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Page

The Sources of Ruskin's Golden River
by Suzanne Rahn  1

Predilection and Plunder in Middlemarch
by Harold Farwell Adams  9

Eathan Again
by Charisse Gandron  11

Deceased and Her Husband:
Some Autobiographical Sources for Speculation
by Sara M. Potter-Knowles and Martha Winton Strohmley  15

The Pilgrims of the Rhine:
The Failure of German Bildungsrutten in England
by Edwin M. Egnier  19

21  No Wragg by the Hearst?
A Note on Matthew Arnold's 'Wragg is in custody'
by Charles Swan

23  Hardy's 'Man Opinion':
An Interpretation
by Laurence Perrine.

26  The Wolf at the Window:
Emily Bronte's Feminist Balancing Act
by Annette L. Federico

29  Peter's Tempering:
The "Coruscate" to The Renaissance
by Ross Borden

32  Books Received

Cover: Philip Gough's Humpty Dumpty

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The Sources of Ruskin's *Golden River*

Suzanne Ruth

The King of the Golden River was written to amuse a little girl, and being a fairy good imitation of Grimm and Dickson, mixed with a little fairy feeling of my own, has been delightfully pleasing to nice children, and good for them. But it is really useless, for all that. I can no more prove a story than compose a picture.

This has not vindicated Ruskin's gloomy judgment; *The King of the Golden River* has proved itself, at the very least, the most lucrably popular of all his works. "Nice children" still enjoy it. For students of Ruskin it has value as an early and characteristic articulation of his social and economic philosophy. But it is also of special interest as not only one of the first literary fairy tales for children but one of the first to demonstrate how such a tale can express highly individual beliefs and concerns through motifs, characters, and images drawn from folk material. It is this quasi-alchemical transmutation of the universal to the personal that I would like to explore.

In his brief account in *Prerogativa*, Ruskin tells something of the inception of *The King* and the influences, both literary and personal, that shaped it. These influences are worth another look. How closely, for example, did Ruskin "imitate" Grimm, and what did he find in Dickens that became part of his fairy tale? What part did Ruskin's "fairy clique feeling" come to play in the finished work? But some influences he does not mention are equally or even more interesting, more intimately related to the meaning of the story and to the process through which it came into being: Ruskin's religious upbringing, his concepts of nature, and (surprisingly) the Arabian Nights, like Grimm's takes of folk material, but one that operated at another and deeper level.

The outward story of *The King of the Golden River* began, like many another children's classic, with a child. In the summer of 1841, Effie Gray—the future Mrs. Ruskin—was thirteen. She was visiting her distant relatives the Ruskins at Hope Hill, and at some point during her stay she challenged Effie to write a fairy tale for her.1 A few weeks later, conversing at Leamington, Ruskin obliquely begins *The King*. As he writes in *Prerogativa*:

... under these peaceful conditions I began to feel curiously at home, cheerful, idle, and by turns animated and dull, by turns on

1. See Ruskin, *Prerogativa*, 53-55. Chapters of Ruskin's works will be identified in its name, e.g., vol. and page.
3. Sarah Teasdale was the editor of the *Famous Magazine* (1778-1784), the first periodical to review children's books; in her was to "thematize" the peculiar influence of certain books, among which she included *Noah's Ark*. Robinson Grice, and Ruskin tells us *Cinderella* the first Grammar of Fairylore compiled along the same lines, in 1843. For example, it contains a collection of folk tales, or "full of material from the Arabian Nights, in which children are told stories of endearing and marvellous events, brought about by the agency of imaginary beings." For the *Family Magazine*, see below.
4. For the *Garden of Eden*, see the excellent prints in *Puck* and in *British*.
5. See *Gardener's Chronicle*, and the quarterly printed in *Puck* and in *British*.
6. See *Gardener's Chronicle*, and the quarterly printed in *Puck* and in *British*.
7. See *Gardener's Chronicle*, and the quarterly printed in *Puck* and in *British*.
8. See *Gardener's Chronicle*, and the quarterly printed in *Puck* and in *British*.
9. See *Gardener's Chronicle*, and the quarterly printed in *Puck* and in *British*.
10. See *Gardener's Chronicle*, and the quarterly printed in *Puck* and in *British*.
11. See *Gardener's Chronicle*, and the quarterly printed in *Puck* and in *British*.
12. See *Gardener's Chronicle*, and the quarterly printed in *Puck* and in *British*.
13. See *Gardener's Chronicle*, and the quarterly printed in *Puck* and in *British*.
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23. See *Gardener's Chronicle*, and the quarterly printed in *Puck* and in *British*.
24. See *Gardener's Chronicle*, and the quarterly printed in *Puck* and in *British*.
The "friend," suggests James S. Dearden, was probably Raskin's father, who was fond of seeing his son's work in print and had arranged for the publication of his early poems only the year before (37-39). The prospect of seeing Raskin's work and his name in print must have been a welcome event as his book was advertised as his by 1833 (Dearden 43-44). But the little book, with its lively and imaginative illustrations by Richard Doyle, was an immediate success. It was translated into German in 1839, and since then has appeared in Italian, Russian, Welsh, Latin, Japanese, Afrikaans, and Spanish (Dearden 48-49).

This is the contrasted story of The King. The inward begins with a child as well—this time the child is the young John Raskin himself, the only child of unadventurous and Puritanically religious parents. Despised much in the way of amusement, he does not seem at least to have been denied fairy tales, and here he would have found the magic, color, excitement, violence, and romance so conspicuously absent from his own life. To the German translator of The King he wrote that he had "recovered the child's enjoyment of my childhood from German fairy stories," (in Dearden 48) for the German folktales in the Grimm brothers' collection seem to have been especially important to him. He had his own copy of the first English Translation, German Popular Stories (1823-26), and one of his letters to his own fairy tales, after giving Ilsen's model for a fairy tale pattern and various folktales motifs, yet without following the plot of any specific tale.

At a fairly detailed summary of The King is necessary at this point to trace the general influence of the Grimm collection and to conjecture which tales in particular may have inspired certain of its features. The story is set in German Strud, a valley surrounded by steep mountains and known for its fertility as the treasure valley. The valley is divided into three brothers, Schwalbe (German "black"). Hans, and Gluck (German "happy"). Schwalbe and Hans, known as the "Black Brothers," are endlessly工作ious, but their younger brother Gluck is a "boyish youth of twelve years old, with a merry and kind temperament toward every living thing." One stormy day Gluck allows a strange looking little old gentleman to come into the house to dry himself, and even feeds the old man this slice of nutbread. Both Schwalbe and Hans, returning home, drive the old man away and punish Gluck severely. But that night the storm women, their bedroom door burned open with the door, and the little gentleman reappeared, riding an enormous horse, from the sky, and, booming up and down like a wind (King 332). To inform them釉ously that this will be their "last visit." By morning the valley has been utterly devastated by floods. The old gentleman has left a calling card on the kitchen table which identifies him as "North-West Wind, Esquire." True to his promise, he never visits the valley again, and it becomes an unwatered desert, a "shifting heap of red sand." (King 332).

Having nothing left of their fortune but a few pieces of gold plate, Schwalbe and Hans move to the city, taking Gluck with them, and become dishonest goldsmiths. They force Gluck to melt down his greatest treasure, a gold mug shaped like the head of a bearded man. In the crucible the mug is transformed into a little golden dwarf who announces himself as the King of the Golden River, which flows from the mountains surrounding the treasure valley. The King then provides Gluck with some valuable information:

"Wherever still clings to the top of that mountain from which you once drew your drink, and shall continue to flow, forever, its source, three drops of holy water, for you, and for ten, only, the river shall turn to gold. But be not falling in its first, for it is wasted in a second attempt; and if five drops are wholly worn into the river, it will overflow him, and he will become a black man." (King 334)

First Hans, then Schwartz, attempts to win the gold for himself. Hans simply steals these holy water from a church, but Schwartz takes the precaution of buying his from a "bad price." (King 340). Each brother, as he climbs the mountain, is so enamored by it that he drinks most of his water, while refusing to use the parched creatures, sees lying at intervals across his path. And each, as he comes the remaining water into the Golden River, is changed into a black stone. Finally Gluck, on his way down, has the river still to go, and is cut off, only, the river shall turn to gold. But be not falling in its last, for it is wasted in a second attempt; and if you are not chemically water into the river, it will overflow him, and he will become a black man. (King 334)

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Our consideration of the influence of German Popular Stories on The King will be limited to his stories in that work (3) to no extent on a complete translation of the Grimm collection, as this is the version that Raskin knew as a child.

One of the motifs used by Raskin is so universal that it cannot possibly be traced back to a particular folktales: the dispossessed and his eventual triumph over his brothers and inheritance of a kingdom. Generally, as in The King, there are three brothers to all, so that the audience witnesses two tales before the third son is successful, and very often this success
follows from an act of kindness or courtesy to some insignificant or helpless creatures: in "The Golden Bird," for example, the creation is a fox, in "The Water of Life," a wolf, and in "The Queen Bee" an ant-kill, some ducks, and a crane. Next, this is the basic, traditional pattern on which the plot of "The King's Ring" is built. Ruskin combines with it a motif that might be called the "double-edged gift," that of a magical gift earned by the protagonist which becomes a curse in the wrong hands, as in "The Golden Goose," or "The Crows and the Soldier," or the ending of "The Three Golden Hares."

In many stories of the youngest son type (including "The Golden Bird" and "The Witches of Lilo"), the hero's success is followed by an episode in which the unsuccessful brothers then betray him, but Ruskin makes their defeat too final for that. Instead, he lengthens his basic story in the other direction, with the South-West Wind episode that precedes it. If a fairy tale such an episode might be a story in itself, one whose theme would be service given or refused and its consequences; an example from German popular stories is "Mother Holle," although Ruskin must also have known the Greek myth of "Theseus and Medusa," in which (as in "The King") the strangers who are refused or given hospitality turn out to be the gods themselves. In effect, Ruskin has stitched two stories together, involving two separate tests of Gluck and his brothers, and the traditional reward for hospitality which Gluck earns in his first test is put off, until it seems the second has been completed.

The structural patchwork does not quite succeed in making a coherent whole. It seems unnecessary that South-West Wind never repeats Gluck's kindness to him, or even reappears in the second half of "The King." Among two mysterious dwars with long whiskers is confusing, especially to children, who may learn (if they did) that the second dwarf must be the first in disguise. Possibly Ruskin wished to symbolize the close relationship between two natural forces, those of wind and water, but if so, he never makes this clear. It may well be this fundamental structural awkwardness, in "The King," which he refers to in his later judgment, "I can no more write a story than compose a picture."

The characters of "The King" as well as its plot are strongly influenced by the folktales Ruskin knew. His three brothers are modeled directly on the three brothers of the folktales, only for us we would expect from a study of literature rather than from a fairy tale. He characterized a little more fully and directly. Good and evil are revealed only through action but through physical appearance, which the folktales would probably not even mention. The two sisters brothers are ugly, with small, dull eyes (319), while Gluck is blue-eyed and fair. The two dwarfs are obviously derived from folktales models. Similar dwarfs—small imaginary beings, of course, not stunted humans—play crucial roles in a large number of the German Popular Stories. They may be magical servants (as in "The Blue Light"), keepers of the guard (as in "The Water of Life" and "Snowdrop"), or dangerous serpents (as in "Rumpelstiltskin"). Again, Ruskin has described the individual physical appearance of his dwarf and identified him with specific powers of nature, but his basic characteristics—mysterious power, unpredictable, often revolting behavior—are entirely traditional.

Some other elements in "The King" may also have been inspired by these German folktales. In "The Water of Life," we find combined magical, life-giving water (though here the water is the end of the hero's travail, rather than the means) and a dwarf who helps the youngest son procure it, and in "The Queen Bee" the unsuccessful older brothers are turned into stones. But Ruskin had another source for the water and the stones, which, as we shall see, came both in a single tale. It does seem likely, however, that the tale of Mermaid is inspired by one of the best-known of the German Popular Stories—"The King of the Golden Mountain." There is a dwarf in this story, too, though he is not himself the King, and a rejuvenation potion called "the water of life" plays an important part (ibid. 173); otherwise there is no significant resemblance between the folktales and Ruskin's "King." Obviously, as I suggested in connection with "The Brothers," Ruskin's familiarity with the German folktales enabled him to draw freely among the characters, images, and magical devices that he found there.

The influence of Dickens on "The King" is less pervasive, yet it too can be identified. As Ruskin himself points out in his brief account of "The King in Proserpina," he knew Dickens, too, from a very early age:

Anent the King of the River. Ironically enough, he must have been well before the form and theme of Dickens on us, from the first syllable of his name to the tone, to the style, to the style... (Words, p. 380)

In 1833, when Dickens first began publishing the articles which made up Sketches by Boz, Ruskin was an impressionable fourteen. His influence on Ruskin's fairy tale seems mainly stylistic, though the two stories may well owe something to the grotesque characters of Dickens, as Nickleby (1832-33),Oliver Twist (1838), and The Old Curiosity Shop (1841)—the last-stated especially, with its jovially menacing dwarf-wallah, Quilp. But it is the tone of much of Ruskin's story that strikes the reader as noticeably Dickensian—a brisk, informal, puerile—without the grave impersonality of the folktales or Ruskin's own formal, somewhat aristocratic style. It is most conspicuously so in the scenes with the two dwarfs, the description of South-West Wind, for example, even borrowing Dickens's way of using metaphor and detail (especially about clothes) almost mechanically to create an impression of personality:

He had a very large nose, slanted from one cheek to the other, and very red, and might have wanted a suspension to hold it on. His face was covered with a fur coat, which was pulled over his mouth to give him a sort of hood, and his hair was covered with a sort of cap, brown, and turned up to his cheeks... (Words, p. 341)

To do the little gentleman justice, he was wet. His shirt and coat were wet, and his tiny legs were dripping, like an umbrella, and down the rain was running into his waistcoat pockets, and not again like a dull stream. (Ibid.)
The zone of The King, however, is by no means consistent, and Rauskin employs a voice unmistakably his own to describe the mountainous setting of his story:

"Far above, they saw two fantastic mountains of dazzling rock, jagged and serrated, the might of fantastic forms, with here and there a streak of snow. Toward them their eyes were like a line of flickering lightning and, for all that, the stars shone brightly, more brightly than the moon in the sky, but nearer than the moon in the sky, and nearer than the moon in the sky, the nearest peaks of the celestial snow (King 356)."

