisions the previous June ("Was it a year or lives ago") when they captured a summer moment,

. . . took the grasses in our hands,
And caught the summer flying low
Over the waving meadow lands,
And held it there between our hands.

That previous summer, though the pair were beside "a drowsy inland meadow stream" rather than by Minas Basin (on the Bay of Fundy), it was a similar beauteous sunset when they launched their canoe. Then, drifting down the stream, they caught and shared a moment of insight into the "secret of some wonder-thing," an instant of illumination that has all the characteristics of a mystic experience. This past moment of insight into ultimate reality and the resultant certainty and joy such insight brought are counterpoised to Carman's present feelings of uncertainty and grief. Without his companion and unable to repeat his visionary experience, he can only end in nostalgic despair:

The night has fallen, and the tide[sic]
Now and again comes drifting home,
Across these aching barrens wide,
A sigh like driven wind or foam:
In grief the flood is bursting home.

The flood of Fundy, imaginatively transformed into a flood of time, finally becomes a flood of tears as Carman grieves over his loss of

vision.

In terms of Carman's developing thought, the most important part of the poem is his description of the moment of insight:

And that we took into our hands
 Spirit of life or subtler thing--
 Breathed on us there, and loosed the bands
 Of death, and taught us, whispering,
 The secret of some wonder-thing.

Then all your face grew light, and seemed
 To hold the shadow of the sun;
 The evening faltered, and I deemed
 That time was ripe, and years had done
 Their wheeling underneath the sun.

So all desire and all regret,
 And fear and memory, were naught;
 One to remember or forget
 The keen delight our hands had caught;
 Morrow and yesterday were naught.

Some mystics describe the "way" to insight; some, the moment of revelation. Carman, in "Low Tide," is one of the latter group and his description evinces all the characteristics--ineffability, noesis, transience, passivity, oneness, timelessness, transcendence of ego, and sense of exultation--of the mystical experience.³ Further, the internal unity and cohesiveness of the three stanzas can only be realized when this identification is understood.

The first essential of the mystical state is ineffability. That Carman's experience has gone so long unexplained probably confirms this quality, as does the vagueness of the phrase "some wonder-thing." The mystical insight is also noetic; in the poet's words, he is "taught . . . / The secret of some wonder-thing." Transience is shown in an earlier stanza which points out that the

entire episode occurs in the brief moments of twilight. Passivity, where "the mystic feels as if his own will were in abeyance, and indeed, sometimes as if he were grasped and held by a superior power,"⁴ is conveyed by the idea that the "Spirit of life or subtler thing" is the active agent who "breathed," "loosed," and "taught," while the two people are the passive recipients of this experience and of this knowledge. One typical feature of their new knowledge is the consciousness of Oneness and immanence; the statement that "Then all your face grew light, and seemed / To hold the shadow of the sun," indicates a revelation to the poet of the divinity in his companion shining out. It is common in moments of mystical awareness to see this glowing light, not ordinarily apparent, radiating from inside of the object beheld. Another realization characteristic of mysticism is that temporal categories are irrelevant, since all time is contained in the eternal present. This sense of timelessness is specified in the lines;

The evening faltered, and I deemed
That time was ripe, and years had done
Their wheeling underneath the sun
.....
Morrow and yesterday were naught.

In the mystic moment is the end of flux. As well, to transcend time is to loose "the bands / Of death," for the "real I"⁵ is eternally part of the universal Oneness and cannot die. Awareness of this fact is part of what is meant by transcendence of ego, by the general "conviction that the familiar ego is not the real I."⁶ This conviction is also indicated in the poem by the

abandonment of egocentric drives and feelings:

So all desire and all regret,
And fear and memory, were naught; . . .

As for the final characteristic, the exultation felt by the recipient of a mystical insight is evidenced in all three stanzas; the phrase "keen delight" epitomizes this response. The correlation between the illumination described by Carman and the characteristics of mystical experience is total.

Lest misunderstanding ensue, a few further words on mysticism, as it applies to Carman, are in order. He is a mystic in the sense that he has a recognizably mystical experience, thus gaining, in Webster's words, knowledge "of spiritual truth, of ultimate reality, or comparable matters . . . through immediate intuition, insight, or illumination and in a way differing from ordinary sense perception or ratiocination."⁷ This is not meant to suggest that Carman is a religious contemplative on the order of another Plotinus or St. Teresa or the like. However, as F. C. Happold repeatedly illustrates in Mysticism: A Study and an Anthology, to confine "mysticism" only to such adepts as these is inaccurately to apply the term: rather,

mystical experience is not something confined to those who have risen to the heights of Contemplation, but . . . can be present in a less developed form in quite ordinary men and women. . . . It may happen only once in a lifetime; but, when it does happen, it brings an illumination and a certainty which . . . may change the whole tenure of a life."⁸

It is as a person having one or more mystical experiences that Carman is a mystic; the moment of illuminative certainty that is described in "Low Tide" impresses itself so strongly on his mind that he can still recall it over forty years later, in "Forever and Forever."⁹

As for the kind of departure point which gives rise to Carman's insight, it is the contemplation of beauty--"beauty of nature and beauty of people,"¹⁰ he says at a later stage of his life, though in this productive period nature is the only "way" emphasized. Thence proceeds the ascent, which "transcends the physical and becomes mystic,"¹¹ to perception of what Plato calls "absolute beauty." However, where Plato calls for the "right use"¹² of love as the means to insight, the Transcendentalists are more comprehensive. They agree that "Beauty, in its largest and profoundest sense, is one expression for the universe,"¹³ but feel that it can be perceived both in the external world--nature, art, all other people, and one's own body--and within the soul. Of these, for Carman as well as for Emerson, a major source of inspiration is the beauty of nature.

A last point which should be mentioned is the import of this revelation. As Happold writes:

True mysticism . . . begins in an awakening of the transcendental sense, that sense of something beyond material phenomena which lies at the root of all religious feeling. But it is only the beginning; there must be something more. . . .

[One] must undergo some sort of experience which is of sufficient intensity to lead to an expansion of

normal consciousness and perception, so that there comes to him a new¹⁴ vision of reality which dominates his life and thought.

This statement is applicable to Carman. Previous to his illumination, his writing and comments exhibit a sympathy with the transcendental and a feeling of kinship with nature. But how intensely integral this feeling is to his view of reality is unclear, except that his comments on Emerson and Thoreau confirm an idealistic tendency to see nature's beauty with a spiritual eye. Following his mystical experience, this transcendental kinship is not just intimated but deeply known. In and after "Low Tide," the transcendental basis of his poetry is both more evident and more convincing, and seems clearly integral to the work. Carman's mystical revelation, as the experiential counterpart to transcendental theory, thus acts as an inspirational spark for his first real creative period. It is no wonder that Carman confides to Lee, "I did not write any poetry of any consequence until I was about 25. . . ."¹⁵

Soon after writing "Low Tide on Grand Pré," Carman begins a poetry notebook, the fly-leaf of which is dated August, 1886. Prefacing the poetry is a group of quotations emphasizing two aspects of the art of poetry. First, the poet's task is to serve the idealist God that Royce calls the Infinite Thought and that is revealed to man in his consciousness of what righteousness is

and of what truth is";¹⁶ in other words, the poet should look inward for the source of light and should be true to his own vision rather than being a "successful hypocrite."¹⁷ Second, a spiritual message is also revealed in the book of nature, which the poet should therefore study and embody in his own work. In either sense, the poet's "book should smell of pines and resound with the hum of insects."¹⁸ With these transcendental attitudes in mind, Carman sets about his creative endeavours.

That Carman chooses, in his first serious poetry notebook, to place a passage from Royce alongside another from his revered Emerson attests to the impact of the Harvard philosopher's book, The Religious Aspect of Philosophy. A similar attestation is provided by Carman's September enrollment at Harvard in a philosophy course taught by Royce. In his book, Royce presents a philosophical case for idealism. His basic argument proceeds from the idea that judgments can be made about truth and error. One can assume that there is such a thing as truth or such a thing as error; in either case, the truth or error can only exist to a comprehensive thought that includes it and the corresponding opposite. Since, in Royce's view, there must be an absolute truth (even the idea that there is no absolute truth is self-contradictory), there must also be an Absolute Thought which includes it and absolute error. That there should be any truth necessitates that there must be infinite truth (partial truth is a self-contradiction), and it must exist to an Infinite Thought. Knowing all truth, this Infinite Thought must

know all reality (things are only real if true and false judgments can be made of them), including all wills and their conflicts. The Infinite Thought, therefore, is also a Universal Thought in which everything partakes. It is "eternal, all-embracing, and One."¹⁹

These characteristics of the Universal Thought, plus Its ideal origin, lead Royce to see It as the quintessential idea of idealism and to identify It as "the God of the idealistic tradition from Plato downwards." He writes of the relationship between man and God in almost mystical terms:

Whose is all this beauty that thou enjoyest in art, this unity that thou seekest to produce in thy state, this truth that thou pursuest in thy thought? All this is in God and of God. Thou hast never seen, or heard, or touched or handled, or loved anything but God. Know this truth, and thy life must be transformed to thee in all its significance. Serve the whole God, not the irrationally separate part that thy delusions have made thee suppose to be an independent thing. Live out thy life in its full meaning; for behold, it is God's life.

Royce here insists that not just beauty, unity, and truth, but all ideal and physical existence, is "in God and of God." Knowing this truth, one is impelled to convert from egocentricity to theocentricity, to devote one's life to the "progressive realization"²⁰ of God's life.

That Royce propounds idealism is not to say he seeks to prove mysticism. He emphasizes that his theory of the Universal Thought is not mystically derived, but "is the direct philosophical outcome of what we have found by a purely logical process." For him, the "main proof that the world is divine and full of spiritual

life" must be "rationally significant."²¹ This systematic proof can only strengthen Carman's conviction of the truths realized during his mystic experience. It gives him a rational as well as an experiential basis for his belief in divine immanence and unity.

Carman's interest in The Religious Aspect of Philosophy is probably not confined to Royce's general theme. Two other aspects of the philosopher's argument would also appeal. First, there is no conflict between religion and science in Royce's theology; he contends that science is "rather only strengthened, by the insight into the ultimate rationality of things." Considering that science and philosophy led to Carman's earlier loss of faith in traditional religion, this aspect of Royce's argument would interest him. Second, Royce surpasses most idealists in his rationale for the existence of moral evil. Royce does not make the vague and easy answer that evil impulses in an individual are somehow part of the universal good; he rather argues that the evil impulse is necessary because one makes it a part of the "good consciousness, in overcoming it. . . . Only through this inner victory over the evil that is experienced as a conquered tendency does the good will have its being." Royce accounts for the presence of evil in the world by the same principle: just as "the evil impulse of the good man forms an element in his realization of goodness," so does the individual's evil impulse form part of God's total good will. Thus Royce reiterates that "Not indeed to set off the good by any external contrast, but to constitute a moment in the organic unity of the

good act, is this evil in the world."²² That Carman accepts this stern rationale is shown by his use of it ten years later in "Beyond the Gamut" (see below, Chapter Four).

As well as reading Royce's book, Carman takes his course in Philosophy 13, described in the Harvard calendar for 1886-87 as "Monism and the Theory of Evolution in their relation to the Philosophy of Nature--Spinoza's lectures--Spencer's First Principles--lectures and theses."²³ If one can assume that Royce's teaching in the course follows the same pattern as the lectures he later prints as The Spirit of Modern Philosophy (1892), then the underlying principle of the course is essentially the same Idealism that he advances in The Religious Aspect of Philosophy, the major difference being that the course would have a more historical and scientific orientation. Interestingly, Carman's opinion of one philosopher, Spinoza, remains in the form of an essay on Part One of the Ethics, for which Royce awarded him a "B":

But when we shovel away much of Spinoza's verbosity and come at his ideas, we shall find much sanity in him. "God is the indwelling, and not the transient cause of all things." "God, and all the attributes of God are eternal." "The existence of God and His essence are one and the same."²⁷

As might be expected, Carman quotes only those lines with which he can find some philosophical agreement. These lines, stressing the immanence, perpetuity, and oneness of the Divine, reflect his idealistic assumptions.

During the two years Carman spends at Harvard, he writes almost one hundred poems. Among them are some which reaffirm

Emerson's insights; for example, Carman points out that Emerson's thoughts are "strong / To keep your spirit at great Nature's knees," and that one should heed his "wise heart, and keep / Counsel with God's own voice in the dark pines."²⁵ These two selections evince the continuing strength of Carman's feelings for the Concord transcendentalist though the young poet does not show the same idolatry of Emerson as previously; his response is more affectionate than reverent. One reason is that Carman is no longer a teenage freshman; he is now a man of twenty-five with a much wider experiential background. As well, he has more philosophical sophistication. Nevertheless, Emerson's influence is not dead; merged with Roycean idealism and Carman's own mystical insights, it is part of a general idealistic outlook based on nature. The many poems Carman writes--frequently manifesting an awareness of the spiritual reality immanent in creation and a feeling of kinship with the divinity behind nature's beauty--generally confirm the transcendental idealist nature of his thought.

Of the poems dating from Carman's Harvard days, only ten see eventual book publication. In these works, Carman generally finds his inspiration in nature's beauty; in addition, he draws upon the "mystic lore of Hellas"²⁶ and symbolically combines the divine beauties of nature and humanity in the figure of Nature characterized as a beautiful woman, sometimes unnamed, sometimes called "April," "Spring," or "the Mother." Such poems show him in quest of this personified Beauty, seeking to achieve union with her or just to catch

a glimpse of her perfection. One of these works is "Lyric April," written in April, 1888, and later printed as "In Lyric Season":

The lyric April time is forth
With lyric mornings, frost and sun;
From leaguers vast of night undone
Auroral mild new stars are born.

And ever at the year's return,
Along the valleys gray with rime,
Thou leadest as of old, where time
Can naught but follow to thy sway.

The trail is far through leagues of spring,
And long the quest to the white core
Of harvest quiet, yet once more
I gird me to the old unrest.

I know I shall not ever meet
Thy still regard across the year,
And yet I know thou wilt draw near,
When the last hour of pain and loss

Drifts out to slumber, and the deeps
Of nightfall feel God's hand unbar
His lyric April, star by star,
And the lost twilight land reveal.²⁷

What "Lyric April" celebrates is how the cycle of the year, particularly April, affects Carman, stimulating his soul's quest towards absolute Beauty. This divine Beauty, symbolized by the personification of lovely April as a pursued woman, is the spirituality infusing all creation; in Emerson's words, nature "always speaks of Spirit."²⁸ The objective of union with her represents mystic and artistic completion.

Beauteous April is seen as a time of renewal and creation, the morning of the year when "auroral mild new stars are born" after long night is past. With her coming there is a reawakening of impulse throughout the universe, not only in nature but also in

the heart and soul of man. Man has "familiar but uncomprehended promptings to vagabondage, to fresh endeavour, to renewal of life and wider prospects"²⁹ or, in other words, feels a stirring of "the old unrest" which impels one to spiritual and creative endeavour, to the mystic's quest for union with the Oversoul and the artist's quest for perfect beauty. Of course, these two goals are basically one; as Plato indicates in the Symposium and the Phaedrus, the love of beauty is essentially the desire of the soul to unite with what is akin to it.

Not only as Spring and as Beauty does lyric April irresistibly lead the year and the seeker down through the days to harvest fulfilment. As well, she is mistress of "time" and "sway", "time" being not only a measure of duration but also an indication of musical rhythm (to keep time). Together with the verb "sway," "time" makes deliberate reference to the periodic swing of the pendulum and to the law of rhythm, the conceptualized image through which Carman expresses his vision of order and unity in the universe:

As the earth vibrates in her course from autumnal to vernal equinox our heart vibrates between misgiving and elation. The long swing of the planets through their orbits is no more than a single beat of their endless vibration. The pendulum of the sun has a longer arm than the pendulum of the kitchen clock, yet the law of rhythm holds in both. The moon glowing and darkening in the purple night and the firefly gleaming and then extinguished in the meadow have different periods of rhythm, that is all. Not only music is rhythm, but all sound is rhythm. Colour, too, is rhythm,—the light rays of varying length in their vibrations. We are only made up of a mass of vibrations, all our senses being but so many variations of the power of

perceiving and measuring rhythm.

Rhythm is primarily motion from one point to another. This is the beginning of life, the first evidence of anything more potent than inert matter. You see how faithfully the rudimentary idea of rhythm is maintained in nature. In her most subtle and complex performances she never resigns that first mode of essential life, but does all things according to ordered rhythm and harmony. So that there could not be any June at one side of the Zodiac without December at the other. The year in its ebb and flow is the pulse-beat of the universe. . . .

. . . Our Mother Nature does not glide ahead like an empty apparition, but walks step by step, like any lovely human, constantly moving in rhythmic progress.³⁰

Besides its importance as a whole, this quotation is important in its parts. That the law of rhythm holds for all creation means man and nature are both subject to the same equitable dispensation. That everything is made of a mass of vibrations means the universe is all one essence. That rhythm is regular implies universal order and harmony. That the year is the "pulse-beat of the universe" means Carman's use of the annual cyclic process has macrocosmic application. Finally, the personification of "Mother Nature" as a "lovely human" has parallel reference in "Lyric April." All these implications are present to Carman's mind in the mention of "time" and "sway."

Returning to a more direct explication of the poem, Carman, impelled by the "old unrest" which beauteous April has aroused, is forced to quest "through leagues of spring" for the perfection, "the white core of harvest quiet," which he seeks. Here, as always in Carman's work, "white," being the union of all colours in one, is his symbol for perfection and completion, while "core" means the

heart or inmost part. The phrase thus refers to the mystic's ecstasy which is also peace, the fulfilment of one's questing desire for Oneness. At the same time, the poem is not only about the mystic's quest for completion, but also concerns the artist's quest for perfection; as Carman says in "The Vernal Ides":

Yet I wonder whether the vernal ides are truly a time favourable to artistic creation. If there are seasons of the mind, its April should be a month of starting and growth, of extended horizons, renewed vigour, fresh inspirations. But the month of fruitage is September or October, and the achievements of art are ripened to perfection in the Indian summer of the soul. It is not under the immediate stress of a great emotion that a great work is produced; most often it is the result of the long, silent cogitation, when the mind sits in autumnal luxury thinking to itself.³¹

Accordingly, Carman knows he cannot meet the "still regard" of Beauty or attain his "harvest quiet" during spring, but also knows she will come closer as autumn and winter approach.

Of course, both as mystic and poet Carman realizes his quest will not always be as fully realized as "Lyric April" anticipates, but partial lack of success is not to imply that he can never seize on that image of personified perfection in his soul. It is to the actual fulfilment of this same quest that Carman refers in "In Apple Time," an autumnal complement to "Lyric April":

Through leagues of bloom I went with Spring,
To call you on the slopes of morn,
Where in imperious song is borne
The wild heart of the goldenwing.

I roamed through alien summer lands,
I sought your beauty near and far;
Today, where russet shadows are,
I hold your face between my hands.

On runnels dark by slopes of fern,
 The hazy undern sleeps in sun.
 Remembrance and desire, undone,
 From old regret to dreams return.

The apple harvest time is here,
 The tender apple harvest time;
 A sheltering calm, unknown at prime,
 Settles upon the brooding year.³²

In this poem, the sought-for perfection is captured in the ripeness of Indian summer, whereupon an harmonic stillpoint of "sheltering calm" is achieved. This stillpoint, paralleled by "Lyric April's" expected "harvest quiet," is the moment of mystic completion and of artistic satisfaction; in this moment, too, the seeds of new quest are generated, to gestate in the womb of winter slumber as the brooding year begins a new swing of creation. Thus, in "Lyric April," Carman looks ahead to when, from the depths of winter night, April will again be born, "star by star," revealing the dimly-remembered birthland of the soul with morning twilight, and cyclically returning the year and the poem to stanza one. And, the re-creation operates in art as well as in life; as Carman says:

There is another rhythmic flux and reflux in the relation of art to life; the creations of the one are the recreation of the other

Our recreation should be not merely sport, but a true recreation of forces. The best recreation is that reëngendering of the spirit which takes place through the avenues of art. To meet, to know, to assimilate perfectly some fresh creation of art, is to be recreated thoroughly, to be put in tune anew, and set in harmony once more.³³

In "Lyric April," then, Carman celebrates the cycle of the year as it affects himself, stimulating the soul's quest towards perfect Beauty. Similarly, as an approximation of perfect beauty,

the artistic creation itself captures part of this stimulus and in turn helps others to reëngender their spirits. In this way nature and woman and art, as visible examples of beauty, work together to bring the poet and his readers into harmony with the universe. This harmony, this awareness of unity with divine Oneness, is the mystical state of grace that Carman seeks. The basic reasoning which underlies "Lyric April" sheds light on the process found behind and within most of Carman's poetry.

In the summer of 1888, Carman leaves Harvard to return to the Maritimes. The next eighteen months he divides between his home in Fredericton and Roberts's home in Windsor. "The Pensioners," written during this period, provides a significant record of how his mystical transcendentalism sets him apart from other men. The idea underlying the poem is that the coming of "Spring"³⁴ provides spiritual stimulus to man as well as to nature, but that, among men, she receives a different response from "overlords of change" as opposed to "pensioners."

The poem begins by including all men in the category of "pensioners of Spring," receiving from her world-wide benefice a spiritual allowance ("the largess [sic] of her hand") which is distributed by the winds, "her seraph almoners" who "unbar / The wintry portals of her land." Most men waste Spring's largesse; her stirring of "the old unrest" (as "Lyric April" has it) only impels them to "some fool's idle quest" because they do not fully appreciate their kinship with the rest of creation. Their unrest

is "blind unrest." For the mystical transcendentalist, however, there is not blindness but an illuminationg awareness of kinship, resulting from the appearance of Spring in her April dress:

Until her April train goes by,
And then because we are the kin
Of every hill flower on the hill
We must arise and walk therein.

Because her heart as our own heart
Knowing the same wild upward stir,
Beats joyward by eternal laws,
We must arise and go with her; . . .

Akin to nature, man is governed by the same "eternal laws" of aspiration and rhythm. Roused by Spring, he partakes in the general striving towards perfection; he shares the "same wild upward stir" towards the joy of universal rhythmic harmony. Understanding his participation in the cosmic concord also means a change in how one thinks of, and responds to, the vagaries of fate; enlightened men, following the upward lead of Spring, must

Forget we are not where old joys
Return when dawns and dreams retire;
Make grief a phantom of regret,
And fate the henchman of desire;

Divorce unreason from delight;
Learn how despair is uncontrol,
Failure the shadow of remorse,
And death a shudder of the soul.

Yea, must we triumph when she leads.

With a new vision of reality, the attitude to change is not one of pessimism but one of confidence, for spiritual reality transcends material occurrences.

Accordingly, to the initiate of Spring, any April signs--

from the "little rain before the sun" to the "First whitethroat's ecstasy unfurled"--are summonses to spiritual insight. Experiencing this insight,

. . . we are overlords of change,
In the glad morning of the world,

Though we should fare as they whose life
Time takes between his hands to wring
Between the winter and the sea,
The weary pensioners of Spring.

