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ABSTRACT

The thesis provides a scholarly introduction to most of Robert Louis Stevenson's short stories: New Arabian Nights, More New Arabian Nights: The Dynamiter, The Merry Men and Other Tales, The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde, Island Nights' Entertainments, 'When the Devil was Well,' 'The Body-Snatcher,' 'The Misadventures of John Nicholson' and 'The Tale of Tod Lapraik' from the novel Catriona. The approach here is contextual: the discussions of each story draw on Stevenson's essays and other writings, and remark on some of the more significant literary or historical sources of which Stevenson had made use. The earlier versions (including manuscripts or manuscript fragments) of certain stories are also remarked on, in order to provide a fuller understanding of that story's development over a period of time. Five appendices are included, tabulating in detail the differences between the earlier versions and the final published versions of these stories.

These introductory remarks are also directed towards providing a particular reading of the short stories. This reading begins by drawing attention to the neglected 'new' Arabian Nights, French and South Pacific stories, and refers to them as 'romantically comic.' It then suggests that, with endings characterised by reconciliation and resolution, these stories present an essentially 'restorative' or 'remedial' process: it is this process that allows these stories to be defined as 'romantically comic.' The term 'remedial' has significant implications: in these stories a character may literally be 'healed' or 'restored,' and the setting itself (for example, the forest of Fontainebleau in 'The Treasure of Franchard') may possess 'healing' properties. The thesis examines the implications of this comic 'remedial' process, and shows how it operates in and controls the outcome of these

stories.

By contrast, a number of these stories are not at all 'romantically comic.' Stories such as 'The Body-Snatcher' or The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde present a process that is by no means 'remedial' or 'restorative': instead, an opposite process of decline or 'deterioration' is traced where, now, a character may literally lose his health. These gloomier and more tragic stories examine the 'symptoms' of such a 'deteriorated' condition: premature ageing, the sleepless night, the nightmare or the feverish dream, the dependance upon and enslavement to drugs or 'powders,' and so on. The thesis thus classifies two essentially opposite kinds of short story: the 'romantically comic,' with its 'restorative' ending and its 'remedial' process, perhaps literally representing the recovery of a character's health; and the gloomier 'tales for winter nights' which, by contrast, present a process of 'deterioration' where, for various reasons, a character's health is lost and is never finally recovered.

The thesis implies a connection between these two processes, operating throughout the short stories, and Stevenson's own condition as an invalid (with its connotations of 'deteriorating' health) and a convalescent (with its opposite connotations of recovery). Indeed, for Stevenson, the act of writing stories is itself significant in this context.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The thesis uses the Tusitala Edition of The Works of Robert Louis Stevenson, 35 vols (London, 1924): references will simply give the title and volume number of the volume referred to. The last five volumes in this edition contain The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson, edited by Sir Sidney Colvin: these will be abbreviated to Letters, with the appropriate volume number.

DeLancey Ferguson and Marshall Waingrow's R.L.S.: Stevenson's Letters to Charles Baxter (Port Washington, New York, 1956) will be abbreviated to Baxter.

INTRODUCTION

Stevenson published four collections of short stories, New Arabian Nights, More New Arabian Nights: The Dynamiter, The Merry Men and Other Tales and Island Nights' Entertainments. The thesis will introduce and closely examine these collections, as well as three uncollected short stories (that is, stories not collected in book form in Stevenson's lifetime), 'When the Devil was Well,' 'The Body-Snatcher' and 'The Misadventures of John Nicholson,' the longer The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde, and 'The Tale of Tod Lapraik' from the novel Catriona.

Stevenson's career as an author was firmly established with his first novel, Treasure Island; yet the first fiction he had published in book form, more than a year before, was a collection of short stories, New Arabian Nights. As Stevenson had remarked in 'My First Book: Treasure Island,' this novel

...was far, indeed, from being my first book, for I am not a novelist alone. But I am well aware that my paymaster, the great public, regards what else I have written with indifference....and when I am asked to talk of my first book, no question in the world but what is meant is my first novel. 1

It is likely that Stevenson's reputation rested, and still rests, primarily on several of his novels,² and perhaps as a consequence many of his short stories have been neglected. Indeed, some short stories have

1. Treasure Island, ii, xxiii.

2. See, for example, Emma Letley's remarks on The Master of Ballantrae, that 'this novel reclaimed Stevenson's reputation....A novel was needed to revive the acclaim he had received with Treasure Island...' The Master of Ballantrae, edited by Emma Letley (Oxford, 1983), p.vii. See also Paul Binding's remarks on Weir of Hermiston, that it 'provides perhaps the only example of an unfinished, posthumously published novel...surpassing all its author's previous literary performances,' Weir of Hermiston and Other Stories, edited by Paul Binding (Harmondsworth, England, 1979). p.7.

been more neglected than others. Stevenson's French stories, for example ('The Sire de Malétroit's Door,' 'Providence and the Guitar' and 'The Treasure of Franchard' in particular), have elicited no critical interest and doubtless seem hard to reconcile with some of his gloomier Scottish fiction: Douglas Gifford has recently dismissed them altogether as, merely, 'indulgent pieces set in France.'³ Jenni Calder has put this kind of dismissal into context by noting that Stevenson's 'secure position in the Scottish canon has meant a certain lack of concern for areas where he moved outside Scottish territory.'⁴ Although the thesis will examine Stevenson's six Scottish short stories, it will also draw particular attention to those stories set outside this 'Scottish territory.' These include the French stories listed above, those 'Bohemian' stories collected in New Arabian Nights and More New Arabian Nights: The Dynamiter, and the South Pacific stories in Island Nights' Entertainments. Moreover, these French, 'Bohemian' and South Pacific stories reflect a kind of writing by Stevenson which has itself been neglected, and which is best expressed in terms of a claim Stevenson had made in a letter to W.E. Henley in May 1884: 'My view of life is essentially the comic; and the romantically comic.'⁵

The thesis explores this notion of the 'romantically comic' and shows how it operates through the above short stories: they are shown to be, in other words, 'romantic comedies.' In particular, they testify to the deep influence on Stevenson of Shakespearian romantic comedy, with (among other things) its characteristic celebratory ending and its

3. 'Stevenson and Scottish Fiction: The Importance of The Master of Ballantrae,' Stevenson and Victorian Scotland, edited by Jenni Calder (Edinburgh, 1981), p.64.

4. 'Introduction: Stevenson in Perspective,' ibid., p.2.

5. Letters, ii, 308.

emphasis on 'a happy resolution.'⁶ This closing 'happy resolution' has been at the focus of Ruth Nevo's recent study of Shakespearian romantic comedy, Comic Transformations in Shakespeare (1980). For Nevo, the comic 'process' in these plays performs an essentially 'remedial' function: 'The remedies solve and resolve, illuminate the whole human condition for the audience, while they enact the particular repair, or cure the particular folly or set of follies...'⁷ The thesis shows that Stevenson's own 'romantically comic' stories represent (to use Nevo's terms) a 'medicinal, benign and restorative process'⁸ involving methods of 'exorcism, of sublimation, of homeopathy':⁹ they work towards a certain kind of 'comic transformation' (or often, as will be shown, a comic 'conversion'). The Arabian Nights stories, for example, have as their central character a presiding figure who clearly has a 'restorative' influence over others: he 'remedies' their situations and 'cures' their 'particular folly or set of follies.' Indeed, as the thesis shows, this character, Prince Florizel, is himself lifted from one of Shakespeare's romantic comedies (as if that 'romantically comic' world is recreated in these Arabian Nights stories). In certain other 'romantically comic' stories such as 'The Treasure of Franchard' or 'The Bottle Imp,' it can also be shown that this 'remedial' comic process actually involves the 'restoration' of a character's health: the 'happy resolution' at the end of these stories is synonymous with a sense of being 'cured' or healed. The thesis looks at how Stevenson

6. See W. Moelwyn Merchant, Comedy, The Critical Idiom Series (London, 1972), p.50: '...we may fall back upon the traditional reliance upon the play's ending, and here we may attempt a modest definition of comedy as the permanent possibility of a happy resolution.'

7. Comic Transformations in Shakespeare (London, 1980), p.10.

8. ibid., p.224.

9. ibid., p.224.

represents this 'remedial' or 'restorative' process in his 'romantically comic' stories, and shows how that process often operates within a context of 'medicinal' images and 'symptoms.'

A number of Stevenson's short stories are, of course, by no means 'romantically comic': these include his gloomier Scottish stories and one of his French stories, 'A Lodging for the Night: A Story of Francis Villon,' as well as the longer short story discussed here, The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde. The thesis shows that these 'other' stories contrast with the above 'romantically comic' stories by underlining instead the absence of any closing sense of 'restoration.' They do not present a 'remedial' process and do not conclude in the characteristically comic manner outlined above, with its accompanying sense of healing or of being 'cured.' Indeed, they are, as the thesis shows, studies of the loss of health: these stories examine the symptoms of 'sickness' and outline by contrast a process best defined as 'deterioration,' where the character now never manages to recover. The thesis thus suggests that Stevenson wrote two essentially opposite kinds of stories. The first kind of story is 'romantically comic' and presents a 'remedial' process whereby a character is finally 'cured' or 'restored,' perhaps literally recovering his health; while the second kind of story is not at all comic and presents instead a process of 'deterioration,' where a character's health is lost and never finally regained.

The thesis seeks to develop this reading through a contextual approach to each story, referring to Stevenson's essays and other writings where necessary, drawing on earlier versions and manuscripts or manuscript fragments of the stories where available, and remarking on some of the more significant literary and historical sources Stevenson had made use of. It also hopes that this reading will provide an understanding of how

each story is structured: the thesis intends to suggest that the two 'processes' outlined above (with all their implications) control or determine the structure of Stevenson's short stories. This sense of a controlling structure is important to notice, and needs to be further remarked upon.

In a letter to Sidney Colvin in January 1874, Stevenson explained the problems of writing a short story that is now untraced (and was probably never completed), 'The Curate of Anstruther's Bottle':

...my convention is so terribly difficult that I have to put out much that pleases me, and much that I still preserve I only preserve with misgiving....And yet the idea, if rightly understood and treated as a convention always and not as an abstract principle, should not so much hamper one as it seems to do. The idea is not, of course, to put in nothing but what would naturally have been noted and remembered and handed down, but not to put in anything that would make a person stop and say--how could this be known? Without doubt it has the advantage of making one rely on the essential interest of a situation and not cocker up and validify feeble intrigue with incidental fine writing and scenery, and pyrotechnic exhibitions of inappropriate cleverness and sensibilityAfter all, it is a story you are telling; not a place you are to describe; and everything that does not attach itself to the story is out of place. 10

Stevenson outlines a method of constructing a short story here that more or less remained with him throughout his writing career. He suggests, in other words, that the particular 'convention' he adopts determines what is to be included in the story: his chosen 'convention' operates as a controlling factor, excluding everything that 'does not attach itself' to it. Stevenson developed this notion of the controlling 'convention' in his 'Preface, by way of criticism' to Familiar Studies of Men and Books, written in 1881. Here, he wrote about constructing a 'short study' of a notable historical or literary figure; but his remarks, with their

10. Letters, i, 133-34, my italics.

emphasis on brevity and selected detail, might also be applied to the short story:

It is from one side only that he has time to represent his subject. The side selected will either be the one most striking to himself, or the one most obscured by controversy....in the short study, the writer, having seized his 'point of view,' must keep his eye steadily to that....Short studies are, or should be, things woven like a carpet, from which it is impossible to detach a strand. 11

Stevenson uses the notion of 'point of view' in the same way he had used the notion of 'convention' above: it determines what is included and excluded in his short study/story.

These early notions about constructing a short story obviously provide a context for understanding Stevenson's later rejection of 'realism' in fiction, and his support of 'romance' with its principles of 'emphasis and...suppressions.'¹² Indeed, Stevenson ends his well-known essay 'A Humble Remonstrance,' written in Autumn 1884, by insisting that every 'young writer' should take up these principles and omit everything from his work of fiction that 'does not attach itself' to his selected 'conventions.' By implication, he also advises against the extended novel form: 'Let him not regret if this shortens his book; it will be better so; for to add irrelevant matter is not to lengthen but to bury.'¹³ For Stevenson, the short (or 'shortened') story becomes the medium in which these abbreviating principles of 'romance' best operate, since its structure is controlled and determined by a selected 'convention' which excludes or precludes all 'irrelevant' details.

11. Familiar Studies of Men and Books, xxvii, xiii-iv.

12. 'A Humble Remonstrance,' Memories and Portraits, xxix, 136.

13. ibid., p.142.

Stevenson had remarked on this notion, that the structure of a short story is thus more controlled (or as he put it, 'implied') by its chosen 'convention' than the longer novel (which perhaps even requires 'irrelevant' details), in a letter to Sidney Colvin in September 1891. At this time, Stevenson was re-writing 'The Beach of Falesá,' and he complained that by changing the beginning of the story he had therefore upset the controlling 'conventions,' so that the original ending was now no longer suitable:

What am I to do?...Make another end to it? Ah, yes, but that's not the way I write; the whole tale is implied; I never use an effect, when I can help it, unless it prepares the effects that are to follow; that's what a story consists in. To make another end, that is to make the beginning all wrong. The dénouement of a long story is nothing; it is just a 'full close,' which you may approach and accompany as you please--it is a coda, not an essential member of the rhythm; but the body and end of a short story is bone of the bone and blood of the blood of the beginning. 14

Taking up these remarks, the thesis will show how certain 'effects' in Stevenson's stories prepare for or forecast 'the effects that are to follow'; but it will be further suggested that these 'effects' are themselves determined and controlled by each story's selected 'convention' or 'point of view' (by which 'the whole tale is implied'). Certain specific controlling 'conventions' will be examined closely: for example, it will be shown that 'Thrawn Janet' and 'The Tale of Tod Lapraik,' as 'Covenanting stories,' manifest a set of Covenanting 'conventions' which determine what happens to particular characters (that is, which determine 'the effects that are to follow'): these 'conventions' 'imply' a certain structure or procedure which the stories dutifully outline. More generally, however, the thesis will suggest that the two

14. Letters, iv, 95, my italics.

'processes' outlined above themselves provide (or are accompanied by) a set of 'conventions' which control and determine the structure and the outcome of each story. Thus, those stories representing a 'restorative' process reflect the 'conventions' associated with a notion of the 'romantically comic': what is described or 'implied' is based around a framework of 'remedy' and 'resolution,' and a closing sense of having been 'cured' or healed, of having finally recovered. On the other hand, those stories representing a process of 'deterioration' reflect an opposite set of 'conventions': what is 'implied' here involves a framework of 'sickness' and decline, and the examination of those symptoms (or 'effects') which appear when one's health has been lost.

Obviously, the representation of these two 'processes' (with their accompanying 'conventions' and implications) has a considerable bearing on Stevenson's own condition as an invalid and a convalescent (two essentially opposite terms which will be further remarked on later in the thesis). Indeed, Stevenson himself had suggested that this condition prescribed a 'point of view' that influenced or determined the kind of writing he produced: as he wrote to William Archer on 1 November 1885, 'The rich, fox-hunting squire speaks with one voice; the sick man of letters with another.'¹⁵ To re-express this, Stevenson's membership of (as he wrote to Henry James on 8 December 1884) 'that besotted class of men, the invalid,'¹⁶ may provide a real and organic context for stories which (perhaps as a consequence) represent 'processes' involving or implying the loss or recovery of one's health. Attention is drawn to this context from time to time throughout the thesis.

15. ibid., iii, 62.

17. ibid., p.25.