Here is what Rauskin calls in Prometheus "a little true Alpine feeling of my own." Such vividly pictorial descriptions of scenery and weather give The King a distinct sense of place that is one of its most recognizable Russian features and can be traced directly to personal experience. Only the winter before (1846-47), Rauskin had traveled through the Alps to Italy with his parents, and his descriptions of setting in The King are similar to several of the diary entries from that journey, both in style and in the type of thing described. The Alpine setting, moreover, had a more than aesthetic significance for him. He had been depressed and insecure throughout most of the journey, but recovered his spirits as he re-awarded the Alps once more on the way home; one particular Alpine valley witnessed his most marked renewal of virility, and the description of this valley in his diary seems particularly akin to that just quoted description from The King.

I woke from a sound sleep in a little mountainous room at Lone House, at six of the summer morning, June 2d, 1846; the sun shone on the north sloped against the south side of the great plain, the signs of frost that had covered the valley floor was in a short time burned off by the sun, and the snow had melted; the sun shone on the green meadow, the south side of the valley, it was a beautiful sight.\textsuperscript{3} What was good of religion, love, admission or hope, had ever been taught me or felt by my own nature, inclined at once and long been the work, both by my own will and the air and sun, to be fun in the future, determined for me (obtained in Evans 79).

Here are the same sharply pointed rocks, their red comforted in the same way with the white of snow and the blue of sky. We may conjecture, then, that to Rauskin the mountain setting of The King was imbued with this joyful experience of personal rebirth, and that something of his rekindled religion, love, admission and hope, and of his new sense of purpose also, may have been expressed in the fairy tale written only three months later.

This seems all the more likely because the setting of The King does not merely frame or decorate the story but plays an active part in many of the characters. It responds to human behavior, retaining evil with harmlessness, good with liveliness.\textsuperscript{4} And as the quest for the Golden River is executed by each brother in turn, rock and weather reflect each moral choice like a spiritual hammerstone. For Huus and Schwartz the setting grows more threatening with each resisted appeal to mercy: "Water, indeed," said Schwartz, "I haven't half enough for my

\textsuperscript{3} See, for example, quotations in Evans, pp. 77, 79, and 80.

\textsuperscript{4} See, for example, quotations in Evans, pp. 77, 79, and 80.
benefits not merely the few but the many: "That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings" (Works 7:105). In The King the distinction is implicit in the story itself. The wealth of the Black Brothers is finite, literally built on mud; Glik's wealth at the end of the story is real, for it nourishes the poor as well as himself. Thus, as the two ideals are wealth in terms of water. For the Black Brothers water becomes a destructive force—first flood, then drought—while for Glik, a River of Gold. Water and wealth are metaphorically associated in Theod This Last as well. In one famous passage in particular, Glikko rebukes those "who live on the water," who, comparing natural supply and demand to the flow of the river's waters, insist that neither can be subjected to human control:

The course of rivers not cities can be forbidden by human will. The irrigation and cultivation of them can be altered in human judgement. Whether the streams shall be a blessing, depends upon man's labour, and allocating intelligence. For centuries after centuries, great districts of the world, rich in soil, and favorable at climate, have been doomed under the reign of their own rivers to be only cemeteries, and plague-stricken. The streams which, eighty centuries, would have flourished in fertility from field to field would have produced food for man and beast; and caused their brothers for them in its bosom; now overwear them the plains and poisons the wind, in its bottomless, and its works forever. (193-194)

In The King, Rainkin's metaphor comes to life. The selfish actions of Hans and Schwarts cause such a desuetude that Glik's unselfishness "rightly directs" the Golden River into a new course, which brings wealth to all the Treasure Valley. Thus, The King anticipates Rainkin's later views on political economy in a remarkable degree. As more than one critic has noted, it is in this children's story that he first expresses his concerns for social injustice, his insistence on the social responsibility of the individual, and his view of nature as "man's moral testing place." Even its symbolism was to be incorporated into Rainkin's later work.

The King is also typically Rainkinian in that one cannot disentangle its religious superstructure from this social one. True wealth and harmony with nature are achieved by obedience to God's "Do unto others," and through nature's positive or negative reactions to human behavior Rainkin's social ethics are shown to have divine sanction. But the influence on The King of Rainkin's lifelong religious training and teaching is also worth considering in itself.

The basic story of The King, for example, can be seen as a parable of the fall of man, and man's redemption through selfless love. The Treasure Valley at the beginning is a kind of Eden, where the forces of nature are entirely beneficent to man, but these same forces transform the garden into a wilderness where the Black Brothers commit the sin against them and God. It remains for Glik to restore the original relationship with these forces, but through acts of generosity to create a new one. In his humble way, he is a figure of Christ, reenacting his brothers' sins with his own selflessness and bringing a renewal of life to hungry multitudes. The Golden River may represent the waters of baptism—of spiritual rebirth—as well as the true wealth of the previous interpretations. At certain points in the story, especially toward the end, Rainkin's language underscores this theological level of meaning. When each of the Black Brothers throws the fish into the river, the resultant rhythm is like something of a Biblical cadence (for example, with the repeated "And"), mingling with an imagery of fire, blood, and darkness to evoke a powerful vision of damnation:

And so the hungry came over Schwarts; he knew not why; but the fish for gold possessed over his face, and he rushed on. And the bank of fish closed near to the earth, and one of such hunger of fiery lightning, and waves of distance seemed to have and dim flash between them, over the whole heavens. And the sky where the sea was curling was all level, and like a lake of blood, and a storm wind came out of that sky, starting his crimson clouds from fragments, and sweeping them far into the darkness. And when Schwarts saw by the face of the Golden River, his waves were black, like thunder clouds, his head foam was like fire, and the roar of the waters below, and the thunder above, as he met the bank into the stream. As he did as in the lightning gazed into his eyes, he cast glance upon him, and the waves closed over his eye, and the coming of the river rose mildly into the night, as it passed over the.

TWO BLACK STONES.

(Chapter 32)

Again, in the last sentences of The King, the beat "inherence" "legislated by love" suggests the eternal inheritance was for Christ for all men (as in Hebrews 9:15), while "according to the dream's promise" recall to Peter 3:13. Nevertheless, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness."

Beyond the central theme of universal fall and redemption, Rainkin seems interested in demonstrating, what might be called the mechanism of damnation and salvation through the fate of the three brothers. By noting which doctrines he emphasizes, one may gain some sense of his religious beliefs at this time—entirely orthodox, yet acutely aware of individuality, as in his stress on the divine authority behind natural forces that make ecology a moral territory for him. Again, despite his evangelical upbringing, Rainkin makes salvation dependent on works rather than on faith. The conclusion for judgment is unapologically Scriptural—"hasn't you have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, you have done it unto me" (Matthew 25:40) but "for the nature-loving Rainkin my brethren" is not exclusively human. Glikko's final test comes

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III. I have summarized the views of those critics in particular: Francesca Busatto discusses how the story reveals Rainkin's early interest in social injustice and return to his former involvement with St. George's Guild and the Rainkin Commonwealth.

Patrick Moloney points out how The Choral and the Hebrew and The King "share the Victorian concern for social responsibility which is a fundamental presupposition of empowerment," in both stories led to actions

"which throughout society" (16).

John W. Griffith and Charles H. Pope note that "many of Rainkin's interests appear syncretically" in The King, including his views on nature and "heaven's ordained institutions. Those who, like the selfless brothers Schwarts and Hans, exploit nature for their own gain are condemned ultimately to fall" (22).
in canine form. A distinctly Protestant touch is his insistence that the power of “holy water” depends entirely on the holy behavior of its users. Schwartz buys his quite legally, but it does not keep him from being turned into a black stone, any more than the purchase of indulgences could save his soul.

For Raskin the possibility of irredeemable damnation is real. Yet he also emphasizes the complete free will of the individual and the long-suffering patience of God. Not one single sin, like Adam’s, calls down on Hans and Schwartz the vengeance of South-West Wind, but only the last of innumerable acts of selfishness. Even then, they are given another series of chances in their journey up the mountains. Black beetles see three creatures dying for lack of water: Hans sees first a dog, then a child, then an old man; Schwartz the child, the old man, and his own brother Hans last of all. In an unpunished epilogue to the manuscript (supposedly explaining the “mystic conceptions” of the local inhabitants), Raskin spells out the divine logic operating here, at the climax of his story:

Something like perfection is demanded of him who would save others as well as himself. As a five-year-old, Raskin began a course of intensive Bible study with his mother that lasted until he was fourteen. Together they read aloud from the first verse of Genesis to the last of Revelations; Raskin was also required to learn verses by heart (Ex 26-27). No wonder that the cadences of the King James version and the imagery of the Apocalypse found their way into his story-telling, or that the story itself is permeated with Christian themes of sin and charity, damnation and redemption. But again, the complexity of The King cannot be accounted for by any simple interpretation, and there is yet another influence, and a highly important one, to be considered, which gives the story a highly personal meaning as well. The golden water of the river and the brothers transformed into black stones—why did Raskin choose these particular images for the climax of his story, and where did he find them? The Grimm Folktales, as we have seen, exclaim the “water of life” and brothers turned into stones, but do not assign colors to either. There are Biblical images, too, with an affinity to Raskin’s, in Revelation 3:1 a “river of water of life” proceeds from the throne of God, and the familiar story of Lot’s wife, who looked back at Sodom and became, not a stone, but a pillar of salt (Genesis 19:18-25), has a family likeness to that of Glack’s brothers. Clearly these images are universal in basic concept, yet we can also find them in the exact forms which Raskin adopted and refined with personal meaning—in a story from The Arabian Nights.

This great collection of reworked folk material had played a unique role in English literature since its first translation in 1704-5 (see Stone 24-39); in children especially it supplied a rare stream of fantasy during the utilitarian decades of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Into the world of children’s literature, says Harry Stone,

"The Arabian Nights was then liberating. (3)"

These very qualities make The Arabian Nights sensibly suspect to parents and educators, and many a child less strictly raised than Raskin was forbidden to read them, even in thoroughly expurgated versions. As with his Grimm’s tales, however, the young Raskin (like Dickens and the Bronste children) seems to have had free access to this great reservoir of pure imagination.

One story from this collection seems to have been particularly important to him; in “Passages for Delicate, Volume III” (1888) he says that it “is a quite favourite story with me, and has had an immense power over my own life,” adding later that the story “for general instruction is quite the most precious in the old series” (Appendix, Works 3:658-59). It is called, in the Richard Burton edition, “The Two Sisters Who Loved Their Cadet” (than is, their younger sister) but for Raskin its name is “Golden Water.” In “Passages” he begins rewriting it, in an attempt to show what it meant to him. Like most Arabian Nights stories, it has several stories entangled into one, and Raskin begins with the Cadet’s children, a girl and two younger boys, who have been brought up in happy seclusion. However, a strange old woman who visits them tells them there are three things still missing from their home: the Telling Bird, the Singing Tree, and the Golden Water. Because his sister decides that they must have them, the older brother rides forth in search of them. He meets a devious who warns him that no one has ever returned from this venture, but gives him a hilt and tells him, striving at such and such a place, to throw it before him, and that it will roll on till it guides him to the foot of a steep hill, up which there is a straight path marked out by multitudes of black stones on each side” (Appendix, Works 3:658).

Tantalizingly, Raskin breaks off at this point with “I pass to the interpretation of the tale,” but from The Arabian Nights we can fill in the remainder of the plot. The dwarfs also warns the older brother that as he climbs the hill, he will be assaulted by mocking and threatening voices, but that he must not look behind him, or he will be transformed into a black stone. The boy disregards this warning enough fear of the voices, and his younger brother, who follows him, turns anger at them; both

11 In Supplemental Stories in the Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night, 491-549.
are turned into stones. Finally, their sister, the Princess Perizade, undertakes the quest. Wise as her brothers, she stops her ears with cotton and so safely reaches the top of the hill. Here she finds the Talking Bird; it tells her how to find the Singing Tree and the Golden Water close by, and how a few drops of the Water sprinkled on each black stone will restore it to human form. Rejoicing, the brothers and sister ride home again, accompanied by a train of6 exalted warriors, to install the Bird, the Tree, and a fountain of Golden Water in their own garden.

Why did this story have such "immense power" over Ruskin's life? It is unfortunate that his "interpretation" in "Passages" is such a muddled one. As far as I can make out, the Talking Bird represents for him something like communication with Nature (to all persons who look faithfully for guidance in the aspects and powers of Nature, distinct help and grave warning will be given by the voice of birds, which could be received in no other way) [644], while the Singing Tree is "a part of Humanity, put expressly in our charge, planted and tended and guarded, as animals, even domestic ones, cannot be." Here Ruskin breaks off again before interpreting the Golden Water, and this time for good; one suspects that he does not really want to tell anyone else about it after all, perhaps because it was too personal to him. My own guess is that the Water had a kind of religious significance for him, if Nature and Humanity are two of the things we need to make our "homes"—our selves—complete, then the third may well be the Divine, which alone can restore the dead to life. But in its allegorical fashion, this interpretation accounts only for the three objects of the quest; it does nothing to explain the story as a whole, or why Ruskin should have borrowed it to create the climax of _The King_.

Lacking a clear or complete interpretation from the author himself, we can perhaps deduce one by examining what Ruskin makes of the story and how he changes it. The common element in the quest for the Golden Water—and the solitary figure climbing the mountain, past the black stones. But in _The King_ the mocking voices are gone, and the prohibition is no longer against looking back, but against throwing unholy water into the river. In fact, turning back has become the right thing to do, where it means accomplishing the helpless: Gluck must finally renounce his ambition to turn the river into gold before the charm can be fulfilled. Finally, even the golden water cannot re-transform the black stones into brothers again; they are stones for good.

The meaning of these changes becomes clearer if we examine another instance of Ruskin's use of the _Arabian Nights_ story. In his influential 1851 essay _Pre-Raphaelitism_ the central scene becomes a metaphor to describe the hostile reaction of other artists to the "vast revolution" of Turner:

Shutting one from all the places of so serious issue, just the same kind of chuckling that is now raised against the Pre-Raphaelites, these pictures and _Arabian Nights_, how true they are! Mocking and whispering, and stare hard and low by turns, from all the black stones beside the road, when one long-suffering soul is sitting up on the hill to get the golden water. Mocking and whispering, that he may look back, and becomes a black stone like themselves.

Turner looked back, but he was on it such a tempest as a
Turner rather than imitating him (Evans 77-78). On the way home through the Alps he experienced that renewal of inner life that gave him hope for the future, but he still had not decided whether to direct his main energies toward the ministry (at his mother had always intended for him) or into writing. During his stay at Leixington, and while writing The King, he was still struggling with this decision.