Though the mystic and the ordinary man may undergo equally oppressive hardships, the former, transcending the physical sphere and living in the morning of the spirit, is an overlord of change, while the latter, wasting his spiritual allowance and blindly accepting subjection to the material world, can never be more than a weary pensioner of Spring. The spiritual illumination that Carman has received helps to preserve him from despair over the inevitable unhappiness that gathers around man's life.

As time goes by, Carman's outward circumstances change; in February, 1890, he leaves the Maritimes to assume an editorial position with the weekly New York Independent. Possibly in part because he is cut off from nature by his regular city job,³⁵ darker notes--though dispersed by the mystic's confidence--begin to appear in his poetry. The best early example is "Pulvis et Umbra" (dust and shadow), written July 18. This poem evinces the assurance that mystical insight provides against doubt about the spirituality of creation. More particularly, "Pulvis et Umbra" confronts the annihilation that death suggests, with the confidence born of mystical

experience.

The poem opens with a retrospective account of the event which inspires it:

There is dust upon my fingers,
Pale gray dust of beaten wings,
Where a great moth came and settled
From the night's blown winnowings.³⁶

Carman places the moth's arrival in relation to his own autumnal mood; his sense of the forlorn and the mysterious is conveyed through the images of the "lonely hopeless calling / Of the bell-buoy" and the restless "sea with her old secret." In this context, from the "chambers of the twilight," enters the moth,

One frail waif of beauty fronting
Immortality and doom.

Marveling that this child of beauty so fearlessly confronts the possibility of death, the poet attempts to find an adequate metaphorical explanation of its assumed immortality. He considers it as a bird's cry garbed in leaves and dew, as "whimsy Ariel" covered with dust, as the passion in Cleopatra's last breath, as "thistle-drift and sundown" shaped by goblins and infused with spirit by the wind, and as the ghost of Pysche. This final comparison leads him to see the moth as "Pilot of the shadow people," come to "hapless port" because there is no one to guide beyond the grave:

For man walks the world with mourning
Down to death, and leaves no trace,
With the dust upon his forehead,
And the shadow in his face.

Pillared dust and fleeing shadow
As the roadside wind goes by,
And the fourscore years that vanish

In the twinkling of an eye.

Man is seen as totally evanescent, as mere dust and shadow that vanishes in the "twinkling of an eye." In this state of despair even 'imperishable' Beauty and Spirit are also transient; "Beauty" is just "the fine frosty trace-work / Of some breath upon the pane," and "Spirit" only "the keen wintry moonlight / Flashed there-on to fade again."

However, in reaching this conclusion the poet finds himself at variance with his own deeply-felt experience; he knows through his mystical revelation that Beauty and Spirit are more, much more, than ephemeral frost and moonlight:

Beauty, the white clouds a-building
When God said and it was done;
Spirit, the sheer brooding rapture
Where no mid-day brooks no sun.

"Beauty" manifests the purpose and unity of creation, while "Spirit" indicates the revelatory rapture of mystical insight, transcending the limits of time and physical reality. The erroneous conclusions about Beauty and Spirit, and the argument of evanescence which leads to these incorrect conclusions, are thus overthrown and their antithesis, spiritual life after death, is the only valid alternative:

What's to hinder but I follow
This my gypsy guide afar,
When the bugle rouses slumber
Sounding taps on Arrochar?

Though spiritual life is the portion of both moth and man, there is still a difference in their lots. Where the moth is

"perfect for a day," "faultless as a flower," the man is not. His is "the endless way / Of the dust and shadow kindred," the way of mutability; his spiritual perfection is deferred:

Yet from beauty marred and broken,
Joy and memory and tears,
I shall crush the clearer honey
In the harvest of the years.

For the man there is a special compensation for his subjection to "fault and failure." This compensation is the coming of eternal dawn when death shall succumb to the world of the spirit:

For man walks the world in twilight,
But the morn shall wipe all trace
Of the dust from off his forehead,
And the shadow from his face.

Instead of "mourning," "morn" will reign; instead of the dust and shadow of death, man's end shall be his beginning, his entry into the eternal morning of spiritual existence.

Accordingly, the moth becomes "tidings-bearer" for the poet, taking his greetings and its own beauty down the trail from life through death to "Her whose dark eyes match thy wings," probably a reference to divine Beauty. Then, the moth assisted on its journey, the poet exults:

Pale gray dust upon my fingers;
And from this my cabined room
The white soul of eager message
Racing seaward in the gloom.

This change of mood, from hopelessness to eagerness, is also conveyed by the final stanza's image of the sounding bell-buoy; no longer is it the "lonely hopeless calling" of stanza two, but

rather a "sweet low calling":

Far off shore, the sweet low calling
Of the bell-buoy on the bar,
Warning night of dawn and ruin
Lonelily [sic] on Arrochar.

The reason for the change is that, not death, but life-in-the-spirit will triumph, symbolized in the ruin of night by the coming of dawn, heralding the spiritual morning of existence. Carman confronts the annihilation that death and doubt of spirituality suggest with the truths learned through mystical experience.

After the writing of "Pulvis et Umbra," Carman's transcendental idealism is mainly reflected through his interest in Royce and nature. Especially in times of spiritual stress, he turns to them for aid. Accordingly, after the death of his cousin and best friend, Andrew Straton, in October, 1890, Carman re-reads Royce's Religious Aspect of Philosophy for reassurance. In reference to Carman's comments about how much the book continues to mean to him, Royce replies:

The words about my book are among the kindest I ever received, and it is heartily satisfying to know that, many as my faults are, I have been permitted to be of service to one of my fellows in the way that you mention.³⁷

This comment is not an isolated incident; Carman's enduring appreciation of the Harvard philosopher is illustrated in statements made up to twenty years later.³⁸

A second spiritual difficulty is the effect of his New York editorial job; in November, 1891, he writes: "I have two passions, poetry and nature. Both are denied me in large measure now. For I

must work here among men who do not allow themselves to think of these things."³⁹ Cut off from the inspirations of art and nature, he writes only five poems between October, 1890, and March, 1892; consequently, he leaves his job in spring, 1892, and spends the summer with Roberts at Kingscroft.

In the interim, Carman finds consolation in recalling past evidences of nature's aid, as in "A Pagan's Prayer," inspired by the sight of falling snow. This poem is a confession of faith in the Mother, the spirit that infuses all Nature and that is analogous with the Oversoul. Opening the poem is a statement of his past love and loyalty to the Mother:

O Mother, I have loved thee without fear
And looked upon the mystery of change,
Since first, a child, upon the closing year
I saw the snowflakes fall and whispered, "Strange!"

Because in these pale border lands of fate
Grief hath companioned me, I have not quailed;
And when love passed into the outer strait, ⁴⁰
I have not faltered and thou hast not failed.

Ever since his childhood, through all the vagaries of change--the turning of the seasons, the companionship of grief replacing that of dead friends, the loss of love--the poet has given the Mother his loving trust. By the same token, she has never failed him:

When I have lifted up my heart to thee,
Then hast thou ever hearkened and drawn near,
And bowed thy shining face close over me,
Till I could hear thee as hill-flowers hear.

When I have cried to thee in lonely need,
Being but a child of thine bereft and wrung,
Then all the rivers in the hill gave heed;
And the great hill-winds in thy tongue--

That ancient incommunicable speech
 The April stars and autumn sunsets know--
 Soothed me and calmed with solace⁴¹ beyond reach
 Of human ken, mysterious and low.

The Mother has heard and soothed and calmed him, has communed with him in her "holy tongue," her "ancient incommunicable speech," has given him "solace beyond reach / Of human ken." In so doing she has enabled the poet to transcend change, and thus, out of the past proofs of faith and love between himself and herself, he prays to her that she will continue her embrace through the last change of all:

Then in that day, when the last snow shall come,
 And chill the fair round world within its fold,
 Leave me not friendless in the gathering gloom,
 But gird thine arms about me as of old.

When that great storm out of the dark shall drive,
 And blur the sun, and bugle my release,
 Let not thy weary earthling faint nor strive,
 Faring beyond the tumult to thy peace.

In this way does the poet seek to make the passage from the tumult of worldly change to the peace of eternal Oneness with the Mother; with such thoughts of re-union he strengthens his spirit against grief over her absent inspiration. His reliance on transcendental vision is again confirmed; as he retorts to Charles Eliot Norton's warning against pathetic fallacy in the poem, "the line is not clearly marked between 'the pathetic fallacy' and the pathetic truth."⁴² In his own case, "I would feel a personal communion at times."⁴³ The kinship with nature in Carman's poetry is not a technical device, but a felt and realized truth.

Accordingly, at the beginning of 1892, Carman's philosophical position can be described as a general idealistic outlook founded on deep awareness of intimacy with nature. Its origin is in experience and theory. The experiential basis is close kinship with nature, sometimes leading to mystical revelation. A more theoretical superstructure is provided by idealist (non-materialist) thought in general, especially by the transcendentalism of Emerson and the intellectual idealism of Royce. Emerson's contribution is spiritual; a fellow transcendentalist who also finds in nature's beauty the primary source of inspiration, he is less a master and more a friend than formerly. Royce's aid is intellectual; he supplies Carman with a systematic exposition of idealism and with a sound rational confirmation of truths mystically perceived. Again, Carman's outlook results both from his own experience and from the writings of others.

CHAPTER IV

CREATIVE SURGE AND LULL

Carman's third period of productivity is one of marked upsurge in output beginning in March, 1892. During this period, his poems frequently manifest a new awareness of the body, both in sensual terms and as a source of spiritual insight. This awareness seems partly due to the influence of Richard Hovey's belief in spiritual revelation through physicality, and partly to the insights Carman gains from his own affair with Jessie Kappeler. With discovery of the body's spiritual function, Carman postulates an evolutionary relationship between physicality and spirituality which is a major theme of his philosophical opus, "Beyond the Gamut." In later poems, love is stressed as the motive force behind such spiritual evolution of nature and man. In 1897 and more markedly in 1898, there is a noticeable decline in Carman's poetic output.

Between 1892 and 1898, Carman's main activity is poetry. He not only writes prolifically, but also begins to publish his work in book form. His first collection is Low Tide on Grand Pré, published in 1893; thereafter, he issues a book per year until the end of this productive period. Though, as Appendix A demonstrates, there is little relation between date of composition and date of publication, the significance of regular publication is Carman's

growing fame. In terms of other employment, after leaving his position with the Independent he takes only short-term posts as editor or reader for various literary enterprises. He spends most of his time in New York or Boston or Washington, living with friends such as Richard Hovey or sharing a room. During the summers before 1897 he often visits friends in the Maritimes, but after 1897 generally goes to a resort in the Catskill Mountains with the King family. In 1896, he travels to England and France for six weeks; in 1898, he spends a short stay in the Bahamas. His love affair with Jessie Kappeler dates from these years, as does the beginning of his romance with Mary Perry King.

When Carman gives up his job and goes to Kingscroft in 1892, he takes along his Harvard friend, Richard Hovey, just returned from Europe. The two poets stay with Roberts until early autumn and then hike to Hovey's home in Washington, where Carman visits from October to June, 1893. During this period, the effect of Hovey's influence appears in Carman's poetry. A great advocate of spiritual insight through physicality, Hovey holds sensual joy "to be the very health of the soul."¹ A key component in his outlook is sexual love, rising from the physical to the spiritual. Accordingly, the new note in Carman's work is one of robust freedom and sexual sensuousness. As Roberts says, Hovey "was a broadening and emancipating influence. He had the effect of liberating those robust elements in Carman's character, inherited from a

very virile and large-moulded ancestry, which had hitherto lain dormant."²

In Carman's light verse, this new note often appears as spirited sexual humour. "In the Wayland Willows," a poem about a casual encounter with a "soncy [sic] maid,"³ has a typically delightful ending:

All her tousled beauty bright
And teasing as before
I left her there in sweet despair,
A soncy maid no more.

In other poems such as "The Joys of the Road," the robust note is subsumed into a vagabond or drinking-companion theme. However, in more serious poems, the vagabond theme does not merely refer to physical wandering, but merges into Carman's traditional quest for spiritual fulfilment or for re-union with the Mother, as a few stanzas from "Afoot" suggest:

Till at midnight I can hear
The dark Mother croon and lean
Close about me. And her whisper
Bids the vagabonds convene.

Then the glad and wayward heart
Dreams a dream it must obey;
And the wanderer within me
Stirs a foot and will not stay.

I would journey far and wide
Through the provinces of spring
Where the gorgeous white azaleas
Hear the sultry yorlin sing.⁴

The Mother's awakening whisper stirs the perennial desire to vagabondage, to the quest through spring and summer for final fulfilment. Similarly, the sexual theme is sometimes expanded into spiritual

significance, either as a physically more attractive personification of nature's beauty, or as another road to absolute Beauty. This last usage is new to Carman's poetry and thought, and has specific reference to the Songs of the Sea Children.

The biographical background to Songs of the Sea Children can be summarized briefly. While staying with Hovey's family, Carman meets Jessie Kappeler, a cheerful and beautiful eighteen-year old. He falls in love; she reciprocates. Together in Washington, they are also together at Lake Placid during the summer. The romance flourishes, but eventually, partly due to strenuous opposition from Miss Kappeler's mother, dwindles and is largely ended by April, 1895.⁵ In the meantime, almost two-third of the love-poems in Songs are written and serve as a record of their relationship and of what "Seaborn"⁶ means to him.

Inevitably, considering Hovey's emancipating influence on him, the sexual aspect of Carman's relationship with Miss Kappeler appears in the poetry, as this stanza from Song XXXIV suggests:

Thou art the fair seed vessel
Waiting all day for me,
Who ache with the golden pollen
The night will spill for thee.⁷

Explicit though the parallel of the plant imagery to the male and female organs be, the sexual element in the songs is spiritual as well as physical, as lyric XXXIX attests:

The alchemist who throws his worlds
In the round crucible of the sun
Has laid our bodies in the forge
Of love to weld them into one.

The hypnotist who waves his hand
 And the pale streamers walk the night,
 A moment for our souls unbars
 The lost dominions of delight.⁸

These stanzas combine Hovey and Plato. The Hoveian interpretation would be that, through the divine gift of sex used as the expression of love, the two lovers can reach the spiritual height of ecstasy. Use is also made of the Platonic notion (propounded by Aristophanes in the Symposium) that Zeus divided each original man into halves, and that lovers are people seeking to find and fuse with their other halves. This theory provides additional explanation of why the union of two into one gives such delight--it means the momentary reunion of the divided soul. Platonic theory also accounts for the original fall from delight implied by "lost dominions." Under either interpretation, the sexual union of lovers leads to spiritual insight.

Not only through sexual experience does the body provide a road to the kingdom of the spirit. In reply to a later comment on the Songs, Carman explains:

I don't think 'physical passion in various degrees of intensity' the best phrase to describe the motive of 'Songs of the Sea Children.' They are primarily love poems, of course, but the love passion is sublimated by imagination and meditation, until it transcends the physical and becomes mystic. Raw physical passion (if it could exist without spirit and mind) could not create, it could only procreate. Yet spiritual rapture, love with all its divine attributes, and intellectual elation, cannot divorce themselves wholly from the physical, they must forever be enamoured of outward physical beauty, beauty of nature and beauty of people. The soul must take on substance and form of beauty before it can dwell among men.

And physicality must reach up like a mounting wave into the realm of mind and spirit before it can become beautiful.⁹

Carman's emphasis on the application of "imagination and meditation" to the love passion so that it "transcends the physical and becomes mystic," and his stress on physical beauty as an adjunct to states of "spiritual rapture, love with all its divine attributes, and intellectual elation," are essentially a statement of neo-Platonic idealism. Like Plato and the neo-Platonists, Carman here sees the mystic "way" as the right use of love, starting with the appreciation of physical beauty in a particular person and thence ascending by steps to the vision of absolute beauty, or, in Carman's word, "soul."

As well, Carman goes beyond Plato, through Plotinus, to Emerson and his own experience, emphasizing not just bodily beauty but all "outward physical beauty"--"beauty of nature and beauty of people." It is this sense of beauty as the expression of "soul" in the universe that Carman is using both in his comment about the Songs and in an 1894 statement that "beauty is only truth made visible, struck into form for these poor eyes to see."¹⁰ His comments on beauty also indicate another reason why he personifies the creating spirit that impels and resides in all Nature as a beautiful female; spiritual ecstasy cannot be wholly divorced from the physical and "soul must take on substance and form of beauty" before it can be fully apprehended. Accordingly, the female figure in Songs represents both Carman's lover and the Soul that infuses all

Nature; similarly, the realization of their love represents the poet's attainment of the mystic insight for which he has quested:

A touch of your hair, and my heart was furled;
A drift of fragrance, and noon stood still;
All of a sudden the fountain there
Had something to whisper the sun on the hill.

Rose of the garden of God's desire,
Only the passionate years can prove
With sorrow and rapture and toil and tears
The right of the soul to the kingdom of love.¹¹

The first stanza describes the moment of revelation; its characteristics are ineffability yet noesis ("something to whisper"), transcendence ("All of a sudden"), passivity (the poet is acted upon, not acting), Oneness (the relationship between fountain and hill is suddenly perceived), timelessness ("noon stood still"), transcendence of ego ("my heart was furled"), and a general sense of joy and love (implicit). The second stanza describes the means to insight; it is to use passion so that it "transcends the physical and becomes mystic," thus proving the individual soul's right to the "kingdom of love" where its oneness with the oversoul is achieved.

Discovering that body as well as soul has a spiritual function, and exemplifying the social Darwinism of his day,¹² Carman is moved to postulate that an evolutionary relationship might exist between the two, that the seeming division between material and ideal worlds might not actually prevail. In "Beyond the Gamut," Carman's philosophical opus, he investigates this and related possibilities. The situation upon which the poem is based, in Carman's words, is the "meditation of a musician over his

violin."¹³ As the title implies, this meditation goes beyond the gamut, beyond the lines and spaces upon which the musical notes are written. In other words, the musician is carried away by "Something"¹⁴ in his music, is transported beyond everyday perception into "a new room in the house of knowledge." In this new room, he is given four successive insights into truth.

The first verity that the musician and his violin descry is that

As all sight is but a finer hearing,
And all colour but a finer sound,
Beauty, but the reach of lyric freedom,
Caught and quivering past all music's bound;

Life, that faint sigh whispered from oblivion;
Harks and wonders if we may not be
Five small wits to carry one great rhythmus,
The vast theme of God's new symphony.

As fine sand spread on a disc of silver,
At some chord which bids the notes combine,
Heeding the hidden and reverberant impulse
Shifts and dances into curve and line,

The round earth, too, haply, like a dust-mote,
Was set whirling her assigned sure way,
Round this little orb of her ecliptic
To some harmony she must obey.

Since sight, colour and beauty are the respective summits of hearing, sound and poetry ("lyric freedom"), transferred into a higher key, the musician thinks that, by analogy and extension, man's "five small wits" may be the lower key from which a loftier summit--"one great rhythmus"--in an even higher key--"The vast theme of God's new symphony"--will be realized. Further, the only difference between all keys, from the five senses to God's rhythmic

symphony, is one of degree, not of substance. Consequently, as everything is composed of one substance--a "mass of vibrations" governed by the harmonic "law of rhythm,"¹⁵ Carman says elsewhere--there can be no division between physicality and sprituality save in rhythmic period. The visible universe just vibrates at lower frequencies than the invisible universe; hence, there is a kinship among all that exists.

This last point ("Ah, thought cannot far [sic] without the symbol!"), Carman stresses in a series of stanzas, of which the following is representative:

Not a bird-song, but it has for fellow
Some wood-flower, its speechless counterpart,
Form and color moulded to one cadence,
To voice something of the wild mute heart.

As well as these qualities of sound and colour, things have the attributes of resilience, odour, flavour, and soul. All of these attributes vibrate at different frequencies, the first five of which can be perceived through man's "Five small wits." Naturally, just as perceiving rhythm through one sense gives pleasure, so does perceiving it through five result in a correspondingly greater pleasure:

Peal and flash and thrill and scent and savour
Pulse through rhythm to rapture, and control,--
Who shall say how far along or finely?--
The infinite tectonics of the soul.

The degree to which one perceives the rhythm of the universe affects the development of one's soul. Accordingly, "scarlet and brass" wave-lengths are appreciated by "Low-bred peoples" while

blue and purple are preferred by such artists as Monet. Because of his better perception, the artist also acts as a leader in God's symphony of ultimate rhythm; he "Sees not only, but instructs our seeing," in this way augmenting man's ability to perceive the furthest end of the visible spectrum.

Though the first five attributes of things can be perceived through the five senses, what about the attribute of soul, inherent in all creation but on a frequency that cannot be seen even through the highest physical sense, eyesight?

Red the bass and violet the treble,
Soul may pass out where all color ends.
Ends? So we say, meaning where the eyesight
With some yet unborn perception blends.

Nevertheless, the musician is not depressed; he feels that a sixth sense may be evolved so that soul can be actually perceived, not just intuitively felt:

I, at my wits' end, may still develop
Unknown senses in life's larger room.

Superhuman is not supernatural.
How shall half-way judge of journey done?
Shall this germ and protoplast of being
Rest mid-way and say his race is run?

The evolution of spiritual perception is a continuing process.

Reaching this realization the musician consults with his violin and is given his second insight into the harmonic order. Since evolution only results from the full exertion of effort, one should not ascetically deny life and the five existing senses; rather, "every sense's impulse / Is a means the master soul employs." Thus, on "earth one habitat of spirit," one must "Touch

environment"--the whole external world--"with every sense-tip," and "Not for sense sake only, but for soul sake." A common human error is to deny one or the other, to "Soil the goodly feast" or to "Vilify the bounty." The musician, on the other hand, feels that a balance must be struck between the complementary faculties of sense and soul, that the one who is "most man" would venture with Alexander and watch with Buddha. In developing both aspects of himself, he would find "mighty peace possess his spirit."

Accordingly, the musician concludes to his violin:

Life be neither hermitage nor revel;
Lent or carnival alone were vain;
Sin and sainthood--Help me, little brother,
With your largo finder-thought again!

The musician stumbles over the question of "Sin and sainthood," over the problem of evil in a rhythmically-ordered world. Appealing to his violin for a third moment of insight, the answer he gains is that "Good . . . shall triumph"; but the problem of evil is not satisfactorily resolved. This time, the musician helps explain evil to the violin. He begins by stating that even when he is long dead, his dreams "Shall be part of all the good that thrills you / In the oversoul's orchestral themes." In other words, the violinist's aspirations will be a part of the oversoul's total goodness. However, since the oversoul's goodness can only have its being through the inner victory of the will to goodness over the will to evil, evil is necessary, in Royce's words, "Not indeed to set off the good by any external contrast, but to constitute a

moment in the organic unity of the good act."¹⁶ Thus the musician continues:

What is good? While God's unfinished opus
Multitudinous harmony obeys,
Evil is a dissonance not a discord,
Soon to be resolved to happier phrase,--

Or, in Roycean terms, evil is no more than a momentary dissonance in the organic unity of God's good act, and is soon resolved into God's goodness. The same reasoning applies in the case of the individual's evil impulse; it "forms an element in his realization of goodness."¹⁷ As the musician says, the challenge of evil enables hearts to "know what hearts proclaim."