Although it develops a particular reading, the thesis seeks in the first instance to provide a scholarly introduction to the short stories and to the collections themselves. Each chapter deals with a single collection and (with the exceptions of Chapters II and V) is divided into parts which deal with single stories or groups of stories in that collection. As indicated, the discussions of each story also refer to early versions or manuscripts or manuscript fragments of each story where available: they draw attention to changes made in the final published versions of stories, as part of the general study of structure and 'conventions' and 'the effects that are to follow.' However, those early versions or manuscripts which have not been significantly altered in the final versions are not remarked upon here: these include the early serialisation of 'The Suicide Club' and 'The Rajah's Diamond' in London, the early manuscript fragment of the first few pages of 'A Lodging for the Night,' held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Beinecke 6540), and the manuscript of 'The Body-Snatcher,' also held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Beinecke 6020). For those manuscripts and early versions which have been significantly altered, the discussions in the relevant chapters only remark on those changes which bear some relation to the reading that is being developed. For complete details on those manuscripts and early versions discussed in the thesis, a set of appendices are included at the end.

The remarks in each chapter or part of a chapter on Stevenson's other writings, on his use of certain literary and historical sources, and on other contextual details (such as the background to a story's chosen setting), similarly go towards providing a scholarly understanding of each story; but again, these remarks are also intended to contribute to the kind of reading that follows.

CHAPTER ONE

NEW ARABIAN NIGHTS: INTRODUCTION

Stevenson's first collection of short stories was New Arabian Nights, originally published in two volumes on 17 July 1882 by Chatto and Windus, who had at this time taken over as Stevenson's publishers from C. Kegan Paul and Co. The first volume contained 'The Suicide Club' and 'The Rajah's Diamond' series: the 'new' Arabian Nights stories. The second volume contained 'A Lodging for the Night: A Story of Francis Villon,' 'The Sire de Malétroit's Door,' 'Providence and the Guitar' and 'The Pavilion on the Links.' The earliest of these stories was written in Spring 1877, while the latest was completed towards the end of 1879: they were all first published or serialised in magazines. Although it actually republished them some time later; New Arabian Nights thus collected stories written over the relatively short period of two and a half years.

New Arabian Nights was also Stevenson's first book of fiction to be published: his first novel, Treasure Island, was not published until the end of 1883, the following year. The success and, moreover, the significance of New Arabian Nights may therefore need to be underlined: although it was not as popular as Treasure Island, it was, as Stevenson recalled much later in 1892, 'the first book that ever returned me anything, and it also established my name.'¹ In fact, in the same year of publication, New Arabian Nights appeared in a second and third edition and was translated into French in 1883.² Referring to the 'new' Arabian

1. This remark, in an interview with the Melbourne Daily Herald, 14 February 1892, is given in Roger G. Swearingen, The Prose Writings of Robert Louis Stevenson: A Guide (Paisley, Scotland, 1980), p.78.

2. Colonel W.F. Prideaux has noted that the second edition of New Arabian

Nights stories in a letter to his cousin R.A.M. Stevenson in April 1882, just three months before their publication in book form, Stevenson remarked, 'I must try to start 'em again.'³ Indeed, he remained interested enough in these 'new' Arabian Nights stories to continue with them two years later in More New Arabian Nights: The Dynamiter; and to some extent their influence is apparent in the concept of the title to Stevenson's last collection of short stories published in April 1893, Island Nights' Entertainments.

As indicated in the introduction, a few minor changes were made to 'The Suicide Club' and 'The Rajah's Diamond' series for their republication in book form, but these are not of sufficient importance to warrant further attention here. There is also an existing MS fragment of the first few pages of 'A Lodging for the Night,' now held at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Beinecke 6540): again, although it differs in a number of ways from the corresponding part of the final version of the story, these differences are not of enough significance to warrant further remarks here. Of the four stories in the second volume of New Arabian Nights, only 'The Pavilion on the Links' exists in an earlier and significantly different form.

'The Suicide Club' and 'The Rajah's Diamond' series will be discussed together in the first part of this chapter, for obvious

Nights was also in two volumes, but in the third edition 'the book was formed into one volume,' as were all subsequent editions, A Bibliography of the Works of Robert Louis Stevenson, revised by Mrs Luther S. Livingston (London, 1917), p.20. Stevenson remarked on these further editions in a letter to Charles Baxter on 12 January 1883, writing in Scots, 'Stevison's last book's in a third edeetion, an' it's bein' translated (like the psalums o' David, nae less) into French,' Baxter, p.111.

3. Letters, ii, 199.

reasons. The three French stories ('A Lodging for the Night: A Story of Francis Villon,' 'The Sire de Malétroit's Door' and 'Providence and the Guitar') will be discussed together in the second part, while 'The Pavilion on the Links,' set in Scotland, will be discussed alone in the third.

CHAPTER ONE

I. 'THE SUICIDE CLUB' AND 'THE RAJAH'S DIAMOND'

The three stories in 'The Suicide Club' series were all written in early and Spring 1878: the 'Story of the Young Man with the Cream Tarts' and the 'Story of the Physician and the Saratoga Trunk' were both written while Stevenson was at Box Hill, while 'The Adventure of the Hansom Cabs' was written at Swanston and at London. Of the four stories in 'The Rajah's Diamond' series, the first 'Story of the Bandbox' was also probably written in Spring 1878, while Stevenson was at Barbizon in France; but the other three were written later on in the year in August and September, while Stevenson was in Paris and at Le Monastier.¹ All the stories were written especially for London: The Conservative Weekly Journal of Politics, Finance, Society, and the Arts, edited at this time by W.E. Henley. Stevenson had already contributed a number of essays and reviews and one serialised story, 'An Old Song,' to this weekly magazine, and in Spring 1877 he complained to Charles Baxter, 'London is rapidly hustling me into the abhorred tomb; I do write such damned rubbish in it, that's a fact', and I hate doing it so inconceivably.'² However, Stevenson continued to contribute to London

1. The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library holds a 2-page 'List of the places in which the various stories were written' (Beinecke 6626). Graham Balfour has noted that 'the first half' of 'The Suicide Club' series was written 'partly at Burford Bridge, partly at Swanston,' The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson (London, 1901), i, 152. Stevenson wrote Charles Baxter on 19 September 1878, 'Have finished Arabian Nights,' Baxter, p.57: presumably he was referring here to the last story in 'The Rajah's Diamond' series.

2. Baxter, p.51. This letter is dated early 1878 by the editors DeLanc Ferguson and Marshall Waingrow, but Roger G. Swearingen, on the 'advice of Ernest J. Mehew, has suggested that it was actually written in March or April 1877, A Newly Discovered Long Story: An Old Song, and...Edify Letters of the Rutherford Family by Robert Louis Stevenson, edited by Roger G. Swearingen (Paisley, Scotland, 1982), p.25. In his article 'The

throughout 1877 and 1878. 'The Suicide Club' and 'The Rajah's Diamond' series were published in London under the collective title 'Latter-Day Arabian Nights' from 8 June to 26 October 1878 (with the exception of the issues of 24 August, 21 September and 5 October).³

Although Stevenson may have been 'rapidly hustling...into the abhorred tomb' by writing so often for London in 1877, it seems likely that in 1878 the pressure to produce his 'new' Arabian Nights stories for this magazine was not so keen. His letter at this time in Autumn 1878 to Henley, the editor, shows little evidence of agitation:

If there is a great deal too much in last instalment, we shall have to make three bites of the Cream Tarts; for I have nearly as much again, if not more, in spite of all squeezing. You can send me a proof, can you? that would let me know and I could telegraph, where to leave off, even if I had not the time to return the proof corrected. But look here, I must have proofs of all the best: my name's to go to it. 4

Stevenson's claim to have 'nearly as much again' is supported in his list of further titles for 'The Suicide Club' series in a notebook now held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Beinecke 6940). The list, with Stevenson's numberings and deletions, is as follows:

Significance of Stevenson's "Providence and the Guitar", Fred B. Warner Jr. has cited this letter to Baxter, remarking that 'Stevenson was surely speaking of the stories that made up New Arabian Nights,' English Literature in Transition 1880-1920, 14 (1971), p.107. Yet even if the later date given by Ferguson and Waingrow is correct, this letter still precedes the publication of the 'new' Arabian Nights stories in London which, as the text above will indicate, did not start until June 1878. Stevenson cannot have been referring to these stories in his letter to Baxter, in other words: instead, he may have been referring to his work on 'An Old Song,' serialised in London in February and March 1877.

3. See Swearingen, pp.30-31. For further remarks on the magazine London see also pp.26-27.

4. Letters, ii, 55. The date given to this letter (Autumn 1878) may also be inaccurate. Stevenson seems to be referring here to the serialisation of the 'Story of the Young Man with the Cream Tarts' in London, which ran on 8, 15 and 22 June. Since he considers making 'three bites' (that is, three instalments) of this story, his reference to the 'last instalment' must be to the second part of the story run on 15 June. The letter must have been written at this time.

1. Story of the Young Man with the Cream Tarts.
4. The Adventure of the Hansom Cabs.
Story of the Second Birth.
Story of the Archbishop of Canterbury's neice.
Physician & the Saratoga Trunk
2. Story of the Dead Body in the Grand Hotel.
3. Story of the Two Conspirators from Russia.

The list suggests that the second story in 'The Suicide Club' series initially had a different title, and it also suggests that there were to be four stories in this series rather than three. The notebook also lists four more unnumbered stories which (like the two unnumbered stories above, as well as the 'Story of the Two Conspirators from Russia') are untraced:

- Story of the genteel Highwayman.
- Story of the Young Lady who lived alone.
- Story of the West Indian Island.
- Story of the goodnatured King Merry Monarch and the Leicestershire gentleman's daughter.

The publication of the 'new' Arabian Nights stories in London may have been to some degree controversial. Edmund Gosse has remarked that these stories 'met with disapproval from sober subscribers to that volume.'⁵ Andrew Lang has also noted that these stories suited only 'the very irregular contributors' to London.⁶ Graham Balfour has suggested, moreover, that these stories perhaps contributed to London's early demise:

It was the first paper edited by Mr Henley, but though he never admitted to his columns work more brilliant of its kind, the Arabian Nights series was supposed by more than one of the proprietors sufficiently to account for the unpopularity of their journal. 7

5. The Works Of Robert Louis Stevenson, Pentland Edition, edited by Edmund Gosse (London, 1906), iv, 3.

6. The Works of Robert Louis Stevenson, Swanston Edition, edited by Andrew Lang (London, 1911), i, xxvi-ii.

7. Balfour, i, 152.

J.A. Steuart has similarly remarked that

Henley was probably the only editor in Britain with sufficient courage to print the stories, and he paid the price of his temerity; for it appears certain they did much to shorten the troubled, chequered life of London. And when the series was complete, publishers were so shy it lay four years unpublished. 8

Yet as Fanny Stevenson has noted in her 'Prefatory Note' to New Arabian Nights, although the 'new' Arabian Nights stories were not republished in book form until 1882, they were in fact offered to (and turned down by) Stevenson's publisher at this earlier time, C. Kegan Paul:

For some five or six years the New Arabian Nights lay hidden between the covers of the defunct journal. Mr Kegan Paul advised against their republication, thinking the tales too fantastic, and likely to injure the reputation of their author. 9

C. Kegan Paul's refusal to republish the 'new' Arabian Nights stories may have particularly disappointed Stevenson. As Edmund Gosse has remarked,

Perhaps, in his whole career, he was never so much agitated by any disillusion as by the unexpected rejection, from the hands of the one publisher in whom he trusted, of this book.... It was not until 1882, and then with the addition of four stories whose character seemed less outrageously subversive, that the adventures of the Cream Tarts and of Prince Florizel were given...to the general public in two small volumes. 10

Kegan Paul's advice notwithstanding, the eventual republication of these 'subversive' stories seems to have been successful: at least, contemporary critics were enthusiastic about them. In his review of Prince Otto in The Academy, 27 February 1886, Edmund Sheridan Purcell perhaps best expresses the early view of the 'phenomenon' of the 'new'

8. Robert Louis Stevenson: Man and Writer: A Critical Biography (London, 1924), p.212.

9. 'Prefatory Note,' New Arabian Nights, i, xxix. Further references are given after quotations in the text.

10. Gosse, iv, 4-5.

Arabian Nights stories, remarking also on the sequel, More New Arabian Nights: The Dynamiter. He also notes (interestingly, in the context of this thesis) that in these stories especially readers can 'trace' examples of 'adaptions' by Stevenson from other works of literature:

...in the 'New Arabian Nights,' and still more in the 'Dynamiter,' the art...is not the old-fashioned ars celare artem, but art so carelessly, roguishly exposed, that it charms by its very audacity. The author seems to say: 'Now you need not agitate yourself so much over these horrors-- they are only made-up rubbish, and I am laughing at you all the time. I don't mind telling you this, because you know in spite of it, you won't go to bed till you have finished the book.' Probably there is nothing else quite like this in literature, though it is one of the many aspects of Rabelais. Indeed, no modern English book contains such a profusion and superficiality of talent....It is a masterpiece, upon which 'Prince Otto' has not improved, and no novelist can read it without gnawing envy. This--on two grounds. One, the insolent prodigality of its inventionThe other ground of envy is most interesting, and may not yet have been adequately noticed....Mr Stevenson is a perfect adapter. I have traced so many of his happiest conceptions to other books, that still more might probably be traced by other readers....It is delightful to notice how Mr Stevenson hits upon some unlikely material in a book, sees its capabilities, turns it upside down, inside out, transforms it, builds upon it a graceful creation of his own. 11

Stevenson obviously 'adapted' several devices from the original Arabian Nights tales for his series. He also employs, for example, an 'Arabian author' who acts as a kind of surrogate narrator (as if Stevenson had literally transplanted his 'new' Arabian Nights stories from Bhagdad to London where they are now set). Like the original tales, Stevenson's stories are also linked to one another with a general on-going narrative (in this case, Florizel's pursuit of the President of the Suicide Club or of the Rajah's Diamond), even though they each deal with new and different characters. Stevenson knew the original Arabian Nights tales particularly well and remarked on them

11. Given in Robert Louis Stevenson: The Critical Heritage, edited by Paul Maixner (London, 1981), pp.196-97.

in a number of places. Two popular translations into English had been made prior to the publication of Stevenson's 'new' Arabian Nights series: in 1838, Henry Torrens published a literal translation of the first fifty Arabian Nights tales, and between 1839 and 1841 E.W. Lane published his bowdlerised selection of the tales in three volumes. Just after the republication of Stevenson's stories, the first complete translation of the original Arabian Nights tales was made by John Payne, published between 1882 and 1884; and perhaps the most celebrated translation was made soon after this between 1885 and 1886 by Sir Richard Burton.¹² In his 'Preface, by way of criticism' to Familiar Studies of Men and Books, written in 1881, Stevenson mentioned John Payne's influential translation into English of the poems of Francis Villon, adding that 'He is now upon a larger venture, promising us at last that complete Arabian Nights to which we have all so long looked forward.'¹³ In his essay 'Popular Authors,' written in early 1888, Stevenson mentioned two translations together, referring to 'Torrens and Burton.'¹⁴ It seems most likely that, at the time of writing his own 'new' Arabian Nights series, Stevenson was most familiar with Henry Torrens's 1838 translation.

Yet rather than look for specific ways in which Stevenson might have 'adapted' the original tales for his own stories, it seems more helpful to point out the kind of story Stevenson thought the Arabian Nights tales best represented: why, in other words, was he so enthusiastic

12. For further remarks on the various translations into English of the Arabian Nights tales, see Tales from The Thousand and One Nights, edited by N.J. Dawood (Harmondsworth, England, 1978), pp.8-10.