A letter of September 17 to his mother, the Reverend Thomas Dale, shows that his main uncertainty lay in whether or not his talents justified his adopting a literary vocation. The primary duty of both priest and layman, he argues, is identical—to lead others to salvation. Everyone, he says, "who believes in the name of Christ is called upon to become a full and perfect priest." When "we have every reason for supposing that the fate of greater part of those who live daily in one night depart into eternal torment."

(We need not wonder, then, that two out of three brothers are doomed to eternal darkness?) But then, there is no more one way of helping others out.

Was the genius of Newton, Darwin, Marx, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Balzac, employed more effusively to the glory of God in the south and nearer the heart, than if it had been occupied all their lifetime in direct poetry writing? Is it not true that those who follow rich manes, with an even heart, and of humility? Are not the first of the greater number of men employed in the arts and sciences, as magistrates or what holy place, with a right to any one deliberately to choose such a period as the chief occupation of his life, and abandon the plain duties in which all can be of affirmative service on the very slender chance of becoming a Galileo or a Raphael? (1997)

This was the difference of conscience and self-evaluation that found symbolic form in the climax of The King, embodied in the powerful imagery of "Golden Water." And in his story Ruskin wrote out one possible solution. Luke Gatenby (and Turner), he could find his own path up the mountains, toward his own chosen goal. Yet—and here, because he does not doubt Turner’s gift as he does his own, the meaning of the image in "Pre-Raphaelitism" differs from that in The King—we need not allow that goal to become more important to him than the needs and sufferings of his fellow creatures, or to be (effectively) transformed into steps and eventually dandied for his handiwork. It is necessary, we must rather abandon his goal, trusting that this very abandonment may enable him to achieve it in some fashion known only to God. If he does finally achieve it, and without polishing it by his own selfishness, in style—is like the gifts of Galileo and Raphael—serve multitudes. This, more or less, was in fact his decision: to become a writer rather than a clergyman, to write Modern Painters (which defends a fellow seeker of the Golden Water), but later to turn aside from the aesthetic path and give what water he had to the needy in Unco This Last.

At the same time, he expresses in The King the renewed interest and purpose of his life—a life that had for a while seemed to him as desolate as the Treasure Valley when South-West Wind (the wind of inspiration) vowed to visit no more. If Ruskin is "the" Gutenberg, he is also the Valley, brought back to life by the Golden River from the mountains. And so he sets his story amidst those same Alpine peaks where the certainty of recovery first came to him.

Thus, in The King of the Golden River the traditional and universal became the vehicle for the immediate and personal. The form of the folklore, learned from the Gutenbergs, gave Ruskin the structure and characters which enabled him to express ideas through story. The central, analyzing image came from another source of folk material, The Arabian Nights. Indeed, we can see— not only from The King, but from "Pre-Raphaelitism" and "Parables Intended for Children"—how much an image can be perceived and used in different ways by different authors, and even by the same author at different points in his life.

We can also see how such magical and universal images help to make possible an extraordinary complexity of meaning within a straightforward, sequential narrative and simple characterization modeled on those of the folklore. The King can be regarded as a socio-economic parable concerned with the meaning of true wealth, as a Christian story of damnation and salvation, or as a purely personal symbolic expression of a turning-point in Ruskin’s life; in fact, it is all three simultaneously and without strain. Even as Ruskin was writing The King at Leixington, Hans Christian Andersen had already discovered that the children’s fairy tale could embody ideas of interest to adults as well—and not only ideas so complex that no two out. Ruskin found it un his own.

Works Cited


13. "Pre-Raphaelitism" is a term that Ruskin coined for the movement that came to dominate British art in the 1850s and 1860s. It was characterized by a return to the works of the early Renaissance artists, particularly the use of scientific realism and perspective. The term was first used in Ruskin’s 1843 book "The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood."
Prelude and Finale to Middlemarch

Harriet Farrell Adams

When Middlemarch was "done" — except for a small Finale, which I prefer reserving a little" (Letters 5:309), George Eliot departed with Lewes for a holiday abroad, taking with her the proofs for the novel and the job of writing "the comparatively easy pages of winding up," as Lewes described them to John Blackwood (Letters 5:308). Comparatively easy they must have been, for within two weeks George Eliot had written them, mailed them to Blackwood and received, corrected and returned the proofs. They cannot have been entirely satisfactory, however, for contrary to her custom George Eliot revised the closing paragraphs considerably in proof, and made further changes two years later for the 1874 edition (brandy, "Text"). Readers and critics have shared her dissatisfaction with the Finale, usually expressing it as disappoinment with Dorothea's afterhistory. The real difficulty with the Finale, however, is the confusion it creates in the closing paragraphs about Dorothea's "sacrifice" and her effect on the "growing good of the world," neither of which bear much visible relation to Dorothea whose character we have watched unfold. Indeed, considering that the climax of the novel is Dorothea's happiness in love with Will, it is puzzling even to discover what her "sacrifice" might have been. Much is explained, however, by the manner in which this Finale was composed.

In writing the Finale, George Eliot confronted the last, and comparatively minor, artistic problem posed by the stages of Middlemarch's composition. The finished novel, which she was re-reading at the time in order to correct the proofs, contained the signs of three distinct beginnings which have gone into its creation. The earliest was the novel "Middlemarch," projected in January 1869 and begun in July of that year, centering around the story of herius Lydgate, of which traces are preserved in the current chapters 10 through 16 (Bray, Middlemarch 24-36). The second was the story "Miss Brooke," begun in late November of 1870, "a subject that has been recorded among my possible themes ever since I began to write fiction, but will probably take new shapes in the development" (Letters 5:124). The earliest version of this "theme" is its statement in the Prelude, and its development in "Miss Brooke" constitutes the first nine-and-a-half chapters of Middlemarch. George Eliot's recognition of the potential connection between these two stories, at the beginning of January 1871, led to the elaborate work of joining them and the new writing for the new novel Middlemarch. Although this seems less conspicuous than the others, it makes itself felt in a new conception of Dorothea when she appears for the first time since "Miss Brooke" as Mrs. Casaubon on her wedding trip to Rome. The organic growth of the ideas and characters of this novel often tremendously interesting insight into the creative process; but for the task of composing a Finale, it created the difficulty of reconciling different initial conceptions.

The actual after-histories of the characters, including Dorothea, seem to have given George Eliot no trouble. The fates of Mary, Fred, Tertius, and Rosamund had been decided long ago in the planning of the earlier novel "Middlemarch," and the Finale contains no surprises in terms of that beginning. The initial plan for Dorothea, as it is set out in the Prelude and in Chapter One of "Miss Brooke," projected a special brand of tragedy for Dorothea, whose nature was "likely to seek martyrdom, to make herself, and then to incur martyrdom after all in a quarter where she had not sought it" (I, 1) — presumably a forecast of her marriage to Casaubon, her inevitable rejection of him, and her renunciation of her love for Will, perhaps on the very grounds for which she renounces him temporarily in Middlemarch. When she was included in the larger life of Middlemarch, her story took on another different shape than George Eliot had anticipated in the Prelude. By the time of her earliest chapter sketches for Book V, however, George Eliot had already changed Casaubon's death and the "drama of Will & Dorothea advanced," as the entry in the Quarry for Middlemarch (I, 55) indicates (11). Even before she had begun writing of Casaubon's ill health, he was more of his death and will. George Eliot then entered "Second marriage of Dorothea" in a list of "Elements for Books VII and VIII" (24) (Quarry 55). Two entirely consecutive notes, both entered before Book VI was written, dispel any doubts that the marriage with Will was not long foreseen. "Dorothea in her second married life (in London)" is the first entry for an "Epilogue" (30); and the following page, indicating "How to End the Parts" for the final three books, notes: "VIII. Epilogue of reconciliation with Dorothea's family" (31) (Quarry 55).

The Prelude, however, which book demanded the Finale and dictated its form, had undertaken considerably more than to set up Dorothea's story and introduce her character. Dorothea's desire for martyrdom and an epic life was emphasized as contributing to her pending tragedy, along with the inadequacies of women's education and the damaging effects of what George Eliot was to call in Lydgate's case "misleading" — you and me. The ironic parallel with St. Theresa was established. In the
course of George Eliot's "experiencing" in the early chapter of "Miss Brooke," the story did in fact "take new shapes," and by the time the author had discovered new dimensions and possibilities in Dorothea she caught up with and connected her to the abandoned novel "Middlemarch," the initial intent, stated in the Prelude, was altered. With Dorothea's removal from the central focus, the interest shifted from the conditions and characteristics peculiar to her to those relevant to the larger common life of Middlemarch. Among the issues that dropped out of sight were martyrdom, the special lot of women, women's education, and St. Theresa.

One might wonder why in that case the Prelude was retained. At least one of George Eliot's contemporary readers questioned it: the ever-perceptive Joseph Mont Langford, who after reading the manuscript of Book One had written to Blackwood, "I do not like the Prelude, and if I had my way I would omit it..."

Letters 5:201). Perhaps George Eliot, in whose imagination Dorothea had been evolving gradually, did not yet perceive the degree to which the Dorothea of Middlemarch had deviated from her earlier conception as the heroine of "Miss Brooke." Certainly in some of her novels this was the case, she dispensed with the id of some kind of introduction. Perhaps Langford's suggestion was not made to her. In any case, the Prelude stood and was printed in the first issue of Middlemarch.

In the meantime a new, and I believe unexpected, development occurred as a result of Dorothea's evolution for the drama, represented in the parallel with St. Theresa, to the picture. This was a radically new insight into the nature of tragedy. Despite her long preoccupation with tragedy, precluding even her stab at novel-writing, there is no previous sign in George Eliot's work of the discovery of ordinary tragedy contained in the famous passage describing Dorothea weeping on her wedding journey. It appears to be an insight generated spontaneously by her contemplation of Dorothea, whom she was encountering freshly in her new role as heroine of Middlemarch for the first time since the two hundred novels she had seem joined.


The intimate connection between this inspiration and Dorothea herself is surely one of the most wonderful instances of the mysterious phenomenon of a character coming alive and instructing its author. It alters our understanding of Dorothea from this point forward.

References:

1. Susan Miller suggests that George Eliot's changing attitudes towards women's rights and women's education caused her narrative revisions of the Prelude. These may have contributed to the more complex characters, but the root source of the problem was likely a different. Apparently it did not, however, alter George Eliot's conscious ideas about tragedy as a literary form. That element of tragedy which "has not yet wrought itself into the coarse emotions of mankind" had not yet wrought itself in George Eliot's mind into a formal literary shape. Neither in the rest of Middlemarch nor in her subsequent work did she single out this notion for special attention or development, and when she came to write the Pencils, she did not draw on it. In fact, she seems to have been confused by a contradiction in her perception of Dorothea's life as "tragic." To get on with the "small Fickie," she did not undertake to identify her change and bring it to closure, but rather returned to the Prelude and attempted to make ends meet. It is evident from the parallels between the Prelude and the last paragraph of the Fickie that she composed it in a manner reflected in her reaction to Sara Henness' letter of 22 November 1873, just before the first part of Middlemarch was to appear: "Expect to be immensely disappointed with the close of Middlemarch." But look back to the Prelude (Letters 5:336).

There was the first time since the earliest days of Book One St. Theresa reappears and the notion of martyrdom, since abandoned except for brief touch by Miss H. and Sir James, is reintroduced as a shaping force in Dorothea's story. The theme of women's education, long superfluous, is recapitulated, is it the responsibility of us "insignificant people [who] with our daily words and acts are preparing the lives of many Dorotheas, some of which may present a fair and lasting sacrifice than that of the Dorothea whose story we know." Well may the reader who has just finished the final chapter of Middlemarch wonder how this applies? George Eliot too must have felt the displacement, and anticipated criticism in a form amusingly close to the form it would actually take: "many knew [Dorothea], thought it a pity that no ambitious and men a creature should have been absorbed into the life of another, and be only known in a certain circle as a wife and mother. But no one stated exactly what else was in the power she ought rather to have done..." George Eliot's writing are rewriting of the final paragraphs in evidence of her uneasiness, and her final version fails to resolve the difficulty.

It is a mistake, therefore, to attach too much significance to these final paragraphs, or in search for them too closely for what George Eliot had learned about tragedy. They were composed separately from the rest of the novel—how separately, the change in handwriting and color of ink, the manuscript reveals—and in haste, to be superficially compatible with statements of her earliest ideas on tragedy, dating back to when she first began to write fiction. Fortunately, they are confused by the more mature conception of tragedy that infolds in the course of Middlemarch, especially in the character of Dorothea. We may as well recognize that 'as they are,' in much the same spirit in which George Eliot did when she wrote to Alexander Matur a few weeks after completing the Fickie.
Eothen Again

Charlote Cheadle

Recently in an article in The New York Times Book Review, a number of publishers complained about the most regrettable judgment of their careers; rejections of manuscripts that, eventually brought out by others, became recognized works of genius or at least commercial successes (James). André Gide, who flipped through and passed over Swinburne's Way, was cited as an example of the talented editor with an ocassional blind spot. More commonly, though, publishers active in the mid-twentieth century continued to reject manuscripts that they knew were good but which they feared would not do well financially or did not have the market appeal. Lefteris, for example, boasted of one enthusiastic editor to another who viewed the prospective book as an invitation to a pornography suit.

These wary publishers had at least one Victorian forbear, John Murray, who turned down Eothen, Alexander Kinglake's account of his youthful wanderings in the late days from 1859-65. "That wretched spirit of jealousy at everything," Murray complained to the author, "which forms the essence of the book, might, I feared, have raised a clatter." Published in 1864 by Kinglake's friend John Ollivey, Eothen's irresistible spirit did raise eyebrows, but also made the author famous. British tourists flocked to Cairo, Thackeray reports, visited the ship's one copy of the book, which "charmed all," from which "great seal" to "our polished lawyer" to "our young Occident," who sighed over certain passages that he feared were 'wicked'... (639). To youths Eothen offered the apparent wickedness of Kinglake's gallantry, exuberant expedition, and independent opinions; to adults, the warned licentiousness, in an age of moral panics, by which they recognized the author as a "tamer" like themselves (see, for example, Gordon 71). Eothen went through six editions during the author's lifetime alone; the present Murray had by then obtained the copyright. Our own view of Eothen, until quite recently, tended to be

2. Eothen, introd. V. S. Prichett, p. I. Prichett's introduction will be in this edition and will be noted in the text.
3. As is noted in 1949 an edition was published for use in schools by P. N. Ollivey, nos. 271 of The Writings of English Writers (London: Murray).
and present self. A member of "the industrial class" and a product of the "highly respectable" English fate of Tonaten, Kinglake's notion of the social responsibilities of that class and view as ore for his general satire, whether he is describing the "shrieking, thoughtful, cooking cakes, and serious, low-church-looking house" of Cyprus or evoking in his own adventures the thrill for a well-brought-up youth, of delving into new sensations.