The musician also argues the alternative: even if evil is someone's "blunder," then it is a minor discord, outweighed by good in the greater harmony. In either instance, evil is not eternal:

Say I let you, spite of all endeavour
Mar some nocturne by a single note;
Is there immortality of discord
In your failure to preserve the rote?

Instead, after the error is done and gone, it becomes "as fresh clay for the potter" in a parallel to nature's cyclic renewal:

Blighted rose and perfect shall commingle
In one excellence of garden mould.
Soul transfusing comeliness or blemish
Can alone lend beauty to the old.

The natural cycle and Royce's idea of good and evil's resolution into the good consciousness are both contained in this image. As well, the musician recognizes the necessity of soul to the

creation of beauty; without the divine soul, the "garden mould" remains just mould, with no potential for beauty or development. And, having satisfied himself that "Good . . . shall triumph" ultimately and that without the divine gift of soul no beauty or development can occur, the musician can accept whatever fate God, the Master Musician, wills for man.

Man may be different from the rest of Nature in that he cannot lose himself in a merging with all his fellows; he is "sorrow-nurtured" rather than "perfect for a day."¹⁸ Nevertheless, he still has his role to fill in "The vast theme of God's new symphony." Indeed, his role is commensurately different:

Linked to all his half-accomplished fellows,
Through unfettered provinces to range,
Man is but the morning dream of nature
Roused by some wild cadence weird and strange.

Though linked with the rest of nature, man's task is to transcend the limits of five senses and to range through the "unfettered provinces" of the sixth sense, soul. In this sense he is the "morning dream of nature," hopefully another rung in the ladder of spiritual evolution. These conclusions reached, the musician can return from his exploration of the "new room in the house of knowledge," confidently "Knowing the hereafter will be well."

The musically-inspired meditation then closes with a final insight into three key philosophical truths. The first, a statement about conduct, is that "Love is but the perfect knowledge," infallible, but better expressed in "Lovingkindness" than in "loving credence." Active love of God (doing His will and helping others)

is better than philosophically-based loving belief. The second truth is a comment on immortality and beauty:

Beauty, beauty, beauty, sense and seeming,
With the soul of truth she calls her lord!
Stars and men the dust upon her garment;
Hope and fear the echoes of her word.

The meaning of the quatrain is that, although all else may perish, Beauty and the "soul of truth" she expresses will not. This is, of course, relevant to the artist; his work is a lesser degree of perfect beauty and may transcend ephemerality though he himself will die. As Carman writes two weeks later to Gertrude Burton, "Just to be allowed a few years in this fair encampment, and the pleasure of contriving what-not after our fancies of beauty! That is enough."¹⁹ The concluding truth is a summary of the human condition:

How escape we then, the rainbow's brothers,
Endless being with each blade and sod?
Dust and shadow between whence and whither,
Part of the tranquillity of God.

Though man, as mere "Dust and shadow," is ultimately one with all the rest of perishable nature, he is also part of the tranquillity of God. He is an evolutionary mid-point in the vibratory continuum of the universe, caught between whence and whither, between earth and rainbow. The "morning dream of nature," he is the living proof of evolutionary relationship between the physical and the spiritual.

A brief comparison with "Pulvis et Umbra,"²⁰ similar in certain themes and phrases to "Beyond the Gamut," is useful here as elaboration upon how Carman's thought has changed. The mental

process behind the later poem is rational; behind the earlier, emotional: that is, the conclusions of the later poem have a sounder philosophical basis than the earlier poem's experiential assurance. "Beyond the Gamut" has a cosmological cohesiveness, an emphasis on full enjoyment of the sense as a valid part of life and growth, a rationale for the problem of evil, a general acceptance of one's own individual death, and a carefully-considered belief in spiritual evolution. In all these ways the poem evinces Carman's growth since "Pulvis et Umbra."

A corollary to the principle of racial evolution towards the spirit is that of individual evolution. Some men provide particularly good examples of spiritual development; a most notable one is Christ, especially when freed from ecclesiastical dogma. In "The Church of the Leaves" (printed in December, 1895), Carman reveals his attitudes to orthodox religion, to Christ, and to evolution.

The poem opens with the French-Canadian legend of an ancient priest and his ghostly flock who annually rise to renew their devotions according to the long-dead rituals of their age. The legend typifies to the poet the outmoded and senescent religion of his own time:

Just so, we keep the forms of faith
That wrought and moved us long ago;
We mark the height man's soul attained,
Forgetting it must grow.

Those venerable outgrown shells
Wherefrom the radiant life is fled,--
We wrong with our idolatry
The dogmas of the dead.²¹

As these stanzas show, Carman's complaint is that of Emerson:

Our age is retrospective. . . . The foregoing generations beheld God and nature face to face; we, through their eyes. Why should not we also enjoy an original relation to the universe? Why should not we have a poetry and philosophy of insight and not of tradition, and a religion by revelation to us, and not the history of theirs? Embosomed for a season in nature, whose floods of life stream around and through us, and invite us, by the powers they supply, to action proportioned to nature, why should we grope among the dry²² leaves of the past? . . . The sun shines today also.

What the two transcendentalists are saying is that historical Christianity and its accumulation of dogma form a barrier between the Divinity and contemporary man, that they prevent the immediacy of relationship that must exist for the soul to develop in awareness. As an alternative, they call for the individual revelation of the world-soul to man through the medium of nature:

But He who walked with the world-soul
At twilight in Gethsemane,
Breathing among the listening boughs
Sweet prayers of charity,

Must daily with the wind return
About the dim world, to renew
The trembling litanies of the leaves,
The blessings of the dew.

He must revive with wind-sweet voice
The gospel hardly known to flesh,
Till the same spirit speaks again,
Interpreting afresh; . . .

Particularly in the wind, the priestly presence of Christ, who could actually perceive the "world-soul," is symbolically revealed as he renews the gospel of charity and spiritual life to his parishioners in the church of nature.

To the spirit that he represents, the creatures of earth
respond:

The pines are all His organ pipes,
And the great rivers are His choir;
And creatures of the field and tide
That reckon not, yet aspire,

Our brothers of the tardy hope,
Put forth their strength in senses dim,
Threading the vast, they know not why,
Through eons up to Him.

In this passage, Carman sees all creatures as pursuing an evolutionary aspiration to approach the perfection of Christ, true servant of the world-soul. Indeed, in a stanza reminiscent of "In Apple Time" save that the embodiment of spirit is male not female, Carman too is aware of the presence of Christ as revealed in nature:

I see Him in the orchard glooms,
Watching the russet apples tan,
With the serene regard of one
Who is more God than man.

Christ, being evolved further towards the divine, functions as an exemplum for man's aspiration:

Brother of Nazareth, behold,
We, too, perceive this life expand
Beyond the daily need for use
Thy thought must understand.

Not for ourselves alone we strive,
Since Thy perfection manifest
Bids self resign what self desired,
Postponing good for best.

And in the far unfretted years,
The generations we uphold
Shall reach the measure of Thy heart,
The stature of Thy mould.

These stanzas advance the vision of man's evolution toward Christ, or in terms of "Beyond the Gamut," of man's development of the sixth sense of actual perception of the world-soul, rather than a mere intuition thereof. The middle stanza also shows Carman's acceptance of Christ's example of self-denial to further the world-soul's will. By such actions, each man putting his fellow before himself and acting as a pattern of aspiration and love, the evolutionary process can be hastened.

In "The Church of the Leaves," the figure of Christ provides both nature and man with an ideal example of self-sacrificing love which, if followed, promotes the spiritual development of all creation. Later, Carman takes the role of love a step further; in "Above the Gaspereau" and "Henry George," the poet states that only through love can spiritual evolution occur.

The first of these poems, a work partly notable for its length (twenty-eight pages), conveys a message about the roles of plants and man in evolutionary development. Briefly, the idea is that a plant should strive to be perfect after its kind, not only because this will mean fruitful seed from which future generations of plants may spring, but also because the plant can in some fashion, either as food or raw material, thus help man fulfil God's higher purpose, "a lordlier law than the law of the bough."²³ Accordingly, the Deity in the poems asks that "Whoso hath love, let him give," for only through love, motivating both the plant's aspiration and its willingness to self-sacrifice, can evolution towards

the spirit be realized. Such love also benefits the plant:

Now, beauty is yours, and the freedom whose promptings
transcend
Attainment forever, through death with new being to
blend.
O ye orchards and woods, death is naught, love is all
in the end.

Because of its self-sacrificing love, the plant becomes truly beautiful and transcends planthood, blends with "new being" in a furtherance of the divine evolutionary end. The difference from Carman's previous treatment of evolution in nature is that now love is seen as the sine qua non of evolution; love is, in effect, the impulse behind evolution. Such a role is one important aspect of the overall integrating function which love fulfils in Carman's later unitrinian theology, where "Love is the great law."²⁴ The poet next applies the example of the plants to man. So, "death" becomes "but a door to new being no creature may spurn, / But must enter for beauty's completion,--pass up in his turn." Man too can further the evolution of all creation towards "beauty's completion," that is, towards the progressive realization and manifestation of spirit in the universe.²⁵ Ultimately, the poet believes, this loving effort will tend towards "the whole" of "Immortality, knowledge, survival of Soul." With this goal in mind, all life should strive to fulfil its part in the evolutionary ascent.

In this connection, Carman later observes that contemporary man's extension of love from the human world to the natural world may be "our contribution to the evolution of spirit through

spheres of religion, our step in the long process of emancipation, as little by little we grow toward that service which is perfect freedom."²⁶ In this sense, loving one's neighbour means "not only men-neighbours, but tree neighbours, river-neighbours, star-neighbours."²⁷ Love of all creation--nature as well as man--is Carman's precondition for spiritual evolution.

Love as a guide to human conduct that helps further evolution towards the spiritual is also the message of "Henry George." This poem is an elegy to George, an American socialist and reformer, whose proposal for a single land tax was based on the principle that all men have an equal right to the use of the land. Carman compares George to Christ (clearly identified as a "man of the people"²⁸ whom we only call "the Son of God, / Because of the love he had") and to Abraham Lincoln, since all three were men who gave their lives for love of their fellows. "Love," Carman ends, "is the only creed" because just through "loving and labor vast" can one "redeem the world at last / From cruelty and greed." Again love, inspiring effort, is the key to spiritual development.

At the end of this productive period, Carman's outlook can be characterized as evolutionary idealism. The basis of his position is the feeling that sensual joy is an integral aspect of life and growth, and provides a means of spiritual insight. This insight is achieved partly through the sexual act and partly through the neo-Platonic use of passion as an aid to mystic ascent. In either instance, Carman's discovery that the body has a spiritual function

leads him to conclude an evolutionary relationship between physicality and spirituality. Love is seen as the motive force behind such spiritual evolution of nature and man. The new influences on Carman's outlook seem to be Richard Hovey's belief in spiritual revelation through physicality, the insights Carman gains through his own affair with Jessie Kappeler, and the social Darwinism of the time. Together with such old influences as Plato, Emerson, and Royce, these fresh ideas, having some verification in Carman's own experience, are seized upon and poetically applied. This done, the poet's output declines while he awaits new stimuli.

CHAPTER V

RENEWED ACTIVITY

With Carman's renewal of activity following the creative lull of 1898, the fourth and final productive period of his major years begins. His work of 1899 shows growing interest in the organic harmonizing of body, mind, and spirit in everyday life. This new note--apparently deriving from François Delsarte's theory of trinitarian expression, to which Carman is introduced by Richard Hovey and Mary Perry King--appears only in Carman's prose, where he grapples with the wider implications of Delsartean thought. It is not until 1900, when Delsartean theory is augmented by George Santayana's rational idealism and thus is expanded into an unitrinitarian theology, that trinitarian personal harmonizing appears in Carman's poetry. The impetus behind this expansion is Santayana's Poetry and Religion (1900), which challenges Carman as artist and as idealist with its demands for reason in art and religion. The result in each instance is that, though Carman does not accept Santayana's underlying attitude, he does recognize the partial validity of the philosopher's position and adapts his own thought and work accordingly. In terms of art, Santayana's argument causes Carman to give more equitable representation to the rational element, a theoretical third of art's unitrinity; accordingly,

his poetry becomes less "obscure." In terms of religion, Santayana's book impels Carman to expand personal harmonizing into a full unitrinian theology based on the idealization of Goodness, Truth, Beauty, Love, and Evolution; to this degree Carman accepts the philosopher's rational idealism. As Carman's unitrinian theology unfolds, the combined consequences of rationalism and didacticism become increasingly manifested in his writing and he tends to disparage his earlier work. This same point in time marks the end of Carman's major years.

Between 1899 and 1905, Carman is extremely productive in both prose and poetry. A partial indication of his output is that he publishes thirteen volumes--ten of poetry, three of prose--during these years. Although some of this work is written earlier, much of the poetry and almost all of the essays are contemporary. As in the previous half-decade, his other income comes from short-term positions of editor (notably with the Boston Literary World, 1903-1904) and reader (with Small, Maynard and Company). He also contributes regular essays to the Boston Evening Transcript before 1902. Most of the time Carman lives in Boston or New York, though he continues to spend his summers with the Kings at Haines Falls in the Catskills. As well, in 1902 he travels to Indiana and Illinois, while in 1905 he visits friends in California. Through the entire productive period, Carman is romantically involved with Mrs. Mary Perry King. She exerts a strong sway over him; partly because

of her encouragement, he becomes an active proponent of the Delsartean-derived gospel of personal harmonizing.

The first major influence on Carman's thought during these years is Delsartean theory. Prerequisite to a discussion of Carman's debt to Delsarte is an outline of the latter's background and basic ideas. François Delsarte (1811-1871) was a student in singing and acting whose voice was ruined by poor trainers and who decided to devote his life to saving others from a like fate by scientifically investigating and formulating the laws of expression, that is, the principles by which meaning is expressed through the body. He studied people of all ages and from all walks of life and eventually reached several conclusions. Unfortunately, because he died before arranging his work for publication, the only accounts of his findings are those written by admirers having access to his papers and to the memories of his friends. Before 1912, Carman was able to obtain just one of these books, Genevieve Stebbins' Delsarte System of Expression (1885).¹ Consequently, the above biography and the following synopsis are based on his discussion.

Delsarte's starting-point is that underlying and governing all creation is a trinitarian principle:

The principle of the system lies in the statement that there is in the world a universal formula which may be applied to all science, to all things possible.

This formula is the trinity.

What is requisite for the formation of a trinity? Three expressions are requisite, each presupposing and implying the other two. Each of the three terms must imply the other two. There must also be an absolute co-necessity

between them. Thus, the three principles of our being, life, mind and soul, form a trinity.

Delsarte's trinity is a universal formula. The all-encompassing deific essence is a trinity composed of what is sometimes called Love, Wisdom, and Power (divine creative energy of life), sometimes Goodness, Truth, and Beauty. In man the microcosm, the trinity is soul, mind, and life (the body). These three aspects of triune man are co-necessary. Also, just as the divine trinity is visibly and idealistically expressed in the cosmos, so man's triune personality is expressed in all he does. This latter point--which expression (movement, inflection, pitch) of each part of the body corresponds to which meaning--is Delsarte's main concern and unique discovery. In elaborate detail, he analyzes every expression of the body in terms of the meaning it conveys. Hence derives the usefulness of his work for the actor, the singer, and the dancer. Other thinkers, such as Hovey, Carman, and Mary Perry King, see a wider applicability for Delsarte's insights.

Carman's first exposure to Delsartean ideas is through his contact with Hovey. In 1891, for example, Carman reads Hovey's article on "Delsarte and Poetry" and expresses interest in it.³ Hovey's thesis in this article is, not only that discoverable principles of expression underlie all art including poetry, but also that these "true inherent laws of Art"⁴ have been, in large part, already discovered by François Delsarte, though the French researcher does not apply them specifically to poetry. For Carman, the only

importance of Delsarte in 1891 is that he stimulates Hovey into investigating these scientific principles of artistic expression that govern poetry.

Similarly, in fall 1893 Hovey continues his investigations into the applicability of Delsarte's ideas to poetry. In particular, when Hovey, Carman, and Mrs. Henrietta Russell (Mrs. Hovey after January 17, 1894) visit Roberts at Kingscroft, Hovey studies "accent, rhythm and sound under Mrs. Russell's tuition."⁵ The importance of Hovey's activity is that Mrs. Russell, a professional actress, is a follower of Delsarte and a teacher of the Delsartean theory of expression. Her collaboration with Hovey in the application of Delsartean theory to poetry, and the intimacy of the Hovey-Carman-Roberts group, probably means that Carman too gets some exposure to Delsarte. However, poetical evidence is scanty; the only possibility is a stanza in "The Lodger" (written October 31, 1893) about the spirit:

The breath, aspiration, desire,
Core, kindle, control,
Memory and rapture and fire,--
The touch of man's soul.⁶

This ninefold description of one of the three aspects of man may not be accidental; after all, as MacDonald says of Hovey:

pushing the logic of trinitarianism to its furthest limit made the principle useful in the smallest matters. One might be divided into three and the three again subdivided into nine, and so on This could become a reductio ad absurdum, but it gave a disciplinary method and emphasized the interplay of the physical, ideational, and spiritual, so enforcing the deduction that each should include or lead to the other two, even in a phase of poetry.⁷

The same statement applies to Carman; though he may not draw upon the trinitarian system in the mid-1890's, it forms an essential part of his later unitrinian thought and poetry.

Again, when Hovey returns in 1896 from a long stay in Europe, he spends the summer with Carman and re-awakens his interest in Delsarte. At this time Hovey is in the midst of writing "Lancelot and Guenevere," a poetic drama divided into nine segments paralleling the triune nature of Delsartean man. Accordingly, it is not surprising that Carman mentions the "threefold division of man's endowments, into the physical, the emotional or spiritual, and the mental"⁸ in two newspaper articles he writes that autumn. Thus, in the report of an imaginary conversation with Socrates about debauchery in an artist, Carman comments:

"I was thinking of the threefold character of the man. And I spoke of the physical part of him, or his sense, as opposed to the mind or purely mental part, and also distinguished from the emotions or more purely spiritual part."⁸

However, Carman does not carry his use of Delsarte any further and seems to await new stimulus.

This new stimulus to Carman's growing Delsartism is provided by Mrs. Mary Perry King. Though he first meets Mrs. King in summer, 1896, at a luncheon given by Mrs. Hovey, indications are that the pair do not re-encounter until early spring, 1897. At this time, Mrs. King has been married for over ten years to the "very stiff and formal"¹⁰ Medical Director of the New York Life Insurance Company. Sharing certain interests and mutually attracted, she and Carman soon become lovers; indeed, when the Kings move for the summer to a

resort in the Catskill Mountains, Carman takes up residence nearby. The affair continues for a number of years until eventually it cools down into a close friendship.

The importance of this relationship lies not mainly in its romantic aspect; Mrs. King also shares an intellectual interest with Carman. The basis of this common interest, aside from literature and art, is Delsartean theory, which Mrs. King earlier studied at some length under Henrietta Hovey's tuition. However, whereas what Mrs. Hovey teaches is general Delsartean theory with an emphasis on acting--that is, on communication of emotional meaning through body-movements and voice--what Carman and Mrs. King eventually evolve is a system emphasizing the applicability of Delsartean theory to the art of life, to the unitrinian harmonizing of body, mind, and spirit in one's everyday living. Later, Carman adds a theological basis to this gospel of personal harmonizing. Unfortunately, there is no accurate statement of the evolution of this philosophy or of when it is accepted by Carman; the best information is probably his letter to H. D. C. Lee of September 29, 1911, in which the poet writes: "In all my poems of the past ten years you will see it [his "Unitrinian Philosophy"] reappearing like a glint of one colour in a web." Allowing for approximation, some time around 1900 or 1901 is a reasonably accurate date.

Before 1900, the only substantial evidence of Delsartism, let alone unitrinianism, that appears in Carman's writing is in his prose. This is possibly because he is still grappling with the

wider implications of Delsartean thought and does not see his way clear to integrating Delsartism into his verse. Indeed, it is not until Carman reads Santayana and augments Delsarte's ideas with rational idealism, resulting in an unitrinian theology, that trinitarian personal harmonizing is manifested in his poetry. Carman's essays, however, written in the last half of 1899, do show some philosophical application of Delsarte's discoveries. In an article printed on November 18, 1899, for example, Carman describes Delsarte as "a sober philosopher, a studious discoverer, a teacher of power and wisdom,"¹¹ and says of his work:

Delsartism is not a method, but a science. . . . "Man," said Delsarte (accepting a truth already recognized), "is of a threefold nature; he has three natures in one--his physical self, his emotional self, and his intellectual self. . . . And these three natures" (here was his discovery) "are invariably and of necessity revealed in all he does." It is not possible for any manifestation of man's nature to be purely physical, or purely mental, or purely spiritual; but every evidence of his existence, every trace of his being in the universe will bear marks of all these three natures involved in ever-varying proportions in a single entity.

Though the concept of triune man is not new--Plato and Emerson, among others, use it--Delsarte's empirical discovery that man's three natures are minutely revealed in all he does, is. As well, since "all human activity is expressive," Delsarte's findings apply both to artistic expression and to everyday personal expression:

The nine fine arts are so many means which the human spirit, entombed in mortal clay, employs for communicating and perpetuating its thoughts and aspirations. . . . In the much misunderstood sphere of personal expression, too (if I may use the phrase to designate matters of gesture, and voice, and bearing), the thoroughly scientific discoveries of Delsarte apply just as truly as in the sphere of the fine arts.

Here a hint of unitrinian personal harmonizing appears:

Our bodies being media of thought and feeling, it is only necessary that they should be maintained in a pristine perfection of obedient strength and pliability; our native expressions will then find play through them; and the true Delsartean will be as natural as a hen. If he is also as graceful as a panther, that will be the simple attribute of his personality, manifested without consciousness and without hindrance.

Man's triune nature being indivisible, body as well as mind and spirit should be stressed; also, physical perfection enables mind and spirit to express themselves more naturally in everyday living. Thus, Carman ends his discussion of Delsarte, one can see "how sane and wholesome his true doctrine is, and how it makes for sincerity, for simplicity, for beauty, in the art of life." Carman's thought is clearly becoming more unitrinian in orientation.