13. Familiar Studies of Men and Books, xxvii, xxii.

14. Essays Literary and Critical, xxviii, 31.

about them? In a letter to John Meiklejohn in February 1880, Stevenson put the Arabian Nights tales into a certain context and suggested that they (with other stories like them) served a particular function:

When I suffer in mind, stories are my refuge; I take them like opium; and I consider one who writes them as a sort of doctor of the mind. And frankly, Meiklejohn, it is not Shakespeare we take to, when we are in a hot corner; nor, certainly, George Eliot--no, nor even Balzac. It is Charles Reade, or old Dumas, or the Arabian Nights, or the best of Walter Scott; it is stories we want, not the high poetic function which represents the world....We want incident, interest, action: to the devil with your philosophy. When we are well again, and have an easy mind, we shall peruse your important work; but what we want now is a drug. 15

These remarks of course anticipate Stevenson's later statements about 'romance' and his rejection of 'realism' in literature; but more important, he presents a view here that the function of these kinds of stories is essentially 'restorative.' Indeed, he draws on a number of medicinal images to make his point: by reading (and writing) the kind of story represented by the Arabian Nights tales, he is thus involved in a process by which his health is literally 'restored' back to him. This view is important to notice and will be discussed further in the following chapters; but it is sufficient to say here that Stevenson's own 'new' Arabian Nights stories reflect this 'restorative' process. They do this especially through the central and presiding figure of Prince Florizel.

In a letter to his cousin R.A.M. Stevenson in April 1882, Stevenson, recalling the writing of his 'new'-Arabian Nights stories, implied that the figure of Prince Florizel owed something to the then Prince of Wales:

Yes, I remember the enfantement of the Arabian Nights;

15. Letters, ii, 104, my italics.

the first idea of all was the hansom cabs, which I communicated to you in St. Leonard's Terrace drawing-room. That same afternoon the Prince de Galles and the Suicide Club were invented; and several more now forgotten. 16

Stevenson may have 'adapted' from other more literary sources in the general presentation of Florizel, however. In his review of the first two volumes of John H. Ingram's The Works of Edgar Allan Poe (1874) in The Academy, 2 January 1875, Stevenson expressed his admiration for Poe's 'philosophical detective' C. Auguste Dupin, who appears in 'The Murders in the Rue Morgue,' 'The Mystery of Marie Rogêt' and 'The Purloined Letter.'¹⁷ Recalling Prince Florizel's aristocratic background and especially his later 'transformation' into the humble cigar-store owner Godall, Dupin

was of an excellent--indeed of an illustrious family, but, by a variety of untoward events, had been reduced to such poverty that the energy of his character succumbed beneath it, and he ceased to bestir himself in the world, or to care for the retrieval of his fortunes. 18

Like Florizel, Dupin's name is a 'household word,' and yet he chooses to live with a companion in Paris in 'seclusion'¹⁹ (perhaps recalling Florizel's anonymity with Colonel Geraldine). Dupin also cultivates similar nocturnal habits, 'seeking amid the wild lights and shadows of the populous city, that infinity of mental excitement which quiet observation can afford.'²⁰ Dupin shares many of Florizel's defining characteristics, such as his strength of perception and commanding

16. Letters, ii, 199.

17. 'The Works of Edgar Allan Poe,' Essays Literary and Critical, xxviii, 184.

18. The Works of Edgar Allan Poe, edited by John H. Ingram (1874; rpt. London, 1889), i, 407.

19. ibid., pp.444, 408.

20. ibid., pp.408-09.

presence.

At one point in the 'Story of the Young Man in Holy Orders,' Florizel gives the following advice to the inquisitive but naïve Reverend Mr Simon Rolles:

'...have you read Gaboriau?'

Mr Rolles admitted he had never even heard the name.

'You may gather some notions from Gaboriau....He is at least suggestive...' (p.107)

The 'suggestive' reference here is to Émile Gaboriau, a well-known French novelist who, like Poe, pioneered a romanticised kind of detective fiction. Interestingly, Gaboriau's Le Crime d'Orcival (1868) was translated into English and serialised in Henley's London from 22 September 1877 to 1 June 1878: it concluded one week before the beginning of Stevenson's 'new' Arabian Nights stories in that magazine. Like Poe's trilogy, Gaboriau's The Orcival Murder (to use the title given in the London translation) also has as its central character a 'philosophical detective,' M. Lecoq, and Stevenson may have drawn upon him for the figure of Florizel. Like Florizel, for example, Lecoq's unconventionality and 'mystery' stem from his remarkable ability to undergo 'transformations,' smothering his real character with an assumed appearance: he

had not a single bit of the detective about him.....It is true that M. Lecoq is in the habit of looking what and as he will. His friends assert that he has really a physiognomy of his own, which he resumes when he goes home, and maintains as long as he is at his own fireside; but this has not been satisfactorily proved.

What is certain is that his mobile features lend themselves to all manner of strange metamorphoses--that he models his countenance, so to speak, as the sculptor models his wax. 21

21. 'The Orcival Murder,' London, 20 October 1877, p.274. Compare with the description of Florizel in the 'Story of the Young Man with the Cream Tarts': 'Long practice and a varied acquaintance of life had

This description continues with a remark which may have been playfully significant to Stevenson, given that Florizel is finally placed 'behind the counter' (p.155) as the cigar-store owner Godall:

His physiognomy...had no particular expression....Retail shopkeepers who retire, after thirty years' cheating over pins and threads, upon eighteen hundred livres a year, have just such an inoffensive exterior. 22

Florizel may exhibit some of the characteristics of the two 'philosophical detectives' mentioned above: however, his role in the stories is not so much to 'solve' the crime itself but, rather, to resolve the situations other characters find themselves in as a consequence of that crime. This role can be examined further by remarking on perhaps the primary source for Florizel, Shakespeare's 'romantically comic' play The Winter's Tale.

Stevenson most obviously 'adapted' his character from his namesake in Shakespeare's play. Here, Prince Florizel of Bohemia is, like Florizel in the 'new' Arabian Nights stories, absent from his court: 'he is...less frequent to his princely exercises than formerly he hath appeared' (IV. 2. 31-33). Shakespeare's Florizel also lives under an assumed disguise, as a shepherd: as Perdita tells him, 'your high self,/The gracious mark o'th'land, you have obscured/With a swain's wearing...' (IV. 4. 7-9). The motifs of disguise and 'transformation' are important in the play as they are in Stevenson's stories, and Shakespeare's Florizel later changes clothes again with his servant Autolycus. However, Shakespeare's Florizel is a relatively minor figure in The Winter's

given him a singular facility in disguise; he could adapt not only his face and bearing, but his voice and almost his thoughts, to those of any rank, character, or nation' (p.1).

Tale, while Stevenson's Florizel is a powerful and presiding figure: the 'adaption' and magnification of this character perhaps testifies to the play's importance for Stevenson and, certainly, he drew on it in a number of ways.

At the time of writing the 'new' Arabian Nights stories, Stevenson had also begun (probably in late 1878) a play titled Autolycus in Service, based upon Florizel's servant Autolycus in The Winter's Tale. The MSS to this play are now held in the Folger Shakespeare Library and have only been presented in an unpublished doctoral thesis by Nancy Blonder Schiffman. Schiffman remarks upon Stevenson's work on this play in both 1878 and 1883, noting that 'In Autolycus in Service, Stevenson is greatly influenced by Shakespeare's The Winter's Tale.'²³ Stevenson's play also has a Prince who enters 'meanly disguised in dark colours';²⁴ and Schiffman remarks, 'Stevenson's Prince, like Shakespeare's, neglects his courtly duties in order to pursue the hand of a woman of a lower rank than himself for, like Florizel, Stevenson's Prince places love above practical matters.'²⁵ Schiffman does not mention Stevenson's 'new' Arabian Nights stories in this context, but she does trace a connection between Autolycus in Service and Stevenson's novel Prince Otto, also set in Bohemia:

...some of the characters in the novel bear a striking resemblance to those in Autolycus in Service. As in Autolycus in Service, Prince Otto has as its hero a rather weak-willed prince who, impelled by a desire to escape his responsibilities and lured forth by the beauty of an April day, disguises

23. 'A Critical Edition of Robert Louis Stevenson's Unpublished Play, Autolycus in Service' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of South Carolina, 1973), p.xl.

24. ibid., p.16 (I. 4. 15-16).

25. ibid., p.xliii.

himself as a commoner....The similarities in characterisation and, to some extent, in circumstances, between Autolycus in Service, upon which Stevenson apparently ended his work in February, 1883, and Prince Otto, upon which Stevenson began writing in April, 1883, suggest that the latter may have been quarried from the former....it would seem that Prince Otto represents the author's final revision of Autolycus in Service. 26

It is possible to place Stevenson's 'new' Arabian Nights stories in this context of 'Bohemian' writing, with Shakespeare's The Winter's Tale providing the original influence: indeed, the play seems to have given Stevenson a setting, at least two characters, and, possibly, helped to generate his idea of the 'romantically comic.' The play may have also given Stevenson a concept of fiction which remained with him throughout his writing career: the notion of the 'winter's tale' itself. The earliest traced use of the term by Stevenson is in a letter to R.A.M. Stevenson written in Autumn 1874 in connection with an untraced story which, by its title, was also apparently indebted to Shakespeare's play and may have been a precursor to the later 'new' Arabian Nights stories and to Prince Otto:

I am going to write two nice things as soon as I have time; one notes of a real tour, an autumn effect....the other notes of a sham tour, sham people, sham legends &c called 'The Seaboard of Bohemia'--Winter's Tale, you understand. 27

Stevenson used the term again in mid-1881 in his proposed title for a collection of 'crawlers' which (at least in the form outlined at

26. ibid., pp.xx-xxii.

27. This letter is held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Beinecke 3560). The reference to the 'real tour' in the letter is to Stevenson's essay 'An Autumn Effect,' written in December 1874. Here, Stevenson mentions three characters from Shakespeare's The Winter's Tale, Florizel, Autolycus and Perdita: see Further Memories, xxx, 71-72. Prince Otto is set in 'the comparatively powerful kingdom of Seaboard Bohemia,' iv, 4.

that time) was never published: as he wrote to Henley in July of that year, 'How would Tales for Winter Nights do?'²⁸ Certainly, the 'new' Arabian Nights stories can be viewed in these terms, as 'winter's tales' to be told at 'night' (as, indeed, the original Arabian Nights tales actually were); but the concept of the 'winter's tale' will be examined more fully in the discussion of those stories collected in the second volume of New Arabian Nights. Incidentally, the concept of the 'winter's tale' was not confined to the short stories only: A Winter's Tale is the sub-title to Stevenson's The Master of Ballantrae.

Although Stevenson's contemporary critics admired the 'new' Arabian Nights stories, for modern readers they are significant and interesting perhaps only insofar as they testify to the depth of Stevenson's early commitment to what he had called the 'romantically comic.' Indeed, reflecting Stevenson's 'adaptions' from Shakespeare's The Winter's Tale, these stories mark his earliest experiments with the themes and forms of romantic comedy. To recall Ruth Nevo's remarks cited in the introduction, Florizel's role is essentially to 'cure the particular folly or set of follies' occurring in each story in the 'new' Arabian Nights series: he has, in other words, a 'restorative' function. But, early in the series, he himself commits a number of 'follies': the series shows how he too is 'cured' and, although it retains its form as romantic comedy, it actually presents (especially through Florizel's closing 'transformation' into Godall) a means by which characters are divested of their 'romantic' pretensions.

Prince Florizel is in fact the central figure of only two stories

28. Letters, ii, 161.

in the 'new' Arabian Nights series: the first 'Story of the Young Man with the Cream Tarts' and the last 'The Adventure of Prince Florizel and a Detective.' In the first story, Florizel is described as flippant and impulsive, 'with as much philosophy as any ploughman' (p.1), preferring the 'adventurous and eccentric' (p.1) aspects of life. In their disguises, Florizel and Geraldine meet a young man who is perhaps equally as impulsive and who leads them eventually to the Suicide Club. Their 'descent' into the Club is given a particular significance, as if they are entering Hell itself: 'Such a penniless trio...should go arm in arm into the halls of Pluto, and give each other some countenance among the shades!' (pp.8-9). The mysterious President of the Suicide Club thus assumes a diabolical role and the 'form of oath' (p.16) he offers those who enter accordingly severs them from God's grace: 'The man who forfeited a pledge so awful could scarcely have a rag of honour or any of the consolations of religion left to him' (p.16). The gravity of the situation is, for the moment, not appreciated by the impulsive Florizel:

'Of all our follies,' said Colonel Geraldine in a low voice, 'this is the wildest and most dangerous.'
 'I perfectly believe so,' returned the Prince. (p.12) 29

Marked by the President as a victim to be murdered, Florizel quickly realises and repents of his 'folly': 'God forgive me!' (p.27). To re-express this, Florizel becomes, in other words, 'cured' of his 'romantic' pretensions: allowed to come out of 'Hell' and advised to avoid 'all such dangers' (p.29) in the future, Florizel in a sense achieves a kind of salvation.

29. The earlier version of this story in London continues here, with Florizel adding, 'Perhaps that is why it is the one I have enjoyed the most,' London, 15 June 1878, p.465.

No longer inclined to seek 'adventures,' Florizel moves into the background in the next story in 'The Suicide Club' series, the 'Story of the Physician and the Saratoga Trunk': but here, too, he receives a further moral lesson. Now, he sends the younger brother of Geraldine after the fugitive President, but when the boy is found murdered Florizel is again led to recognise his own 'folly':

How can I excuse myself...in the eyes of God, for the presumptuous schemes that led him to this bloody and unnatural death? Ah, Florizel! Florizel! when will you learn the discretion that suits mortal life, and be no longer dazzled with the image of power at your disposal? (p.56)

In the final story of this series, 'The Adventure of the Hansom Cabs,' Florizel goes after the 'hound of hell' (p.76) himself, and his battle with the President is presented in archetypal terms. With his 'follies' now 'cured,' Florizel undergoes a sobering change of character: 'the party beheld an unaccustomed sternness on the Prince's features. It was no longer Florizel, the careless gentleman; it was the Prince of Bohemia, justly incensed and full of deadly purpose...' (p.73). Florizel's triumph over the President is a victory over diabolical forces, so that Florizel himself (in his 'sobered' condition) becomes a representative of God's justice: 'God is weary of your iniquities....God had defended the right....God's justice has been done' (pp.74, 76, 77).³⁰

30. The Suicide Club itself may have been 'adapted' from a number of sources. Its representation as 'Hell' may suggest that Stevenson drew on accounts of the well-known Hell-Fire Club. In his essay 'On Murder Considered as One of the Fine Arts,' Thomas De Quincey remarked that the Hell-Fire Club was 'founded on a principle of ostentatious contempt and ridicule of the established religion and of all ordinary morality,' The Collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey, edited by David Masson (London, 1897), xiii, 9-10. De Quincey also noted, interestingly, 'That society was itself suppressed; but I am sorry to say that another exists in London, of a character still more atrocious. In tendency, it may be denominated a Society for the Encouragement of Murder; but...it is styled,

Entirely absent from the first story in 'The Rajah's Diamond' series, Florizel appears in the second 'Story of the Young Man in Holy Orders' recommending Gaboriau to Mr Rolles and dining with the ruthless diamond-hunter Jack Vandeleur. The later conflict between Florizel and Vandeleur may recall the on-going battle with the President of the Suicide Club in the earlier series; but the real diabolical force is the Rajah's Diamond itself, serving 'the powers of hell' (p.154) with its 'Satanic charm' (p.154). Possessing the Diamond towards the end, Florizel calls on 'the aid of heaven' (p.145) and casts it from him; and in doing so, he essentially 'cures' each of the characters who had previously fallen under its 'spell' (p.154). The Diamond had, in a sense, aroused the 'romantic' pretensions of those other characters (directly or indirectly): thus, Mr Rolles, finding it by accident, 'deserts everything, his holy calling, his studies, and flees with the gem into a foreign country' (p.154); while Francis Scrymgeour, living with his adopted father, comes to reject his 'orderly and frugal habits' (p.118) after hearing from the diamond-hunter Jack Vandeleur that he is to inherit a large allowance:

His whole carnal man leaned irresistibly towards the five hundred a year, and the strange conditions with which it was burdened...he began to despise the narrow and unromantic

the Society of Connoisseurs in Murder,' ibid., p.9. Stevenson's interest in De Quincey will be remarked upon further in Chapter IV, part iv. Another possible source for The Suicide Club might have been provided in George Henry Lewes' The Life of Goethe (1855): Stevenson knew this work well, mentioning it in his essay 'Books Which Have Influenced Me,' Essays Literary and Critical, xxviii, 65. Referring to Goethe's The Sorrows of Werther, Lewes remarks on the popular co-identification with the suicidal protagonist and the consequent 'fashion' of suicide among contemporary Germans which resulted in, for example, the formation of the Epicureans' 'Society for the suppression of life': 'having exhausted every pleasure, the members assembled at a feast, the wine-cup went freely round, and in the midst of this orgie they quietly put an end to their contemptible existences...the guests were invited to supper and suicide,' The Life of Goethe (1855; rpt. London, 1864), p.156.

interests of his former life; and when once his mind was fairly made up, he walked with a new feeling of strength and freedom, and nourished himself with the gayest anticipations. (pp.121-22)

Florizel clearly has a 'restorative' role to play on behalf of Rolles and Scrymgeour, removing the Diamond from them and making them aware of their 'follies' and 'romantic' pretensions. As he tells Scrymgeour,

A man...may fall into a thousand perplexities, but if his heart be upright and his intelligence unclouded, he will issue from them all without dishonour. Let your mind be at rest; your affairs are in my hand; and...I am strong enough to bring them to a good end. (p.145)

This 'restorative' message is repeated to Mr Rolles:

They spoke much together, and the clergyman was more than once affected to tears by the mingled severity and tenderness of Florizel's reproaches.