Deeds that are done in the Tonaten context are quietly revealed to mock-heretical in the author's larger view.

The suffocative twist to many of Kinglake's adventures, though, does not dispel his essential "wickedness," which, as Murray knew, is a matter less of adolescent deeds than of mature tone. Detachment, from both social custom and his own youthful ego, is the author's true ungenerative trait. To unravel Victorians weary of public morality and improving literature, Kinglake's detachment was perhaps his most exquisite sin, but the readers of less substantial, antiabsolutism to overvalue with seemingly more sensational seducements.

One such sensational trait is Kinglake's gallantry, which is nothing like Dickens's idealization of young womanhood but instead resembles Byron's mingled admiration and skepticism in Don Juan as "Beppe." Kinglake is no cake, his very tone, rather than any explicit, Byronic act, looks back to a racier age. Yet even though his gallant rhetoric is ultimately mock-heroic, it reads like heady stuff. Particularly convincing in his descriptions of the "rapping girls of Bethlehem."^5

The quasi-dangerous situation, the blushing cheeks and raking pulses, the whole sentimental approach to travel here recall Lawrence Steeles's A Sentimental Journey (1795-98), a once hugely popular book whose suggestiveness, in spite of its protected innocence, nearly put off the Victorians. This same audience, however, found irresistible Kinglake's "bear who never hugs," his stylized Englishman equally disarmed by delicacy and by his sense of the ludicrous.

The epicure of the Christian girls of Bethlehem, presented not as fact but as a likely elaboration of Kinglake's Eastern experience, falls to appear in a letter to his father written in the course of his travels. Dated 1 April 1855, the letter describes Kinglake's journey from Cyprus to Lebanon, the Holy Land, and Cairo, from where he would soon return to Syria and finally Europe. He very likely used this letter in composing the Cyprus to Cairo section of Eirene; the basic itinerary and the habit of home-nation comparison, as of the Jordan to the Thames and the experience of the great pyramid to his father's hive-accent form, appear in the earlier document. But if Eirene is a silly book, as Jonathan Raeburn warns, the fitted letter is equally silly, masking behind situations to military and religious history, typical of a nineteen-year-old running pulse, and a pious iron, both the dangers Kinglake bravely and his own iconoclastic views. The letter to his father is a masterpiece, not simply of the inevitable vanity Kinglake prattled in ten years, but of the aesthetic freedom he achieved when he decided, as he explains in the Preface to Eirene, to forget "the Royal Statistical Society," "the Public," and "any other respectable Aggregate" (possibly including his family) and write as if for Washington's ear alone.

Possibly in April 1855 Kinglake had not formulated the independent views expressed in Eirene, and we can only surmise whether some of the remarks addressed to his father represent libelous incivility or tactful hypocrisy. He knew, though, as the funeral processions that streamed below his grave, in which he had scored on susceptible factions, although they had raised some comment, no one, that concerning the cyclical Bethlehem girls, even raised criticism. ^6

5. Kinglake's Preface, pp. xiv-xvii, discloses the intent to profit any such display of "a high origin and religious knowledge.

6. Hogarth, p. 1, notes that while these statements evidence Kinglake's published the style of Eirene, he "reserved unchanged the modes and reflections
window carried off half the population of Cairo, that he was in the midst of the plague. His escaping his parents' (his news) suits the heroic side of Kinglake's nature; he states notice:

Being now anxious to make progress to Cairo, I determined, had intended to go on this route to Alexandria, and thence to embark for some European port, but I found it impossible. The consequences, probably the quarantine regulations, kept me again caught up with lust. From Egypt will proceed the execution of this plan; I must therefore mosey my pack again to the burning desert and resume my steps to Syria..."

Compared to the panic of other Europeans, who fled, locked themselves in their houses, or transacted business with metal money, Kinglake's admission of anxiety "...five reasons to turn homeward" is comparatively cool.

In Eastern we discover, along with the past fact of Kinglake's danger, a sublime literary egotism of which the letter gives us hint. For all the nineteen days he was in Cairo, Kinglake conceals for a footnote (244), he carried at the back of his mind an apprehension of his peril. Believing, though (according to a curiously modern theory), that panic led directly to infection by the plague, he supposed his fear under water "brawded." The sole European in the market place, he rides through the streets preceded by the shouts of his dunkey boy. "Oh Virgil, O old man, get out of the way on the left, this Englishman comes, he comes, he comes!"

The native ally which three drove cleared for any passage made a probable, though difficult, to given the long way undisturbed, a single person, and my enemies to avoid such contact was a sort of game for me in my leisure. If I go through a street without being touched, I won, if I was touched I lost, lost a chance of a stake according to the theory of the European; but that I deemed to be all nonsense, I only lost that game, and would certainly win the war.

Brawded served him well. He caught a cold, but escaped the plague.

Yet just as Childe Harold probably contributed more than Don Juan to the apotheosis of Byron's dangerousness, I suspect that Kinglake's brawded spared more anyhow than his gallantry.

Defying quarantine measures, braving the very plague, Kinglake's underlying theme is essentially selfish—a theme out of some of the Romantic disillusionment, the reeducation to public and domestic Life, of the early Victorian period. In what became the tradition of the eccentric British traveler, Kinglake paints himself as the jubilant escapee of "the. worstways ways of society" and as the master of his own fate. "now, at last, I was here in this African desert, and I myself, and no other, had charge of my life. I liked the office well..." (188). Given the social context into which it entered, Eastern's egotistical sublime was bound to excite some mild hominem ridicetem. Thus in his review of the book, "Childe Harold does not care for the author's "...the little silly" writings; instead of a "boast originality, and daring indifference" to the prejudices of society, which are seldom misinterpreted as indications of secluded habits.

Even today, however, in an entirely different context, Kinglake's self-sufficiency has provoked less. Edward Said, in Orientalism, correctly if brutally identifies Kinglake with that form of British individualism which to the, in the years of empire, reduced the Orient to a mise-en-scene for the traveler's fancy (13). The egotism of many of the best British literary travelers—from Kinglake to Charles Dickens to Robert Byron—is certainly linked to the abysmal national self-conception. More innocently, however, egotism, or at least egocentrism, is an essential feature of the travel book form itself, whatever it attempts to dispel not geography but states of mind. Kinglake is no slavenger, and Said, like Byron, misses in Eastern the social detachment that continuously undercuts both youthful pride and "pride of race," in his account of his approach to Cairo, "Those three before me were the gardeners and the motorists of Egypt, and the mighty works of the Nile, I (and the eternal Ego that we) —I had lived to see, and I saw them" (243).

In his review, "Childe Harold" admires the impressionistic brilliance of Eastern, but subtracts distance from its impressionistic description of Jerusalem at "the height of the season..." the arrival of the Easter Pilgrims (182-205). Adapting the point of "...it swarms about towns..." Kinglake's practice of the Holy Sepulchre, where everybody meets everybody every day, Kinglake traverses the worldliness of the Holy Land at the church door, the commerce of p提炼—"money changers, turned I late almost in brick, and lively as they had been within the Temple," while at Easter services one's hosts, the monks, urged me to "fight for us" in bloody battles between Latin and Greek Christians. Actually, Kinglake's incredulity derives from Protestant prejudices that somewhat take him by surprise. In a footnote to the chapter in which he is obliged to mention the historical location, according to Latin and Coptic, of stations Biblical events, he discloses either belief or disbelief in these traditions, knowing that his stricter readers will deny them "as utterly fabulous" (133-34). The disclaimer was not strong enough to prevent his reputation as a "Nottinghian". Nevertheless, just as Eastern generally helped to revamp the documentary travel account...
Kinglake’s fervent language brilliantly evokes the temptation to the innocent Englishman of the forbidden Latin Church, with its mingled promise of mystical transport and voluptuous knowledge. Indeed, while the young Kinglake’s “spleen” lies in touching his lips to the rock, the author’s is secured in the language of licentiate lawyers and plenteous sleep, that mock-consolational tone which exists in audacity the battle of holy commerce in Jerusalem. Yet Kinglake never grows coarse, never loses control of the tone, which, at the episode’s end, characteristically swerves to self-mockery at the young Englishman’s inevitable return to his senses.

Kinglake’s trick of dynamic deflection, as neat in its way as Byron’s, makes him “a feat that never hurts,” a narrator who never insists on the tearing down of social norms. How many Victorian readers Kinglake’s detachment convinced of his humaneness and how many it persuaded of his ultimate skepticism would be hard to say; even the canny Murray outgadged the ultimate effect of that tone. Today, the sublimation between the author Kinglake, his youthful self, and the Orient he describes continues to intrigue and perhaps needless: I cannot follow Rackham, for instance, when he describes Kinglake’s narrator as a more satirical portrait of the Englishman abroad: “a distinctly cunning and nasty piece of work,” curiously charming, morbidly indignant, telling “a cad’s tale” (vi-vii). If the portrait is detached and satirical, it is also autobiographical and lyrical, Kinglake’s artful homage to youthful fancy. This disparity of interpretation, however, underscores the interest of Eastern and of the novel itself, generally to us today. It intrigues us by creating art and ambiguity without the use of past invention. Eastern is a conscious example of the form.

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Dorothea and Her Husbands: Some Autobiographical Sources for Speculation
Sara M. Patrell-Karsh and Martine Weiler Brownley

Several years ago, Richard Ellmann's "Some Biographical Speculations" initiated a lengthy controversy in TLS over George Eliot's sources for "Dorothea's Husbands" in Middlemarch (16 Feb. 1971: 165-8). After evaluating Mark Pattison, Herbert Spencer, Dr. Brashears, Jacob Bryant, Robert William Mackley, and George Eliot as a set of biographical models for Dorothea Brooke's first husband, the intellectual scholar Edward Casaubon, Ellmann then suggested Eliot's own husbands, George Henry Lewes and John Cross, as well as himself, as models for Dorothea's second husband, atheist and later politician Will Ladislaw.

Ellmann's judicious combination of these sources drew a number of replies. John Sparrow defended Mark Pattison as the model. Margaret Mannor preferred MeredithVyner in Lewes's novel, Roe's Blanche, and Wire's (1848) as a literary source for Casaubon and suggested the unknown artist who proposed in Eliot in 1845 as a biographical source for Ladislaw (71.5, 8 May 1973: 356). After Ellmann responded to these and other letters (71.5, 16 May 1973: 352-3), Leon Edel criticized his view of the relation of biography and art (71.5, 11 May 1973: 579). Philip Collins argued for Dr. Strong in David Copperfield as a source for Casaubon (71.5, 16 May 1973: 356-7), while Gordon Haight argued for the talent to dispute the similarities between Pattison and Casaubon, pointing out that both Victorian life and literature offer numerous examples of marriages involving men like Pattison, who were too old to have been the writer's father (71.5, 5 May 1973: 616-7).

Although the debate simmered for a few more weeks, these have remained the major sources for speculation about Eliot's husbands.

In focusing primarily on biographical sources, scholars have neglected a major contextual parameter of the source problem: the social conditions which would have differentiated Eliot's successive marriages of interest to Eliot and her critics. Defined as those two marriages are, neither allows Dorothea to fulfill her ardent nature in the kind of epic national service which she had desired and which Eliot suggested that in another age she might have achieved. This failure, far more than any specific characteristics of the two husbands, lies at the core of the novel and hence should be taken into account in any speculation about Eliot's sources for them.

By the time she wrote Middlemarch, Eliot had already displayed a talent for the limitations on women's lives in her essays, poems, and novels (Zimmerman). Moreover, the Prelude to Middlemarch addresses the novel not in the readers of romance, but to those who "care much to know the history of men." It poignantly contrasts the "historical life of St. Teresa of Avila to the seemingly unhistoric ones of women like Dorothea, who find for themselves no epic life wherein there was a conscious unfolding of action; perhaps only a life of misfortunes, the offspring of certain spiritual graces ill-matched with the meanness of opportunity" - "a meanness of opportunity" created by a society in which such marriages as Dorothea's constituted an educated woman's sole occupation. Middlemarch's readers and critics have often separated the problem of Dorothea's potential for an epic life from the problem of her husbands. Eliot's contemporaneous definition "the idea of the degree to which Eliot fulfilled her announced aims in the novel, Victorian reviewers recognized her intention of showing how society limits the scope of women's achievement by depicting Dorothea's marriages in the context of provincial life sixty years earlier (e.g., the Spectator 7 Dec. 1872: 154-5; Saturday Review 7 Dec. 1872: 733-4; Fortnightly Review 19 March 1873: 142-7; Nation 25 Jan. 1873: 60-2 and 30 Jan. 1873: 76-7)."

The problem that Eliot means through Dorothea's marriages was a timely one; the decade prior to the publication of Middlemarch (1871-72) was full of heated debate in popular journals, as well as in serious literature, over the role of women in society and history. For nearly two years a significant part of this debate had centered around the life of an eighteenth-century woman noted, like Dorothea, for her intelligence, her passion, her potential, and her failure to achieve anything grand. The woman was Samuel Johnson's friend and confidante, Hester Lynch Thrale. Later Mrs. Boswell, Thrale had drawn considerable journalistic attention - and like - in her own lifetime, and she received as much honor a century later, when in 1861, Alexander Hayward's two editions appeared. Thrale's Autobiography, Letters, and Literary Remains appeared, Fraser's Magazine, for example, commented that "all the ancient interest in her marriage and in her final quarrel and break with Dr. Johnson had been "successfully reviewed" (48 Nov. 1861: 308)."

Much as the Victorian sanerized Haymid's presentation of a complex woman through excerpts from her own writings, they were also seriously disturbed by the disparity between Thrale's capacities and her achievements. One reviewer remarks, for example, that in her "the "great man's eye," which the newspapers celebrated, "is a small cap" of higher things than the world gave her to do" (All the Year Round 5 [20 April 1861]: 89). That by the next century the world still referred to "higher things" to a woman with such connotations, is, of course, a primary contention of Middlemarch. Eliot emphasizes this point in the Prelude, commenting on her heroines: "Many who knew her, thought it apt that a consummate and rare a creature should have been absorbed into the life of another, and be only known in a certain circle as a wife and mother. But no one said exactly what else was in her power she ought rather to have done." The fact that Dorothea's history addresses precisely the problem that disturbed Victorian readers of Thrale's life, together with the remarkable resemblances between the fictional heroine's and the real woman's marriages, suggests Thrale's life as yet another important source for Middlemarch.