Also in the last months of 1899, Carman adapts Delsartean theory to the elucidation of Nature's meaning. In "Seaboard and Hillward," he suggests a correspondence between the "three zones of life, the physical, the mental, and the spiritual,"¹² and the natures of men nourished by the plain, the mountain, and the sea. Similarly, in "Blue and Yellow," he sees in nature's "trinity of color"¹³--yellow, red and blue--the Delsartean trinity of "spiritual yellow," "physical red," and "incorruptible blue, the primal thought." Accordingly, he writes of a crimson maple and yellow poplar backdropped by blue sky and "drenched . . . in luxurious living light":

There lay the deep strong tone of the blood-red tree, so physical, so sure, so unabashed and sufficient. And beside it the sheer ethereal tremulousness of the

yellow,--the colour of spirit, the colour that makes us feel. But before ever we could move or love, there was the great blue thought which comprehended the beginning and overarches the whole.

Colour in nature speaks to man's triune personality. Further, as a "superfluous manifestation of beauty, the very breath and spirit of the Creator," it is the visible expression of Delsartean divine energy. Seeing the transcendentalism inherent in Delsarte's belief that the material universe is an expression of the divine trinity, Carman adapts it to his own outlook; as he says in "Miracles and Metaphors," "our enjoyment of nature is the worship of spirit manifested in the plasticity of sap and cell--the lovely forms of the natural world."¹⁴ In divine immanence lies the reason behind enjoyment of nature's beauty.

Finally, in "The Magic of the Woods," Carman integrates the Delsartean trinity with nature-mysticism. When the "coming of spring"¹⁵ opens "the mystic book of revelation in the great volume of nature," and when autumnal "glimpses of the unworldliness of nature" bring "the glad oracular whisper of the universal message," then may a person "have the rare fortune (in perfect health, in perfect goodness, of a sound mind) to feel himself for an instant in complete harmony with all being" and be able to say:

Beauty through my senses stole;
I yielded myself to the perfect whole.

The attainment of perfect physical, spiritual, and mental soundness makes available a new avenue for mystic insight; accordingly, the organic harmonizing of body, soul, and mind becomes an essential goal.

At this point, then, Carman's unitrinianism is basically an adaption of Delsartean theory to the art of everyday living. In one essay, he summarizes the resultant gospel of personal harmonizing:

It is only from healthy bodies that good art, good manners and sane thinking can come; it is only through healthy bodies that nobility of spirit can reach the day and become an influence and a force upon the earth. . . .

That teacher, I believe, will deserve best of the next generation who shall comprehend and enforce the great truth of man's threefold nature and the equal dignity of body, mind and spirit, and shall insist on rendering to each its proper share of culture. There are not many people who really believe that their body is as great as their soul, and has a right to as fair a treatment. And you will look in vain for any declaration of the subtle doctrine which inculcates the intimate relation between spirit and body, which perceives that the need of the one is the necessity of the other, and which knows that the education of one without the other is impossible.

But today there comes to hand a small volume in which the truth is made plain. If Mrs. King's essay on Comfort and Exercise is not one of the most conspicuous of the year, it is certainly one of the most important. . . . The gospel of comfort set forth in these most reasonable pages is based on an idea₁₆ of happiness whose secret is a proper adjustment to life.

In brief, man is of a threefold nature. Only with equal stress given to each aspect of his nature can spiritual progress occur. Culture of the body is most neglected and this retards development, for "if the inward habit of the mind can control and form the outward habit of the body, this same outward habit of the frame and features impresses itself reflexly on the indwelling spirit."¹⁷ With body culture, spiritual evolution can proceed: "nobility of spirit can reach the day." Consequently, "proper adjustment to life," the correlation of man's three aspects in every act, is needed:

I mean that we should call into play in every act something of each of our three natures. . . .

This matter of correlating the three vital forces is at once perhaps the most important and the least understood element in personal success. . . . so small a trial of right adjustment and correlation would convince us of the enormous gain of power to be had in that direction.¹⁸

This "proper adjustment" is the key to personal harmonizing; body, mind and spirit must all be correctly developed and correlated so that man can be put in tune with the rhythm of the universe, can achieve "harmonious being, when our complex nature is in accord with the visible world, and attuned to its own secret note."¹⁹

During 1900, a new feature is found in Carman's unitrinianism; a theological basis is added. This unitrinian theology centres around the relationship of man and nature to the "Creator": "Whether the divine activity finds vent for itself through the right hand of a painter, or in the unfolding of a fern, is a difference of circumstance--not a difference of power. In each instance the creative spirit is seeking fulfilment." Both man and nature provide avenues of expression for the Creator. In addition, as creators themselves--man in art and work, nature in the seasonal cycle--each is a miniature of the "creative spirit" and reflects its "threefold nature"²⁰ of goodness, truth, and beauty.

Other names for Carman's "Creator," besides "God" and "creative spirit," include "divine evolutionary impulse,"²¹ "beneficent purposeful energy,"²² and "Love." Of these, the most popular with Carman is "Love," partly because, as well as characterizing the perfect union of Goodness, Truth, and Beauty, love also

provides man with a clear guide for balanced unitrinian conduct, and nature with a universal motive for evolutionary aspiration towards the spiritual. Love is the admonition of the soul and must thus be followed as a modification of the Darwinian law of natural selection; as Carman says, "I do not know what the soul is, but I know that it exists; and I know that its admonitions form a more beautiful sanction for conduct than the primitive code of evolution taken alone."²³

Besides being a pervasive theme in Carman's prose, his new theology is also reflected in such poems as "Christmas Eve at St. Kevin's." This poem, written as a hypothetical sermon, portrays the message of all creation as love: "God is love"²⁴ and love is the manifestation of God: "Love is the tide, God the eternal sea." Christ is the exemplary man who perceives this truth; as "our Lord, / Proclaiming the accord / Of soul and nature in love's rule and sway," he also tells humankind that "By Love alone / In man's heart is God known." In love, then, is found the force uniting God, man, and nature. In this sense, as the power connecting and infusing all levels of existence, "love is the great law / That binds the world together safe and whole." Love is also seen as the force behind evolution:

Look down the ages' line
Where slowly the divine
Evinces energy, puts forth control;
See mighty love alone
Transmuting stock and stone,
Infusing being, helping sense and soul.

As the inspiration for nature's aspiration, love furthers evolution from materiality to spirituality. Similarly, love inspires spiritual development in human society; in a parallel to Christ's example, man should "Be loaves and fishes to the human heart." To the same end, the craftsman-artist should let love guide his spirit and the lover should neither delay nor be ashamed of his love.

For all these reasons, Carman preaches the unitrinity of love:

Believe the truth of love,
Enact the beauty of love,
Praise and adore the goodliness of love.
For we are wise by love,
And strong and fair through love,
No less than sainted and inspired with love.

Love through its threefold nature, confers a threefold benefit of wisdom, beauty, and goodness on man. Accordingly, man should

Be body, mind and soul,
Subject to love's control,
Each loving to the limit of love's power;
And all as one, not three,
So is man's trinity
Enhanced and freed and gladdened hour by hour.

Loving to his fullest through all aspects of his nature, man will feel body, mind, and spirit to unite and be fulfilled. And, in this fulfilling union,

So shall the good and true
Partake of beauty too,
And life be helped and greatened day by day.

Through his integration by love, man shall approach unitrinity's perfection; thus, the evolution of life towards the spiritual will be furthered. Love is the ultimate guide to the conduct of life.

In such terms is Carman's new theology reflected in his poetry.

The impetus behind Carman's expansion of unitrinianism from a gospel of personal harmonizing into a full-fledged theology is George Santayana's Interpretations of Poetry and Religion (1900), which Carman reads and reviews in the Boston Evening Transcript. Santayana's book impels Carman to rationalize his art and outlook. As he mentions five years later, hereafter he is "an enthusiast on Santayana."²⁵

According to Santayana, the leading idea of his essays is that "religion and poetry are identical in essence, and differ merely in the way in which they are attached to practical affairs." Applying this idea to the interpretation of poetry and religion, Santayana observes:

Religion is poetry become the guide of life, poetry substituted for science or supervening upon it as an approach to the highest reality. Poetry is religion allowed to drift, left without points of application in conduct and without an expression in worship and dogma; it is religion without practical efficacy and without metaphysical illusions.

He demands that these two expressions of man's imagination strive to perfect their ideal applicability to life; further, where this goal is achieved, poetry and religion must be identical. At such a "point of union," Santayana says, "both reach their utmost purity and beneficence, for then poetry loses its frivolity and ceases to demoralize, while religion surrenders its illusions and ceases to deceive."²⁶ All that is required to achieve this ideal is to subject both categories to the discipline of reason. Accordingly,

Santayana stresses the dominance of reason in art and in religion.

In his article, Carman notes Santayana's leading idea and, though feeling the philosopher's academic analysis a little too cold and depressing for his own taste, admits that "an unbiased judgment must pronounce these essays altogether admirable in their unflinching sincerity and uncompromising service to truth."²⁷ Personally, Carman sees "no way of avoiding Santayana's main conclusions" about the relationship between poetry and religion. He steers clear, however, from Santayana's emphasis on the absolute supremacy of reason in art or religion.

In terms of reason in art, what occupies Carman's attention most is the philosopher's essay on "The Poetry of Barbarism." According to Santayana, Browning and Whitman are poets of barbarism; the secret of their work is

in the rebellion against discipline, in the abandonment of the ideals of classic and Christian tradition. . . . Both poets represent, therefore, and are admired for representing, what may be called the poetry of barbarism in the most accurate and descriptive sense of this word. For the barbarian is the man who regards his passions as their excuse for being; who does not domesticate them either by understanding their cause or by conceiving their ideal goal.²⁸

The barbarism of the two poets lies in the fact that their poetry rests on ungoverned passion rather than on passion directed by reason. Carman's reaction to Santayana's argument is one of discomfort; he looks upon "any invasion of the Browning sanctuary with bated breath, though the desecration of the Whitman myth" leaves him "unmoved by comparison." Nevertheless, prizing the "absolute

Veritas" first, Carman feels he must "reluctantly assent to reason," even though realizing "Browning will never be quite what he was before."²⁹ Another effect of Santayana's essay is to stimulate Carman to a re-examination of the rational in his own work.

In "Subconscious Art," printed less than a month after his column on Santayana, Carman gives his answer to "The Poetry of Barbarism." He points out that man readily recognizes in various forms of art "a something" which cannot easily be defined:

We say perhaps that the picture has soul; it sways us, we know not why; it allures us, we cannot tell how. A too exact critic might perhaps ridicule our susceptibility to a vague charm we could not pretend to understand. His very philosophic and rational mind would insist on clarity, on definiteness. For him the painting must be logical, conclusive, limpid. But somehow, we say, we do not care whether it means anything or not, so long as it moves us pleasantly. We can enjoy Browning's "Child [sic] Roland" or William Morris's "Blue Closet" without asking what they mean. And we are right, too. Art does not always have to mean something obvious. Some poetry is addressed to the mind and some is not. The best poetry, of course, addresses the mind and emotions as well. But just as a deal of good poetry has been written which appeals chiefly to the rational self in us (nearly all of Pope and Dryden, for example,) so a good deal has been written which appeals to our irrational instinctive self.

Later in his article, Carman elaborates on the necessity for the supra-rational element in art:

And good poetry and good art have much to say to this work-a-day understanding of ours; yet they have more to say to the soul within us, which comprehends everything. The difficulty is in obtaining access to the soul and securing egress for it. The creative artist must subordinate cunning to intuition, and he must embody his beautiful creations in some form that will be able to elude the too vigilant reason of his fellows and gain instant access to their spirit.

Essentially then, Carman's position, in response to Santayana's, is to defend the emotional or spiritual aspect of poetry since it speaks to a higher understanding than reason, to "the soul within us, which comprehends everything." In this sense, reason is communication only to the mind and ignores the other aspects of triune man: "Scientific formulae are an admirable means of communication between mind and mind, but art is a means of communication for the whole being,--mind, body and spirit." Nevertheless, within his trinitarian framework, Carman respects the role of reason in poetry: "the best poetry, of course, addresses the mind and emotions as well."³⁰

Santayana's essay, added to Delsartean emphasis on the universal trinity, stirs Carman to re-evaluate the proportion of reason in his own poetry. In the course of this study, he develops the unitrinian principle that perfection results from an equitable balance among all elements of a trinity; as he later says of goodness, truth and beauty, "Only when they co-exist in nearly equal proportion is perfection, or anything approaching perfection, possible in a work of art."³¹ In turn, this principle leads Carman toward a fairer representation of the rational element in his work. Hence, in a letter mentioning his debt to Santayana, he states that his subsequent poetry attempts to "satisfy reason as well as feeling."³² "Christmas Eve at St. Kevin's" provides an example of his attempt; in this poem the ideas, diction, and syntax are clearer--and a little more prosaic--than in his earlier work. Though

rejecting Santayana's call for the supremacy of reason in art, Carman does incorporate the philosopher's plea in attenuated degree.

A more important influence is Santayana's call for reason in religion, for a rational theology. The theology he advocates is a "true idealism," an "idealism itself purely ideal," by which he means a religion free of illusion and deception, a religion that "establishes the authority of human demands, ethical, and logical, without impugning the existence or efficacy of that material universe which it endows with a meaning and a standard." In other words, aside from the question of God's existence which is "irrelevant to an ideal," his conception of God is Aristotle's, which Santayana describes as "the most philosophical that has yet been constructed." Stating that this rationally-derived ideal God is equally free from "unworthy" anthropomorphism and "inhuman abstractness," Santayana concludes: "It [the ideal God] is the final cause of Nature and man, the realization of their imminent upward effort, the essence that would contain all their values and escape all their imperfections."³³ To Santayana, "God" is a name for the ultimate ideal towards which man and Nature strive.

The similarity between the theology Santayana prescribes, and the one Carman subsequently develops, is quite noticeable. Though Carman, as a mystically-oriented idealist, cannot accept Santayana's basic agnosticism, he can adopt the other aspects of "true idealism" and write later that he has "always" been an "enthusiast on Santayana."³⁴ Since the specific nature of Carman's

deity--previous titles include "Oversoul," "Infinite Thought," "Beauty" and "The Mother"--is imprecise, and since even these terms characterize ideals rather than beings, there is no resistance to more rational definition. Rather, with Santayana's rational idealism to guide him, Carman can correlate his thoughts and feelings and discover his ideal to be a trinitarian god: the ultimate unity of Goodness, Truth, and Beauty, harmonized in Love, and towards which all creation strives. Accordingly, by combining the philosopher's rational idealism with Delsartean trinitarianism, Carman extends and strengthens the rational basis of his own work while at the same time upholding against barbarism what Santayana terms the "ideals of classic and Christian tradition."³⁵ For Carman, these ideals are Goodness, Truth, and Beauty, on the one hand, Love and the spiritual evolution of man towards God, on the other. Not only do they emerge in the theological format of "Christmas Eve at St. Kevin's," they also are given poetic form in Carman's classical poetry. As the poet observes on November 23, 1905, his later poetry "is more coherent and rational, less vague, and symbolistic, and blind. This newer and more definite manner appears about four or five years ago in Sappho, and the Book of Myths, . . . "³⁶

Essentially, Carman's classicism is rational in the Santayan sense, that is, in the sense of an "idealism itself purely ideal." It is a classicism where the gods--Pan, Aphrodite, and Hermes--are idealizations of the human trinity of spirit, body, and mind, of the characteristics of power, beauty, and knowledge.

Thus, in one of the early Sappho lyrics, Carman writes:

Power and beauty and knowledge,--
Pan, Aphrodite, or Hermes,--
Whom shall we life-loving mortals
Serve and be happy?³⁷

The obvious answer is to serve all three; we must then trust in a
threefold return:

Will ye not, therefore, a little
Hearten, impel, and inspire
One who adores, with a favour
Threefold in wonder?

Each divinity is an idealization of one aspect of man, and each must be cultivated to achieve an harmonious development. In this way, rational idealism and unitrinianism are mutually supporting concepts. Similarly, a later lyric, "VII," shows Aphrodite, Hermes, and Pan following one another to the cradle of a new-born Lesbian maiden. Aphrodite brings the gift of beauty and Hermes the gift of knowledge. Then Pan appears:

Great Pan came to thy cradle,
With calm of the deepest hills,
And smiled, "They have forgotten
The veriest power of life.

"To kindle her shapely beauty,
And illumine her mind withal,
I give to the little person
The glowing and craving soul."³⁸

Though this poem far from neglects the aspects of body and mind, the "veriest power of life" is the "craving soul," without which body and mind cannot develop. Part of the reason for this stress on soul is Carman's view that evolution proceeds towards the spiritual, towards the making of man into God. This process operates

in both classical and Christian terms; in the Christian case, the exemplum is Christ, the man-god whose love for his fellow is supreme; in Carman's adaptation of the classical myth, it is Pan.

In Carman's reworking of the Pan myth, most clearly expressed in "The Pipes of Pan," Pan is a man who pursues the nymph, Syrinx, but loses her to the reeds. Thereupon he cuts a reed and makes a pipe through which to express his feelings of loss. As he plays, he receives a revelation:

And a new-created world
To my wonder was unfurled,
Sphere by sphere, as climbing sense
Faltered at the imminence
Of the fragile thing called soul
Just beyond oblivion's goal,
And creation's open door³⁹
Bade me enter and explore.

Like the musician in "Beyond the Gamut," Pan makes the ascent to the realm of soul by music's aid; unlike the musician, Pan does not just peer through the door, but enters in "wonder." In the parallel experience of "Marsyas," Carman is more specific; what is perceived in the putting of pipe to lip is:

All of beauty, all of knowledge, all of wonder, fused
and caught
In the rhythmus of the music, weaving out of sense and
thought
And a touch of love the fabric out of world was wrought.⁴⁰

Revelation of this unitrinian truth changes Pan from what he was into something new:

Slowly I came back to poise,--
A new self with other joys,
Other raptures than before,
Harming less and helping more.

I could strive no more for gain;
 Being was my true domain,

 It was not enough to do;
 I must feel, but reason too,--

Pan has been converted from the barbaric point of view to the classical Greek one; his passions are now governed by reason and their ideal goal of spiritual insight is understood. As well, Pan's perception of spiritual reality through the medium of music has evolved him into a god-man:

So I felt the subtle change,
 Large, enduring, keen and strange;
 And on that day long ago
 I became the god ye know,
 Made by music out of man.

At this point, Carman extends his Pan-theism to include the characteristics of other religions. Thus sorrow and salvation, body and spirit, all kinds of love, and even "the secret hid / Under the Great Pyramid" are a part of Pan's lore. Most of all, Pan teaches a religion of nature, man, and love:

'Tis the music that has freed you
 From the old life, and shall lead you,
 Gently wise and strongly fond,
 To the greater life beyond.
 Yet I whisper to you, "Stay;
 That new life is here; to-day
 Is your home, whose roof shall rise
 From the ground before your eyes."

For Pan loves you and is near,
 Though no music you should hear.

.
 All the music ye have heard:
 Mountain brook and orchard bird:

.
 All the beauties ye have seen:
 Autumn scarlet, young spring green;

.
 All the wilding rapture shared
 With the loved one, when ye dared

 All these glad things ye shall find

 Lurking in the pipes of Pan.

Pan's music is an aid to spiritual ascent; the world of the spirit
 is here and now; and divine love is constantly manifested in all
 creation: in the musical sounds of nature, in her varied colours,
 and in the pleasure of human love. Carman then elaborates about
 Pan's sympathy with "Sap of tree and pith of man," that is, nature
 and humanity:

Sap of tree and pith of man,
 Ah! but they are dear to Pan!
 Not a creature stirs or moves,
 But Pan heartens and approves;
 Not a being loves or dies,
 But Pan knows the sacrifice.
 Man or stripling, wife or maid,
 Pan is ever by to aid;
 And no harm can come to you,
 But his great heart feels it too.

Pan is all-seeing, all knowing, and all-feeling; both nature and
 man are dear to him. And, in his love for them and their recip-
 cal loves for their fellows and for all creation, is found the
 force that binds the universe together:

Ye behold in love the tether
 Binding the great world together;
 For without that coil of wonder
 The round world would fall asunder, . . .

Even the times of trouble should not cause one to doubt the benefi-
 cence of Pan; there is always

a prompting sane and kind,

Scope and purpose, hint and plan,
Lurking in the pipes of Pan: . . .

The divine purpose, expressed through Pan's music, conveys a unitrinity of "Courage," "Wisdom," and "Happiness" for the aid of man.

This Pandean unitrinity gives man, in art and life, a portion of Pan's characteristic power:

Power out of hurt and stain
To bring beauty back again,
And life's loveliness restore
To a toiling age once more.

Even when one is in the darkest depths, beauty and love can be restored. Thus, Carman concludes:

Yes, the world is growing old,
But the joys it used to hold,
Love and beauty, only grow
Greater as they come and go,--
Larger, keener, and more splendid, . . .

The evolution towards the spiritual continues; Pan, as well as Christ, is an exemplum to man. And, Pan has the additional advantage for a Santayana-influenced Carman of being an obvious idealization of the human potential, without possibility of being mistaken for an "actual" religious deity. Thus are Carman's ideals of classical and Christian tradition, systemized in his unitrinian theology, given poetic form and expression through the figure of Pan.

A few months after finishing "The Pipes of Pan," Carman writes "The Soul of Socialism," an essay mainly notable for his identification of socialism with love and the spirit of Christianity. Contending that "the Soul of Socialism is love, or Christianity,

if you prefer that word," Carman qualifies: "Only, if we call it Christianity we must take care not to confound it with any formalism of creed or church. . . . Christianity, let us remember, is an attitude of mind, a habit of feeling, a condition of the soul; it is not an institution." In other words, the true meaning of Christianity is love and it thus shares the same motivation as socialism:

For Socialism, in whatever form, is after all only an ingenious device for putting in practice the generous impulses of the human heart. Socialistic schemes are just so many contrivances for the carrying out of our nobler purposes. In themselves they cannot directly foster goodness; they can only promote it, by making its path easier. Under right social and industrial conditions it will be easier to be good than it is now; it will be easier for beauty to touch our everyday life; it will be easier for the truth to find us out and cheer us with illumination.

Socialism provides an opportunity for the furtherance of love in everyday life, for the unitrinian development of goodness, beauty, and truth. At the same time, Carman realizes, socialism is not a panacea in itself; rather, though the human condition would be much better with socialism, "we would still be far from being perfectly happy, unless we were sedulous in cultivating our spiritual selves, and in giving effectiveness to our best personality."⁴¹ That is, socialism must be supplemented by the unitrinian idea of personal harmonizing. Across the board, then, from Santayanan rationalism to Pan-theism to socialism to unitrinianism, Carman's philosophy is rational and consistent.

However, no matter how rational and consistent Carman's

unitrinianism may be, there is an inherent danger to art from any philosophy which the artist believes can greatly benefit all persons awakened to accept it, which uses art as a medium to convey reformist ideas of immediate applicability, and which establishes a universal recipe--one third spiritual appeal, one-third mental appeal, one-third sensual appeal--for artistic perfection. Just as such a philosophy dominates the artist's thought, it inevitably begins to dominate his work:

It [Unitrinianism] is my creed. Many will come to it in time, as they grow to find it serves them as well as it has served me. And you will find it in many of the later poems everywhere, explicit or implicit. . .⁴² I am much concerned to spread the idea of Unitrinianism.