'I have made ruin of my life,' he said at last.

'Help me; tell me what I am to do; I have, alas! neither the virtues of a priest nor the dexterity of a rogue.'

'Now that you are humbled,' said the Prince, 'I command no longer...' (p.149)

Indeed, each story in the 'new' Arabian Nights series repeats what is essentially a 'restorative' and comic process, a process that is outlined at the beginning when Florizel himself commits a 'folly' by descending into the Suicide Club, then is helped to escape by Geraldine, and is thus finally divested of his earlier 'romantic' pretensions. Each character introduced after Florizel (beginning with Mr Scuddamore in the 'Story of the Physician and the Saratoga Trunk') is similarly 'dazzled' by their own 'romantic' pretensions as Florizel was, and, like Florizel again, each character falls into 'ruin' and 'perplexities': Florizel 'cures' them of their pretensions, and effectively 'restores' them back to normal. This 'restorative' process marks these stories as romantic comedies, but it is curtailed when Florizel is 'transformed' into the cigar-store owner, Godall, and begins a 'sedentary life' (p.155). Although the name Godall confirms that Florizel has now become 'God-like,' this final 'transformation'

amounts to a kind of denial of the 'romance' of those stories which had preceded it (since Florizel's 'romantic' and princely character no longer exists). It is an admission, perhaps, that the 'new' Arabian Nights stories had themselves been 'follies' which have at last been 'cured.' To recall Stevenson's letter to John Meiklejohn, the reader himself is 'made well again' by the end of the series: reflecting a process that operates in each of the stories, the closing change from Florizel to Godall ensures that the reader, too, is finally 'restored' back to normal.

CHAPTER ONE

II. THE FRENCH STORIES: 'A LODGING FOR THE NIGHT,' 'THE SIRE DE
MALÉTROIT'S DOOR' AND 'PROVIDENCE AND THE GUITAR'

Stevenson had become interested in fifteenth-century French verse while staying at Barbizon in France in July and August 1875, and he returned to Edinburgh with plans for long studies of Charles of Orleans and the balladeer Francis Villon.¹ His essay on Charles of Orleans was completed by about mid-1876, but Stevenson did not take up his study of Villon until the publication of Auguste Longnon's Étude Biographique sur François Villon in early 1877, the first major biography of this hitherto obscure poet. Stevenson wrote a review article on this work: titled 'François Villon, Student, Poet, Housebreaker,' it was first published in Cornhill Magazine, 36 (July 1877). This review article appeared shortly before John Payne's famous English translation of Villon's verse, The Poems of Master Francis Villon of Paris (1878). However, collecting the article in his Familiar Studies of Men and Books later in Autumn 1881, Stevenson mentioned Payne's translation and added, 'I regret to find that Mr Payne and I are not always at one as to the author's meaning...'² Indeed, Stevenson's treatment and opinion of the poet himself was much harsher than the account given of him by Payne in his introduction to the verse. Stevenson, for example, more or less blames Villon for the murder under provocation of the priest Philippe Chermoye, whereas Payne

1. See Letters, ii, 70-71.

2. Familiar Studies of Men and Books, xxvii, xxii.

emphasises the 'treachery' and provocation involved in the crime and gives a full account of Chermoye's dying wish 'that no proceedings should be taken against Villon, to whom, he said, he forgave his death, "by reason of certain causes that moved him thereunto..."'.³ Stevenson, however, was almost apologetic about choosing such a 'bad' subject to write about: as he remarked in his 'Preface, by way of criticism,'

I am tempted to regret that I ever wrote on this subject, not merely because the paper strikes me as too picturesque by half, but because I regarded Villon as a bad fellow. Others still think well of him, and can find beautiful and human traits where I saw nothing but artistic evil... 4

However, at the time of writing the essay in Summer 1877, Stevenson had no such misgivings: as he wrote to Sidney Colvin at this time,

I've just finished a 20 page article...in which, for the first time to my knowledge, you will meet with the real Villon. It is...a remarkable production: not in the way of style, but in the way of taking a man in the fact, and also I am bound to say, in that of gibbetting his poor remains. 5

Stevenson's story about Villon, 'A Lodging for the Night,' was begun shortly after the essay and was completed by mid-1877 (possibly July): as Stevenson added in his letter to Colvin,

...while I was full of Villon, I wrote a little story, 10 or 12 pages, about him. Can you suggest anywhere I could place it....It ain't so god-damned good; but I daresay it may pass in ten thousand; or at least bits of it. 6

'A Lodging for the Night: A Story of Francis Villon' was first published in George Bentley's Conservative magazine, Temple Bar: A

3. The Poems of Master Francis Villon of Paris, translated and edited by John Payne (1878; rpt. London, 1881), p.1.

4. Familiar Studies of Men and Books, p.xxi.

5. This letter is held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Beinecke 3023).

6. ibid.

London Magazine for Town and Country Readers, 51 (October 1877), and it was republished in New Arabian Nights without change.

Since they were written together ('while I was full of Villon'), it seems useful to consider 'A Lodging for the Night' in the context of Stevenson's review article on Villon. The article, for example, provides a kind of background setting to the story. The story takes place in 'late...November, 1456,'⁷ and as the review article makes clear, at this time Villon was completing his The Lesser Testament.⁸ The story's opening descriptions of the bleak Paris winter, 'just the kind of weather...when wolves might take it into their heads to enter Paris again' (p.230), were probably 'adapted' from this long poem:

In this year, as before I said,
Hard by the dead of Christmas-time,
When upon the wind the wolves are fed... 9

The review article introduces the 'gang of thieves' who meet in 'A Lodging for the Night' in the small house in the cemetery of St. John: 'Montigny...Guy Tabary...Dom Nicolas, little Thibault...with these the reader has still to be acquainted.'¹⁰ Stevenson goes on in his review article to describe Montigny in particular and, more significantly, to mention the murder that forms an early climax to events in the story. His final remarks on this murder indicate exactly what kind of story he intended 'A Lodging for the Night' to be:

They were ready for anything, from pitch-and-toss to manslaughter. Montigny, for example, had neglected neither

7. 'A Lodging for the Night,' New Arabian Nights, i, 219. Further references are given after quotations in the text.

8. See 'François Villon, Student, Poet, Housebreaker,' Familiar Studies of Men and Books, p.130.

9. 'The Lesser Testament,' Payne, p.3.

10. 'François Villon, Student, Poet, Housebreaker,' p.129.

of these extremes, and we find him accused of cheating at games of hazard on the one hand, and on the other of the murder of Thevenin Pensete in a house by the cemetery of St. John. If time had only spared us some particulars, might not this last have furnished us with the matter of a grisly winter's tale? 11

Stevenson, of course, answered his own question with his story 'A Lodging for the Night': dealing with the 'particulars' of Pensete's murder, the story thus defines itself (at least in this context) as a 'grisly' example of a 'winter's tale.'

There is an obvious reason for viewing 'A Lodging for the Night' as a 'winter's tale': it is set in winter. Stevenson uses the freezing cold of winter in a significant way in this story, as a metaphor for Villon's character: 'My hands are blue to the wrist...my feet are dead and full of twinges; my nose aches with the sharp air; the cold lies at my heart' (p.228, my italics). In an interesting passage, Villon is symbolically co-identified with the bleak cold outside:

The wind was freshening without; it drove the snow before it, and sometimes raised its voice in a victorious whoop, and made sepulchral grumblings in the chimney. The cold was growing sharper as the night went on. Villon, protruding his lips, imitated the gust with something between a whistle and a groan. It was an eerie, uncomfortable talent of the poet's much detested by the Picardy monk. (p.222)

Going out into the cold after Pensete's murder, Villon stumbles across the dead body of a prostitute, 'freezing cold, and rigid like a stick' (p.226). In a sense, the frozen body symbolises Villon's own life and future; and he thinks of her as he wanders through Paris:

What was to be done? It looked very much like a night in the frosty streets. The idea of the dead woman popped into his imagination, and gave him a hearty fright; what had happened to her in the early night might very well happen to him before the morning. (p.229)

Villon's search for a 'lodging' for the night thus amounts to a means

11. ibid., p.130, my italics.

of avoiding the perhaps inevitable consequences of his own 'frozen' character.

Villon's movement towards the seigneur de Brisetout's 'lodging' is entirely random: 'It was a chance....On the way, two little accidents happened to him' (p.229), and so on. Indeed, a notion of chance operates throughout the story and is perhaps consistent with the given characters of Villon and his 'gang of thieves' who, at the beginning, are playing a game of 'hazard.' Their lives are, in other words, ruled by chance: 'As for Tabary....he had become a thief, just as he might have become the most decent of burgesses, by the imperious chance that rules the lives of human geese and human donkeys' (p.221). Having arrived at his 'lodging,' Villon (also a 'human donkey') uses the same notion of chance in his argument with the seigneur de Brisetout:

But if I had been born lord of Brisetout, and you had been the poor scholar Francis, would the difference have been any the less? Should not I have been warming my knees at this charcoal pan, and would not you have been groping for farthings in the snow? Should not I have been the soldier, and you the thief? (p.236)

De Brisetout, however, considers that chance is not an operative factor and he urges Villon to 'repent and change' (p.237) his character, appealing to the 'rule' (p.238) of 'honour and love and faith' (p.239). Villon had complained earlier that 'the cold lies at my heart,' but for de Brisetout that 'coldness' can be shaken off: 'You may still repent and change....The change must begin in the heart' (p.237). Perhaps recalling Florizel's reproaches to Rolles and Scrymgeour in the 'new' Arabian Nights stories, de Brisetout clearly has a 'restorative' role to play; but Villon makes no such 'change' and undergoes no such final conversion. At the close of the story, Villon emerges from his 'lodging' only to return to the bleak winter cold which he had temporarily avoided: 'A chill, uncomfortable morning ushered in the day'

(p.240). Villon's chance encounter with the 'lodging' and with de Brisetout thus has no significance for him and the story ends with an absence of 'restorative' or 'remedial' values: he returns to the 'frozen' world which itself is a metaphor for his character.

In these terms, 'A Lodging for the Night' clearly contrasts with Stevenson's second medieval French story, 'The Sire de Malétroit's Door.' In 'A Lodging for the Night' a massive distinction was drawn between Villon and de Brisetout, 'As far as to the moon' (p.236): the old soldier and the young vagabond represent two mutually exclusive worlds. 'The Sire de Malétroit's Door,' set some twenty-seven years earlier than the Villon story in 'September, 1429' (p.243), presents the former world from which de Brisetout might have come, a world defined by the 'rule' of 'honour and love and faith.' Here, the central character (in contrast to Villon) reflects those characteristics and he comes to his 'lodging' in a world where chance is not (as de Brisetout had considered) an operative factor. Moreover, while Villon's 'lodging' had been of no significance to him, the 'lodging' presented in 'The Sire de Malétroit's Door' comes profoundly to change the central character's life.

'The Sire de Malétroit's Door' was written shortly after 'A Lodging for the Night,' probably in August 1877:¹² it was first published in Bentley's Temple Bar, 52 (January 1878) and republished in New Arabian Nights without change. Just as 'A Lodging for the Night' can be considered in the context of Stevenson's review article on Villon, so can 'The Sire de Malétroit's Door' be read in the context of Stevenson's other essay on a medieval French figure, 'Charles of Orleans,' first

12. The story was originally titled 'The Sire de Malétroit's Mousetrap': see Letters, ii, 31.

published in Cornhill Magazine, 34 (December 1876). Like 'The Sire de Malétroit's Door,' this essay is set well before the time of the Villon story, in the earlier part of the fifteenth century: as Stevenson remarks here, it deals with 'the ideas of a former generation.'¹³ These ideas are reflected through the figure of de Brisetout (but not through the younger Villon) in 'A Lodging for the Night'; and they are also shown to operate through the central character in 'The Sire de Malétroit's Door,' Denis de Beaulieu (who, in the chronologically earlier time of this story, might be a younger version of de Brisetout himself). In the essay, Charles of Orleans represents those earlier ideas, coming from 'a noble stock' and a background that was 'beautiful, eloquent, and accomplished':¹⁴ 'he had become the type of all that was most truly patriotic. The remnants of his old party had been the chief defenders of the unity of France.'¹⁵ Yet, as this last passage suggests, this 'old party,' along with the 'rules' it had held, is seen to be in decline:

While Charles was thus falling into years, the order of things, of which he was the outcome and ornament, was growing old along with him. The semi-royalty of the princes of the blood was already a thing of the past; and when Charles VII. was gathered to his fathers, a new king reigned in France, who seemed every way the opposite of royal. Louis XI. had aims that were incomprehensible, and virtues that were inconceivable to his contemporaries. But his contemporaries were able enough to appreciate his sordid exterior, and his cruel and treacherous spirit. To the whole nobility of France he was a fatal and unreasonable phenomenon. 16

The difference between an old and new generation is outlined here as the difference between the 'noble' Charles of Orleans and the younger and

13. 'Charles of Orleans,' Familiar Studies of Men and Books, p.164.

14. ibid., p.147.

15. ibid., p.163.

16. ibid., p.172.

'sordid' Louis XI: clearly, this difference compares with the contrast in Stevenson's French stories between the 'former generation' of de Brisetout and Denis de Beaulieu, and the younger (and chronologically later) Villon. Whereas Stevenson had presented through Villon and his 'gang of thieves' this kind of emerging 'cruel and treacherous spirit,' in 'The Sire de Malétroit's Door' he returns to the nobler 'former generation' and as a consequence this story is constructed with an 'opposite' set of characteristics. While a notion of chance and 'hazard' operates throughout 'A Lodging for the Night,' 'The Sire de Malétroit's Door' reflects the past values of Charles of Orleans with their emphasis on 'rules' and their support of 'the order of things.' This sense of 'order' in the story is administered through the figure of the Sire de Malétroit himself.