That Eliot could have had Thrale in mind while writing about Dorothea is very likely, given her lifelong interest in Dr.
Johnson. As a schoolgirl, Eliot was so familiar with Johnson's dictionary and style that Haight remarks on her imitation of Johnsonian diction (111). George Henry Lewes described the lawyer Dunstable in Eliot's early novella "Jane's Repentance" as "Dr. Johnson turned mascal, or rather Dissolute" (Letters III: 351)—a judgment supported by the following etymological analysis: "Don't contradict me sir," stormed Dunstable. "I say the word presbyterian is derived from John Presbyter, a mistrueable fanatic!" (Ch. II). Shortly after the last book of Middlemarch appeared, Eliot was reading Dorothea, which she quotes in Middlemarch (epigraph, Ch. 61). In 1875, when Alexander Bain proposed writing a new life of Johnson, Lewes encouraged him by saying that such a work "would surely succeed" if it included "not only all the really good bits of Boswell, but also those of Mrs. Thrale etc., adding that "Mrs. Lewes and I both hope you will find this an agreeable and profitable bit of work." (Letters V: 396, 397). Eliot's references to Johnson in her essays show familiarity not only with his life but also with his long connection with Thrale. Eliot mentions his Latin verses to her ("Lord Brougham's Limerick," Letter I July 1856), and quotes his advice to Hannah More from Thrale's "Auston, and the Late Samuel Johnson" (1786). These Anecdotes also appear in Middlemarch when Eliot describes Mary Garth, one of the more-exemplary characters in her novel. In her usual context, laughing even Mrs. Prouse's recollections of Johnson (Ch. 25).

Not only did Eliot's idea for Middlemarch originate at a time when there was a resurgence of interest in Johnson's works and his experiences were being widely discussed, but the substance of Thrale's life as well as the questions raised by it are contained in a review that Eliot wrote nearly exactly at the same time. Although Eliot did not begin work on Middlemarch until 1859, she wrote then that "it is the highest of all the good bits of Boswell, but also those of Mrs. Thrale etc., adding that "Mrs. Lewes and I both hope you will find this an agreeable and profitable bit of work." (Letters V: 396, 397). At that same year, she wrote in her journal to what was not yet Middlemarch but "Miss Brooke" as "a subject which has been recorded among my possible themes ever since I began to write fiction." (Letters V: 124). The subjects of the "Miss Brooke" section of the novel is explicitly raised in a review essay, "The Lives of Two Ladies," which appeared in the 23 April 1862 issue of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine as "Mama," as Eliot familiarly called it. The same issue contained a review by Lewes, which Eliot had discussed with him and which she mentions in a letter to Sara Hennell as appearing "in the April (this current) number of Blackwood." (Letters IV: 25). In "The Lives of Two Ladies," Blackwood's reviewer poses the problem that Eliot would subsequently address in her novel, the worth of a woman's "industrious" life.

Much as Eliot distinguished Dorothea's life from St. Teresa's, Blackwood's reviewers distinguishes the lives of his "Two Ladies"—Mrs. Deyton (Mary Garraway) and Mrs. Thrale—from those of "women whose hard lot lies in the best of the life-battle and whose burdens are heavier. In the 25 April 1862 issue of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine as "Mama," as Eliot familiarly called it. The same issue contained a review by Lewes, which Eliot had discussed with him and which she mentions in a letter to Sara Hennell as appearing "in the April (this current) number of Blackwood." (Letters IV: 25). In "The Lives of Two Ladies," Blackwood's reviewer poses the problem that Eliot would subsequently address in her novel, the worth of a woman's "industrious" life.

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of error," so that those who have not known her observe "that she could not have been 'a nice woman'" (Ch. 54, Finale).

Secondly, the comparison raises the question of why the history of a "bright no-producer," or as Eliot says in her Preface, "a 'Dorothy of nothing,'" should be remembered. Finally, the commentary constitutes an implicit challenge to explain the continuing effect of such women's lives, a challenge specifically directed elsewhere in the review to the nineteenth century.

In making the transition from Delany's history to Thrale's, Blackwood's reviewer asserts:

To think of any Mrs. Futer now, however brilliant or interesting, making the domestic arts of her country folk into immortal and superhuman, because she is known or wearied by the same, and worshipped in her old home, is perhaps too difficult to imagine. As for the other, or his assistant, in a certain unaccountable way, it seems a thin matter, if at all possible, to confer on his memory a place in society, or interest in it, inconsistent to, or incompatible with, a part in its decisions. (412)

What Middlernich demonstrates is precisely the opposite, that such a woman could still be revered in the nineteenth century, both in a provincial town of the 1830's, where public opinion is in the hands of a not so limited circle, and in England of the 1870's, where readers speculated about and judged Dorothy's marriages. Eliot not only answers the review by showing that a charming widow's second marriage could still elicit considerable comment in the nineteenth century, but she also reframes the larger issues of whether a woman's life deserves to be remembered. In the Preface, Eliot refers to Dorothy's marriage as "an important social event" for Dorothy's sister Celia, nicknamed Kitty, at Chetton Park. In addition, references are made to Mrs. Delany's acquaintance with "the Lady Harriet and Ettos of the Boltroade convey." Elliot gives the name Boltrode to the hypothetical banker in Middlernich, his wife is Harriet.

Even more suggestive similarities are apparent between Dorothy's and Thrale's. Both women had unbetrayed childhoods, and, partially, in consequence, erotic educations. Unlike rather than fathers were the dominant male figures in their early lives. Dorothy's "as more narrow and promiscuous education is provided by her "husband," her guardian," in the sense that she was explained at the age of twelve. Because Thrale's often absent father was imprudent and irresponsible, as a girl she led "an unhappy life with her parents from one uncle's house to another," in the course of which "she seems to have picked up some learning and many accomplishments." (Blackwood's 411). Perhaps to compensate for unsatisfactory paternal relationships, both women were attracted to older men with scholarly inclinations. Thrale's early attachment to an elderly tutor suggests that Dorothy and Casaubon. Although tutors were paraded before her, she preferred Dr. Cullier, her "preceptor in Latin, Logic, Rhetoric, & Blackwood's 414). The Edinburgh Review attributes her "proficiency in classics and philosophy" to her falling in "school-girl fashion" very much in love with her old tutor" (257, cf. Fraser's 370). It is just such a tutor that Dorothy seeks, of course, in Casaubon, who she hopes will "illuminate principles with a wondrous knowledge" while she can become useful to him by learning "to read Latin and Greek aloud in [his] as Milton's daughters did to their father" (Chs. 2, 7). Later in Life, Thrale found exactly this kind of relationship with Johnson, whose Dictionary of the English Language represents the monumental achievement of synthesis toward which Casaubon vainly aspired with his Key to All Mythologies. Johnson moulded Thrale's mind, chal-
The most significant similarities here the two women emerge in connection with their marriages. Though one marriage, like Dodore's, is to be of older man who does not appreciate her, while the other, like Thrale's, is to a younger man who does appreciate her, both marriages are colored by the presence of other women in the young woman's life. Thrale's marriage to her cousin, Caustion, is arranged by her father, Sir John Thrale, and is strongly influenced by the presence of Thrale's maternal aunt, Mrs. Thrale, who has been a constant factor in her life. Dodore's marriage to her cousin, Ludlow, is arranged by Dodore herself, and is strongly influenced by the presence of Dodore's maternal aunt, Mrs. Thrale, who has been a constant factor in her life. Both women are romantically inclined, and both are forced to choose between their romantic preferences and their social obligations. Thrale is torn between her love for Thrale and her duty to her family, while Dodore is torn between her love for Ludlow and her duty to her family. Both women are eventually forced to choose, and both are left with a sense of sacrifice and regret.

Throughout the novel, Thrale and Dodore are depicted as women who are free to make their own choices, despite the constraints of their social position. This is particularly evident in their treatment of their husbands, who are shown to be weak and indecisive. Thrale is depicted as a strong and independent woman who is able to assert her will and make her own decisions, while Dodore is depicted as a weak and dependent woman who is forced to rely on her husband for support. This contrast is emphasized throughout the novel, and is particularly evident in the way that Thrale and Dodore are depicted as women who are able to assert their own desires, even in the face of opposition.

In conclusion, the similarities and differences between Thrale and Dodore are significant in the way that they reflect the attitudes and values of the time. Both women are depicted as women who are free to make their own choices, despite the constraints of their social position. Thrale is shown to be a strong and independent woman who is able to assert her will and make her own decisions, while Dodore is shown to be a weak and dependent woman who is forced to rely on her husband for support. This contrast is emphasized throughout the novel, and is particularly evident in the way that Thrale and Dodore are depicted as women who are able to assert their own desires, even in the face of opposition.
The Pilgrims of the Rhine: The Failure of the German Bildungsroman in England

Edith M. Eyre

Perhaps the most thoroughly neglected work of an influential writer who has been generally neglected is Bulwer Lytton's *The Pilgrims of the Rhine* (1854). As a work of art, its oblivion has been well-deserved, but this book of connected tales is nevertheless an important document in the history of fiction. It provides one explanation for the vacuity among some novels of its period to shift the genre which it exemplifies.

Bulwer, like Dickens after him, enjoyed writing short fiction. He said of *The Pilgrims of the Rhine* that "various reasons have conspired to make this the work, above all others that I have written; which has given me the most delight through not unmingled with melancholy" (Anonymous, 1856). But though he continued to write occasional short stories throughout his career, this early work is his last attempt at a collection of unified and connected tales, and, as with Dickens' *Martin Chuzzlewit*, it becomes something else even before its conclusion. Dickens turned from his project because the clock was running down — its circulation had fallen dramatically — and he felt the publication could be accelerated by expounding "The Old Curiosity Shop" from a tale into a novel. I shall try to show how Bulwer's work was also turned into a novel, but for artistic rather than financial considerations.

At its beginning, *The Pilgrims of the Rhine* promises to be a kind of Canterbury pilgrimage. Germaine Vane, her doctor, her father, and her fiance make a voyage up the Rhine in an unsuccessful attempt to save Barbicault's life by cutting her consumption. Along the way, essentially, they tell stories to one another, stories suitable to the countryside through which they are passing.

German tales were very popular during this period and had been so since the turn of the century. The plagiarisms of M. G. Lewis. Weller had gone through at least seven full English translations and ten English imitations between 1779 and 1812. Bulwer's had published three genuine tales "from the German" since its inception in 1817. More recently, in 1826, collections of German stories had been offered to the English by Holcroft, Boscot, Gillies, and others. At one scholar comments, "The demand for German stories in England about this time seems to have been insatiable" (Stocksby). Carlyle's *German Romance* (1827) was not merely an attempt to cash in on the popularity of German literature. Rather it was a genuine piece of missionary work. Because he considered German fiction superior, more serious than the literature being produced at home, Carlyle wanted to introduce his countrymen to the best of the German short story writers — especially

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1. *The Pilgrims of the Rhine* was completed in 1853, but its publication was delayed until suitable engravings could be made for the illustrations.

2. The Smaller CRW (a collection of previously published essays and tales with an interesting source and an author at unity).
The Pilgrims of the Rhine appear to be a hopeless jumble of confused intentions. But such a judgment is unfair to Balder, who always worked for strict artistic unity, although usually of a complicated sort. Indeed one of the literary discussions of The Pilgrim includes a criticism of German literature for its lack of "use," i.e., "a quick fact into the harmony of composition, the art of making the whole consistent with its parts, the combination." He expresses this statement, however, with a caution which perhaps he meant also for judges of his own book: one must "not govern a Goethe, or even a Richter, by a Balder." (133). And thirty years later he wrote that a novel should strive not for Aristotelian but for thematic unity, according to the model of Wilhelm Meister ("Caxtonians"). Nor would it take a very ingenious effort to demonstrate that all the parts of The Pilgrims of the Rhine—the tales, the guide-book stuff, the dreams, even the forms—are thematically relevant to a Goethean concern with the hero's Bildung. Baader must certainly have meant us to think not only of

Chaucer's pilgrimage but, given the Rhinehall setting, also of Childe Harold's. His Byrnam is thoroughly Victorianized (three years after the Queen's last visit to Germany) and, though cunningly meshed, essentially at peace with both nature and society. Balder's pilgrimage, unlike Byron's, brings his furies along—the indeed he travels for the sake of her health—and when she dies, he returns to England to become a great success as a writer, a politician, and a gentleman. These differences in attitude, however, are matters largely of closing one's Byron and opening one's Goethe, and the basic form of The Pilgrims of the Rhine was to some extent justified by the example of both masters.

Nevertheless, when we apply Kenneth Burke's more universal criticism that "a work has force to so far as one part of it leads a reader to anticipate another part, to be gratified by the sequence" (124), it becomes clear that for all its possible thematic coherence, The Pilgrims of the Rhine falls a most fundamental test of unity. It promises to be a sequel of short stories, and it ends up as a novel. Throughout the final chapters, the reader turns pages looking for another tale which never appears. In Chapter XXVI Balder seems indeed on the verge of satisfying this expectation, but he forgets the tale at the last because, as he explains, "my story will not break the delay" (213). Therefore, what begins the pilgrimage in the vehicle turns into the passage, and Balder found no way of preparing the reader for his radically changed procedure.

But why, in the first place, should Balder have changed his book? The basic story is not particularly compelling. Why didn't he simply go on with his German tales? The answer, I believe, is a situation towards which we have already glanced—in Balder's lifelong preoccupation with the Bildung of the man, and with his attachment to two diverse traditions of the form, one English and the other German. Both traditions seemed in 1834 to justify the combination of material and the shift in procedure which characterize The Pilgrims of the Rhine. In fact Balder was justified only by his German models, which, to complicate matters, he understood rather imperfectly.

The English tradition, more commonly called the novel of development, had its roots in the picaresque romance. A chronicle of a originally scholarly hero's education in the school of some personal ordeal. The best eighteenth-century examples of this type of fiction—Tom Jones and Peregrine Pickle—both contain famous interpolated episodes. But although Dickens used the story of the Man of the Hill and the "Moriarty of a Lady of Quality" to justify the interloping of Miss Wade's narrative in Little Dorrit, most readers have regarded these episodes unfavorably as intrusions, casually inserted in the experience which is forming the hero. According to English, common-sense theories of education, a man learns from his own mistakes, not from the mistakes of others. Thus episodes, as Balder ultimately realized, are out of place in the English novel of development, and they were eventually purged away. Even the eighteenth-century masters seem to have used episodes moderately when we retrace their practice with that of Goethe's Bildung, as

5. See Byron. Even credible Balder is facing the English Oak of Steel, which virtually reenacted the German part. Sacred Horse claims Balder as one of the most direct and influential of Godot's descendants in England.