As a result, philosophical exposition tends to usurp the place of inspiration and Carman disparages his earlier poetry:

In its lyric quality the early work may be more authentic and more inevitable (as we like to say) than the later. . . A great deal of it, however, I cannot read any more myself. It offends me by reason of its lack of clarity, its lack of definiteness. It is impassioned perhaps, but it is wanting in ideas. It is interesting (much of it) only so long as one does not demand a rational view of life.⁴³

Also, clarity of philosophical expression becomes the criterion of excellence:

Now the late work has certainly more clearness, and therefore to my mind is poetry of a higher order. Though in its own inferior order the earlier work may have been more excellent.⁴⁴

Accordingly, in response to Lee's study of his work, Carman comments:

I am especially pleased with the prominence you have given

to Unitrinianism, though I agree with you that in many of the poems it plays too obvious a part, much to the detriment of the poetry. Perhaps it is natural that that should be so, in one's enthusiasm over a new-found thought.⁴⁵

As the poet admits, unitrinian didacticism is a frequent fault of his poetry.

These dangers are incipient in "Christmas Eve at St. Kevin's" and in Carman's classical poems. In the remaining poetry and prose of this productive period, they become more threatening. Three stanzas of "A Neighbour's Creed," a poem about maintenance of one's unitrinian poise, are indicative of this tendency:

Three things are given man to do:
To dare, to labour, and to grow.
Not otherwise from earth we came,
Nor otherwise our way we go.

Three things are given man to be:
Cheerful, undoubting, and humane,
Surviving through the direst fray,
Preserving the untarnished strain.

Three things are given man to know:
Beauty and truth and honour. These
Are the nine virtues of the soul,
Her mystic powers and ecstasies.⁴⁶

These stanzas, detailing the ninefold accord of the soul in its triple aspect of doing, being, and knowing, are rational and philosophically informative. They are also bad. The poetry is prosaic and uninspired, the presentation is didactic, and the thought is mechanical. To such depths can his unitrinian enthusiasm carry Carman. More noticeable, and perhaps more acceptable, is a similar tendency in his prose. Virtually all the essays written after 1901 evince an underlying unitrinian orientation. In many essays, the

application of an unitrinian approach to various aspects of art and life is the main theme. Indeed, by 1904, unitrinianism itself becomes the actual topic of four tracts, later published in Carman's unitrinian bible, The Making of Personality. In short, as his unitrinianism develops, the combined consequences of rationalism and didacticism become increasingly apparent in his writing.

By the end of his fourth productive period, then, Carman's philosophy can be described as unitrinianism, that is, as the gospel of personal harmonizing supplemented by rational idealism. The main influences on his work and thought are the Delsartean theory of trinitarian expression and Santayana's Poetry and Religion. Delsarte, to whom Carman is introduced by Richard Hovey and Mary Perry King, gives him the idea that man's triune nature is minutely expressed in all he does. Santayana, whose book Carman reviews in early 1900, impels him to give more equitable representation to the rational element in his poetry and to adapt rational idealism into his trinitarian system. The result is an unitrinian theology based on the idealization of Goodness, Truth, Beauty, Love, and Evolution. As the poet's unitrinian theology unfolds, it becomes increasingly manifested as didacticism in his poetry and prose and he disparages his earlier work. Correspondingly, in this productive period more than any other, external influences are the forces shaping Carman's writing.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The previous chapters have discussed the four productive periods of Carman's major years. After 1905, his output falls off; indeed, as Appendix A shows, there are only two short periods--1913-1916 and 1922-1923--of any real activity before his death in 1929. And, even these two periods are relatively light in output compared to Carman's years of high productivity between 1892 and 1905.

As for the preoccupying thoughts of Carman's later years, immediately after 1905 the tendencies in his work towards rationalism and didacticism become more prevalent and more intensive. The primary factor in Carman's growing rationalism is his reading of Santayana's The Life of Reason (1905). This series--the five volumes are individually titled Reason in Common Sense, Reason in Society, Reason in Religion, Reason in Art, and Reason in Science--expands, in greater detail than Poetry and Religion, the dominant role of reason in all aspects of life. The impact of Santayana's new opus is so powerful that Carman not only reviews it for the New York Times (January 27, 1906), but also delivers a group of lectures on Santayana in the fall of 1906¹ and, in 1910, extols The Life of Reason as his "intellectual sustenance for five years."² Mention of Santayana and his book is frequent in Carman's letters from late

1905 through 1912; in one reference to the philosopher he admits "it seems less possible to be an 'irresponsible poet' than it used to,"³ in another (disagreeing with a lady over the precise value of Santayana) that

He is not the scaffolding of the Temple, he is the ground plan and scheme upon which the Temple must be build [sic] Many temples have been reared on false foundations and must fall. Most of my own work is such, and cannot last. Poetry must not be irrational.⁴

Such a statement, where the poet virtually disavows his earlier work, indicates the profound effect that Santayana has on Carman's thought. Carman's correspondence with the philosopher himself also reflects his continuing debt; though only Santayana's letters remain, they testify to Carman's having sent his review and a "generous letter"⁵ of praise in 1906, plus The Making of Personality, a tract presenting the rational case for unitrinianism, upon its publication in March, 1908.

Correspondingly, as Carman's unitrinianism gradually pervades his entire outlook, growing didacticism is reflected in his writing. From 1904 to 1908, he writes and revises essays, outlining unitrinian philosophy and its applications, for The Making of Personality. The poems of The Rough Rider, completed in 1909, also stress unitrinianism and fortitude. Similarly, between 1911 and 1914, two lyrical masques, Daughters of Dawn and Earth Deities, written in collaboration with Mary Perry King, accentuate song and rhythmic movement as aids to the threefold expression of harmonious personality. Finally, Carman occasionally prints lectures given to

students at Mrs. King's Unitrinian School of Personal Harmonizing; these essays, plus much of Carman's remaining poetry, reflect his unitrinian beliefs.

This is not to say that Carman's later work is confined only to the unitrinian theme or that there is no further change in the emphasis of his thought. Rather, though unitrinianism continues strong, varying degrees of orientation towards nature and towards the intuitive mode of perception are revealed in his poetry. However, though these variations indicate slight fluctuations of emphasis in Carman's later work, there seems to be no change of essentials; nothing really new is added to the thought of his major years. In any case, these later years present themselves as a possible subject of study for subsequent Carman students.

To summarize the four productive periods of Carman's major years, then, the fundamental basis of his thought and work is idealistic. During his first period of productivity, his reminiscences and juvenilia indicate long-standing intimacy with nature and extensive study of Emerson, Thoreau, the classics, and philosophy. His resultant transcendentalism is thus based both on his personal experience of nature and on the influence of other thinkers. Similarly, the work of Carman's second productive period exhibits the effect of idealism founded on experience and theory: the experiential basis is close kinship with nature, sometimes leading to mystical revelation, and the theoretical basis is idealist thought in general, especially the transcendentalism of Emerson and the

intellectual idealism of Josiah Royce. These influences merge to produce a general idealistic outlook based on deep awareness of nature. Again, Carman's outlook is derived both from his own experiences and from the writings of others.

In the poetry of Carman's third productive period, he sees the body as an important aid to spiritual insight and is led to conclude an evolutionary relationship between physicality and spirituality. Love is stressed as the motive force behind such spiritual evolution of man and nature. The new influences on Carman's philosophy--which may be characterized as evolutionary idealism--are Richard Hovey's belief in spiritual revelation through physicality, the insights Carman gains from his affair with Jessie Kappeler, and the social Darwinism of the time. Once more, fresh ideas, having some verification in Carman's own experience, are seized upon and poetically applied. The poet's fourth and final period of productivity is marked by his adoption of an unitrinian theology, founded on the gospel of personal harmonizing as supplemented by rational idealism. The main influences are Delsarte and Santayana: the former through his theory of trinitarian expression, the latter through the rational idealism advanced in his Poetry and Religion. Using rational idealism as a guide, Carman correlates his thoughts and feelings and discovers his ideal to be the ultimate unitrinity of Goodness, Truth, and Beauty, harmonized in Love, which is also the impulse inspiring all creation towards spiritual evolution. As the poet's unitrinianism unfolds, the combined consequences of

rationalism and didacticism are manifested in his writing and he repudiates much of his earlier poetry. In this productive period more than any other, external influences shape Carman's thought and work, with unfortunate effects on the latter. This same point in time marks the end of Carman's major years. Hereafter, his productivity declines and nothing essentially new seems to be added to his outlook.

The overall conclusion of the present chronological study, then, is that, though some sort of idealism is common to the poetry of all Carman's productive periods, the idea of a developmental continuum is too strong a contention. A more accurate description of the thought revealed in his work is that it periodically evinces the effect of different experiences and influences.

NOTES

Chapter I

¹H. D. C. Lee, Bliss Carman: A Study in Canadian Poetry (Buxton: Herald Printing Co. Ltd., 1912), p. 35.

²Unless otherwise identified, all quotations in this paragraph are from Odell Shepard, Bliss Carman (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1923), p. 33.

³James Cappon, Bliss Carman and the Literary Currents and Influences of his Time (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1930), pp. 36, 211, and 199.

⁴Bliss Carman, "Preface" to Low Tide on Grand Pré (Boston: Lamson Wolfe and Company, 1893 with additions in 1894), n. p.

⁵This letter, dated July 16, 1902, is in the Rufus Hathaway Collection of Canadian Literature at the University of New Brunswick. Future references to this Collection will be abbreviated to "Hathaway Collection."

⁶Bliss Carman's Scrap-Book: A Table of Contents, ed. Morris L. King and Lorne Pierce (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1931), 19 pp.

⁷Muriel Miller, Bliss Carman: A Portrait (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1935), pp. 17, 17, and 71.

⁸Desmond Pacey, "Bliss Carman," Ten Canadian Poets (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1958), pp. 86, 86, and 87.

⁹Donald Stephens, Bliss Carman (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1966), pp. 91, 92, 92, and 92.

Chapter II

¹Carman to H. D. C. Lee, September 29, 1911. This letter is in the Lorne Pierce Collection of Canadian Manuscripts at Queen's University. Future references to this Collection will be

abbreviated to "Pierce Collection."

²Charles G. D. Roberts (1860-1945) was Carman's cousin. A poet and novelist himself, he and Carman spent their early adolescence together in the Fredericton area. After Roberts became an English professor (1885) at King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, Carman occasionally visited him there during the summers.

³Miller, Bliss Carman, p.3.

⁴Cappon, Bliss Carman, p.4.

⁵Charles G. D. Roberts, "Bliss Carman," Dal R, IX (January, 1930), 416; Alfred G. Bailey, "Creative Moments in the Culture of the Maritimes Provinces," Dal R, XXIX (October, 1949), 242-243.

⁶Bliss Carman, "The Golden Age," Smart Set, XVIII (June, 1906), 90. Carman uses the phrase without quotation marks.

⁷Unless otherwise identified, all references in this paragraph are to "The Golden Age," pp. 88 and 89.

⁸Bliss Carman, Poems (London: John Murray, 1904), II, 75.

⁹Bliss Carman, "The Poetry of Morning," The Literary Miscellany, IV (Autumn, 1911), 57, 58, and 59.

¹⁰Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Nature," Selections From Ralph Waldo Emerson, ed. Stephen E. Whicher (Cambridge, Mass.: The Riverside Press of Houghton Mifflin Company, 1957), p. 24.

¹¹Carman to Lee, September 29, 1911.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Roberts, "Bliss Carman," p. 413.

¹⁴Bliss Carman, The Kinship of Nature (Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1903), p. viii.

¹⁵Roberts, "Bliss Carman," p. 413.

- ¹⁶Carman, The Kinship of Nature, pp. vi-vii.
- ¹⁷Roberts, "Bliss Carman," pp. 414 and 415.
- ¹⁸Bliss Carman, "Emerson," The Poetry of Life (Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1905), p. 152.
- ¹⁹Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 37.
- ²⁰Carman, "Emerson," p. 152.
- ²¹Emerson, "Nature," pp. 25, 31, 49, 49, and 36.
- ²²See also "The Divinity School Address," Selections, pp. 103-107 especially.
- ²³Emerson, "Nature," pp. 21 and 21.
- ²⁴Carman, "Emerson," pp. 152 and 152-153.
- ²⁵Carman, "Mr. Swinburne's Poetry," The Poetry of Life, pp. 177 and 178.
- ²⁶Carman, "De Literis," University [of New Brunswick] Monthly, N. S. III (November, 1884), 29.
- ²⁷"Poetry Notebook: 1875-1886," February, 1882, Pierce Collection.
- ²⁸Carman to Lee, September 29, 1911.
- ²⁹"Poetry Notebook: 1875-1886," March 15, 1883, Pierce Collection.
- ³⁰Selections, p. 31.
- ³¹"Poetry Notebook: 1875-1886," April 6, 1883. The poem was written for Julia Plante, to whom Carman had become engaged before leaving for Edinburgh. Financial and other reasons prevented

their marriage and over the years they drifted apart, ending their engagement around 1888. For a more complete account of Carman's relationship with Plante and other women, see H. Pearson Gundy, "Lorne Pierce, Bliss Carman, and the Ladies," Douglas Library Notes, XIV (Autumn, 1965), 2-24.

³²Roberts, "Bliss Carman," p. 416.

³³All thirty-eight poems are included or inserted in Carman's "Poetry Notebook: 1875-1886."

³⁴All quotations are taken from "The Hermit of Walden," University Monthly, N. S. II (January, 1884), 125-127.

³⁵All quotations are taken from Ibid.

³⁶"Poetry Notebook: 1875-1886." A later title is "Maple Leaves."

³⁷"De Literis," University Monthly, N. S. III (November, 1884), 29.

³⁸"De Literis," University Monthly, N. S. III (January, 1885), 44.

³⁹"American Men of Letters," University Monthly, N. S. III (February, 1885), 74. The other two reviews are "Fresh Fields" and "Winter Sunshine."

⁴⁰"Fresh Fields," University Monthly, N. S. III (March, 1885), 91.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²"Diary: 1880-1886," February 5, 1885. The original is in the Ganong Collection at Smith; a transcription is in the Pierce Collection.

⁴³"The Hermit of Walden," quoted above on p. 26.

⁴⁴"Fresh Fields," quoted above (note 41).

Chapter III

¹Carman to Lee, September 29, 1911.

²All quotations from the poem can be found in Low Tide on Grand Pré, pp. 15-18; written June, 1886.

³F. C. Happold, Mysticism: A Study and an Anthology (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1963 rev. 1964), pp. 45-48 and 53. See also William James, The Varieties of Religious Experience (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902), pp. 371-372.

⁴James, The Varieties of Religious Experience, p. 372. Happold paraphrases this quotation in his own discussion of passivity (Mysticism, p. 46).

⁵Happold, Mysticism, p. 48.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 1961, p. 1497.

⁸Happold, Mysticism, p. 129. See also p. 3.

⁹The most relevant stanzas [from Bliss Carman, The Music of Earth, with Foreword and Notes by Lorne Pierce (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1931), pp. 42-43] are:

On a day in early June when a young lad was I,
I was caught in a charm like a wild bird's cry,
With the sorcery of summer on the marshes by the tide,
And apple blossoms snowing down by every roadside.
'Twas the glory of the world laid a spell on me,
And I gave my heart away to the Sweetheart of the Sea.
.....
And so it came about the years were blown away,
Light as flying leaves or the fog upon the bay,
While I must seek my fortune over many lands,
A follower of dreams with nothing in his hands.
But always in his mind the cry from the sea
And the look of Heaven's glory on the face of Acadie.

The reason for quoting these stanzas from Carman's second last poem

is simply to show that his first moment of mystical illumination stays with him until he dies.

¹⁰Carman to Lee, September 29, 1911. See Chapter IV, p. 63 below.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Both quotations from Plato are found in The Symposium, trans. W. Hamilton (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1951), p. 94.

¹³Emerson, "Nature," Selections, p. 31.

¹⁴Happold, Mysticism, p. 52.

¹⁵Carman to Lee, September 29, 1911. Carman turned twenty-five in April, 1886, two months before "Low Tide" was written.

¹⁶Josiah Royce, The Religious Aspect of Philosophy (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1885), p. 470. This phrase is in the same paragraph from which Carman quotes in his "Poetry Notebook: 1886-1888," Pierce Collection.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 471; quoted by Carman.

¹⁸R. W. Emerson, original source not given, quoted by Carman.

¹⁹Royce, The Religious Aspect of Philosophy, p. 437.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 476, 442, and 441.

²¹Ibid., pp. 443 and 481.

²²Ibid., pp. 479, 452, 454, and 465.

²³Quoted by Pacey, "Bliss Carman," p. 73.

²⁴"Spinoza's Ethics, Part I," January 10, 1887, Pierce Collection.

²⁵These two quotations, both included in Carman's "Poetry Notebook: 1886-1888," respectively come from "To H. S. B. with Emerson's Essays" (December 18, 1886), and "Emerson's Garden" (June 18, 1887).

²⁶See Chapter II, p. 23.

²⁷Carman, Low Tide on Grand Pré, pp. 29-30.

²⁸Emerson, "Nature," Selections, p. 49; previously quoted in Chapter II, p. 19. See also the earlier discussion of Beauty in relation to Carman's moments of insight (page 37 above).

²⁹Carman, "At the Coming of Spring," The Kinship of Nature, p. 54; the only date available is that of book publication in September, 1903.

³⁰Carman, "Rhythm," The Kinship of Nature, pp. 114-116; printed April 6, 1901.

³¹Carman, "The Vernal Ides," The Kinship of Nature, pp. 67-68; printed March 11, 1899. Cf. Wordsworth's definition of poetry, in "Preface to Lyrical Ballads," as "the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings; [which] takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquillity"; Poetical Works of Wordsworth, ed. Thomas Hutchinson, rev. Ernest de Selincourt (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), p. 740.

³²Low Tide on Grand Pré, pp. 89-90; written September 16, 1886. In 1888, the two poems were printed together in broadsheet form.

³³Carman, "At the Coming of Spring," pp. 56-58. Cf. Emerson's comment under "Beauty" in "Nature": "Nothing divine dies. All good is eternally reproductive. The beauty of nature re-forms itself in the mind, and not for barren contemplation, but for new creation"; Selections, p. 30.

³⁴Low Tide on Grand Pré, pp. 31-34; printed May, 1889.

³⁵See pp. 55-56 below.

³⁶All quotations are taken from Low Tide on Grand Pré, pp. 56-68.

³⁷Royce to Carman, June 1, 1891, Pierce Collection. Carman's previous letter to Royce has not been found.

³⁸Examples include his review of G. Santayana's Poetry and Religion (April 28, 1900), and his letters to H. D. C. Lee (January 4, 1912) and Albert Mordell (September 8, 1912).

³⁹Carman to "Will" [no last name known], November 18, 1891, Pierce Collection.

⁴⁰This poem, privately printed in December, 1891 for Carman's friends, is included in Carman's Poems (1904), v. II, pp. 75-76, under the title of "The Great Return."

⁴¹Cf. Wordsworth's relationship with nature in "Expostulation and Reply" and "The Tables Turned," Poetical Works of Wordsworth, p. 377.

⁴²Carman to Norton, March 7, 1892, Hathaway Collection. Norton's previous letter of February 27, 1892 is in the Pierce Collection.

⁴³Ibid.

Chapter IV

¹Allan H. MacDonald, Richard Hovey: Man and Craftsman (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1957), p. 147. At this time, Hovey is carrying on an affair with Mrs. Henrietta Russell, by whom he already has one child.

²Charles G. D. Roberts, "More Reminiscences of Bliss Carman," Dal R, X (April, 1930), 3.

³Bliss Carman and Richard Hovey, More Songs from Vagabondia (Boston: Copeland & Day, 1896), p. 31; written November 30, 1892.

⁴Carman, Low Tide on Grand Pré, p. 102; written May 10, 1893.

⁵H. Pearson Gundy, "Lorne Pierce, Bliss Carman, and the

Ladies," pp. 12-13.

⁶The "Prelude" to the volume contains the lines "These are the happy songs" made "When Hillborn said to Seaborn, / 'Sweetheart, but thou art fair!'" (p. 3). Jessie Kappeler signed her letters "Seaborn"; Carman, born in hilly Fredericton, was "Hillborn."

⁷Bliss Carman, Songs of the Sea Children (Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1903), p. 56; written October 10, 1893; hereafter referred to as Songs.

⁸Ibid., p. 61; written in March, 1894.

⁹Carman to Lee, September 29, 1911.

¹⁰Carman to Gertrude Burton, October 9, 1894. Pierce Collection.

¹¹Carman, "LI," Songs, p. 76; written December 1, 1893.

¹²More specific influences such as Browning, Roberts, Royce, and others can be conjectured, but when social Darwinism is so much in the air it seems pointless and misleading to propound any single possible influence.

¹³Carman to Gertrude Burton, October 9, 1894.

¹⁴Bliss Carman, Behind the Arras (Boston: Lamson Wolfe and Company, 1895), p. 66; written September 26, 1894. All quotations in the following discussion of "Beyond the Gamut" are from the poem (pp. 66-80) unless otherwise identified.

¹⁵In "Rhythm," previously quoted in connection with "Lyric April" (see above, Ch. III, pp. 45-46).

¹⁶Royce, The Religious Aspect of Philosophy, p. 465. See the discussion of this volume in the early part of Ch. III, pp. 41-42.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 454. The original is printed in italics.

¹⁸The phrase is from "Pulvis et Umbra," (see above, Ch. III,

p. 54, where a similar contrast of man with other natural creatures is discussed.

¹⁹Carman to G. Burton, October 9, 1894.

²⁰See above, Ch. III, pp. 51-55.

²¹Bliss Carman, Songs from a Northern Garden (Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1904), pp. 41-45; first printed December 19, 1895. All references in the ensuing discussion are to this poem unless otherwise specified.

²²"Nature," Selections from Ralph Waldo Emerson, pp. 21-22.

²³All quotations from the poem can be found in Songs from a Northern Garden, pp. 50-78.

²⁴Carman, "Christmas Eve at St. Kevin's," Songs from a Northern Garden, p. 105; printed 1901.

²⁵On absolute beauty and the relationship between beauty and spirit, see also pp. 19, 37, and 43-44 above.

²⁶Carman, "Miracles and Metaphors," The Kinship of Nature, p. 36; printed February 24, 1899.

²⁷Ibid., p. 37. Carman is quoting Sidney Lanier. Compare Roberts's comment (Chapter II, p. 17) that Carman would never shoot at animals or catch fish in his younger days.

²⁸All quotations are taken from Bliss Carman, By the Aurelian Wall (Boston: Lamson Wolfe and Company, 1898), pp. 67-69. Carman's socialist sympathies are indicated in his "The Modern Athenian: VIII," Boston Evening Transcript, September 19, 1896, p. 15.

Chapter V

¹Carman to H. D. C. Lee, January 4, 1912, Pierce Collection. It is unclear when Carman reads the Stebbins book; a probable date would be between 1899 and 1901.