The story opens by introducing the 'cavalier' Denis de Beaulieu, on his way to visit someone and, perhaps like Villon, walking through Paris by night. Pursued by soldiers, De Beaulieu takes refuge behind a large door. Unable to open it again from the inside, he soon realises he is caught within a carefully constructed scheme which, in its final outcome, is shown to be entirely predetermined: as its perpetrator, the Sire de Malétroit, tells him, 'I have been expecting you all the evening' (p.249). The Sire de Malétroit is an enigmatic, Prospero-like figure, appearing 'like a virgin martyr...like a god, or a god's statue' (p.249). Indeed, recalling the presiding magician in Shakespeare's The Tempest, he brings de Beaulieu to his house to establish, by way of a kind of trial, whether he is suitable (as he proves to be) as a match for 'my little girl' (p.252). For the Sire de Malétroit, the trial, properly reflecting the ideas of his 'former generation,' involves a principle of honour: as he tells de Beaulieu, 'The honour of my house has been compromised; I believe you to be the

guilty person; at least you are now in the secret; and you can hardly wonder if I request you to wipe out the stain' (p.257). De Beaulieu (also reflecting the ideas of his 'former generation') passes the trial and emerges, in clear contrast to Villon at the end of 'A Lodging for the Night,' as 'the noblest man I have ever met' (p.262). The story confirms de Beaulieu's sense of 'honour and love and faith,' and, with his new bride Blanche, he achieves a kind of final salvation: '...it would be like all the joys of Paradise to live on and spend my life in your service' (p.264).

Whereas Villon's 'lodging' had been (as the title to this story suggests) both temporary and insignificant to him, for de Beaulieu the house of the Sire de Malétroit offers, by contrast, permanence and an altered life: he does not leave when morning comes at the end of the story. Indeed, the arrival of morning here is by no means 'chill' and 'uncomfortable' as it was for Villon:

The hollow of the sky was full of essential daylight, colourless and clean....The scene disengaged a surprising effect of stillness, which was hardly interrupted when the cocks....now sent up the merriest cheer to greet the coming day....And still the daylight kept flooding insensibly out of the east, which was soon to grow incandescent and cast up that red-hot cannon-ball, the rising sun. (p.263)

Like 'A Lodging for the Night,' 'The Sire de Malétroit's Door' begins at night and ends with the arrival of morning; but here, the morning has a 'warming' effect which contributes to the story's general celebratory conclusion and testifies to its overall 'romantically comic' structure. In a sense, Stevenson's two medieval French stories represent not only the characteristics of two 'opposite' generations, but, more important, the characteristics of two 'opposite' kinds of writing. In 'The Sire de Malétroit's Door,' Stevenson essentially presents the 'restorative' world of romantic comedy, with its sense of the 'order

of things' and its concluding emphasis on reconciliation. By contrast, 'A Lodging for the Night' shows that world of the 'romantically comic' to be no longer significant. This story presents instead a 'cruel and treacherous spirit': through the 'sordid exterior' of Villon, it creates a world in which 'restorative' values are now absent. Its conclusion is bleak rather than celebratory, and it has all the 'particulars' of a 'grisly winter's tale.'

Stevenson returned to the 'romantically comic' form in his third French story in New Arabian Nights, 'Providence and the Guitar': this story also begins at night and ends with the arrival of morning, and again it concerns the search for a 'lodging' for the night. But it is not set in medieval Paris: instead, the events take place in the stylised and contemporary rural town of Castel-le-Gâchis. 'Providence and the Guitar' was probably begun before Stevenson left for his tour of the Cévennes in mid-September 1878, and it was completed some weeks later when Stevenson returned to England, residing in Sidney Colvin's apartment at Trinity College, Cambridge. Here, Stevenson wrote to W.E. Henley, 'I cannot work--cannot, Even the Guitar is still undone; I can only write ditch-water.'¹⁷ Collaborating with Henley at this time on Deacon Brodie and starting to revise his Cévennes journal, Stevenson may have been under some pressure. However, he completed the story by late October and it was published serially under the title 'Léon Berthelini's Guitar' in Henley's London from 2 November to 23 November 1878. Apart from its altered title, 'Providence and the Guitar' was republished in New Arabian Nights without change.

Graham Balfour has given the earliest account of how this story

17. Letters, ii, 54.

came to be written:

Providence and the Guitar was based upon a story told by a strolling French actor and his Bulgarian wife, who had stayed at Grez. The man had played inferior parts at a good theatre, and the woman had also been on the stage. They were quiet, innocent creatures, who spent all the daytime in fishing in the river. They had their meals on a bare table in the kitchen, and in the evening they sang in the dining-room and had a little 'tombola' as in the story. They made the best of the most hideous poverty, but the worst of it was that they were forced to leave their only child with a peasant woman, while they were tramping from village to village. She had let the child fall, and it was in consequence a hunchback. Stevenson had much talk with them, taking great pleasure in their company and delight in hearing of their experiences. But there is no further foundation for the legend that he went strolling with them, or ever acted to a French audience.

When his story appeared he sent to the pair the money it brought him, and he received a charming letter of thanks, which unfortunately has disappeared. 18

The 'legend' that Stevenson may himself have taken up as a strolling player in France probably stems from his 'Epilogue' to An Inland Voyage, the record of his travels through Belgium and France with Sir Walter Grindlay Simpson in September 1876. Here, Stevenson relates how he had to appear before a French Commissary at one stage, after being mistaken for a German who had 'come to sing at the fair.'¹⁹ Dressed rather shabbily, he is rudely treated by the Commissary (just as Berthelini is rudely treated by the 'Fichu Commissaire' in 'Providence and the Guitar'), and as a consequence Stevenson comes to understand what might have happened if he really had been a strolling player: as he remarks here, 'When countryfolk in France have made up their minds as to a person's calling, argument is fruitless.'²⁰ As he notes elsewhere in An Inland Voyage,

18. Balfour, i, 152-53.

19. An Inland Voyage, xvii, 117.

20. ibid., p.114. Stevenson spent a short time in a cell, before Simpson arrived to clarify his identity before the Commissary.

Local authorities look with such an evil eye upon the strolling artist. Alas! I know it well, who have been myself taken for one, and pitilessly incarcerated on the strength of the misapprehension. 21

Balfour's account of the background to 'Providence and the Guitar' seems somewhat romanticised and has, moreover, been somewhat distorted by many later commentators on Stevenson.²² However, it should not be entirely treated with scepticism since Stevenson had actually documented a meeting with two French strolling players in An Inland Voyage, M. de Vauversin and Mademoiselle Ferrario, who were probably the models for Berthelini and his wife in the story. As Stevenson recalled,

...the man after my own heart is M. de Vauversin. It is nearly two years since I saw him first, and indeed I hope I may see him often again...what a sight it was to see M. de Vauversin, with a cigarette in his mouth, twanging a guitar, and following Mademoiselle Ferrario's eyes with the obedient, kindly look of a dog!...M. de Vauversin is a small man, with a great head of black hair, a vivacious and engaging air, and a smile that would be delightful if he had better teeth. He was once an actor in the Châtelet; but he contracted a nervous affection from the heat and glare of the foot-lights, which unfitted him for the stage. At this crisis Mademoiselle Ferrario, otherwise Mademoiselle Rita of the Alcazar, agreed to share his wandering fortunes. 23

Like Stevenson and like Berthelini in the story, M. de Vauversin had also made an appearance before a French Commissary:

Once, M. de Vauversin visited a commissary of police for permission to sing. The commissary, who was smoking at his

21. ibid., p.107.

22. See, for example, the accounts given by James Pope Hennessy, Robert Louis Stevenson (London, 1974), p.114; J.C. Furnas, Voyage to Windward: the Life of Robert Louis Stevenson (London, 1952), p.113; and J.A. Steuart, p.190.

23. An Inland Voyage, pp.105-06. Compare 'Providence and the Guitar': '...the Great Creature, having failed upon several theatres, was obliged to...twang a guitar, keep a country audience in good humour....Madame Berthelini...was art and part with him in these undignified labours' (p.268)

ease, politely doffed his hat upon the singer's entrance. 'Mr Commissary,' he began, 'I am an artist.' And on went the commissary's hat again. No courtesy for the companions of Apollo! 'They are as degraded as that,' said M. de Vauversin, with a sweep of his cigarette. 24

Stevenson goes on to present the strolling player as, if nothing else, at least entirely contented with his own vocation: as M. de Vauversin tells him,

Do you think I regret my life? Do you think I would rather be a fat burgess, like a calf? Not I! I have had moments when I have been applauded on the boards: I think nothing of that; but I have known in my own mind sometimes, when I had not a clap from the whole house, that I had found a true intonation, or an exact and speaking gesture; and then, messieurs, I have known what pleasure was, what it was to do a thing well, what it was to be an artist. And to know what art is, is to have an interest forever, such as no burgess can find in his petty concerns. Tenez, messieurs, je vais vous le dire,--it is like a religion. 25

Stevenson adds his approval in terms that establish the setting for 'Providence and the Guitar': 'Any stroller must be dear to the right-thinking heart; if it were only as a protest against offices and the mercantile spirit.'²⁶

Stevenson presents this sense of 'what it was to be an artist' through the figure of Berthelini in his story: it is a 'sense' that prevails over any question about Berthelini's artistic ability and talent. The Berthelinis arrive in Castel-le-Gâchis, but their evening performance is not at all appreciated by the townsfolk. Indeed, Stevenson represents through these townsfolk the 'mercantile spirit' mentioned above, and he uses an appropriate 'mercantile' image to

24. An Inland Voyage, p.107. Compare 'Providence and the Guitar': 'At the word "artist," the Commissary had replaced his hat with the air of a person who, having condescended too far, should suddenly remember the duties of his rank' (p.271).

25. An Inland Voyage, pp.107-08.

26. ibid., p.103.

describe their lack of appreciation: they remain 'inaccessible to the charms of music as retailed by the Berthelinis' (p.275). The town in fact rejects Berthelini and his wife and, as outcasts, they proceed to look for a 'lodging' in which to spend the remainder of the night. Later, having met Stubbs, a 'mercantile' English bank-clerk, they arrive at a house on the edge of the town. Inside the house a couple violently argue together, and in an effort to calm them and to secure their 'lodging' Léon Berthelini begins to sing:

Elvira joined in; so did Stubbs....Léon and the guitar were equal to the situation. The actor dispensed his throat notes with prodigality and enthusiasm; and, as he looked up to heaven in his heroic way, tossing the black ringlets, it seemed to him that the very stars contributed a dumb applause to his efforts, and the universe lent him its silence for a chorus....He alone--and it is to be noted, he was the worst singer of the three--took the music seriously to heart, and judged the serenade from a high artistic point of view. (p.289)

Although Berthelini may be the 'worst singer,' he most of all retains the sense of 'what it was to be an artist': his song draws the arguing couple out of their house, and the Berthelinis and Stubbs thus find their 'lodging.'

The couple's argument extends the central theme of the story, the massive distinction between the 'sense' of being an artist and the 'mercantile spirit': the young husband wants to become a painter, while his wife urges him instead to take up the offer of 'a clerkship with nearly a hundred and fifty pounds a year' (p.293). This distinction establishes between the couple 'an imperfect harmony' (p.293), but, witnessing the affection between Berthelini and his wife, a kind of 'restorative' process takes place and they slowly become reconciled to each other: 'the painter's wife...took hold of her husband's hand below the table....his thoughts had been diverted into softer channelsthe young man coloured and looked for a moment beautiful' (pp.292-93).

Taking up his guitar again, Berthelini begins to sing and, by doing so, transmits the sense of 'what it was to be an artist' to the aspiring painter and, more important, to the painter's wife who is upstairs with Elvira:

And just then from the room below there flew up a sudden snapping chord on the guitar; one followed after another; then the voice of Leon joined in; and there was an air being played and sung that stopped the speech of the two women. The wife of the painter stood like a person transfixed; Elvira, looking into her eyes, could see all manner of beautiful memories and kind thoughts that were passing in and out of her soul with every note; it was a piece of her youth that went before her; a green French plain, the smell of apple-flowers, the fair and shining ringlets of a river, and the words and presence of love.

'Leon has hit the nail,' thought Elvira to herself. 'I wonder how.' (pp.295-96)

Berthelini, with his 'familiar spirit' (p.297) the guitar, clearly has a 'restorative' influence over the couple and over the painter's wife in particular: they are, accordingly, 'reconciled' (p.297) at the end of the story. Recalling the 'romantically comic' form of 'The Sire de Maletroit's Door,' 'Providence and the Guitar' concludes with the welcome arrival of morning and an accompanying sense of celebration: '...at sunrise, while the sky was still temperate and clear, they separated on the threshold with a thousand excellent wishes for each other's welfare' (p.296).

This essentially 'restorative' and 'romantically comic' structure, where the ending is signalled by the welcoming arrival of morning, also characterises the last story included in the second volume of New Arabian Nights, 'The Pavilion on the Links.' This story is, however, set in Scotland, not France; and although it shares this 'romantically comic' structure, it also forecasts Stevenson's later Scottish stories and his preoccupation with a more 'grisly' kind of 'winter's tale.'

CHAPTER ONE

III. 'THE PAVILION ON THE LINKS'

Stevenson probably began 'The Pavilion on the Links' around the same time as 'Providence and the Guitar,' in November 1878. At this time, he also intended the story to appear in W.E. Henley's London.¹ But 'The Pavilion on the Links' was not completed until October 1879 almost a year later, when Stevenson was in Monterey, California, to meet Fanny and to make arrangements for their marriage. By this time, London had folded, but Stevenson nevertheless sent his manuscript to Henley (with whom he was still collaborating on a number of plays), raising the question of where it might now be published:

Herewith the Pavilion on the Links, grand carpentry story in nine chapters, and I should hesitate to say how many tableaux. Where is it to go? God knows. It is the dibbs that are wanted. It is not bad, though I say it; carpentry, of course, but not bad at that; and who else can carpenter in England, now that Wilkie Collins is played out? It might be broken for magazine purposes at the end of Chapter IV....Do acknowledge the Pavilion by return. I shall be so nervous till I hear, as of course I have no copy except of one or two places where the vein would not run. God prosper it, poor Pavilion! May it bring me money for myself and my sick one, who may need it, I do not know how soon. 2

Henley probably sent the story directly to Cornhill Magazine and it was accepted by the editor, Leslie Stephen, by January 1880.³ It was first published serially after some delay in Cornhill Magazine, 42 (September 1880) and 42 (October 1880), the first number breaking the story 'at the

1. See Baxter, p.61: 'Look out for The Pavillion (sic) on the Links in London.'

2. Letters, ii, 79: the 'sick one' was, of course, Fanny. At this time, in December 1880, Stevenson had also made vague plans to include 'The Pavilion on the Links' in a collection of 'carpentry' stories. See ibid., p.89.

3. See ibid., p.96.

end of Chapter IV' as Stevenson had wished.