6. A similar question. Balder's Blakean role this time explained "as distinctly as possible" (130).
No Wragg by the Iliuss? A Note on Matthew Arnold’s “Wragg is in custody.”

Charles Swance

“Wragg is in custody!”—has Wragg been committed in Nottingham? A girl named Wragg left the schoolhouse that morning, a Saturday morning, with her young, kissing cousin. The child was never seen again, found dead on Monday. Wragg is in custody.

But who is Wragg? In response to the absolute mysteries of Sir Charles Ashburne and Mr. Rossetti, how elegant, how suggestive are these two lines: “Of all Anglo-Saxon heroes, the best is the three-headed one!” How is Wragg? How is Ashburne? How is Rossetti? How is Wragg’s fate in the world? How are we to understand the intertwining of the historical, the mythical, and the poetic in this work? Does the, “best in the whole world?”—was this all a dream? or was it more? How is the world of history, mythology, and literature woven together in this narrative? How are we to interpret the nuances of the text?

7. In the Lyceum collection at Merton, Oxford. Fitted with the kind permission of the Hon. Sir Herbert Oakes, the owner of the collection, Lady Hervey-Cobbold.

University of California - Riverside
The Victorian Newsletter

And "our unaided happiness,"—what an element of glory, tenacity, and interest mixed with a touch of the sublime, the domestic happiness, life,—how distant those who have seen them will remember,—the grace, the charm, the calm, the tranquil happiness child "I ask you solemnly, the world over or in part history, there is anything like it?" Perhaps not, one is inclined to answer, but at any rate, in that case, the world is very much as it is. And the final word,—short, blunt, and inhuman, Wagg is it, is, simply. The very fact that the condition of our unaided happiness,—that is, it is, the superficial Christian seems leaping off by the strongest means of our old Anglican breath... Mr. Rowbotham will have a point of opinion of an unaided man who applied to his familiar songs of triumph only by marvelling at that which, Wagg it seems, but he in no other way with these when suggested by the measure gradually to determine themselves, to get rid of what does so in and on and on.

This, as readers will hardly need to be told, is a well-known and important passage from "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time"—important if only because it clinches the movement of Arnold's argument from literary to cultural (not, of course, political) criticism. It remains open, however, whether it should not be a notorious rather than a famous passage. Is Arnold here really attempting to see the object as in itself? Is the real is? Is Arnold's argument adequate? Is this the free play of intelligence or the tactics of the higher journalism? It is understandable that the merely strong declarations of Addington and Rowbotham should get an imitated echo. It is regrettable that it should take this form both because it is inadequate and because it is a mode which can recall on the issue. I don't mean to ally myself with Faint but Stephen in The Saturday Review (December 3rd, 1864, 684):

"Criticism ought to show that Wagg should have been called Taal." Faint but that is unprisoned saying "Wagg in another," the broadest judgment about Law or, and to, on some retirement height,..."...the whole Faber judgment. This may serve to make much difference, I mean: Arnold极大地批评者... We do not envy the higher criticism, if it has to go about "marvelling Wagg is in reality," all after-dinner speeches rise to the level of small beauty.

Even a harsher judgment might have existed alliteration and repeated that Elizabeth Wagg was imprisoned in September, and even if it meant: but that is also known to think that Arnold would have felt was appropriate for human reporting. Nevertheless, Faint but Stephen however crudely and coarsely makes a valid point. It is an odd moment to turn to inceptive aesthetics. Whether the unfitness of English names is really central to any point at issue is rather more doubtful. (Is it even in good taste? It needs as though it was designed to raise either a smile or a curl on the lip from the original audience). While we must deplore the excusing, dehumanizing hostility of the report, it must be questioned whether there was (except inside of euphony is relevant) "the Wagg besides the Illams. Where there is no Medea."

J. S. Sper (ed.): Lectures and Essays in Criticism. Vol. 11 of The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold, D. S. In Michigan P., 1932: 375-4. All subsequent references will be placed parenthetically

...no Medea?
The entry on the Illams in Lempriere is brief: "A small river of Attica, falling into the sea, near the Piraeus. There was a temple on its bank sacred to the Muses"—and we are referred only to Stat. Theb. 4, 7, 52. Presumably the mention of this insignificant river is intended to evoke a whole set of values — "the grandeur that was Greece" perhaps. But Arnold seems to have forgotten that Clisa is not the most unimportant of the muses. The use of an imagery past is to criticize the self-congratulatory rhetoric of the present is either unfortunate or un-successful. We can agree that the climate of Greece is more pleasant than that of the Midlands, and who would argue that factory smoke does not disfigure the Midlands landscape? One admits the ancient Greece lacked industrialism, but further one can hardly go on accepting Arnold's implied definition here of the superiority of the Greek way of life, Arnold had read the Rabelais—where Socrates (speaking not so far from the banks of the Illams) is quite clear.
The underlying the good company, they will take in the place or create, in certain men and who are a part of the city, but the obliterating of the inferior, and one of the other sort who are seen destructive, they will possibly dispose of in some, so that no one will know who had long been committed to the hard translation.

And Aristotle may be less ruthless but is equally clear in the Politic.

With regard to the choice between abandoning an infant as being fit for the best that noipple could seem and that since the elevation of western families and institutions mainly in order to observe mankind, there must be a limit to the production of children. It contrary to this an arrangement an education literature and a child is concerned, attention should be bestowed before the hands-off applied life and multis—(Book X, chapter 5. 1. A. Aristotle's translation)

It can hardly be objected that Plato and Socrates are only referring to their Utopia. W. E. H. Lecky's learning may have been wide rather than deep—but on this issue at least he is reliable enough and writing at much the same time at Arnold, he gives an account of many of what was generally known.

If we pass to the next stage of human life, that of the new-born infant, we find ourselves in the question of infantile which was one of the deepest states of the animal civilization...

Behaviour, as is well known, was almost universally admitted among the Greeks, being sanctioned, and in some cases enjoined upon; what we should have call the greatest happiness principle, by the ideal legislations of Plato and Aristotle, and by the social legislations of Lycurgus and Solon. Regarding the community as a whole, they clearly see that it is in the highest degree for the interest of society that the increase of population should be very seriously encouraged, and that the State should be so far restored from helplessness and inquisitorial manners, and they therefore concluded that the primitive association of infantile life, and especially of those infants who were or deformed or doomed to their lives, if prolonged, would probably have been a burden to themselves.

In the 19th century, over every other reader of Arnold I owe a considerable debt of gratitude to Sper's scholarly work.
Hardy’s “Mute Opinion”: An Interpretation

Laurence Foss

**MUTE OPINION**

I

I conceived a declaration
Whose spokesmen spake not strong
Their purpose and opinion
Through pulpits, press, and song.
I almost liked to note then:
A large-eyed few, and dumb.
Who thought not as these thought they
That stirred the heat and fear.

II

When, as a Student, including
That book in literary stock,-
To learn its not unfulfilling
Fulfilled to clavichord tone.
I use, in web-architecture,
In history somewhat
Not as the kind but spoken,
But as the mute had thought.


In Thomas Hardy’s “Mute Opinion,” first published in 1901, the year of Queen Victoria’s death, the speaker considers two bodies of opinion existing in his lifetime: the “clavichord” popular opinion promulgated “strong” and “loud” through “pulpit, press, and song” and the “ample” minority opinion of the “large-eyed few, and dumb.” In the poem’s second stanza, the speaker reports from the realm of the dead that history has confirmed the truth of the minority opinion.

Nowhere in the poem does Hardy identify either opinion or even hint at their identity. Does the poem say no more, then, than that, at any given time, the prevailing popular opinion is likely to prove wrong? Few readers, I suspect, will be satisfied with such a solution. Hardy must have had something more definitive in mind. But what?

Before I propose an answer, let me argue three major conditions which I think a viable solution must fulfill. First, the issue must be one sufficiently general or even “obvious” (at least to an English reader in 1901) that Hardy might think prospective readers could guess its meaning. Second, the issue must be one on which Hardy himself is in the minority and about which he feels deeply. Third, the proposed solution must provide the closest possible fit with the details and language of the poem itself and with the poem’s immediate context in the book in which it was published (Poems of Past and Present).

With these conditions in mind, let me propose that the
"classical code" expressed through "poetry, prose, and song" was the optimistic Victorian belief that life is good and is steadily getting better. Few characteristics are more distinctive of the period leading nominally in 1901 but more pertinently in 1914 than its prevailing belief in the reality of social progress. The Victorians were confident that the condition and quality of life in nineteenth-century England were not only superior to what they had been in the past, but that human society (especially in England) was steadily, even rapidly, advancing toward some ideal perfection in the future. In 1848, Malthus, in the third paragraph of his famous History of England, wrote: "The history of our country during the last hundred and sixty years is evidently the history of physical, moral, and intellectual improvement." Thomas, in his earlier poetry, celebrated the creed of progress in "Locksley Hall" (1843), whose protagonist has a vision of the future in which "battle-flags are "furled! In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World," and when "the common sense of most shall hold a freethink real in awe." And the kindly earth shall triumph, paved in universal law." He returns to the subject in "In Memoriam" (1850), whereas the progress of man in this life and the continued existence of the soul in a future life are the two beliefs he finds necessary to justify life and death for him after the death of Arthur Hugh. Herbert Spencer, in his own time regarded as one of the period's most important philosophers, argued from an evolutionary premise that progress is inevitable, whether man wills it or not. "The ultimate development of the ideal man," Spencer wrote in a chapter entitled "The Evolution of the Soul" in Social Statics (1851), "is logically certain, as certain as any conclusion in which we place the most implicit faith, for instance, that all wise will die ... progress, therefore, is not an accident but a necessity. ... At least so there is some efficacy in educational culture, ... so surely must the things we call evil and immorality disappear; so surely must man become perfect."

In his excellent history The Idea of Progress (1920), J.B. Bury shows that the idea of progress is relatively recent in the history of human thought. Unknown to the ancient and medieval worlds, prepared for but not conceived during the Renaissance, it did not emerge as a clearly defined concept until the eighteenth century. In the eighteenth century, the notion of advanced thinkers only, it became common property in the nineteenth century and still of the growth in scientific knowledge, it seems very well founded by the enormous expansion of productive power during the Industrial Revolution, and, in England, was given further impetus by the extension of democracy and the growth of the middle class (made manifest in the Reform Bills of 1832 and 1867), and by the extensions of British power which, by the end of the century, secured to Queen Victoria, in Kipling's words, "Dominion over palm and pine." "Recessional," 1897 — an empire in which the British beneficently ruled over "lesser breeds without the Law" for their own good. In sum, the belief in Progress blossomed in the Victorian period, and did not perceptibly begin to wilt until the anguish of the First World War. It was a prevailing belief in 1901, when Hardy published "Muse Opusin.

In the atmosphere created by this optimistic social belief, it was inevitable that Hardy's writings, in both prose and verse, should be considered as "poeticistic." This charge against his writings was made so frequently by both critics and the public that Hardy grew increasingly sensitive to it, and in the "Apology" prefaced to Later Lyrics and Earlier (1922) he defended his poems somewhat self-slyly: "What is today, in allusion to the present writer's verses, alleged to be 'pretentious' is, in truth, not ... the exploration of reality, and is the first step towards the soul's betterment, and the body's also." He quoted from his poem "In Tempe" (it's the same volume as Muse Opusin): "If way to the Betsis here be, it evades a hell look at the Worst," arguing that his poems, by exploring and frankly recognizing reality, prepared a way to "the best consummation possible: briefly, evolutionary revolution." But, "pretentious" he defined as a belief that the sum total of human misery in this life far outweighs that of human happiness, and that such a condition is likely to change little in the foreseeable future. Hardy's poetry is quite properly labeled pessimistic. And, if Hardy, late in life (most of the somewhat younger evidence is found in poems published subsequent to 1901), came to believe in the possibility of human betterment over time, it was in belief in a very slow process indeed, having little relation to the optimistic creed espoused in Victorian sermons, journals, and poems. His attitude toward this creed is pungently expressed in his essay "Christmas 1924":

"Face upon earth" was said, he sang it.
And pay a visit prior to a stop
Also the thousand years of wars.
We're just as far as in the past.

"Muse Opusin" is divided into two stanzas. In the first the speaker reports on the division of opinion existing during his lifetime between a vocal majority and a silent minority. In the second, at some indeterminate time after his death, he reports that the "bereft" of his country "outwrought" "conceives that the minority opinion was correct. In a sense Hardy, in the second stanza, like the speaker in "Locksley Hall," was a vision of the future, though with an altogether different content. Unlike the speaker in "Locksley Hall," however, the speaker in "Muse Opusin" is not a living person dreaming of the future but a dead person looking back on the past. Hardy thus gives him the authority of confirmed knowledge as opposed to unconfirmed speculation. Moreover, there can be little doubt that the speaker in "Muse Opusin" speaks for Hardy (though he cannot be equated with Hardy since the speaker is dead while the poet is alive).

In line 1 of the poem the word "dominion" helps to identify England as the "land" which the speaker "trode" during his lifetime but (by echoing Genesis 1:26-28 and Kipling's "Recessional," published four years earlier) connotatively enforces it in toto as Great Britain, which held dominion over land and sea. In lines 2-4 the obviousness of both "purpose and opinion" to the "spokesmen" is relevant, for while it was their opinion that life was getting better and better, it was also their purpose to enlist man's active participation in the process. Though for a few of them (notably Spencer) progress was automatic, proceeding inevitably toward perfection regardless of human effort, most believed that progress, though undoubtedly real, was carried out through human agency. Social improvement was
not possible without moral improvement, Thucydides' protagonist in "The Fall of the Roman Empire" urges us onward: "Not in vain the distance behoves. Forward, forward let us range!" and in "In Memoriam," section 118, the poet exhorts us:

"As I am and By the sounding Sea, the eternal Sea."