²Quoted by Stebbins, Delsarte System of Expression (New

York: Edgar S. Werner, 1886), p. 35.

³Carman to Richard Hovey, August 1, 1891, Pierce Collection.

⁴Richard Hovey, "Delsarte and Poetry," Independent, XLIII (August 27, 1891), 1267. As an editor of the weekly, Carman would read the article one month before publication.

⁵MacDonald, Richard Hovey, p. 121.

⁶Behind the Arras, p. 63.

⁷MacDonald, Richard Hovey, p. 76.

⁸Carman, "The Modern Athenian: X," Boston Evening Transcript, October 10, 1896, p. 17.

⁹Carman, "The Modern Athenian: IX," Boston Evening Transcript, September 26, 1896, p. 13.

¹⁰H. P. Gundy, "Lorne Pierce, Bliss Carman, and the Ladies," p. 18.

¹¹All quotations are from Carman, "Delsarte," Prose Scrapbook: 1899-1901, November 18, 1899, Pierce Collection.

¹²The Kinship of Nature, p. 157; first printed June 24, 1899.

¹³All quotations from this essay are taken from Carman's Prose Scrapbook: 1899-1901, October 28, 1899. "Blue and Yellow" is later published as the second part of "The Scarlet of the Year," in The Kinship of Nature. The relevant pages are 258-260.

¹⁴The Kinship of Nature, p. 36.

¹⁵All quotations can be found in Bliss Carman, The Friendship of Art (Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1904), pp. 226-227; first printed July 9, 1899.

¹⁶Carman, "A Gospel of Comfort," Prose Scrapbook: 1899-

1901, November 17, 1900.

¹⁷Carman, "The Seed of Success," The Kinship of Nature, p. 77, printed November 10, 1900.

¹⁸Carman, "On Being Ineffectual," The Friendship of Art, p. 198; printed November 10, 1900.

¹⁹Carman, "Good Fortune," The Kinship of Nature, p. 265; appeared on book publication.

²⁰All quotations in this paragraph are from Carman, "The Creative Spirit," The Friendship of Art, pp. 140-141; printed March, 1903.

²¹Bliss Carman, "The Meaning of Personality," The Making of Personality (Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1908), p. 2; written in August, 1904, revised in November, 1906.

²²Ibid., p. 32.

²³Carman, "The Courtesy of Nature," The Kinship of Nature, p. 170; printed June 30, 1900.

²⁴All references to the poem are from Songs from a Northern Garden, pp. 102-121; printed 1901.

²⁵Carman to Bliss Perry, December 4, 1905, Pierce Collection.

²⁶(New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900), pp. v, 289, and 290; hereafter referred to as Poetry and Religion. Carman quotes the first of these three passages in his "Poetry and Religion," Prose Scrapbook: 1899-1901, April 28, 1900.

²⁷Both quotations in this paragraph are from Carman, "Poetry and Religion."

²⁸Santayana, Poetry and Religion, p. 176.

²⁹Unless otherwise stated, all quotations in this paragraph are from Carman's article.

³⁰All quotations can be found in The Kinship of Nature, pp. 147-153, printed May 19, 1900.

³¹Carman, "The Creative Spirit," The Friendship of Art, p. 142.

³²Carman to Bliss Perry, December 4, 1905.

³³All quotations are from Santayana, Poetry and Religion, pp. 72-73.

³⁴Carman to Bliss Perry, December 4, 1905.

³⁵Santayana, Poetry and Religion, p. 176.

³⁶Carman to Bliss Perry, November 23, 1905, Pierce Collection.

³⁷Bliss Carman, "III," Sappho: One Hundred Lyrics (Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1903), p. 5; written July 5, 1902.

³⁸Carman, Sappho, p. 13; written July 30, 1902.

³⁹All references to the poem are in Bliss Carman, From the Book of Myths (Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1902 with additions in 1903), pp. 4-31; printed April, 1902.

⁴⁰Carman, "Marsyas," Ibid., p. 37; printed February, 1902.

⁴¹All references are to Carman, "The Soul of Socialism," Prose Scrapbook: 1898-1899 [insert], Saturday, November 1, no year (must be either 1896 or 1902 and it's definitely not in the Boston Evening Transcript, Carman's only prose outlet for 1896, in that year). This scrapbook is in the Pierce Collection.

⁴²Carman to Lee, October 12, 1910.

⁴³Carman to Bliss Perry, December 4, 1905.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Carman to Lee, August 26, 1912, Pierce Collection.

⁴⁶Bliss Carman, From the Book of Valentines (Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1905), p. 33; printed May, 1903.

Chapter VI

¹Carman to Thomas B. Meteyard, December 29, 1906, Pierce Collection.

²William S. Braithwaite's notes of an interview with Bliss Carman, December 11, no year (Carman's reference to five years suggests December, 1910, five years after he first read Santayana's book). Quoted in William H. Bond, "Manuscripts of Bliss Carman in the Harvard College Library," The Canadian Collection at Harvard University, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1947), Vol. 5, p. 78.

³Carman to Meteyard, December 29, 1906.

⁴Carman to Miss Hawthorne, September 3, 1906, Pierce Collection.

⁵G. Santayana to Carman, March 3, 1906, Pierce Collection.

APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGY OF CARMAN'S COLLECTED WORK

I. Acknowledgement

I would like here to extend my thanks to those who made this chronology possible. It could never have been seriously attempted without the grant given by the Research Grants Committee of the University of Manitoba to enable me to visit the Archives at Queen's University and at the University of New Brunswick. Nor could it have been compiled without the generous aid which the libraries at both universities gave me. At Queen's University, my deep appreciation goes to the Assistant Archivist of the Douglas Library, Mrs. A. D. MacDermaid, for her assistance in locating Carman materials in the Lorne Pierce Collection of Canadian Manuscripts and in forwarding photocopies of important items to me after my visits were over. By consulting Carman's dated manuscripts, I was able to construct a chronology of the composition dates for many of his poems. Many thanks are also due to Professor H. Pearson Gundy, the former Head Librarian of the Douglas Library. He gave me freely of his time and knowledge of the Carman letters,*

* Regarding which he is presently preparing an edition of Selected Letters of Bliss Carman. In researching his edition, Prof. Gundy has visited all the Carman collections in the United States and Canada, and has brought back photocopies of most letters to Queen's which material he made available to me.

directing me to relevant items of which he alone was aware. Not only did the letters give me an insight into Carman's mind that would otherwise have been unobtainable, but also various references in the letters helped me to locate and date certain works for which no known manuscript source exists. Professor Gundy's aid was invaluable, both while I was visiting Queen's and in our subsequent correspondence. At the University of New Brunswick, my special gratitude goes to Mrs. Boone, the Head Archivist of the Harriet Irving Library, for opening up the Rufus Hathaway Collection of Canadian Literature to me, and for giving me unstintingly of her time and assistance in a multitude of instances. I cannot thank her enough for her frequent and friendly aid. To these people and groups, I acknowledge my indebtedness.

II. Scope and Presentation

The research behind this chronology sought to determine, according to the best evidence available, the date of composition, or failing that, the date of first printing, for each work included in one of Carman's collected volumes. Excluded for practical reasons (among them the unfinished state of manuscripts, the difficulty of determining or locating Carman's complete ephemeral works, and the inaccessibility of items for the general reader) are those materials--unpublished manuscripts; broadsheets, single-poem pamphlets, and magazine verse not reprinted--which Carman himself declined to publish in one of his collections. However, where a

few such items proved relevant to the present thesis, they are chronologically listed in Appendix B.

The poems and essays contained in Appendix A are arranged in chronological order from June, 1886, when "Low Tide on Grand Pré" was written, to June, 1929, when Carman died. For each item, the abbreviated volume title is given first; the poem or essay title, second; the specific date of writing or first printing, third; and the source of information for the date, last. Where the date is one of printing, the periodical title, as indicated by the source, is also supplied. To facilitate the practical presentation of material, a list of abbreviations for Carman's texts and the various sources follows. Dates are shortened to a day-month-year format; for example, 6-7-88 would refer to 6 July, 1888.

III. Abbreviations of Carman's Books

AA	<u>April Airs</u> (1916)
BA	<u>Behind the Arras</u> (1895)
BAW	<u>By the Aurelian Wall</u> (1898)
BLH	<u>Ballads of Lost Haven</u> (1897)
DD	<u>Daughters of Dawn</u> (1913; with Mary Perry King)
ED	<u>Earth Deities</u> (1914; with Mary Perry King)
EFV	<u>Echoes from Vagabondia</u> (1912)
FA	<u>The Friendship of Art</u> (1904)
FBM	<u>From the Book of Myths</u> (1902)
FBMr	<u>From the Book of Myths</u> (rev. 1903)
FBV	<u>From the Book of Valentines</u> (1905)
FGBB	<u>From the Green Book of the Bards</u> (1903)
FH	<u>Far Horizons</u> (1925)
KN	<u>The Kinship of Nature</u> (1903)
LP	<u>Later Poems</u> (1921)
LSV	<u>Last Songs from Vagabondia</u> (1900; with Richard Hovey)
LT	<u>Low Tide on Grand Pré</u> (1893)
LTr	<u>Low Tide on Grand Pré</u> (rev. 1894)
ME	<u>The Music of Earth</u> (1931)

MM	<u>The Man of the Marne</u> (1918; with Mary Perry King)
MP	<u>The Making of Personality</u> (1908)
MSV	<u>More Songs from Vagabondia</u> (1896; with Richard Hovey)
P	<u>Poems</u> (1904)
Pr	<u>Poems</u> (rev. 1905)
PH	<u>A Painter's Holiday</u> (1911)
PL	<u>The Poetry of Life</u> (1905)
RR	<u>The Rough Rider</u> (1909)
S	<u>Sanctuary</u> (1929)
Sappho	<u>Sappho: One Hundred Lyrics</u> (1903)
SFV	<u>Songs from Vagabondia</u> (1894; with Richard Hovey)
SNG	<u>Songs from a Northern Garden</u> (1904)
SSC	<u>Songs of the Sea Children</u> (1903)
TPL	<u>Talks on Poetry and Life</u> (1926)
WG	<u>Wild Garden</u> (1929)
WH	<u>A Winter Holiday</u> (1899)

As the bibliography indicates, other collections of Carman's work were published either by himself or, posthumously, by his friends. However, since these volumes include no poems not published in previous books, they are excluded from the above list. The titles of essays and poems mentioned in the chronology are generally those of the earliest collection.

IV. Abbreviations of Sources

A. Poetry Notebooks: Manuscript

Poetry Notebook: 1886-1888	[1886-88]
Poetry Notebook: 1900-1912	[1900-12]
Poetry Notebook: <u>Sappho</u>	[<u>Sappho</u>]
Poetry Notebook: <u>Sappho II</u>	[<u>Sappho II</u>]
Poetry Notebook: 1912-1913	[1912-13]
Poetry Notebook: 1914-1916	[1914-16]
Poetry Notebook: 1914-1926	[1914-26]
Poetry Notebook: 1916-1923	[1916-23]
Poetry Notebook: 1920-1921	[1920-21]
Poetry Notebook: 1922	[1922]
Poetry Notebook: 1923-1927	[1923-27]
Poetry Notebook: 1923-1928	[1923-28]

B. Poetry Notebooks: Typescript

Poetry Notebook: 1892-1893	[T 1892-93]
Poetry Notebook: 1893	[T 1893]
Poetry Notebook: 1894	[T 1894]
Poetry Notebook: 1895	[T 1895]
Poetry Notebook: <u>SSC</u> 1893	[T <u>SSC</u> 1893]

C. Prose Scrapbooks

Prose Scrapbook: 1896-1899	[PR 1896-99]
Prose Scrapbook: 1898-1899	[PR 1898-99]
Prose Scrapbook: 1899-1901	[PR 1899-01]

D. Miscellaneous Sources

1. Separate manuscripts (Ms), typescripts (Ts), broad-sheets (Bs), and the like in the Pierce and Hathaway Collections, are shortened to [P. C.] and [H. C.] respectively.
2. The King-Pierce index to Bliss Carman's Scrapbook (poetry) is abbreviated to [K-P, page reference: periodical cited.]
3. Carman's own dating of poems in the published text is signified by [Text].
4. When no more precise date can be determined for the items in any one book, they are listed together under the date of book publication; the fact is indicated by [Published].
5. Reference to the Boston Literary World is shortened to [BLW], while Muriel Miller's Bliss Carman: A Portrait becomes [MM] and William Inglis Morse's Bliss Carman: Bibliography, Letters, Fugitive Verse, and Other Data (1941) becomes [WIM].
6. Any other sources are given in detail.

V. Chronology

1886, Written

- LT "Low Tide on Grand Pré," 6-86 [MM, 15]
- LT "In Apple Time," 16-9-86 [1886-88]

LT "Through the Twilight," 24-9-86 [1886-88]

1887, Written

ME "To One, Being in Sorrow," 9-2-87 [1886-88]

FGBB "First Croak," 21-2-87 [1886-88]

LT "Carnations in Winter," 10-3-87 [1886-88]

BAW "Illicet," 13-12-87 [1886-88]

1888, Written

ME "In Exile," 20-2-88 [1886-88]

LT "In Lyric Season," 4-88 [1886-88]

LT "A Windflower," 1-6-88 [1886-88]

1889, Printed

LT "The Pensioners," 5-89 [K-P, 4: Harvard Monthly]

LTr "Marian Drury," 12-89 [Bs, H. C.]

BLH "The Kelpie Riders," 12-89 [Bs, H. C. ; Roberts, "Reminiscences," 6, says it was written one summer]

LT "A Sea Child," 1889 [MM, Appendix]

1890, Printed

BAW "The Country of Har," 15-2-90 [K-P, 4: Atheneum]

BAW "To Richard Lovelace," 12-4-90 [K-P, 4: Atheneum]

LT "Wayfaring," 21-8-90 [K-P, 5: Independent]

BAW "John Eliot Bowen," 4-9-90 [K-P, 5: Independent]

LT "The End of the Trail," before 27-11-90 [Bs, letter from C. E. Norton to B. C., 27-11-90; P. C.]

1890, Written

LT "Pulvis et Umbra," 18-7-90 [K-P, 4: n.]

1891, Printed

- LT "The Unreturning," 14-5-91 [K-P, 5: Independent]
 BLH "The Yule Guest," 31-12-91 [Bs, H. C.]
 P "The Great Return," 12-91 [Bs, H. C.]
 BLH "The Marring of Malyn," Part II, 1891 [K-P, 5: Bs]

1891, Written

- BLH "The Last Watch," 15-1-91 [K-P, 5: n.]

1892, Printed

- BAW "Andrew Straton" (i. e. "Olaf Hjordward"), 31-3-92 [K-P, 5: Independent]
 BAW "In the Heart of the Hills," 15-4-92 [Bs, H. C.]
 FBV "The Players," 7-5-92 [K-P, 5: Fair Topics]
 BLH "Outbound," 7-92 [K-P, 5: Century]
 BAW "The White Gull," 8-92 [K-P, 5: Elite News]
 P "The Tragedy of Willow," 11-9-92 [Bs, WIM 37]
 BA "The Night Express," 6-10-92 [K-P, 6: Independent]
 PL "The Poetry of Tomorrow," 3-11-92 rev. 1905 [Clipping from Independent in P. C.]
 LT "The Vagabonds," 8-12-92 [K-P, 6: Independent]

1892, Written

- BA "In the Wings," 2-5-92 [T 1892-93]
 BLH "The Master of the Isles," 6-92 [K-P, 5: n.]
 BAW "An Afterword," 23-6-92 [K-P, 5, n.]
 FBM "Overlord," 7-8-92 [WIM, 39]
 BA "The Faithless Lover," 16-8-92 [WIM, 38]

BAW "The Grave-Tree," 20-8-92 [WIM, 37]
 BAW "Seven Wind Songs," 20-8-92 [WIM, 37]
 P "The Wind and the Tree," 20-8-92 [WIM, 37]
 SFV "The Joys of the Road" 17-10-92 [T 1892-93]
 P "Louie Rae," 19-10-92 [T 1892-93]
 BA "The Red Wolf," 26-10-92 [T 1892-93]
 LT "Why," 4-11-92 [T 1892-93]
 LT "Wanderer," 10-11-92 [T 1892-93]
 LT "A Northern Vigil," 17-11-92 [T 1892-93]
 P "Nell Guy," 28-11-92 [T 1892-93]
 MSV "In the Wayland Willows," 30-11-92 [T 1892-93]
 SFV "Spring Song," 30-11-92 [T 1892-93]
 SFV "The Two Bobbies," 3-12-92 [T 1892-93]
 SFV "The War-Song of Gamelbar," 3-12-92 [T 1892-93]

1893, Printed

MSV "Mr. Moon," 5-1-93 [K-P, 6: Independent]
 BAW "Phillips Brooks," 9-2-93 [K-P, 6: Independent]
 LT "The Eavesdropper," 2-93 [K-P, 6: Atlantic]
 SFV "A More Ancient Mariner," 27-10-93 [K-P, 6: Independent]

1893, Written

LSV "Berris Yare," 24-1-93 [T 1892-93]
 LT "Whither," 29-1-93 [T 1892-93]
 P "Envoi" (i. e. "Success"), 31-1-93 [T 1892-93]
 SFV "The Marching Morrows," 31-1-93 [T 1892-93]
 LT "Seven Things," 6-2-93 [T 1892-93]

- BA "Hack and Hew," 8-2-93 [T 1892-93]
- BLH "Arnold, Master of the Scud" 3-3-93 [T 189-93]
- MSV "Buie Anna John," 5-3-93 [T 1892-93]
- P "Garden Lovers" (i. e. "Rose's Resignation"), 7-3-93
[T 1892-93]
- LT "At the Voice of a Bird," 9-3-93 [T 1892-93]
- P "River Water," 15-3-93 rev. in WG (1929) [T 1892-93]
- BLH "The Shadow Boatswain," 28-4-93 [T 1892-93]
- P "Quaker Ladies," 9-5-93 [T 1892-93]
- LT "Afoot," 10-5-93 [T 1892-93]
- MSV "The Night-Washers," 12-5-93 [T 1892-93]
- LT "When the Guelder Roses Bloom," 20-5-93 [T 1892-93]
- SFV "A Captain of the Press-Gang," 23-5-93 [T 1892-93]
- FBM "The Prayer in the Rose Garden," 27-5-93 [T 1892-93]
- BLH "The Marring of Malyn," Parts I & III, 29 & 31-5-93 [1892-93]
- SFV "A Rover's Song," 3-7-93 [T 1893]
- SSC "XLIII," 16-7-93 [T SSC 1893]
- BLH "Noons of Poppy," 17-7-93 [T 1893]
- BLH "The Ships of St. John," 29-8-93 [T 1893]; rev. 7-21 for LP [1916-23]
- BLH "Legends of Lost Haven," 3-9-93 [T 1893]
- SSC "IX," 19-9-93 [T SSC 1893]
- SSC "XXIX," 19-9-93 [T SSC 1893]
- SSC "VI," 19-9-93 [T SSC 1893]
- SSC "XXII," 23-9-93 [T SSC 1893]

SSC "LXXIV," 24-9-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "LIX," 25-9-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "XXXII," 25-9-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SFV "Resignation," 26-9-93 [T 1893]
 BA "The Dustman," 26-9-93 [T 1893]
 SSC "XLVIII," 27-9-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "XIX," 28-9-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "LXXIII," 28-9-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "X," 28-9-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "XXXVIII," 28-9-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "LVIII," 28-9-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "XLV," 30-9-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "XLIV," 1-10-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "XLVII," 2-10-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "LII," 2-10-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "XLII," 2-10-93 [T SSC 1893]
 LTr "A Sea Drift," 3-10-93 [T SSC 1893]
 BLH "The Gravedigger," 3-10-93 [T 1893]
 P "An Epitaph," 4-10-93 [T 1893]
 SSC "XXXV," 4-10-93 [T SSC 1893]
 MSV "Nancibel," 5-10-93 [T 1893]
 LTr "Golden Rowan," 6-10-93 [T 1893]
 MSV "Lal of Kilrudden," 7-10-93 [T 1893]
 SSC "XXXVI," 10-10-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "XXXIV," 10-10-93 [T SSC 1893]

SSC "XXXIII," 10-10-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "LIII," 10-10-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "XXVII," 12-10-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "LXXVIII," 14-10-93 [T SSC 1893]
 BA "The Juggler," 14-10-93 [T 1893]
 BA "The Crimson House," 15-10-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "IV," 16-10-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SFV "In the House of Idiedaily," 19-10-93 [T 1893]
 BA "The Lodger," 31-10-93 [T 1893]
 SSC "XXVII," 25-11-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "L," 1-12-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "LI," 1-12-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "XVI," 1-12-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "XX," 1-12-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "LIV," 11-12-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "XIII," 28-12-93 [T SSC 1893]
 SSC "XVIII," 31-12-93 [T 1894]

1894, Printed

SFV "A Waif," 22-2-94 [K-P, 7: Independent]
 SFV "In the Workshop," "The Mote," before 17-9-94 [Published
 before that date: MacDonald, Richard Hovey, 234]
 SSC "XV," 1-11-94 [Pierce, ME 44 n. : Independent]

1894, Written

SSC "XXI," 2-1-94 [T 1894]
 SSC "III," 3-1-94 [T 1894]

- SFV "The Mendicants," 5-1-94 [T 1894]
- SSC "XXVIII," 10-1-94 [T 1894]
- BA "The Cruise of the Galleon," 8-3-94 [T 1894]
- FGBB "After School," 10-3-94 [T 1894]
- SSC "XXXIX," 3-94 [T 1894]
- SSC "XXX," 3-94 [T 1894]
- SSC "LXXVII," 13-3-94 [T 1894]
- SSC "XIV," 14-3-94 [T 1894]
- SSC "LXXI," 15-3-94 [T 1894]
- BA "Fancy's Fool," 22-3-94 [T 1894]
- SSC "VII," 23-3-94 [T 1894]
- SSC "LXX," 24-3-94 [T 1894]
- MSV "An Easter Market," 24-3-94 [T 1894]
- MSV "Earth's Lyric," 24-3-94 [T 1894]
- SSC "LXXV," 3-94 [T 1894]
- BA "The Moondial," 3-4-94 [T 1894]
- BA "A Song Before Sailing," 5-4-94 [T 1894]
- SSC "XXIV," 4-94 [T 1894]
- SSC "VIII," 20-4-94 [T 1894]
- BA "At the Granite Gate," 13-5-94 [T 1894]
- SSC "Prelude," 3-6-94 [T 1894]
- MSV "Daisies," 4-6-94 [T 1894]
- SSC "XI," 9-6-94 [T 1894]
- FGBB "A Forest Shrine," 11-6-94 [T 1894]; much revised in 1-01 [1900-12].