Stevenson was initially sceptical about the reception of his story by Cornhill Magazine and he wrote back to Henley in January 1880, 'Had you looked at the Pavilion, I do not think you would have sent it to Stephen; 'tis a mere story, and has no higher pretension...'⁴ However, after hearing that Leslie Stephen had accepted it, Stevenson's opinion of 'The Pavilion on the Links' seems to have risen: as he wrote to Henley on 23 January, 'Well, I thought it had points; now, I know it';⁵ and again, in a letter to Sidney Colvin in the same month, 'when I find Stephen, for whom certainly I did not mean it, taking it in, I am better pleased with it than before.'⁶ Leslie Stephen had thus far accepted only one story from Stevenson, 'Will o' the Mill,' published over two and a half years earlier. Yet Stevenson seems to have regarded Stephen's favourable opinion with special significance. Indeed, after writing to Colvin about Stephen's acceptance of the story, Stevenson went on to suggest that, almost as a consequence, he would concentrate more on stories in the future:

I know I shall do better work than ever I have done before; but, mind you, it will not be like it. My sympathies and interests are changed. There shall be no more books of travel for me. I care for nothing but the moral and the dramatic, not a jot for the picturesque or the beautiful, other than about people. 7

It seems important to emphasise the role of Leslie Stephen and Cornhill Magazine in shaping Stevenson's early career as a writer of short stories

4. ibid., p.96.

5. ibid., p.97.

6. ibid., p.99.

7. ibid., pp.99-100.

and, perhaps, Scottish short stories in particular: apart from 'The Pavilion on the Links' Stephen also accepted 'Thrawn Janet' and 'The Merry Men' within the following two years.

The version of 'The Pavilion on the Links' published in Cornhill Magazine differs in several major and a number of minor ways from the final version of the story as it appears in New Arabian Nights: at some time between the end of 1880 and mid-1882, Stevenson must have revised his story for republication. A comparison between the earlier Cornhill version and the final 1882 version may be useful. However, only the major differences between these versions will be remarked upon here: for a complete list of differences, see Appendix i.

The earlier Cornhill version of 'The Pavilion on the Links' has a long introductory paragraph that is left out of the final version. This introduction shows the narrator Frank Cassilis directly addressing his children with the intention of revealing, through the story that follows, the hitherto 'long-kept secret' of how he had met their mother Clara, who is now dead:

I believe it is now more than time, my dear and dutiful children, that I was setting my mémoires in order before I go hence. For six months I have been reminded day by day of human frailty; I must take the hint before it is too late, and leave you the story for which you have so often asked. This is a long-kept secret that I have now to disclose; and, to all but our own nearest people, I hope it will remain one forever. It is told to you, my dear children, in confidence; you will see why this is so as you read; and, as I hope, that is not by many the only discovery you will make or lesson you will learn. For it should teach in our family a spirit of great charity to the unfortunate and all those who are externally dishonoured. For my part, it is with pleasure and sorrow that I set myself to tell you how I met the dear angel of my life. That will always be a touching event in my eyes; for if I am anything worth, or have been anything of a good father, it is due to the influence of your mother and the love and duty that I bore her, which were not only delightful to me in themselves, but strengthened and directed my conduct in other affairs. Many praise and regret their youth or their childhood, and recall the time

of their courtship as if it were the beginning of the end; but my case is different, and I neither respected myself nor greatly cared for my existence until then. Yet, as you are to hear, this certainly was in itself a very stormy period, and your mother and I had many pressing and dreadful thoughts. Indeed the circumstances were so unusual in character that they have not often been surpassed, or, at least, not often in our age and country; and we begin to love in the midst of continual alarms.

I was a great solitary when I was young... 8

This opening paragraph in the Cornhill version creates the impression that throughout the story Cassilis is really talking directly to his children; and as a consequence this version is more personal, more prone to emotional exclamations than the final 1882 version. There are thus a number of references to 'my dear children' or to Clara as 'your mother' which are deleted from the final version of the story. This opening paragraph does, however, make clear the kind of influence Clara comes to have over Cassilis: by changing his life and making him 'worth' something, she has an essentially 'restorative' role to play. Cassilis also tells his children that the story will contain a number of 'lessons,' one of them being that 'it should teach in our family a spirit of great charity to the unfortunate and all those who are externally dishonoured.' This 'lesson' is obviously a reference to Clara's father, the defrauding banker Bernard Huddlestone, and it is partly demonstrated through Cassilis's own 'charity' (or lack of it) towards him.

In the earlier Cornhill version, Huddlestone is presented as perhaps a more complex or enigmatic character than in the final 1882 version. Indeed, in a passage that is left out of the final version, Cassilis is obliged to confess to his children, 'Of all the men it was ever my

8. Cornhill Magazine, 42 (September 1880), p.307. The last line given above ('I was a great solitary when I was young...') marks the beginning of the final 1882 version of the story.

fortune to know, your grandfather has left the most bewildering impression on my mind; but I have no fancy to judge where I am conscious that I do not understand.'⁹ Yet Cassilis does 'judge' Huddlestone at certain points in the story and, furthermore, those judgements often reflect upon Cassilis himself. In a longer and more important passage that is also left out of the final 1882 version, Cassilis and Northmour visit Huddlestone, who is sick and confined to bed in 'My Uncle's Room' in the pavilion. Their visit is interrupted for a moment by an exclamation from the nervous banker, who mistakes the noise of the rain for the approach of the 'invisible avengers'¹⁰ who, later on, take his life. Huddlestone manages to control himself, however, and launches into a 'capital' story:

'Well--as I was saying--ah, yes! Northmour, is that girl away?'--looking round the curtain for your mother--'yes; I just remembered a capital one.'

And, leaning forward in bed, he told a story of a description with which, I am happy to say, I have never sullied my lips, and which, in his present danger and surrounded as he was with religious reading, filled me with indignation and disgust. Perhaps, my dear children, you have sometimes, when your mother was not by to mitigate my severity, found me narrow and hard in discipline; I must own I have always been a martinet in matters of decorum, and I have sometimes repented the harshness with which I reproved your unhappy grandfather upon this occasion. I will not repeat even the drift of what I said; but I reminded him, perhaps cruelly, of the horrors of his situation. Northmour burst out laughing, and cut a joke at the expense, as I considered, of politeness, decency, and reverence alike. We might readily have quarrelled then and there; but Mr Huddlestone interposed with a severe reproof to Northmour for his levity.

'The boy is right,' he said. 'I am an unhappy sinner, and you but a half friend to encourage me in evil.'

And with great fluency and unction he put up a short prayer, at which, coming so suddenly after his anecdote, I confess I knew not where to look. Then said he; 'Let us sing a hymn together, Mr Cassilis. I have one here which my mother

9. Cornhill Magazine, 42 (October 1880), p.438.

10. 'The Pavilion on the Links,' New Arabian Nights, i, 211. Further references are given after quotations in the text.

taught me a great many years ago, as you may imagine. You will find it very touching, and quite spiritual.'

'Look here,' broke in Northmour; 'if this is going to become a prayer-meeting, I am off. Sing a hymn, indeed! What next? Go out and take a little airing on the beach, I suppose? or in the wood, where it's thick, and a man can get near enough for the stiletto? I wonder at you, Huddleston! and I wonder at you too, Cassilis! Ass as you are, you might have better sense than that.'

Roughly as he expressed himself, I could not but admit that Northmour's protest was grounded upon common sense; and I have myself, all my life long, had little taste for singing hymns except in church. I was, therefore, the more willing to turn the talk upon the business of the hour. 11

This passage shows, among other things, Cassilis's tendency to judge his children's 'unhappy grandfather' with 'severity' and 'disgust': his 'great charity' towards 'the externally dishonoured' hardly stretches very far. Cassilis's somewhat prudish reaction is criticised by Northmour ('Ass as you are...'): indeed, Northmour makes his point more explicitly later, in both versions of the story: as he tells Cassilis, 'You've been a prig in life; a prig you'll die' (p.208). As a rival for Clara's affection, Northmour appears as a kind of 'opposite' to Cassilis, perhaps recalling the contrast between de Beaulieu and the more 'sordid' Villon in Stevenson's medieval French stories: thus, while Cassilis is preoccupied with 'politeness, decency, and reverence' (as the above passage indicates) Northmour is on the other hand 'filled with the devil' (p.160), with the 'temper of a slaver captain' (p.169). However, with his criticisms of Cassilis and his later cavalier and fatalist attitude towards the loss of Clara, Northmour perhaps seems the more deserving of her love. At the end of the story, Northmour asks Cassilis to keep his gallantry towards Clara a secret, remarking with 'great dignity' (p.215), 'It will be nothing to her; she expects it of me' (p.215). Northmour's

11. Cornhill Magazine, 42 (October 1880), pp.436-37.

disclosed behaviour may be part of the 'long-kept secret' referred to in the opening paragraph of the earlier Cornhill version of the story; and in this version (but not in the final version) Northmour's 'dignified' remark is followed by a further 'disclosure' that suggests that his character comes profoundly to affect Cassilis and Clara (so that, in a sense, he is of more immediate significance to her than her husband-to-be). The passage shows too that Clara has, finally, an essentially 'restorative' influence not only on Cassilis but also on Northmour, his rival:

Thus, my dear children, had your mother exerted her influence for good upon this violent man. Years and years after, she used to call that speech her patent of nobility; and 'she expects it of me' became a sort of by-word in our married life, and was often more powerful than an argument to mould me to her will. 12

In fact, the close of the story (both versions) is concerned entirely with Northmour rather than, say, with Clara or with Cassilis's future life with Clara. By underlining Northmour's lasting significance at this point, Cassilis thus shifts the emphasis of his story onto his rival in such a way as to reflect ironically upon his opening address (in the earlier Cornhill version) to his children: not surprisingly, it is to be read 'in confidence.'

More obviously, however, the story's 'disclosure' concerns the fate of the banker, Bernard Huddlestone. Confined to his bed and appearing as if he might fall 'victim to consumption in the course of but a very few weeks' (p.196), his physical deterioration perhaps reflects his moral instability: as indicated, he is readily able to move between expressions of profanity (his 'capital' story) and a sentimental religious zeal. This sketch of Huddlestone, surrounded by 'religious

12. ibid., pp.450-51, my italics.

reading' and yet behaving in a morally 'deteriorated' way, perhaps anticipates the character of psalm-singing Gordon Darnaway in Stevenson's later Scottish story, 'The Merry Men.' Like Darnaway, Huddlestone's death is the result of his own wrong-doings: as he tells Cassilis twice in the story, 'my sins have found me out' (pp.196, 210). Yet whereas Gordon Darnaway's death forms the tragic climax to 'The Merry Men,' taking place in the very last chapter, Huddlestone's death in 'The Pavilion on the Links' is followed with yet another chapter. In this way, Huddlestone becomes less of a central figure in the story (unlike uncle Gordon in 'The Merry Men'). Indeed, when Cassilis later searches for his body among the remains of the burnt pavilion, there is literally 'no sign of him, nor so much as a trace of blood' (p.215): he is both absent from and forgotten by the final chapter. In fact, the final chapter of 'The Pavilion on the Links' not only turns its attention instead to Northmour but, more generally, returns to the 'conventions' of the 'romantically comic': with Huddlestone dismissed, the remaining characters emerge from their adventure (and from their 'lodging' in the pavilion) to greet the arrival of a new day, 'when the sun rose out of the sea' (p.216). This closing scene, when morning comes, shifts the focus away from those 'sordid' events that took up the earlier part of the story: as Cassilis remarks, 'It is all to me, as I look back upon it...like the struggles of a sleeper in a nightmare' (p.211). The notion that the story had presented a 'nightmare' from which the characters (without the morally 'deteriorated' Huddlestone) finally awaken is important to notice, and is perhaps made clearer in a passage in the earlier Cornhill version of the story, but not in the final version, when Northmour refers to the 'invisible avengers' who had besieged the pavilion in the previous chapter: 'And the Italians? Gone too; they were night-birds, and they have

all flown before daylight.'¹³ Like Huddleston, the Italian 'avengers' are also finally dismissed, so that the story's conclusion is itself essentially 'restorative': the dark events of the previous nights are entirely 'cured' with the coming of daylight, the reconciliation with Northmour, and the prevailing romance between Cassilis and Clara (with all its ambiguity).

Yet although they end in 'opposite' ways, other specific comparisons can be drawn between 'The Pavilion on the Links' and 'The Merry Men.' Both stories present a young man's account of his unusual experiences with a father and his daughter. Both Cassilis and Charles Darnaway (the narrator of 'The Merry Men') approach the daughters with romantic intentions, although it is perhaps typical of the less 'restorative' 'The Merry Men' that the romance between Charles and Mary Ellen is left unreconciled (and the father, Gordon Darnaway, remains at the focus of the story). Like Cassilis, Charles Darnaway also values, or over-values, 'politeness, decency, and reverence,' and as a consequence he too presents a somewhat 'severe' view of his morally 'deteriorating' uncle. Most significantly, however, both stories share the same kind of setting: the pavilion on the links compares with and perhaps forecasts the created islet of Aros in 'The Merry Men.' The Sea-Wood of Graden Easter, where the pavilion is situated, is a gloomy and isolated place characterised by frequent storms and ship-wrecks:

On summer days the outlook was bright and even gladsome; but at sundown in September, with a high wind, and a heavy surf rolling in close along the links, the place told of nothing but dead mariners and sea disaster. A ship beating to windward on the horizon, and a huge truncheon of wreck half buried in the sands at my feet, completed the innuendo of the scene. (p.161)

13. ibid., p.450.

Stevenson's description of Aros in 'The Merry Men' is remarkably similar:

On calm days you can go wandering between them in a boat for hours...but when the sea is up, Heaven help the man that hears that caldron boiling....The homelessless of men, and even of inanimate vessels, cast away upon strange shores, came strongly in upon my mind. 14

As 'The Pavilion on the Links' and 'The Merry Men' unfold, so the weather changes for the worse: the events in both stories take place beside an ever-increasing 'concert of the wind, the sea, and the rain' (p.187). Indeed, both stories (for all the 'romantically comic' 'conventions' of the final chapter in 'The Pavilion on the Links') begin to take on the 'opposite' characteristics of 'grisly winter's tales.'

One particular passage in 'The Pavilion on the Links' seems to have been more or less 'repeated' in 'The Merry Men.' In Chapter IV, having found out about 'Huddlestone's Failure,' Cassilis notices some mysterious Italians in the village of Graden Wester. Returning to the pavilion, he passes Graden Floe and notices the footprints of a 'stranger' who, it appears, had recently met his death in the treacherous quicksands nearby:

There, whoever he was, the miserable man had perished.... I stood for some time gazing at the spot, chilled and disheartened by my own reflections, and with a strong and commanding consciousness of death. I remember wondering how long the tragedy had taken, and whether his screams had been audible at the pavilion. And then, making a strong resolution, I was about to tear myself away, when a gust fiercer than usual fell upon this quarter of the beach, and I saw now, whirling high in air, now skimming lightly across the surface of the sands, a soft, black, felt hat, somewhat conical in shape, such as I had remarked already on the heads of the Italians.