- The speaker must see the history of his land "outwrought" and "in web unbroken": that is, entire, presumably, from the first appearance of man within its borders in prehistoric times to an indeterminate time in the future. For the telling of anything less than the belief in progress, so long a span would hardly be needed, nor would it be necessary that the web be "unbroken." To confirm whether Darwin's ideas had been rejected or accepted, or whether the cause of women's suffrage had succeeded, only two cross sections of time would be necessary - one taken, say, in the 1860's and one some seventy years later (British women did not attain full suffrage until 1928, the year of Hardy's death). But for Hardy progress could not have been measured by counting women's votes or the number of textbooks accepting Darwin's theories; it could be measured only by measuring the depth and extent of human misery - a difficult task, especially when the sufferers are "mute." But, supposing it could be done by some instrumentality available after death, would there be found less misery in the world (in proportion to the population) in 1930 than in 1830 or 1530? or 430? Hardy thought not.

Final support for the thesis that "Mute Opinion" reaches a chỉnhless conclusion may be found in the poems with which it is placed in Hardy's book. Hardy always took care in arranging his poems. The three poems immediately preceding "Mute Opinion" are "God-Forgotten" - in which, in a dream, the speaker complains to God about the "pangs" of life and his "oat" of life, only in discovering that God has forgotten even to have created this "tiny sphere"; "The Bedridden Peasant" - in which the speaker, also God-for-gotten, speaks of his "helpless bondage" to "Time and Chance"; and "By the Earth's Cooperage" - in which, all life having now ceased on earth, God repenting having ever created it and grieved for the "wonders explained" by "Earth's poor patient kind." The poem immediately following "Mute Opinion" is "To an Unborn Fauper Child" - in which the poet advises the child not to be born, for "To the Dooms day keep / And learn least around us here." Like his younger contemporary, A. E. Housman, Hardy believed that "the world has lost / Much good, and much has lost to ill. "Mute Opinion" is Hardy's rejoinder to the optimistic Victorian notion that "all is well" (An Memoriam, 137), to the belief that life is steadily getting better and better, and to the criticism against its own work that it painted the world in too dark colors.

Southern Methodist University (Kleiner)
The Waif at the Window: Emily Brontë’s Feminine Bildungsroman

Anne R. Fredericks

In their study of nineteenth-century women writers, The Madonna in the Attic, Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar argue persuasively that because the story of Wuthering Heights is built around a central fall — generally understood to be Catherine and Heathcliff’s anti-militant fall from hell to heaven — a description of the novel as part a Bildungsroman about a girl’s passage from ‘innocence’ to ‘experience’ (leaving aside the precise meaning of these terms) would probably be widely accepted. (53-54).

This is an interesting interpretation, and brilliantly demonstrated. But like other views of Wuthering Heights as a feminine Bildungsroman, the focus of development is Catherine, and by association her male doppleganger Heathcliff. The emphasis upon the first generation of the Heights is, of course, important, and certainly Catherine and Heathcliff suffer their own peculiar rites of passage in their search for identity and wholeness. And yet it is curious that the tortured first generations of Wuthering Heights fail to develop a mature understanding of themselves and others — in fact, Catherine and Heathcliff actually drift from full participation in adult life, regressing into the adolescent preoccupation with self and the desperate need to feel loved. Catherine, especially, is not so much struggling to grow up as she is struggling not to: it is significant that it is the “waif” not the woman who appears in Lockwood’s terrifying dream.

So the critical view of Catherine and Heathcliff as Bildungsroman protagonists neglects these characters’ inability to interpret experience realistically and face the limitations of inhabitation. In fact, in terms of the first generation, Wuthering Heights is not a Bildungsroman at all, but an Entwicklungsroman, a novel of mere physical passage without psychological or social development. Catherine and Heathcliff make our early-nineteenth-century reader uncomfortable, rebellious, unsympathetic characters, and Emily Brontë is obviously celebrating the aroused and unsullied spirit of adolescent love. But in view of this first generation, Wuthering Heights is less a novel of development than a novel of arrested childhood. It is actually with Catherine’s death in childbirth that Brontë’s Bildungsroman begins. In fact, the second half of Wuthering Heights and the concern with young Cathy in a fascinating variation of the proto-feminist novel of female education in the nineteenth century, a dramatization of the struggle to relinquish childhood for the duties of womanhood in the most traditional, feminine capacity: marriage with man of one’s choice. Cathy emerges from a relatively happy childhood and a lonely adolescence as an active, sharing, and concerned adult who is prepared to accept the responsibilities and limitations of marriage.

Cathy’s marriage to Hareton is in a sense a revision of her mother’s unsuccessful marriage to Edgar Linton, and a significant re-creation of the traditional feminine Bildungsroman in which a woman can achieve intellectual and social advancement only through marriage. For example, the elder Catherine looks at marriage as a means of achieving outward sophistication, as well as an escape from mental and emotional stagnation. Edgar is the man who will define her, who will shape her identity and give her status — “He will be rich, and I shall be the greatest woman of the neighborhood, and I shall be proud to have such a husband,” she tells Nelly Dean (70). Catherine’s selfish and short-sighted attitude toward marriage is not only indicative of her childish sensibilities, but underscores the traditional theme of the feminine Bildungsroman — that is, the woman must seek knowledge by attaching herself to a knowledgeable male. Brontë varies this theme in her description of young Cathy’s courtship with Hareton; instead of marrying to be advanced, Brontë’s true female Bildungsroman protagonist marries in order to advance: the intellectual and sensual states of the male. In young Cathy, Brontë gives us a woman whose acquired humbleness, patience, and affection yield what promises to be a satisfying marriage and a sound household of reverence. More than her mother, Cathy represents a successful passage through the difficult stages of adolescence: the search for self, and the sharing of self with others.

If one looks closely at the novel, it becomes clear that Cathy and Hareton are not merely watered down versions of Catherine and Heathcliff, as Nelly Chloe suggests (66). Although the strange, transcendental loss of the first generation of the Heights is more striking, more poignant than that of Cathy and Hareton, it cannot be denied that the novel is not a Bildungsroman. It is, however, a Bildungskunst, a novel of the avant-garde, which, in its own way, is an attempt at a new kind of Bildungsroman.
of Cathy and Hareton, it is only because their type of familial passion is at rare—and inavowable—of adolescence. It is well to ask why Catherine marries Edgar at all, considering her feelings for Heathcliff; her naive belief that she can have both Edgar—who represents culture and security—and Heathcliff, who is the embodiment of wildness and natural energy, proves her complete inability to understand reality outside of her own narrow perspective. When Nelly Dean suggests that by marrying Edgar, Catherine will lose Heathcliff, she is incredulous: "Oh, that's not my idea—that's not what I mean! I shouldn't be Mrs. Linton. I've such a price demanded! He'll be as much to me as he has been all his lifetime. Edgar must take off his surplus and tolerate him; at least, he will when he learns my true feelings... (135). It is obvious that Catherine is entering marriage with the opinions of reality that she knows, and that she believes that she can have some share of this life and eat it, too. Of course, this has been her spoiled way of looking at life all along, many times in the novel Bronte portrays Catherine as a selfish, demanding, manipulative child. "I demand it" is, in fact, Catherine's favorite expression, and completely consistent with the adolescent dremmings to have everything.

By contrast, young Cathy gradually develops a sensitivity towards the feelings and needs of others. This is most explicit in her devotion to her father, Edgar Linton—and a complete contrast to Catherine's "naughty delight" in provoking Mr. Earnshaw. The young Cathy tells Nelly, "I feel about nothing on earth except papa's illness... and I'll never—never—never..." (187). Cathy's compensatory happiness has certainly influenced her idealized view of Edgar Linton, and she is naturally compassion to his paternal authority. Cathy is not without spirit; she exhibits the typical adolescent preoccupation with love and romance, and shows her mother's rebelliousness and scorn for those who later interfere with her plans. The important difference between the two generations is in the nature of their rebellion; Catherine's disregard for others—albeit, except her other-self. Heathcliff's an astute, manipulative quality that takes pleasure in devolution and is in "punishing" others for their lack of devotion to her. Her many melodramatic "sceneries" illustrate Catherine's acting talent in the service of destruction; as a child, after an argument with Edgar Linton, she says to him, "... get away!... And now I'll cry—"I'll cry myself sick!" and she proceeds to deliver a perfect fit of weeping which softens poor Edgar's heart. Catherine never outgrows these willful displays of Rand emotion, and by feigning a fit to assuage her husband's concern, she ultimately brings about his own death. She begs Nelly to tell Edgar she is "in danger of being seriously ill"... I want to frighten him...Will you do so, my good Nelly? You are aware that I am in no way loseable by this "matter" (188-189). Catherine often uses Nelly Dean as an instrument for her gain; "... in need of some passionate tempest to bid, whenever, on fancy. (189). Certainly Catherine's last performance is magnificent; if unsuccessful, for even Nelly is startled by "the aspect of death". her mistress is able to assume. This undisciplined and dominating child is not to be restrained, even by the wishes of her father to bring her a whip from Liverpool to fall in stature at all because she never learns to control her perverse egotism. That in her last letter Catherine looks to Nelly "like a child revising" aptly suggests her adult spirit of the woman's subordination; a final result of Catherine's "true self", (192).

Unlike her mother's obviousness, young Cathy's rebellion is actually a healthy curiosity about her wants (Linton) and what she really wants; (an energetic and compassionate companion, Cathy brings in the disciplined grown and broad perceptive which is the underlining of Bronte's great protagonist. Simply the way she handles Heathcliff and her captivity at Wuthering Heights demonstrates an intelligent, unselfish, and practical kind of devotion which Catherine never displayed, because Catherine acknowledged only her own needs and desires. When Linton says, "You must obey my father, you must", Cathy replies, "I must obey my own", reflecting her growing sense of responsibility. After her forced marriage, she is prepared to accept the consequences of her situation by loving Linton in spite of Heathcliff—"You cannot make us hate each other!" (201). Cathy remains dignified and controlled, and speaks "with a kind of dignity, calmness, the scream to have made up her mind to enter into the spirit of her future family, and share pleasure from the grief of her enemies" (228). If Cathy's behavior makes Cathy's behavior sound reminiscent of the older Catherine's vividness, it should be pointed out, however, that, unlike her mother's obviousness, Cathy cannot be more by-passed childhood by accepting rather automatic responsibilities. Thus, Cathy's position is advanced, at least in the same dynamic stages of her character.
out that Cathy's "necessity" are real, not fancied, conspiracies. Heathcliff at this point has kidnapped her, kept her from her dying father, abused her physically, and forced her to marry his marrying. Cathy's situation is wretched, almost hopeless; when Linton dies shortly after their degenerate union, she is left at Wuthering Heights with only Hareton and Heathcliff. And here her bildung or education needs to be emphasized. Part of education and development is it in understanding of one's value. This, I would argue, is the major underlying of adolescence. The older Catherine never sees herself intellectually. She has notions of superiority and self-improvement that can be justified only in terms of her exceptionally passionate nature and her extraordinary bond to Heathcliff. Catherine's insouciance and narrow vision cannot imagine that she is not the center of concern in everyone else's life. It is almost an epiphany when she says to Belby, "How strange! I thought, though everybody hated and deplored each other, they could not avoid loving me." (104). Despite Heathcliff's furious devotion and his husband's genuine affections, Catherine always feels unloved and misunderstood. Even as she is dying, she cries, "That is how I am loved!" like a self-pitying child. Nor does Catherine value the love of others, "I have such faith in Linton's love," she says, "that I believe I might kill him, and he wouldn't wish to retaliation." (86). Rarely if ever is Catherine described as a loving person, one who is willing to give the self freely to another, even her professed love for Heathcliff is strangely qualified by her claim, "I love Heathcliff." He seems to be only a kind of sarcastic double.

Young Cathy of course wants to be loved, but unlike her mother she is willing to take the risks and suffer the consequences of loving more. When she knows Hareton in an effort to make peace, she is comparing her price and storm—her loneliness—in a way that truly suggests maturity. She is beginning to see herself in relation to others, beginning to develop a realistic adult perspective. For example, Cathy knows she has been unfair and cruel to Hareton, and sincerely tries to improve their relationship. But the more straightforward—what she knows how, "When I call you stupid, I don't mean that I disapprove you," she explains, and by articulating her meaning she arrives at a closer understanding of the way she affects others. By humbling herself, Cathy learns to master herself, and by offering her friendship to Hareton, she is on the verge of a new, perhaps more traditional, kind of education: marriage. But the marriage of Cathy and Hareton is not the traditional union of the male teacher/mater and the female learn/c歌手. By reversing the roles and making Cathy the student, Wuthering Heights takes on the aspects of a new feminine Bildungsroman in which a woman emerging from childhood and adolescence approaches marriage not merely as a means of social advancement or knowledge, or security, but as a natural broadening of experience in which she balances power, with "both their minds tending to the same point" (349).

So it is in the second generation of the Heights that Bronte begins her feminine Bildungsroman. If Catherine and Heathcliff have some tumultuous and exciting story, it may be because theirs is the tale of arranged childhood, a sorry protest against the necessity of growing up. Perhaps Cathy's struggle is less stormy and her future too settled next to satisfy our lingering adolescent admiration for rebellion,stubborn self-satisfaction, and emotional intensity. But the world of Wuthering Heights is, as in our own, the passage from innocence to experience is an awkward limbo, a thin paper wall, between two selves—between the wall outside the window, and the woman within.

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Case Western Reserve University

1 Charlotte Bronte's female protagonist is like those of Jane Eyre and Lucy Jordan, in particular are similar to Cathy in that they do not seek mere approval as a substitute for individual growth, or see marriage as an avenue of social acceptance or self worth.
Pater’s Temporizing: The “Conclusion” to The Renaissance

Renee Borden

In The Westminster Review of October 1866 appeared a review without a signature, entitled "Poems by William Morris." If it was the author who decided the title, he may have intended a challenge to the ignorant and a promise to the informed: his own style of poetry would not remain anonymous. We shall find that marks of a sort transparency are characteristic of Pater, early and late. In 1873 the concluding pages of the unsigned review appeared again, somewhat altered, this time as the "Conclusion" to Walter Pater’s Studies in the History of the Renaissance. The book was admired by the young, but attacked by the old guard at Oxford, above all for its aestheticism. Pater suffered a blow of purity, which he converted, as usual, into a form of irony. He excised the troublesome "Conclusion" from the second edition, in 1877. He also changed the title to The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry. Since our subject is the historical imagination, we may note that Pater seems to have abandoned History in favor of Art and Poetry. The new title may indicate a surrender to caution, consistent with suppressing the "Conclusion," which had historicalized everything, as an event with the ghostly effects. The title now has the very outline of the "Conclusion": a moment of history, perfected in art. The courtesy of a phrase gives a cold sort of comfort, which Pater knew best of all how to cherish. Students who missed the grand statement could find it, now glorified, circulating through Oxford. This episode prepares the way for the next and nearly the last, his resuming the "Conclusion" in the 1888 edition. Most of the changes make a show of moderation, and they seem to have missed one, though some critics take pleasure from his apparent candor. The large fact, however, is that Pater did require the "Conclusion." As in the altered title, we may detect in this version signs of a secret triumph.