SSC "XXXI," 11-6-94 [T 1894]
 SSC "XLIX," 17-7-94 [T 1894]
 SSC "II," 3-8-94 [T 1894]
 SSC "XVII," 4-8-94 [T 1894]
 SSC "V," 6-8-94 [T 1894]
 BAW "To Raphael," 17-8-94 [T 1894]
 BAW "A Norse Child's Requiem," 18-8-94 [T 1894]
 FGGBB "Lord of My Heart's Elation," 26-8-94 [T 1894]
 MSV "The Mother of Poets," 10-9-94 [T 1894]
 BA "Beyond the Gamut," 26-9-94 [T 1894]
 BLH "The King of Ys," 15-11-94 [T 1894]
 BA "The Face in the Stream," 28-12-94 [T 1894]

1895, Printed

LSV "A Modern Eclogue," 28-2-95 [K-P, 8: Town Topics]
 MSV "A Good-By," 1-7-95 [K-P, 8: Chap Book]
 MSV "When I Was Twenty," 6-7-95 [K-P, 8: Truth]
 BLH "A Son of the Sea," 7-95 [K-P, 8: Munsey]
 FGGBB "Fellow Travellers," 20-7-95 [K-P, 8: Vanity Fair]
 MSV "A Vagabond Song," 11-95 [K-P, 9: Bookman]
 SNG "The Church of the Leaves," 19-12-95 [K-P, 9: Independent]
 MSV "Hem and Haw," 12-95 [K-P, 9: Christmas Truth]
 SSC "XII," 28-12-95 [K-P, 9: Truth]
 P "In the Great House," 1895 [MM, Appendix]

1895, Written

BAW "A Seamark," 10-1-95 [T 1895]

- MSV "Karlene" (#2), 11-1-95 [T 1895]
- MSV "At the Road-House," 28-1-95 [T 1895]
- BA "Behind the Arras," 11-2-95 [T 1895]
- SNG "The Deep Hollow Road," 18-2-95 [T 1895]
- FGBB "From an Old Ritual," 6-3-95 [T 1895]
- MSV "The First Julep," 6-3-95 [T 1895]
- SSC "LXXVI," 8-3-95 [T 1895]
- SSC "XLI," 12-3-95 [T 1895]
- MSV "In a Garden," 14-3-95 [T 1895]
- BA "The Sleepers," 14-3-95 [T 1895]
- MSV "Quince to Lilac," 15-3-95 [T 1895]
- SSC "LXIX," 17-3-95 [T 1895]
- SSC "LVI," 19-3-95 [T 1895]
- SSC "XL," 19-3-95 [T 1895]
- FGBB "A Creature Catechism," 20-3-95 [T 1895] rev. 5-1-01
[1900-12]
- LSV "The Time and the Place," 27-3-95 [T 1895]
- SSC "XLVI," 28-3-95 [T 1895]
- MSV "A Friend's Wish" (i. e. "To C. W. S.") 29-3-95 [T 1895]
- LSV "A Spring Feeling," 31-3-95 [T 1895]
- SSC "LV," 27-5-95 [Pierce, ME, 44 n.]
- BA "Exit Anima," 6-95 [text]
- MSV "At Michaelmas" 10-95 [Ms, P. C.]

1896, Printed

- MSV "Wood-Folk Lore," 4-1-96 [K-P, 9: Outlook]

- BAW "The Word of the Water," 25-1-96 [K-P, 9: Harper's Weekly]
- SSC "LXVIII," 3-1-96 [K-P, 9: Chap Book]
- LSV "Under the Rowans," 21-3-96 [K-P 9: Truth]
- MSV "The Unsainting of Kavin," 1-5-96 [K-P, 9: Chap Book]
- FGBB "Sursum Corda," 7-5-96 [K-P, 9: Independent]
- FGBB "The Field by the Sea," 23-7-96 [K-P, 9: Independent]
- FGBB "The Breath of the Reed," 10-9-96 [K-P, 9: Independent]
- FGBB "Poppies," 15-9-96 [K-P, 9: Chap Book]
- MSV "In a Copy of Browning," 9-96 [K-P, 7: Bookman]
- WH "December in Scituate," 9-96 [K-P, 9: The Savoy (London)]
- BAW "To Paul Verlaine," 1-10-96 [K-P, 9: Chap Book]
- LSV "Marigolds," 3-10-96 [K-P, 10: Truth]
- SNG "Malyn's Daisy," 29-10-96 [K-P, 9: Independent]
- SNG "At Home and Abroad," 14-11-96 [Boston Evening Transcript, 12]
- FBV "A Man's Last Word," 15-11-96 [K-P, 9: Chap Book]
- FBV "The Least of Love," 26-11-96 [K-P, 9: Town Topics]
- LSV "A Staccato to O Le Lupe," 5-12-96 [Boston Evening Transcript 20]
- MSV "Concerning Kavin," "The Hearse Horse," before 27-11-96
[Published by then: MacDonald, p. 240]
- LSV "The Sceptics," 12-96 [K-P, 10: Truth]

1896, Written

- BAW "By the Aurelian Wall," 10-2-96 [Ms inscription, P. C.]
- BLH "The Nancy's Pride," 23-4-96 [Ms, P. C.]
- SNG "The Keepers of Silence," 26-8-96 [K-P, 10: n.]
- FGBB "Ephemeron," 21-11-96 [Pierce, ME, 44 n.]

1897, Printed

- LSV "In Philistia," 2-97 [K-P, 9: The Philistine]
- FGBB "The Green Book of the Bards," 3-97 [K-P, 10: Independent]
- SSC "Aftersong," 6-5-97 [K-P, 10: Truth]
- LSV "On the Stairs 5-6-97 [K-P, 10: Independent]
- LSV "The Deserted Inn," 7-97 [K-P, 9: Blackwoods]
- LSV "Romany Signs," 7-97 [K-P, 10: Book Buyer (New York)]
- LSV "The Girl in the Poster," 29-7-97 [K-P, 10: Independent]
- SNG "Above the Gaspereau," Summer, 97 [K-P, 10: Poet Lore]
- LSV "Holiday," 14-8-97 [K-P, 10: Outlook]
- SNG "St. Bartholomew's on the Hill," 26-8-97 [K-P, 10: Congregationalist]
- FGBB "Among the Aspens," 15-10-97 [K-P, 10: Chap Book]
- BAW "Henry George," 31-10-97 [K-P, 10: The World (New York)]
- LSV "The City in the Sea," 1897 [MM, Appendix]

1898, Printed

- PL "Longfellow," 1-4-98 [Chap Book 8 (April 1, 1898), 396-400]
- WH "Migrants," 4-6-98 [K-P, 10: Outlook]
- WH "In Bay Street," 7-98 [K-P, 10: Atlantic]
- WH "Bahaman," (i.e. "A Winter Holiday") 12-98 [Leaflet in P.C.]

1899, Printed

- WH "Winter at Tortoise Shell," 14-1-99 [K-P, 11: Criterion]
- KN "The Art of Life," 21-1-99 [PR 1896-99]*

* Though Carman generally neglects to state where the articles included in his prose scrapbooks were printed, virtually all of them appear in the Boston Evening Transcript on the dates indicated, and were probably written within one month of publication.

- KN "Miracles and Metaphors," 24-2-99 [PR 1896-99]
- KN "The Vernal Ides," 11-3-99 [PR 1896-99]
- P "At Columbine's Grave," 1-4-99 [K-P, 11: Colliers Weekly]
- KN "The Cost of Beauty," 1-4-99 [PR 1896-99]
- KN "The Wandering Word," 15-4-99 [PR 1896-99]
- FGBB "The Spell," pr. 6-99 [K-P, 10: Munsey]
- KN "Seaboard and Hillward," 24-6-99 [PR 1896-99]
- LSV "Philip Savage," (i. e. "A New England Poet"), 22-7-99
[K-P, 10: Commercial Advertising]
- KN "Of Serenity," 12-8-99 [PR 1899-01]
- PL "The Defense of Poetry," 19-8-99 [PR 1898-01]
- P "The Last Room," 8-99 [K-P, 10: Harper's]
- KN "Play," 2-9-99 [PR 1899-01]
- FA "The Magic of the Woods," 9-9-99 [PR 1899-01]
- P "At the End of A Book," 9-9-99 [K-P, 10: Saturday Evening Post]
- WH "Flying Fish," 30-9-99 [K-P, 10: Saturday Evening Post]
- WH "White Nassau," 10-99 [Published]
- KN "The Scarlet of the Year, I," 10-99 [PR 1899-01]
- KN "The Scarlet of the Year, II," 28-10-99 [PR 1899-01]
- FGBB "The Silent Wayfellow," 10-99 [K-P, 10: Scribners]
- KN "Atmosphere," 11-11-99 [PR 1899-01]
- FA "A Sea-Turn," 2-12-99 [PR 1899-01]
- FBV "A Midwinter Memory," 9-12-99 [K-P, 10: Saturday Evening Post]
- FGBB "The Wind at the Door," 12-99 [K-P, 10: Scribners]
- FA "The Paths of Peace," 23-12-99 [PR 1899-01]

P "Pierrot's Christmas," 12-99 [K-P, 11: Town Topics]

1899, Written

SSC "LXXIX," 1-1-99 [Pierce, ME, 44 n.]

FGBB "The Green Dancers," 7-7-99 [Pierce, ME, 44 n.]

FGBB "At the Yellow of the Leaf," 26-8-99 [Pierce, ME, 44 n.]

FGBB "Pictor Ignotus," 26-8-99 [Pierce, ME, 44 n.]

1900, Printed

KN "On Being Strenuous," 6-1-00 [PR 1899-01]

KN "Haste and Waste," 17-2-00 [PR 1899-01]

FA "Corpus versus Animus," 24-2-00 [PR 1899-01]

KN "The Seed of Success," 10-3-00 [PR 1899-01]

LSV "To an Iris," 3-00 [K-P, 11: Smart Set]

KN "Fact and Fancy," 17-3-00 [PR 1899-01]

KN "The Friendship of Nature," 7-4-00 [PR 1899-01]

KN "Easter Eve," 14-4-00 [PR 1899-01]

LSV "A Prelude," 4-00 [K-P, 10: Harpers]

P "Pierrot's Return," 28-4-00 [K-P, 11: Saturday Evening Post]

FA "Moving-Day," 5-5-00 [PR 1899-01]

FA "The Migratory Mood," 12-5-00 [PR 1899-01]

KN "Subconscious Art," 19-5-00 [PR 1899-01]

FA "The Outskirters," 26-5-00 [PR 1899-01]

FA "Personal Rhythm," 2-6-00 [PR 1899-01]

KN "The Luxury of Being Poor," 9-6-00 [PR 1899-01]

FA "On Tradition," 16-6-00 [PR 1898-99]

- LSV "May and June," 6-00 [K-P, 10: Smart Set]
- LSV "The Northern Muse," 6-00 [K-P, 10: Atlantic]
- FA "Simplicity," 23-6-00 [PR 1898-99]
- KN "The Courtesy of Nature," 30-6-00 [PR 1899-1901]
- KN "Solitary the Thrush," 7-7-00 [PR 1899-1901]
- KN "Trees," 14-7-00 [PR 1899-1901]
- FGBB "Spring Magic," 4-8-00 [K-P, 11: Harpers Bawar [sic]]
- P "The Paper Moon," 4-8-00 [K-P, 11: Saturday Evening Post]
- FA "Ephemeral," 18-8-00 [PR 1899-01]
- FA "The Artist's Joy," 22-9-00 [PR 1899-01]
- PL "Cheerful Pessimism," 13-10-00 [PR 1899-01]
- LSV "The Lanterns of St. Eulalie," 10-00 [K-P, 11: Ainslees]
- KN "The Debauchery of Mood," 27-10-00 [PR 1899-01]
- P "A Toast to Tusitala," 1-11-00 [K-P, 10: The Mirror]
- FA "On Being Ineffectual," 10-11-00 [PR 1899-01]
- FA "Vanitas Vanitatum," 8-12-00 [PR 1899-01]
- LSV "A Thanksgiving," 12-00 [K-P, 11: Lippincotts]
- LSV "Non Omnis Moriar," "The Lost Comrade, R. H.," "The Man with the Tortoise," "The Adventurers " (with R. Hovey), "The Poor Traveller " (endpapers), 11-00 [Published]
- FBV "The Love-Chant of King Hacko," 12-00 [K-P, 11: Town Topics]

1900, Written

- SNG "The Word at St. Kavin's," 25-7-00 [Ts, P. C.]
- FBM "The Tidings to Olaf," 10-11-00 (rev.?) [Ms, P. C.]
- P "The Bereaved Pierrot," (i. e. "The Sorrow of Pierrot," 10-00 rev. 2-01 [Ts, P. C.]

1901, Printed

- FA "The Contemporary Spirit," 12-1-01 [PR 1899-01]
- P "A Water Colour," 1-01 [K-P, 11: Ainslees]
- P "In Pierrot's Garden," 26-1-01 [K-P, 11: Saturday Evening Post]
- FA "Speech-Culture and Literature," 2-2-01 [PR 1899-01]
- KN "The Crime of Ugliness," 16-2-01 [PR 1899-01]
- FGBB "April Weather," 30-3-01 [K-P, 11: Saturday Evening Post]
- FBV "The Mansion," 3-01 [K-P, 11: Smart Set]
- FA "Horticulture," 23-3-01 [PR 1899-01]
- KN "Rhythm," 6-4-01 [PR 1899-01]
- P "How the Spring came to Pierrot," 13-4-01 [K-P, 11: Saturday Evening Post]
- FGBB "The Enchantress," 4-01 [K-P, 11: The Mirror]
- FGBB "The Madness of Ishtar," 6-01 [K-P, 11: Smart Set]
- KN "Careless Nature," 20-4-01 [PR 1899-01]
- FA "On Being Coherent," 18-5-01 [PR 1899-01]
- FA "Giving and Taking," 8-6-01 [PR 1899-01]
- FA "Of Civilization," 2-7-01 [PR 1899-01]
- KN "Concerning Pride," 6-7-01 [Pr 1899-01]
- KN "Of Breeding," 13-7-01 [PR 1899-01]
- FA "The Training of Instinct," 27-7-01 [PR 1899-01]
- FA "Of Vigour," 3-8-01 [PR 1899-01]
- P "The Point of View," 3-8-01 [K-P, 11: Outlook]
- P "Pierrot's House," 8-01 [K-P, 11: Smart Set]
- P "Pierrot in Autumn," 12-01 [K-P, 11: Smart Set]

- FBV "Who is the Owner?" 12-01 [K-P, 11: The Era]
 FBV "To One in Despair," Xmas 01 [K-P, 12: Mirror]
 SNG "Christmas Eve at St. Kavin's," 1901 [Booklet, H. C.]
 FGBB "The Word in the Beginning," 2-1-01 to 2-2-01 [1900-12]

1901, Written

- FGBB "The Heretic," 16-3-01 [Pierce, ME, 44 n.]
 FBM "Daphne," 5-01 (begun) [K-P, 12: n.]

1902, Printed

- FBM "At Phaedra's Tomb," 1-02 [K-P, 12: Smart Set]
 FBM "Marsyas," 2-02 [K-P, 12: Smart Set]
 FGBB "A Supplication," 4-02 [K-P, 12: The Acadian]
 FBM "The Pipes of Pan," 4-02 [The Atlantic Monthly, LXXXIX
 (April, 1902), 471-481.]
 P "Two Songs of Pierrot," 19-4-02 [K-P, 12: Saturday Even-
 ing Post]
 FBV "The Fairy Flower," 4-02 [K-P, 11: Easter Mirror]
 SSC "LXXXV," 5-02 [K-P, 12: Ainslees]
 SSC "LXXXVIII," 17-5-02 [K-P, 12: Saturday Evening Post]
 SSC "XCVI," 5-02 [K-P, 12: Smart Set]
 SSC "XCVII," 5-02 [K-P, 12: Smart Set]
 SSC "CIX," 5-02 [K-P, 12: Smart Set]
 SSC "CIV," 7-02 [K-P, 11: Lippincotts]
 FBV "Song of the Four Worlds," 7-02 [K-P, 13: Smart Set]
 SSC "XC," 8-02 [K-P, 12: The Valley]
 SSC "XCI," 8-02 [K-P, 12: Lippincotts]
 SSC "XCII," 9-02 [K-P, 13: Smart Set]

- SSC "XCIII," 9-02 [K-P, 13: Smart Set]
 SSC "CI," 9-02 [K-P, 13: Smart Set]
 SSC "CII," 9-02 [K-P, 13: Smart Set]
 SSC "CIII," 9-02 [K-P, 13: Smart Set]
 SSC "CVIII," 9-02 [K-P, 13: Smart Set]
 SSC "CXV," 9-02 [K-P, 13: Smart Set]
 SSC "CXVI," 9-02 [K-P, 13: Smart Set]
 SSC "CVI," 10-02 [K-P, 12: Frank Leslie's]
 SSC "XCIX," 10-02 [K-P, 13: Ainslees]
 FBV "The Creation of Lilith," 10-02 [K-P, 13: Smart Set]
 SNG "In a Grand Pré Garden," 10-02 [K-P, 10: Poet Lore]
 FBM "The Lost Dryad," "The Dead Faun," "A Young Pan's Prayer,"
 11-02 [Published]
 FBMr "Syrinx," 11-02 [K-P, 12: Smart Set]
 SNG "The Ballad of Father Hudson," 6-12-02 [K-P, 11: Outlook]

1902, Written

- P "Lincoln," 12-2-02 [BLW XXXIV (February, 1903), 30]
 FBV "In a Far Country," 19-3-02 [Pierce, ME, 45 n.]
 P "Ode on the Coronation of King Edward," 12-4-02 [K-P, 13 n.]
 Sappho* XXII, II, XIV, Prologue, I, XVI, XXXVIII, XXIV (6-02); XXV, IX, III (5-7-02); IV (5-7-02 to 9-7-02); XXXVII, XXVI, XV (9-7-02); XX (10-7-02); XIII, XVII (11-7-02); XLI (15-7-02); XLII, XLIII, XXI (16-7-02); XXIII (17-7-02);

*The 102 lyrics of Sappho are written in one notebook spanning under a year with almost no intervening work. For this reason they are listed in a group rather than as independent entries.

XLIV (19-7-02): VIII, XLVII, XXXIV, XI, XLV (20-7-02);
 XLVI, XIX, XVIII, X (23-7-02); XXX, XLVIII (25-7-02); XLIX,
 XXXIX, L (26-7-02); LVIII, XII (28-7-02); LVII, VII (30-
 7-02): LI (3-8-02); LXIV, LXV, LXVI, LXVIII, LXXIII, LXII
 (11-9-02); XXXI, XCIX, XXIX (13-9-02); XXVII (14-9-02);
 XXXII (15-9-02); LII, XXXV, LXVII (16-9-02); LXXIV (17-9-
 9-02); XXXIII (18-9-02); XXVIII (29-9-02); LXXI (1-10-
 02); LVI (5-10-02): LXXII (6-10-02); LXXV (7-10-02);
 LXXVI, LXXVII (12-10-02); LXXVIII, LXXIX, LXXX, LX (13-10-
 02); LXXXI, LXXXII (14-10-02); LXXXIII (25-10-02); LXXXIV
 (26-10-02); LXXXVI (31-10-02); LXXXV (4-11-02); LXXXVII,
 XCIII (5-11-02); XCIV (6-11-02); XCV (12-11-02); XCVII,
 XCVIII (27-11-02); XL (29-11-02); VI (4-12-02); V (6-12-
 02); LIX (8-12-02); LXIII, LIII (10-12-02); LV, XCVI (11-
 12-02); [Sappho]

FBMr "Hylas," 11-12-02 [Sappho]

Sappho C, LIV (13-12-02); LXIX, LXX (17-12-02); XC, XCI, XCII
 (23-12-02) [Sappho]

1903, Printed

SSC "CV," 17-1-03 [K-P, 13: Saturday Evening Post]

SSC "XCVIII," 2-03 [K-P, 13: Harpers Bazar [sic]]

SSC "CXI," 2-03 [K-P, 13: Lippincotts]

FBMr "The Magic Flute," 2-03 [K-P, 12: Smart Set]

FGBB "Compensation," 12-2-03 [K-P, 13: Independent]

FA "The Man Behind the Book," 2-03 [BLW XXXIV: 31]

- FBV "Morning and Evening," 7-3-03 [K-P, 13: Outlook]
- FBV "In an Iris Meadow," 3-03 [K-P, 13: Everybodys]
- FA "The Creative Spirit," 3-03 [BLW XXXIV: 56]
- SSC "CXVIII" ("Portal of Spring"), 4-03 [K-P, 14: Ainslees]
- SSC "CXIX" ("Golden April"), 4-03 [K-P, 14: Ainslees]
- PL "The Permanence of Poetry," 4-03 [BLW, XXXIV: 86]
- SSC "LXXXVIII" ("At the Return of Spring"), 5-03 [K-P, 13: Lippincotts]
- SSC "CX," 5-03 [K-P, 13: Lippincotts]
- SSC "CXVII" ("The King's Reward"), 5-03 [K-P, 13: Lippincotts]
- SSC "LXXX," 5-03 [K-P, 13: The Reader]
- SSC "XCIV," 5-03 [K-P, 14: Ainslees]
- SSC "CXXI," 5-03 [K-P, 14: Ainslees]
- FGBB "The Dancers of the Field," 5-03 [Published]
- FBV "A Neighbour's Creed," 5-03 [K-P, 14: Century]
- PL "Emerson," 5-03 [BLW, XXXIV: 120]
- FBMr "A Shepherd in Lesbos," 6-03 [K-P, 13: Ainslees]
- SSC "LXXXI," [K-P, 12: BLW]
- KN "Preface," 6-03 [Text]
- FA "A Canon of Criticism," 6-03 [BLW XXXIV: 146]
- P "A Song of the Open," 7-03 [K-P, 14: The Reader]
- FA "Sanity and Art," 7-03 [BLW XXXIV: 174]
- FA "Realism in Letters," 8-03 [BLW XXXIV: 202]
- FBV "Yvanhoé Ferrara," 9-03 [K-P, 14: Ainslees]
- KN "At the Coming of Spring," "April in Town," "The Ritual of Nature," "Good Fortune," "Of Moderation," 9-03

[Published]

SSC "I," "XXIII," "XXV," "XXVI," "LVII," "LX," "LXI,"
 "LXII," "LXIII," "LXIV," "LXV," "LXVI," "LXVII,"
 "LXXII," "XXXII," "LXXXIV," "LXXXVI," "LXXXIX," "XCV,"
 "CX," "CXII," "CXIII," "CXIV," "CXVII," "CXX," 10-03
 [Published]

SNG "Killooleet," 1-10-03 [K-P, 14: Youths Companion]

PL "The Poet in Modern Life," 11-03 [Clipping from Reader,
 H. C.]

FA "The Note of Gladness," 11-03 [BLW XXXIV: 302]

P "The Heart of Pierrot," 1903(?) [K-P, 13: The Kit Bag,
 #3, n. d.]