I believe, but I am not sure, that I uttered a cryI seized it with the interest you may imagine....The shock was complete. I saw imaginary Italians upon every side; and for the first, and, I may say, for the last time in my experience, became overpowered by what is called a

14. The Merry Men and Other Tales, viii, 6, 25.

panic terror. (pp.185-86)

The passage does not serve any particular purpose in 'The Pavilion on the Links,' apart from perhaps underlining the generally hazardous nature of the links themselves (the quicksands, for example, are not mentioned again and the identity of the dead Italian is not pursued). It is, in other words, an 'effect' that is consistent with but hardly necessary to the framework of the story. It is possible, however, that Stevenson took up this scene again for 'The Merry Men': here, the scene, somewhat transformed to suit the altered setting and the surrounding events, is now more properly connected to the story: to recall Stevenson's remarks about 'The Beach of Falesá,' it now more obviously prepares for 'the effects that are to follow.' The transformed passage occurs in Chapter III when the narrator, Charles Darnaway, crosses the islet of Aros in search of the wreck of the Espirito Santo:

...my eyes were suddenly arrested by a spot, cleared of fern and heather, and marked by one of those long, low, and almost human-looking mounds that we see so commonly in graveyards. I stopped like a man shot....Here was a grave; and I had to ask myself, with a chill, what manner of man lay there in his last sleep, awaiting the signal of the Lord in that solitary, sea-beat resting-place?...my mind misgave me even with a fear, that perhaps he was near me where I stood, guarding his sepulchre and lingering on the scene of his unhappy fate. 15

The passage recalls Cassilis's 'consciousness of death' by the quicksands, and his sense of 'imaginary Italians on either side' in the scene cited above. The Italian's felt hat which inspires Cassilis's 'panic terror' also has its counterpart here in 'The Merry Men' when, diving for the treasure of the Espirito Santo, Darnaway grasps hold of an old shoe-buckle:

I held it in my hand, and the thought of its owner appeared

15. ibid., pp.24-25.

before me like the presence of an actual man....The grave, the wreck of the brig, and the rusty shoe-buckle were surely plain advertisements. A child might have read their dismal story, and yet it was not until I touched that actual piece of mankind that the full horror of the charnel ocean burst upon my spirit. 16

Whereas Cassilis's 'panic terror' had passed without further comment, Darnaway's momentary sense of 'the full horror of the charnel ocean' is central to the themes and 'conventions' of 'The Merry Men,' and is studied in detail through the moral and mental 'deterioration' of Charles's uncle Gordon (as will be demonstrated later). Yet this and other similarities between 'The Merry Men' and 'The Pavilion on the Links' are important to notice. 'The Pavilion on the Links' conforms eventually to the 'conventions' of the 'romantically comic'; but within those 'conventions,' it also exhibits certain characteristics (the study of the morally 'deteriorated' Bernard Huddleston; the evocation of 'panic terror' in a gloomy and isolated setting) which forecast Stevenson's later and more 'sordid' Scottish 'winter's tales.'

In a note at the beginning of 'The Pavilion on the Links' in the Tusitala Edition, a source for the imaginary settings of Graden Wester and Graden Easter is given: 'The scenery was suggested by Dirleton in East Lothian, near North Berwick, and midway between Tantallon and Gillane (sic), haunts of his boyhood to which he returned in Catriona' (p.158). However, Roger G. Swearingen has rightly suggested that Stevenson drew on a different place for his story. Swearingen cites the final paragraph of Stevenson's essay 'The Education of an Engineer: More Random Memories,' as that essay had originally appeared in Scribner's Magazine,

16. ibid., pp.28-29.

4 (November 1888). This final paragraph, which was not given in the republication of the story in Across the Plains in 1892 or in the Tusitala Edition of the essay in Further Memories, concludes an account of Stevenson's visit to the north-east tip of Scotland in 1868. Here, Stevenson remarks on how 'The Pavilion on the Links' came to be written, and associates the story with this place:

Years after, I read in the papers that some defaulting banker had been picked up by a yacht upon the coast of Wales; the two vagabonds of Castleton (I know not why) rose up instantly before my fancy; and that same night I had made the framework of a blood-and-thunder tale, which the reader may have dipped into under the name of The Pavilion on the Links. But how much more picturesque is the plain fact! 17

The 'two vagabonds' refer to two small Italian boys Stevenson had seen during a trip to Castleton (or Castletown) at this time. Stevenson's remarks about them towards the end of 'The Education of an Engineer' not only establish the north-east tip of Scotland (and Castleton in particular) as the place on which the setting in 'The Pavilion on the Links' was based but, moreover, show how Stevenson might have 'adapted' the scene in his story where Cassilis goes into Graden Wester and first sees the mysterious Italian carbonari:

...we came down upon the shores of the roaring Pentland Firth, that grave of mariners; on one hand, the cliffs of Dunnet Head ran seaward; in front was the little bare, white town of Castleton, its streets full of blowing sand And here, in the last imaginable place, there sprang up young outlandish voices and a chatter of some foreign speech; and I saw...two little dark-eyed, white-toothed Italian vagabonds, of twelve to fourteen years of age, one with a hurdy-gurdy, the other with a cage of white mice. The coach passed on, and their small Italian chatter died in the distance; and I was left to marvel how they had wandered into that country, and how they fared in it, and what they thought of it, and when (if ever) they should see again the silver wind-breaks run among the olives, and the

stone-pine stand guard upon Etruscan sepulchres. 18

The connection between the Italian 'vagabonds' in Castleton and the newspaper account of the 'defaulting banker' who was 'picked up...upon the coast of Wales' is not at all clear; but nevertheless the alliance of these two episodes (the result of Stevenson's 'fancy') seems to have provided a basic framework for the pursuit of Huddlestone by the Italian carbonari in 'The Pavilion on the Links.' The 'effects' of this pursuit and of the Italian presence in Graden Wester may (perhaps as a consequence of this 'fanciful' alliance) not have been satisfactorily explained or developed in the story, but at least the above passages testify to Stevenson's early interest in setting his fictional events in 'the last imaginable place.'

18. Further Memories. xxx, 27-28. Compare the description of Graden Wester in 'The Pavilion on the Links': 'The village is one of the bleakest on that coast, which is saying much...two or three score of stone houses arranged along the beach and in two streets...' (p.182), and so on.

CHAPTER TWO

MORE NEW ARABIAN NIGHTS: THE DYNAMITER

Stevenson returned to his 'new' Arabian Nights stories in late 1884, collaborating on The Dynamiter, at least in part, with his wife Fanny. The stories were probably completed within eight to twelve weeks, and the Stevensons seemed to have worked solidly on them during this time, with the possible intention of releasing them to the Christmas market. Stevenson expressed the pressure of his situation in a letter to W.E. Henley, writing from Bournemouth in November:

We are all to pieces in health, and heavily handicapped with Arabs. I have a dreadful cough, whose attacks leave me aetat. 90. I never let up on the Arabs, all the same, and rarely get less than eight pages out of hand, though hardly able to come downstairs for twittering knees....In a fortnight, if I can keep my spirit in the box at all, I should be nearly through this Arabian desert; so can tackle something fresh. 1

By December, Stevenson was completing and rearranging the stories, and he wrote to Henley again suggesting, and then rejecting, Cassell and Co. (for whom Henley worked at this time) as likely publishers:

What are Cassells to do with this eccentric mass of blague and seriousness? Their poor auld paws will a' turn white as snaw, man. They would skreigh with horror....Will Cassell stand it? No....I vote for the syndicate. 2

Stevenson's reference to the 'syndicate' suggests that he was considering serialising the stories initially in magazine form, as the earlier 'new' Arabian Nights stories had first been serialised in London. Early in the following year, he entered into a 'treaty' with the Pall Mall Gazette

1. Letters, iii, 12.

2. ibid., p.23.

for the stories, that magazine having published Stevenson's 'The Body-Snatcher' only weeks before at Christmas.³ However, this 'treaty' must have fallen through, and the stories made their first appearance in book form only: The Dynamiter was published on 28 April 1885 by Longmans, Green and Co., and was Stevenson's second collection of short fiction.⁴

The Stevensons dedicated The Dynamiter 'to Messers Cole and Cox, Police Officers':

In the volume in your hands, the authors have touched upon the ugly devil of crime, with which it is your glory to have contended....History...will not forget Mr Cole carrying the dynamite in his defenceless hands, nor Mr Cox coming coolly to his aid. 5

Constables Cole and Cox were responsible for partly preventing the bombing of the crypt and the Peer's Gallery of the Chamber of the House at the House of Commons on 24 January 1885. At this time, some two thousand people were passing through the building as sight-seers. Constable Cole was on duty in the crypt and was alerted to a 'smoking parcel': he 'grabbed it and made a dash up the stairs for Westminster Hall but it exploded before he reached the top.'⁶ Cole suffered broken ribs and

3. See Baxter, p.157: 'I am in treaty with P.M.G. for The Dynamiters (sic).'

4. For further remarks about the publication of The Dynamiter, see Swearingen, p.87. Colonel W.F. Prideaux has noted that The Dynamiter was reprinted in the same year in May and July, Prideaux, p.41: it seems to have shared the success of New Arabian Nights. The collection may also have been offered to Chatto and Windus (who had published New Arabian Nights): W.E. Henley wrote to Andrew Chatto on 12 February 1885, two weeks before the contract with Longmans was executed, 'Stevenson has asked me to see you about his new set of "Arabian Nights",' A Stevenson Library: Catalogue of a Collection of Writings by and about Stevenson formed by Edwin J. Beinecke, compiled by G.L. McKay (New Haven, Connecticut, 1951), iv, 1379 (Beinecke 4668).

5. The Dynamiter, iii, xiii-iv. Further references are given after quotations in the text.

6. K.R.M. Short, The Dynamite War: Irish-American Bombers in Victorian Britain (Dublin, 1979), p.207.

shock; Cox, 'the constable at the top of the crypt,'⁷ ran to Cole's assistance and also suffered shock from the explosion. But the bomb in the crypt was only a diversionary device: the main bomb, planted under the Peer's Gallery, exploded soon afterwards and caused extensive damage. Cole was later awarded the Albert Medal for bravery.

Stevenson had been interested in and concerned about the outbreak of bombings in Britain and in London in particular at this time and, since they provide a specific context for The Dynamiter as a whole, it might be useful to comment briefly on their history. Most of the bombings were financed and carried out by Irish-American Fenians, an organisation founded in 1858 by John O'Mahony and Michael Doheny and dedicated to the achievement of Irish Nationalism. This group, along with the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood (also founded in 1858) and the Clan na Gael (founded in 1867), began to use the fairly recent phenomenon of dynamite to publicise their cause. The first bombing in Britain was at Clerkenwell Prison in 1867, as part of an operation to liberate 'Colonel' Richard O'Sullivan Burke: 6 people died outright, 11 died later or indirectly, and at least 120 were injured by the explosion, which resulted in a general feeling throughout Britain of 'panic and hysteria.'⁸ One of the important figures in the Fenian movement was Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa: released from prison in 1871, his 'Cuba Five' revitalised American Fenianism and, using money from his 'Skirmishing Fund' and from the United Irish Reserve Fund, he was responsible for a series of bombings throughout Britain, beginning in Manchester on 14 January 1881. O'Donovan Rossa's targets included Glasgow's Tradeston Gas Works and the

7. ibid., p.208.

8. ibid., p.11.

Buchanan Street Station of Caledonian Railways on 20 January 1883; and on 15 March of the same year, he unsuccessfully tried to explode The Times publishing offices in London. However, many of the London bombings in the 1880s were carried out by the Clan na Gael. On 30 May 1884, the Clan bombed the Special Irish Branch of Scotland Yard, causing extensive damage to the building but only light casualties. At the end of 1884 (at the time the Stevensons began work on The Dynamiter), they planned their 'final assault of the dynamiter war,'⁹ but this time with little success: three dynamiters died when their bomb exploded prematurely on the south-west end of London Bridge on 13 December. The Clan na Gael were also behind the explosion in the House of Commons involving Constables Cole and Cox at the end of January 1885.

It is not entirely clear just how sympathetic Stevenson was for the cause of Irish Nationalism, though he certainly seems to have opposed the Irish Home Rule Bill which brought down the Gladstone government in mid-1886: as he wrote to Sidney Colvin in June of that year, 'I am a kind of dam home ruler, worse luck to it,' but he added, 'I would support almost anything but that bill.'¹⁰ Stevenson's opposition to the Irish Home Rule Bill was probably fuelled by the Fenian bombings in the previous four or five years. In fact, he expressed his opinions of the 'Skirmisher' O'Donovan Rossa as early as August 1881, writing to

9. ibid., p.200.

10. Letters, iii, 95. See also Swearingen, p.122: 'Stevenson supported the policies of Salisbury's coalition government of Conservatives and Liberal-Unionists formed after Gladstone's defeat on the issue of Home Rule in August 1886, mostly on the grounds that the alternative to firmness from England was mere anarchy and bloodshed.' Sidney Colvin had remarked, however, that Stevenson 'had been...disturbed at the failure of successive administrations to assert the reign of law in Ireland. He was no blind partisan of the English cause in that country...'
'Introductory Note,' Letters, iii, 4.

Colvin,

I am in a mad fury about these explosions. If that is the new world! Damn O'Donovan Rossa; damn him behind and before, above, below, and roundabout; damn, deracinate, and destroy him, root and branch, self and company, world without end. Amen. I write that for sport if you like, but I will pray in earnest, O Lord, if you cannot convert, kindly delete him! 11

It seems likely that, in The Dynamiter, 'the redoubted Zero' (p.117) was based on O'Donovan Rossa: perhaps taking up the wishful thinking in his letter to Colvin, Stevenson himself 'deleted' this character in a particularly appropriate way, blowing him up with his own bomb. In a letter to James Payn on 2 January 1886, Stevenson observed that an event presented in Payn's novel Lost Sir Massingberd (1864) had actually 'occurred' in reality: 'I saw the other day that the Eternal had plagiarised from Lost Sir Massingberd: good again, sir! I wish he would plagiarise the death of Zero.'¹² This remark recalls Stevenson's wishful thinking in his earlier letter to Colvin ('O Lord...kindly delete him!'), and perhaps it confirms that Zero was based on a real dynamiter (O'Donovan Rossa was still at large at the time of Stevenson's letter to Payn). Indeed, in general terms, the dynamiters in Stevenson's stories are clearly linked to the Fenians, and the nervous bomber Patrick M'Guire is himself an Irish-American, wearing 'a chin-beard in the American fashion' (p.110).

In her 'Prefatory Note' to The Dynamiter, Fanny Stevenson acknowledges that the stories drew specifically on the recent London bombings outlined above, and she also suggests that the idea of using the motif of the 'dynamiter' was, originally, her own. Her account begins six months before The Dynamiter came to be written, in mid-1884 when

11. Letters, ii, 163.

12. ibid., iii, 73.

Stevenson was ill and confined to his bed at the Châlet La Solitude at Hyères in France:

...there was something that he greatly wished me to do. I was to go out for an hour's walk every afternoon, if it were only back and forth in front of our door, and invent a story to repeat when I came in--a sort of Arabian Nights Entertainment where I was to take the part of Scheherazade and he the sultan. There had been several dynamite outrages in London about this time, the most of them turning out fiascos. It occurred to me to take an impotent dynamite intrigue as the thread to string my stories on. I began with the Mormon tale, and followed it with innumerable others, one for each afternoon. As time passed, my husband gradually regained his health to a degree, became again absorbed in his work, and the stories of Scheherazade were thought of no more. (pp.xi-ii)

When the Stevensons moved to Bournemouth towards the end of 1884, however, it became apparent that 'money was absolutely necessary':

we cast about for something that could be done quickly and without too much strain; the Scheherazade stories came to mind, and we both set to work to write out what we could remember of them. We could recall only enough to make a rather thin book, so my husband added one more to the list, The Explosive Bomb. (p.xii)

It is not entirely clear just how much Fanny herself contributed to The Dynamiter. As her 'Prefatory Note' indicates, she certainly claims responsibility for 'the Mormon tale,' that is, the 'Story of the Destroying Angel.' A note at the beginning of The Dynamiter in the Tusitala Edition suggests that she also wrote the 'Story of the Fair Cuban' (p.iv). Stevenson almost certainly wrote the 'Narrative of the Spirited Old Lady,' the only story in the collection that re-introduces Prince Florizel and Colonel Geraldine from the earlier New Arabian Nights (it also has much in common with the earlier 'The Adventure of the Hansom Cabs,' dealing again with clandestine goings-on in a 'superfluous mansion'). It seems reasonable to assume that the linking stories involving Challoner, Somerset and Desborough were all written by Stevenson: these characters share the 'particular folly or set of follies' shown

to be typical of Francis Scrymgeour and Mr Simon Rolles in New Arabian Nights, and they are brought together in the cigar-store owned by Godall who is again a presiding figure with an essentially 'restorative' role to play. As Fanny's 'Prefatory Note' suggested, Stevenson also wrote 'Zero's Tale of the Explosive Bomb': this story is, indeed, central to the emerging notion of the 'dynamiter' in the collection, and it also re-introduces Prince Florizel. Finally, Stevenson himself was probably also responsible for revisions made to The Dynamiter. In his letter to Henley in December 1884, he remarks on the three 'intercalary' stories in the collection, distinguishing between his own and the two attributed to Fanny and, furthermore, implying that they took the place of three earlier stories which are now untraced:

...the lot of tales is now coming to a kind of bearing. They are being quite rehandled; all the three intercalary narratives have been condemned and are being replaced--two by picturesque and highly romantic adventures; one by a comic tale of character; and the thing as it goes together so far, is, I do think, singularly varied and vivid, coming near to laughter and touching tears. 13

The 'two...picturesque and highly romantic adventures' are Fanny's 'Story of the Destroying Angel' and 'Story of the Fair Cuban'; the 'comic tale of character' is Stevenson's 'Narrative of the Spirited Old Lady.'