To order the evidence, it may serve to try the perspectives of a hostile reader, then a sympathetic reader, and last a reader thankful not to be cheated of a legitimate terror, but animated by the resources of anxiety in Pater’s art. Now in one hostile mood, we might take Pater’s account, the best evidence to his new tenderness toward religion. In 1868 he wrote:

"The service of philosophy, art of religion, and culture, as well, to be humankind, is instinctive to man’s understanding and observation."

This is to place religion on a level with culture, to subordinate both in philosophy, and to insist all these in the service of the human spirit as it seeks experience in the sensuous world. In 1888 Pater writes:

"The service of philosophy, of speculative culture, towards the human spirit is to rescue, instruct, and exalt its weak and passerby observation."

This leaves religion out of reach and unobserved. Here the human spirit is raised before it is startled, given a soft warning, averted to the surprise. The object is no longer a sharp and eager observation, a momentary impression. It has become a life of constant observation, an ideal of constant teaching the new spirit world, under an alien constraint. It becomes the tendency of Pater’s revisions to lift the spirit above the present moment. A soul rooted to evidence appears safe enough.

These are three other qualifications of this sort, at the level of whole sentences. Our uniformly critical concern cannot contain itself with one more, to establish that the first is not an exception.

In 1858 Pater wrote:

"Well, we are all convinced, in Victor Hugo somewhat says, we have an interval, and then we come to be."

The "somewhere" suggests more than casual scholarship. Not Pater but Victor Hugo has lost his place, according dissolution. The flippant turn of phrase induces a grave prospect. Pater dwells on this view in 1858, but he defies the adverb as if it were misleading.

"Well, we are all convinced, in Victor Hugo says, we are at leastVC."

Pater weakens the sentence by trying to buttress it with some sort of repetitions. He extends the quotation in French and throws the burden of his meaning across the Channel. In a favorite touch he adds an exclamation to prove that he himself is taken aback. The sentence is badly atelic by the end: "and then we come to be" is translated into biblical language, "and then our place knows us no more." Everyone here, artistic or not, is assured of surviving elsewhere. To conclude with caution, we may glance at the difference a single word can make. Pater urged in 1858 to discard any of light—

"And when we come to be" is translated into biblical language, "and then our place knows us no more." Everyone here, artistic or not, is assured of surviving elsewhere. To conclude with caution, we may glance at the difference a single word can make. Pater urged in 1858 to discard any
morality . . . not identified with ourselves." He changes the word in 1888:

"The theory of the system which requires us to the senses of our parents, in contradiction of some ancient ideas which we cannot credit, or some abstract theory we have not realized with ourselves, is that it is only conventional, but the result of a quite different one.

Finally, at the heart of his sensibility, Pater recommended in 1868 "any stirring of the senses, strange dyes, strange flowers and curious colours." The plural, yielding to one another, makes a single impression. In 1888 Pater replaced "flowers" with "colours"; and he adds a comment after it, so that "strange colours" is now a discrete image. The revision helps to interpret "strange dyes," which must represent a texture. Liquid or wavy, it is an appeal to touch as "strange colours" is an appeal to sight. "Strange dyes, strange flowers, and curious colours" falls into a pattern of touch, sight, and smell. But in the earlier version "strange flowers" crosses these boundaries to instill a sense of a central, unanswerable moment. After this "strange colours" seems only to repeat "strange dyes" in a smaller place.

The additional comment takes on the flaw that drives the essay.

A sympathetic reader admires the new meditation, but interprets it differently — in the light of Pater's story, his footnote to the revised "Conclusion." The second edition of the Renaissance, though it lacked a telling chapter, did not still the communion at Oxford. Pater declined to be the judge. In 1881 he realized his position as future, to serve the next three years clarifying his position as critic. This image of himself he called "Marinus the Epicurean: His Sensations and Ideas," published in 1885. It was intended to show that passionate observation, Pater's program in the Renaissance, is consistent with social values, even with some form of Christianity. Once he had corrected the pessimistic tendencies of his argument, he could report the "Conclusion." He had only to make "slight changes".

This brief "Conclusion" was revised in the second edition of this book, as corrected it might possibly reveal most of the young man into which it had made a shift: On the whole, I have thought it best to report it here, with slight changes which bring it closer to my original meaning. I have dealt more fully in later discussions with the thoughts suggested by it.

A reader may accept this view from the highest authority. It would appear that the modifications demonstrate Pater's sense of responsibility.

I should like to press the point harder than friendly critics have done as a way of transforming it into one last, unified perspective. Edmund Chadwick has observed of Marinus, revised like the Renaissance in its third edition (1882): "By the time of the later edition Pater was more fully consistent with his own aesthetic attitude, though more discreet in his recommendation of it to others" (74). We can hear the note of confidence in the new "Conclusion." Pater begins by accepting responsibility, which has the desired effect: it allows him to sound responsible. Yet he accepts responsibility for something other than his "original meaning" — the review of 1868 and for "those young men" who saw it by heart.

To a wary reader of the changes in 1873 and 1888 together show a wised assurance. Pater has added a great deal of punctuation, which is as much as is added to an idea. For instance, all but one of the following changes are missing from the review:

Not only do the most recent events prove the intimate relation above all, and the history of their gifts more than a division of facts or their ways, as, in this short day of first and last, in story before meaning.

A critic intent on Pater's self-apparition would argue that these changes, and others like them, shorten the effect of time passing, which Pater rendered obscure in the first version. Yet the dis- crimination of moments, the brief span of time, is just the measure of success for Pater, his avowed ideal of art.

The "Conclusion" of 1868 begins to appear less conservative, more inventive than before. A large difference is the deletion of a paragraph from the 1868 text:

"Such thoughts seem almost at first at least at the highest of all the包括 terms of the system one has ever been in it. He was aware of his possibility, not his own, of which he is composed since into the composition of us. Anything, so as he must, as once himself, it is himself, so that his voice was at every moment.

This is a vision of warning, fashioned from a vision of Pater himself. He had cancelled the passage in 1873, probably without the idea of disrupting so facile a prophecy. In 1888 the idea seems still powerful rather than caution his reader, he offers a new self-image.

Han Pater revised the text according to his "original meaning" or according to the "thoughts suggested by it." He directs some readers to the 1868 review and others to "Marinus the Epicurean." The footnote to the "Conclusion" is the most significant change, the highest note of triumph and fidelity to the intent, in its radical division of self the most startling. In each of the previous essays Pater anticipated himself as the writer he was becoming. As essay followed essay, the identification and the prose became fuller. In the body of the "Conclusion" there is no self-portrait of this kind. Once the dueling swimmer is gone, there is only the mask of self. But in the footnote Pater appears in his own right, as the leader of a new generation. It is typical of him that he arrives by reflection, claiming that he cannot possibly mislead. To appreciate the bitterness of this self-projection, the motive for it and the license it gives Pater to continue writing, it is important to recall that in 1865, when the two volumes of Mariner were complete, Ruskin resigned as Slade Professor of Fine Art, Pater resigned himself and Oxford chose a safer man.

We discover attempts to break the sense in sentences that we have
considered empty of self. In fact, they declare a personal resistance. For example:

Well, we are all sometimes, as Victor Hugo says, 'not all under sentence of death but with a sort of indefinite reprieve.' "And honest men were once revolutionaries, and indeed, the voice inside us, we have an interest, and then our place knows us no more."

The quotation marks the point of identification. The persistent translation invites us to read deeper. The repetitions do not void the sentence: they signal a hidden, wistful significance. With a fellowship at Brasenose, without a chair at the University, Peter feels "under sentence of death but with a sort of indefinite reprieve." The sentence revolves around a lack of definition, a center of indiscipline not Peter's. The "but," unstressed in the French, expresses the irony of his situation at Oxford, which would not know him. To recover himself, Peter begins a different school: "of this wisdom... the love of art for art's sake." Here is his largest self-identification:

As ever, the "you" designates an "I" in front. The class of young men is at the end of a term, about to make a new one. At the end of 1833, the last to be supervised by Peter, shows the context to be altered yet again. He comes to write "proposing frankly," as if after all his love for the profession and his acolytes. Even this change has a double aspect, however. By granting so much to time, Peter is forever comparing the possibility of a second Renaissance. With all the ceremony of a marriage vow, he proposes to end an affair.

By comparing two sentences within the 1873 text, we may understand the dissonant conclusion. In the first chapter Peter defies the Renaissance:

For to the Renaissance is the same as is many-sided, but yet united phenomena, to which the form of the objects is not the same as in the case of other men, the desire for more liberal and orderly way of doing things, made themselves felt...

This may be compared with the last sentence of the Renaissance:

Of this wisdom, the past with passion, the desire of beauty, the love of art for art's sake, his trace. In an essay on You professing readiness to give nothing but the highest quality to your moments as they pass, and simply let those moments be told.

The second statement is different from the first, as one would expect of Peter, so sensitive to changes from moment to moment that every sentence has the look of a separate undertaking, done as soon as it reaches completion. More striking perhaps than the differences in the high level of similarity between the two sentences, occurring at opposite ends of a book that propounds an incredible change. But the swift unwinding of every sentence requires Peter to weave it once more, to re-form it as best he can: "with a sense in it, a whole or last feeling of such moments gone by." The power of time to undo everything for Peter to do everything again, only with a harder polish, the high finish of a desperate art. And the similarity between one sentence and another throws their differences into relief, making the slightest shade of qualification look brilliant. By the time we reach the "Conclusion," "the things of the intellect and the imagination" have lost whatever solidarity had been given them by Peter's language, to be apprehended now as the quality of a moment, no more than the epiphany of art.

We have learned to recognize the play of consciousness and difference everywhere in language, to identify it with the production of all significance. It seems to have attracted Peter with a mental force, nearly to have roused him as a stylist, perhaps because he was so conventional, desiring to be the same as other men with intense differences, and yet to singular, even to the point of cultivating his strangeness. Self-divided, he exploited a principle of language to rare effect, through the intensification of monogeneity happening again and again upon the finest discriminations. He transfigured for a double reason: to suit the tone and to gain some relative hold.

Ward, Chei


3. Peter first expanded the quotation in 1873:

"Well, we are all sometimes, as Victor Hugo says, 'not all under sentence of death but with a sort of indefinite reprieve.' And honest men were once revolutionaries, and indeed, the voice inside us, we have an interest, and then our place knows us no more."

In this context is different, Peter was in due to receive a position as University professor, which he would hold for the following year, probably an outcome of the "Conclusion." His expectations make the passage less trenchant and the allusion less pointed than it would become in 1866, but still, ambivalence in Peter is sometimes vexing, sometimes threatening.
Books Received

Assad, Thomas J. Fauconnieran Lyric: "Songs of a Deeper Kind" and "La Memoria." Tulane Studies in English, Vol. 24, New Orleans: Tulane U, 1984. Pp. 323. $28.00. Assad analyses eleven songs published between 1877 and 1889; he then analyzes two monologues along the lines of Jung's four psychic functions. Much of the criticism of the latter fifteen years is ignored in favor of earlier commentaries on Tennyson.


Haight, Gordon S., ed. Selections from George Eliot's Letters. New Haven & London: Yale UP, 1985. Pp. x + 567. $25.00. A handsome volume which condenses the nine-volume Houghton edition of the letters. Haight's method is to cover the principal epochs of George Eliot's life by giving the most interesting parts of hundreds of letters to provide a comprehensive narrative for the general reader as well as the essential details of the writing and publication of her works" (vii).

Hardy, Thomas. The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy. Ed. Michael Millgate. Ashgate, GA: U of Georgia P, 1985. Pp. xxix + 404. $35.00. "A text that can be unapologetically used and accepted as an integral part of the Hardy canon. By recovering - with as much fidelity as the surviving evidence will allow - the wording that wound at the time of Hardy's death, and by recording (in the list of post-Hardy revisions) the biographical significant changes made for Early Life and Later Years, it becomes possible to see just what Hardy himself wrote and what his widow subsequently altered and to confront The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy as an entirely Hardy text - as an autobiography." (xxvi-xxvii).


Coming in

The Victorian Newsletter


Peter W. Graham. "Byron and Derrida."

Lucy Hopke. "He Stoops to Conquer: Redrawing the Fallen Woman in the Fiction of Dickstein, Gaskell and Their Contemporaries."


32
Victorian Group News

Northeast Victorian Studies Assoc. Conference: Victorian Work and Workers. April 18-20, 1986, British Art Center, Yale University, New Haven, CT. For program information address: Prof. Mary Davis, Chair, English Department, Albertus Magnus College, New Haven, CT 06511.

The Victorian Institute will hold its annual meeting at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. October 4-5, 1985. The conference topic is The Uses of the Past in Victorian Culture. Dwight Coiler will deliver the keynote address. For information, write John Friedeck, English Department, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 20057.

Victorians Abroad is the topic of the Midwest Victorian Studies Assoc. meeting in Cincinnati, April 25-26, 1986. Ten pp. papers or two pp. abstracts should be sent no later than November 15, 1985 to Kristine Ottege Garrison, MVSA Exec. Sec., Department of English and Communication, DePaul University, 2323 N. Seminary Ave., Chicago, IL 60614.

The Dickens Project of the University of California welcomes the submission of proposals for papers for a conference on Dickens, Shakespeare, and the Theater, to be held in Santa Cruz, August 7-10, 1986. Selected papers will be published in Dickens Studies Annual. Two pp. proposals will be accepted through 1 March 1986; completed papers should be mailed by 1 May 1986. Inquiries and submissions to Joel J. Bratun and Niki Dreyery, Coordinators, The Dickens Project, Kerke College, University of California, Santa Cruz, CA 95064.

Amusement, Entertainment, and Diversion in the 19th Century will be the topic for the Southeastern Nineteenth Century Studies Association meeting April 10-12, 1986 in Memphis, TN. Key note speaker will be Mary Grouard. Papers from a variety of disciplines are invited. Abstracts due by December 1, 1985; completed papers must be received by January 10, 1986. Inquiries and submissions to Joan Wieder, English Department, Memphis State University, Memphis, TN 38152.

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