P "Pierrot's Prayer at the Forge," [K-P, 14: BLW]

1903, Written

Sappho* LXI (25-1-03); Epilogue (23-2-03); LXXXVIII (27-2-
 03); XXXVI (6-3-03); C (14-4-03) [Sappho]

EFV "Daffodil's Return," 7-2-03 [K-P, 14, n.]

FGBB "To the Memory of My Friend, E. N. Gibbs," 4-03 [Text]

Pr "A Vision of Sappho," summer, 1903 [Carman's note to
 Pamphlet printing of 12-03; P. C.]

EFV "Morning in the Hills," summer, 1903 [Sappho II]

1904, Printed

SNG "Our Lady of the Rain," 3-4-04 [K-P, 14: Sunday Magazine]

FA "Preface," "The March Hare's Madness," "Saint Valentine,"
 "A Christmas Reverie," "Business and Beauty," "The
 Critical Spirit," "The Secret of Art," "Of Contentment,"
 "The Tides of the Mind," "The Burden of Joy," 8-04
 [Published]

MP "The Meaning of Personality," 8-04 rev. 11-06 [Ms, P. C.]

MP "The Winged Victory," 8-04 rev. 11-06 [Ms, P. C.]

* See note to Sappho on page 149 above.

- MP "The Silver String," 8-04 rev. 11-06 [Ms, P. C.]
- MP "Rhythms of Grace," 8-04 rev. 11-06 [Ms, P. C.]
- FBV "Ballad of the Young King's Madness," 11-12-04 [K-P, 15: Sunday Magazine]
- PL "The Purpose of Poetry," 1904 [Introduction to The World's Best Poetry; photocopy in P. C.]
- P "Aboard the Galleon," 1904 [Published]
- 1904, Written
- FBV "At the Great Release," 21-1-04 [Sappho II]
- 1905, Printed
- FBV "A Conundrum," 24-8-05 [K-P, 14: Life]
- PL "Preface," 9-05 [Text]
- PL "The Poetry of Life," "How to Judge Poetry," "The Poet in the Commonwealth," "Distaste for Poetry," "Mr. Riley's Poetry," "Mr. Swinburne's Poetry," "The Rewards of Poetry," "Masters of the World," 10-95 [Published]
- FBV "Across the Courtyard," "Street Song at Night," "An Angel in Plaster," "A Letter From Lesbos," 1905 [Published]
- EFV "The Wise Men from the East," 2-12-05 [K-P, 15: Saturday Evening Post]
- EFV "Nike," 3-12-05 [K-P, 14: Sunday Magazine]
- PH "The Christmas Stranger," 24-12-05 [K-P, 14: Sunday Magazine]
- 1906, Printed
- EFV "The Sailing of the Fleets," 7-4-06 [K-P, 14: Saturday Evening Post]
- EFV "A Wood Path," 4-06 [K-P, 14: Smart Set]
- EFV "The Urban Pan," 5-5-06 [K-P, 15: Saturday Evening Post]
- EFV "A Lyric," 5-06 [K-P, 14: Atlantic]
- EFV "The Winged Victory," 10-6-06 [K-P, 15: Sunday Magazine]

EFV "Pan in the Catskills," 8-06 [K-P, 15: Outing]

1907, Printed

AA "The God of the Wood," 1-07 [K-P, 14: Times Magazine]

MPP "The Might of Manners," 11-07 [The Smart Set 23: 96-100; P. C.]

RR "A New England Thanksgiving," 23-11-07 [K-P, 15: Colliers]

RR "The Gate of Peace," 12-07 rev. 4-09 [Pamphlet, P. C.]

EFV "The Path to Sankoty," 12-07 [K-P, 15: Smart Set]

PH "On the Plaza," 12-07 [K-P, 15: Town Topics]

1907, Written

EFV "On Burial Hill," 10-07 rev. 7-08 [Ms, P. C.]

1908, Printed

EFV "The Cry of the Hillborn," 1-08 [K-P, 15: Smart Set]

MP "The Measure of Man," 20-3-08 [K-P, 16: Independent]

MP "Preface," 2-08 [Text]

MP "An Old-Fashioned Essence," "The Underglow," "The Lucky Pilot," "Beauty of the Foot," "The Art of Walking," "Dancing as a Fine Art," "The Music of Life," "The Sorcery of the Hand," "The Leaven of Art," "Designer and Builder," "The Use of Out-of-Doors," "The Dominion of Joy," "The Growers," "Genius and the Artist," 3-08 [Published]

EFV "In St. Cecilia's Street," 5-08 [K-P, 15: The Designer]

PR "Memorial Day," 30-5-08 [K-P, 15: Colliers]

EFV "Bronson Howard," 19-8-08 [K-P, 15: The Times]

RR "The Angels of Man," 12-08 [K-P, 15: Colliers]

1908, Written

RR "The Rough Rider," 10-3-08 [Ms, P. C.]

RR "Resurgam," 15-4-08 [Ms, P. C.]

1909, Printed

- RR "The Twelfth-Night Star," 2-1-09 [K-P, 15: Colliers]
- RR "The Man of Peace," 2-09 [K-P, 15: Colliers]
- AA "A Winter Piece," 2-09 [K-P, 14: Delineator]
- RR "Easter Eve," 10-4-09 [K-P, 16: Colliers]
- RR "At the Making of Man," 4-09 [Clipping from Atlantic, H. C.]
- RR "Champlain," read 8-7-09 [Ts, P. C.]; printed 8-09 [K-P, 15: The Vermonter]
- RR "The Golden West," 18-9-09 [K-P, 15: Colliers]
- EFV "By Still Waters," 20-11-09 [K-P, 5: Colliers]
- EFV "The Ships of Yule," 12-09 [K-P, 15: Delineator]
- AA "The Sending of the Magi," 12-09 [K-P, 16: Independent]
- RR "The Spirit in Arms," "The Puritan Captain," "In Gold Lacquer," "Decoration Day," "St. Michael's Star," "On Ponus Ridge," 1909 [Published]

1910, Printed

- EFV "Spring's Saraband," 19-3-10 [K-P, 16: Colliers]
- EFV "The Flute of Spring," 4-10 [K-P, 15: Town Topics]
- EFV "The Last day at Stormfield," 7-5-10 [K-P, 16: Colliers]
- EFV "El Dorado," 19-11-10 [K-P, 16: Colliers]
- EFV "Te Deum," 1910 [MM, Appendix]
- EFV "The Dreamers," 1910 [MM, Appendix]
- LP "Now the lengthening twilights hold . . . " 1910 [MM, Appendix]

1910, Written

- EFV "The Councillors," 4-8-10 [Ms at Harvard; see W. H. Bond's article (p. 127 above), p. 96]

PH "Mirage," 8-10 [Ms, H. C.]

1911, Printed

EFV "To a Young Lady on her Birthday," 2-11 [K-P, 15: Hamp-
tons]

EFV "The Angel of Joy," spring, 1911 [K-P, 15: Literary Mis-
cellany]

PH "A Painter's Holiday," "The Miracle," before 29-9-11 [Car-
man's letter to H. D. C. Lee of this date]

EFV "To a Friend," 1911 [MM, Appendix]

1911, Written

DD "Daughters of Dawn," before 29-9-11 [Carman's letter to
Lee of this date]

1912, Printed

EFV "Triumphalis," 9-12 [K-P, 16: Atlantic]

AA "The Givers of Life," 9-12 [K-P, 16: The American]

AA "Weather of the Soul," Fall, 1912 [WIM, 45]

EFV "In St. Germain Street," "Sconset," "Apologia," "Dust of
the Street," "The starry midnight whispers . . ." 1912
[Published]

1912, Written

ED "Earth Deities," 10-2-12 to 12-3-12 [1912-13]

AA "Dance of the Sunbeams," 2-4-12 [1912-13]

EFV "'Tis May now in New England," 31-5-12 [1912-13]

EFV "The Enchanted Traveller," 6-12 [1912-13]

EFV "A Colophon," 10-6-12 [1912-13]

AA "Trees," 8-10-12 [1912-13]

AA "The Old Gray Wall," 26-10-12 [1912-13]

AA "Summer Streams," 23-11-12 rev. 27-10-13 [1912-13]

1913, Printed

- AA "The Soul of April," 4-13 [K-P, 16: Smart Set]
AA "Garden Magic," 10-13 [K-P, 16: Ladies Home Journal]

1913, Written

- AA "At Sunrise," 26-1-13 [1912-13]
AA "The Blue Heron," 26-1-13 [1912-13]
AA "Summer Storm," 31-1-13 [1912-13]
AA "Lament," 2-2-13 [1912-13]
AA "Under the April Moon," 2-2-13 [1912-13]
AA "A Mountain Gateway," 2-13 [1912-13]
AA "Now is the time of Year," 26-2-13 [1912-13]
AA "Lord of Morning," 2-13 [1912-13]
AA "On the Dunes," 1-3-13 [1912-13]
AA "Roadside Flowers," 1-3-13 [1912-13]
AA "The Campfire of the Sun," 7-3-13 [1912-13]
AA "The Tent of Noon," 7-3-13 [1912-13]
AA "Off Monomoy," 10-3-13 [1912-13]
AA "Night Lyric," 3-13 [1912-13]
AA "Now the Lilac Tree's in bud," 25-3-13 [1912-13]
AA "Bloodroot," 22-4-13 [1912-13]
AA "The Rainbird," 28-4-13 [1912-13]
AA "The Gift," 4-13 [1912-13]
AA "Spring Night," 3-5-13 [1912-13]
AA "In Early May," 4-5-13 [1912-13]

- AA "Threnody for a poet," 4-5-13 [1912-13]
 AA "Earth Voices," 5-13 [1912-13]
 AA "Christmas Song," 24-5-13 [1912-13]
 AA "A Christmas Eve Choral," 7-13 [1912-13]
 AA "A Fireside Vision," 26-7-13 [1912-13]
 AA "The Weed's Counsel," 10-13 [1912-13]
 AA "The Deserted Pasture," 23-10-13 [1912-13]

1914, Printed

- AA "The Redwing," 5-14 [K-P, 17: Century]
 ED "Pas de Trois," 5-14 [K-P, 16: Smart Set]
 AA "The Phi Beta Kappa Poem," 15-6-14 [K-P, 17: Boston Evening Transcript]
 AA "Garden Shadows," 6-14 [K-P, 17: Ladies Home Journal]
 AA "Lockerbie Street," 7-10-14 [K-P, 17: Shortridge Daily Echo]
 ED "Children of the Year," 1914 [Published]

1914, Written

- AA "A New England June," 12-1-14 and 13-2-14 [1914-16]
 AA "The Garden of Dreams," 12-2-14 [1914-16]
 ED "Dance Diurnal," 13-3-14 [1914-16]
 AA "A Portrait," 8-5-14 [1914-16]
 S "The Flute of Gold," 22-5-14 [1914-16]
 S "White Iris I," 24-5-14 [1914-26]
 S "Conclusion," 6-14 [1914-16]
 AA "The Homestead," 9-7-14 rev. 21-8-15 [1914-16]
 WG "After a parting," 11-14 [K-P, 18, n.]

1915, Printed

- AA "Winter Twilight," 30-12-15 [K-P, 18: Youths Companion]

1915, Written

- WG "In the Offing," 4-15 [1914-16]
 AA "The World Voice," 4-15 [1914-16]
 AA "An April Morning," 4-15 [1914-16]
 AA "Peace 10-4-15 [1914-16]
 AA "In the Day of Battle," 10-6-15 [1914-16]
 AA "Fireflies," 16-6-15 [1914-16]
 AA "The Garden of St. Rose," 16-8-15 [1914-16]
 AA "At Twilight," 31-8-15 [1914-16]
 AA "Winter Streams," 15-10-15 [1914-16]
 AA "In October," 16-10-15 [1914-16]
 WG "The Pine," 14-11-15 [1914-16]
 S "Spring Dancing," 1915 [1914-26]
 S "June Leisure," 1915 [1914-26]
 S "Harvest," 1915 [1914-26]

1916, Printed

- AA "Before the Snow," 1-16 [K-P, 18: Atlantic]
 LP "Winter," (i. e. "Sanctuary" in S), 11-16 [Printed in
 "Four Sonnets," H. C.]
 AA "The Traveller," "A Remembrance," "Woodland Rain," "Moonrise,"
 "The Queen of Night," "The Ghost-yard of the Goldenrod,"
 1916 [Published]

1916, Written

- S "Star," 1-16 [1914-16]

- S "A Fantasy," 14-1-16 [1914-16]
- S "The Winter Scene, II " (i. e. "Sirius"), 1-16 [1914-16]
- AA "April now in morning clad . . . " (endpapers) 1-16 [1914-16]
- S "Buddha I," 2-16 [1914-16]
- S "Buddha II," 2-16 [1914-16]
- S "The Winter Scene I," 14-2-16 [1914-26]
- S "A Bluebird in March I," 24-3-16 [1914-26] rev. 3-28 [Ts, P. C.]
- WG "The Twilight Story," 1-4-16 [1916-23]
- LP "The Heart of Night," 5-4-16 [1916-23]
- WG "The Field-Lark," 24-4-16 [1916-23]
- S "Early Spring," 6-5-16 [1914-26] rev. 16-2-17 [Ms, P. C.]
- FH "The Voice in the Garden," 16-5-16 rev. 11-18 [1916-23]
- LP "Lines for a Picture," 21-6-16 [1916-23]
- WG "Nymph and Faun," Fall 1916 [1916-23]
- WG "Moment Musicale," 31-10-16 [1916-23]
- WG "The Weather Vane 9-11-16 [1916-23]
- S "Chrysanthemums," 15-11-16 [1914-26]
- S "November Sunset," 1-12-16 [1914-26]
- S "The Yule Tree," 14-12-16 [1914-26]
- S "The Winter Scene III," 15-12-16 [1914-26]
- S "The Winter Scene IV," 27-12-16 rev. 31-12-16 [1914-16]
- 1917, Written
- LP "Peony," 27-1-17 [1916-23]
- S "The Wood Thrush I," 18-5-17 [1914-26]

- S "Sorcery," 24-5-17 [1914-26]
 S "Early Summer," 29-5-17 [1914-26]
 LP "Here and Now," 17-9-17 [1916-23]
 LP "Children of Dream," 9-17 rev. 5-10-17 [1916-23]
 LP "The Tree of Heaven," 6-10-17 [1916-23]
 LP "November Twilight," 10-11-17 [1916-23]

1918, Printed

- MM "The War Cry of the Eagles" ("Tecumseh and the Eagles" in
 FH), 27-4-18 [K-P, 18: Saturday Evening Post]
 MM "The Red Cross," 18-5-18 [K-P, 18: Saturday Evening Post]
 MM "The Man of the Marne," 8-18 [K-P, 18: McClures]
 MM "The Men of the Great Triune," "Prayers to the Archangels,"
 1918 [Published]

1918, Written

- WG "Immortelle," 2-2-18 [1916-23]

1919, Written

- FH "The Return of the Mayflower," 8-2-19 [1916-23]
 WG "In April," 9-2-19 [1916-23]
 LP "White Iris," 16-2-19 [1916-23]

1920, Written

- FH "Lady's Slipper," 17-7-20 [1916-23]
 FH "The Messengers," 21-7-20 [1916-23] rev. 7-24 [Ms, H. C.]
 FH "Twilight in Eden," 7-20 rev. 8-23 [1916-23]
 LP "The Choristers," 7-20 [1916-23]
 LP "Vestigia," 20-7-20 [1916-23]

- FH "The Good Priest of Gourin," 3-12-20 [1920-21]
1921, Printed
- LP "Aprilian," 1921 [Published]
1921, Written
- FH "St. George's in the Pines," 20-11-21 rev. 20-4-22 [1920-21]
1922, Written
- FH "A Mirage of the Plains," 1-3-22 [1920-21]
- FH "Malahat," 1-3-22 [1920-21]
- FH "Victoria," 2-3-22 [1920-21]
- FH "Vancouver," 14-3-22 [1920-21]
- FH "Down the Pass," 14-3-22 [1920-21]
- FH "Rivers of Canada," 27-4-22 [1922]
- FH "Song of the Kicking Horse," 27-4-22 [1920-21]
- WG "The Largess of Life," 18-6-22 [1920-21]
- FH "The Preacher," 9-7-22 [1920-21]
- FH "David Thompson," 8-22 [Text]
- FH "Kaleeden Road," 26-9-22 [1920-21]
- FH "In the Okanagan," 28-9-22 [1920-21]
- FH "Materia Medica," 30-9-22 [1920-21]
- FH "Traveller's Joy," 3-10-22 [1922]
- FH "The Place of Vision," 9-22 rev. 11-22 [1920-21]
- FH "The Truce of the Manitou," 9-12-22 rev. 9-23 [Ts, H. C.]
- FH "Shamballah," 12-22 rev. 9-23 [1923-27]

1923, Written

- FH "The Moon Symbol," 1-23 rev. 20-6-23 [1923-27]
- FH "The Thunder Bird," 1-23 rev. 22-6-23 [1923-27]
- FH "The Spring Call of Wawa," 30-4-23 rev. 3-7-23 [1923]
- WG "A Stranger in Heaven," 14-5-23 [Ts, P. C.] rev. 5-27 [1923-27]
- WG "Sleeping Beauty," 23-7-23 [1923-28]
- TPL "Poetry and Life," by 9-23 (rev. later) [1920-21]
- TPL "Poetry in Religion," by 9-23 (rev. later) [1920-21]
- TPL "Poetry in Art," by 9-23 (rev. later) [1920-21]
- TPL "The Poesy of Nature," by 9-23 (rev. later) [1920-21]

1924, Printed

- FH "In Excelsis," 1924 [Card in H. C.]

1924, Written

- FH "Manachaban," 2-24 rev. 6-24 [Ms, H. C.]
- FH "St. Francis and the Birds," 25-5-24 (?) [1923-28]
- FH "Word from the Moccasin Trail," 5-7-24 [Ms, H. C.]
- FH "Revelation," 8-7-24 [Ts, P. C.]

1925, Printed

- FH "Manzanitas," 31-1-25 [Clipping from Los Angeles' Examiner, P. C.]
- FH "My Teachers," summer, 1925 [Blue and White, H. C.]
- TPL "The Art of Living," read 11-25 [Text]
- FH "Lord of the Far Horizons," "The Green Scarab," "Bells of Ys," "The Queen of the Angels," "The Brothers of St. Francis," "De Profundis" (endpapers), 1925 [Published]

1925, Written

FH "Sanctuary," 2-25 [Text]

FH "Miraloma," 4-25 [Text]

1926, Printed

TPL "Prefatory Note," 1926 [Published]

S "The Dreamer," 12-26 [Card in H. C.]

WG "Wild Garden," Christmas, 1926 [reference in 1923-27]

1926, Written

S "From the Door of Heaven," 21-6-26 [1923-28]

S "White Iris II," 27-7-26 [1914-26]

S "Bluebird in October," 28-10-26 [1914-26]

S "Autumn Closing," 3-11-26 (rev.) [Ms, P. C.]

1927, Written

WG "Nature Lore," 8-27 [1923-27]

S "Indian Summer," 9-27 rev. 2-28 [1923-28]

S "The Magic Maker," 20-10-27 [1923-27]

S "Five Mile River," 24-10-27 [1923-27]

S "Escape," wr. 30-12-27 [1923-28]

S "New Year's Eve," 31-12-27 [Ms, P. C.]

1928, Written

S "The Sun Room," 13-2-38 [1923-28]

S "A Bluebird in March II," 3-28 [Ms, P. C.]

S "A Bluebird in March III," 3-28 [Ms, P. C.]

WG "Green Fire," 20-5-28 [Ms, H. C.]

WG "Little Smoking Flax," 5-28 rev. 7-28 [1923-27]

WG "First Frost," 27-9-28 [1923-27]

1929, Printed

WG "June Call," "Mavericks," "Wood Lily," "A Spring Memory,"
"The Lord of Rhythm," "Devotee," "A Dream Garden," 1929
[Published]

S "New Moon I," "New Moon II," "The Wood Thrush II," "The
Wood Thrush III," "Buddha III," "The Bather," "Wild
Geese," 1929 [Published]

1929, Written

ME "Forever and Forever," ("Sweetheart of the Sea"), "One of
Carman's last poems," [Pierce, ME, 45, n.]

ME "May in the Selkirks," "The last poem written by Carman"
(died 8-6-29), [Pierce, ME, 45, n.]

APPENDIX B

CHRONOLOGY OF CARMAN'S OTHER RELEVANT WORK

I. Introduction

This chronology is intended as a supplement to Appendix A's listing of Carman's collected works. The writings chronicled herein, though not included in one of the collected volumes, are still of particular relevance to this thesis. The only abbreviations additional to those of Appendix A are:

Poetry Notebook: 1875-1886	[1875-86]
<u>Boston Evening Transcript</u>	[<u>BET</u>]
Date of writing	wr.
Date of printing	pr.

II. Chronology

"Est qui nec veteris pocula massici nec partem solido demere de die spemit," wr. 2-82 [1875-86]

"On a Portrait," wr. 15-3-83 [1875-86]

"Ma Belle Canadienne," wr. 16-4-83 [1875-86]

"The Hermit of Walden," pr. 1-84 [University [of New Brunswick] Monthly, N. S. II, 125-127.]

"Quatrain" (later "Maple Leaves"), wr. 7-84 [1875-86]

"Life of Henry D. Thoreau," pr. 1-85 [University Monthly, N. S. III, 73-74]

"Fresh Fields," pr. 3-85 [University Monthly, N. S. III, 90-91]

"Burrough's Winter Sunshine," pr. 5-85 [University Monthly, N. S. III, 123-124]

"To H. S. B. with Emerson's Essays," wr. 18-12-86 [1886-88]

- "Spinoza's Ethics: Part I," wr. 10-1-87 [Ts, P. C.]
- "Emerson's Garden," wr. 18-6-87 rev. 3-7-97 [1886-88]
- "Coinage, written in Emerson's Poems," wr. 26-1-88 [1886-88]
- "The Modern Athenian: VIII," pr. 19-9-96 [BET, p. 15]
- "The Modern Athenian: IX," pr. 26-9-96 [BET, p. 13]
- "The Modern Athenian: X," pr. 10-10-96 [BET, p. 17]
- "Delsarte," pr. 18-11-99 [PR 1899-01]
- "Poetry and Religion," pr. 28-4-00 [PR 1899-01]
- "A Gospel of Comfort," pr. 17-11-00 [PR 1899-01]
- "The Next Page," pr. 29-12-00 [PR 1899-01]
- "The Soul of Socialism," pr. 1-11-[02] [PR 1898-99]
- "Santayana's Philosophy as Set Forth in The Life of Reason," pr. 27-1-06 [New York Times Saturday Review of Books, pp. 45-46]
- "The Golden Age," pr. 6-06 [Smart Set, XVIII, 88-89]
- Address to the Graduating class MCMXI of the Unitrinian School of Personal Harmonizing, Delivered 1-9-11 [Text]
- "The Poetry of Morning," pr. Autumn, 1911 [The Literary Miscellany, IV, 45-63]

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