Whether or not Fanny was entirely responsible for the 'Story of the Destroying Angel' and the 'Story of the Fair Cuban,' nevertheless these two 'highly romantic adventures' are significantly different from those two stories attributed to Stevenson and from the linking stories concerning Challoner, Somerset and Desborough. They are the only two stories which are told by Clara Luxmore, herself a dynamiter; they are both told under assumed names (that is, Clara presents herself in

these stories under assumed names both as the narrator and the subject); and, within the context of the collection, they are the only stories that are 'false.' Clara gives, in both her stories, a fabricated and 'romantic' account of herself which, in other words, is simply not true. Just before she begins her first 'Story of the Destroying Angel,' this sense of 'romantic' fabrication is made apparent:

'Let me forget,' she had said, 'for one half-hour, let me forget;' and...with the very word, her sorrows appeared to be forgotten. Before every house she paused, invented a name for the proprietor, and sketched his character: here lived the old general whom she was to marry on the fifth of the next month, there was the mansion of the rich widow who had set her heart on Challoner; and though she still hung wearily on the young man's arm, her laughter sounded low and pleasant in his ears....Thereupon she...began in the following words, and with the greatest appearance of enjoyment, to narrate the story of her life. (pp.16-17)

Clara's stories are not only false but diversionary (a diversionary device), and she perhaps takes on the role of Scheherazade that Fanny had earlier prescribed to herself. More important, to recall Stevenson's letter to John Meiklejohn, her stories amount to a kind of 'drug' to be taken when 'I suffer in mind': '...her sorrows appeared to be forgotten.'

Clara does not present herself in these stories as a dynamiter, and yet for all their false and diversionary characteristics her two stories provide a concealed view of the dynamiter that is important to notice. Clara appears in her first 'Story of the Destroying Angel' as Asenath Fonblanque, and she gives an account of her enslavement to the fanatical leader of a Mormon sect, Dr Grierson. The Mormon sect itself compares with the 'unjust and doomed society' (p.91) that (as the young man in the 'Narrative of the Spirited Old Lady' tells Prince Florizel) similarly binds the dynamiters with an 'irrevocable oath' (p.91) and thus ensures they remain in its service. The ageing Dr Grierson returns to England with Asenath/Clara and proceeds with chemical experiments to make himself physically younger: as she expresses it, he intends to marry her

after becoming 'purified, invigorated, renewed, re-stamped in the original image...the first perfect expression of the powers of mankind' (p.45). Perhaps anticipating Dr Jekyll's experiments with the 'powders' in The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde, Dr Grierson's experiments are upset by the imperfection or 'impurity' (p.47) of his chemical ingredients: the 'singularly unstable' (p.47) mixture he prepares finally explodes. This explosion signifies in Clara's story the equally 'unstable' dynamiter's bomb: its 'voluminous and ill-smelling vapours' (p.49) forecast the 'offensive stench' (p.192) and 'dense and choking fumes' (p.192) of a second abortive bomb which explodes in the linking story of 'The Brown Box--Concluded.' Clara's story, then, suggests certain similarities between Dr Grierson's 'romantic' pretensions and the cause of the dynamiters themselves.

Clara presents herself as Teresa Valdevia in her second and false 'Story of the Fair Cuban.' Here, she also presents a kind of female version of Dr Grierson, the mysterious Madam Mendizabel, who presides over strange rites of 'Hoodoo' on a small island off the coast of Cuba and similarly enslaves the island's inhabitants. Indeed, her 'Hoodoo' rites recall Dr Grierson's chemical experiments, since they too involve an attempt by Mendizabel to restore her youth and return 'to the blossom of her days, and be a girl once more, and the desired of all men, even as in the past' (p.168). Just before the act of rejuvenation takes place, however, a tornado devastates her rites and perhaps has the general effect of a dynamite explosion:

there arose, in the empty night, a sound louder than the roar of any European tempest....Blackness engulfed the world: blackness, stabbed across from every side by intricate and blinding lightning....Everything, in that line, tree, man, or animal, the desecrated chapel and the votaries of Hoodoo, had been subverted and destroyed in that brief spasm of anger of the powers of air. (pp.168-69)

Leaving the island, Clara takes on Mendizabel's identity, proclaiming to

the crew of her ship (and using Mendizabel's other identity), '...if the name is new to your ears, call me Metambogu' (p.170). A kind of resemblance is established between Clara and Mendizabel: taking on Mendizabel's 'romantic' pretensions, Clara assumes the character of Sir George Greville's 'rejuvenated wife' (p.177). This resemblance forecasts the later relationship between Somerset and Zero; but here, at least, it again implicitly compares the dynamiter, Clara, with a 'romantic' and fanatical and ultimately self-defeating figure. Perhaps the two obviously false and diversionary stories in the collection thus provide the clearest criticisms of the dynamiter's cause.

As in New Arabian Nights, The Dynamiter systematically divests each character, and especially each dynamiter, of their 'romantic' pretensions. Those characters who are attracted to the dynamiters and their cause are shown to commit 'a folly or set of follies': this is reflected especially through the characters of Challoner and Desborough, as they listen to and come to believe Clara's false stories. Challoner, for example, believes her 'Story of the Destroying Angel' and accepts Clara's request to go on an errand to Glasgow where, unknown to him, he will correspond with Clara's dynamiting colleague, Patrick M'Guire. Fleeing from the police and forced to lose his clothes, Challoner soon realises that Clara's story (and identity) had been 'fraudulent' and, as a consequence, he is 'cured' of his own nourished 'romantic' pretensions:

...evil, secrecy, terror, and falsehood were the conditions and the passions of the people among whom he had begun to move, like a blind puppet; and he who began as a puppet, his experience told him, was often doomed to perish as a victim....Attired as he was he dared not present himself at any reputable inn....in his absurd attire he durst not for decency commingle with his equals... (pp.61, 64)

In the same way, Desborough comes to believe Clara's second 'Story of the Fair Cuban,' considering Clara/Teresa to be 'the most romantic...of

her sex' (p.181). However, falling in love with him and witnessing once again the failure of another bomb, Clara's confession removes both Desborough's and her own 'romantic' pretensions simultaneously:

Don Quixote, Don Quixote, have you again been tilting
against windmills?...Oh! Harry, Harry...how you shame me!
But this is God's truth. I am a dangerous and wicked girl.
My name is Clara Luxmore. I was never nearer Cuba than
Penzance. (pp.185, 190)

This confession, where Clara acknowledges her true identity for the first time, recalls the transformation from Prince Florizel to Godall in New Arabian Nights: the characters are divested or 'cured' of their 'romantic' pretensions. This confession also marks the beginning of Clara's rejection of the dynamiter's cause: she comes to admit that, like her fabricated stories, her occupation is essentially 'a particular folly or set of follies.' Indeed, the dynamite itself becomes a metaphor for her 'romantic' and false histories: they turn out to be, as her colleague Zero later describes his 'unstable' bomb, 'a hollow mockery and a fraud' (p.193).

This comic process, where a character is 'cured' of his 'romantic' pretensions, is best shown through the relationship between the third linking character Somerset and the dynamiter Zero. More so than Challoner or Desborough, Somerset is attracted to 'illusions': 'He was one who lived exclusively in dreams...the creature of his own theories, and an actor in his own romances' (p.66). Somerset meets Clara's mother, who tells him the true story of her life: indeed, since her story also tells of the regrets and 'dishonour' of a young dynamiter who is apprehended in her 'superfluous mansion,' she in a sense provides him with a cautionary tale. Somerset lets Mrs Luxmore's house to 'Mr Jones,' a man he later recognises as the dynamiter Zero and the man in the 'sealskin great-coat' (p.5) listed in the police columns of the Standard

which he had held up to Challoner and Desborough at the beginning of the collection.¹⁴ Somerset's discovery is presented in significant terms: dressing himself in Zero's clothes and 'masquerading in the man's own coat' (p.115), he comes to resemble or imitate the dynamiter (as Clara had, in her 'Story of the Fair Cuban,' taken on the characteristics of Madame Mendizabel). This resemblance reflects Somerset's growing admiration for Zero, and he offers the dynamiter his 'loyal hand' (p.116) and listens to him with 'indescribable bewilderment' (p.116). Somerset's 'romantic' pretensions are confirmed by Zero himself: as the dynamiter tells him, 'If you love romance (as artists do), few lives are more romantic than that of the obscure individual now addressing you' (p.116).

These 'romantic' pretensions (which 'romanticise' the dynamiter's cause) are 'cured' only when Somerset hears 'Zero's Tale of the Explosive Bomb.' This story (also 'true') concerns the nervous dynamiter Patrick M'Guire, who takes a time-bomb into Leicester Square. Unable to detonate it since the Square is full of policemen, M'Guire then tries to pass it over to innocent passers-by, including a woman and a child, until Prince Florizel comes to his assistance. The story shows the dynamiter's profession to be anything but 'romantic,' and Somerset reacts with horror: Zero thus unwittingly divests him of his 'romantic' pretensions. This essentially 'remedial' or 'restorative' process is presented in a significant and, to some degree, serious way.

Somerset had initially announced to the dynamiter, 'Sir, I believe

14. Stevenson may have originally considered naming his collection after this Standard description. Andrew Lang wrote to him on 16 March 1885, 'What do you mean to call it? "The Dynamiter" sounds catch penny. Did you think of "The Man in the Sealskin Coat"?' McKay, iv, 1465 (Beinecke 5070). W.E. Henley had also used this title in his correspondence with Stevenson: see ibid., iv, 1402, 1404.

in nothing' (p.119): this is a part of his 'romanticism.' Zero sees in this nihilistic announcement a source for sympathy and understanding: as he tells Somerset, 'You are then...in position to grasp my argument' (p.120). After 'Zero's Tale of the Explosive Bomb,' however, Somerset comes to recognise the 'folly' of his position:

All day he wandered in the parks, a prey to whirling thoughts; all night, patrolled the city; and at the peep of day he sat down by the wayside in the neighbourhood of Peckham and bitterly wept. His gods has fallen. He who had chosen the broad, daylight, unencumbered paths of universal scepticism, found himself still the bondslave of honour. He who had accepted life from a point of view as lofty as the predatory eagle's, though with no design to prey; he who had clearly recognised the common moral basis of war, of commercial competition, and of crime; he who was prepared to help the escaping murderer or to embrace the impenitent thief, found, to the overthrow of all his logic, that he objected to the use of dynamite. The dawn crept among the sleeping villas and over the smokeless fields of city; and still the unfortunate sceptic sobbed over his fall from consistency. (p.138, my italics)

Somerset's position as a 'sceptic' had allowed him to 'romanticise' Zero and the dynamiter's cause. But Zero's story essentially 'cures' him of this 'scepticism' and reintroduces to him a fundamental sense of morality. As he tells Zero,

For me...you have now ceased to be a man....when I look upon your idiot face, laughter rises within me like a deadly sickness, and the tears spring up into my eyes as bitter as blood. What should this portend? I begin to doubt; I am losing faith in scepticism. Is it possible...is it conceivable that I believe in right and wrong? (p.199, my italics)

Stevenson's application of the term 'scepticism' to Somerset is important to notice: he had used the term himself in a letter to J.A. Symonds while he was completing The Dynamiter, in February 1885. Here, Stevenson protested about the Liberal Prime Minister Gladstone's insensitive response to the recent news of General Gordon's death at Khartoum (which had reached London on 5 February of that year). Highly critical of what he called the 'bourgeois' attitude in England to events in the Soudan

at this time, Stevenson's remarks provide an interesting context for his treatment of Somerset in The Dynamiter:

Millais (I hear) was painting Gladstone when the news came of Gordon's death; Millais was much affected, and Gladstone said, 'Why? It is the man's own temerity!' Voilà le Bourgeois! le voilà nu! but why should I blame Gladstone, when I too am a Bourgeois? when I have held my peace? Why did I hold my peace? Because I am a sceptic: i.e., a Bourgeois. We believe in nothing, Symonds: you don't, and I don't; and these are two reasons, out of a handful of millions, why England stands before the world dripping with blood and daubed with dishonour....if England has shown (I put it hypothetically) one spark of manly sensibility, they have been shamed into it by the spectacle of Gordon. Police-Officer Cole is the only man that I see to admire. I dedicate my New Arabs to him and Cox, in default of other great public characters. 15

Referring to Gordon and the Soudan, Stevenson uses here the terms he had assigned to Somerset in The Dynamiter ('the unfortunate sceptic....I am losing faith in scepticism'): it becomes clear that Somerset is in a sense representative of Stevenson's view at this time of the English 'bourgeois.' The 'remedial' process outlined above, where Somerset is essentially 'cured' of his 'bourgeois scepticism,' thus assumes a larger and more significant context: through Somerset's changing sympathies towards the equally contemporary phenomenon of dynamiting, Stevenson both presents and 'resolves' certain attitudes that he considered to be currently prevailing in England.

The closing 'Epilogue of the Cigar Divan' serves as a reminder of this context: Godall sits in the back of his cigar-store following 'the progress of the different wars' on 'a large-scale map of Egypt and the Soudan' (p.206). The transformation from Prince Florizel to Godall at the end of New Arabian Nights is 'repeated' in The Dynamiter, when Somerset himself is at last placed 'behind the counter' in the cigar-

store; his 'romantic' pretensions (and, in particular, the kind of 'bourgeois scepticism' that had allowed him to 'romanticise' the dynamiter's cause) have now been wholly 'cured.' This 'remedial' process is also presented as if Somerset has, finally, 'grown up': no longer able to see Zero as a 'romantic...individual,' he exclaims, 'And must this change proceed? Have you robbed me of my youth?' (p.199, my italics). The close of The Dynamiter seems to confirm this sense of moving away from one's youth (with all its accompanying 'romanticism'), presenting perhaps with some seriousness the acquisition of a 'grown up' awareness of 'right and wrong' that accordingly denies the 'romance' of the dynamiter and his cause. Of course, the 'folly' of Dr Grierson and Madame Mendizabel, who had tried to regain their youth, has already been demonstrated. But in the final 'Epilogue of the Cigar Divan,' Godall summarises by remarking almost angrily on the dynamiting phenomenon and, by doing so, re-expresses this confirmation of the ageing process: 'My views are formal like myself; and like myself, they also begin to grow old' (p.208). As for New Arabian Nights, the close of The Dynamiter, where each character is reconciled to one another in Godall's cigar-store, signifies the end of a 'romantically comic' process. Yet, at the same time, this process also finally moves away from its own established 'conventions': reflecting the closing transformation of Somerset, who has now 'grown up' (and also recalling the earlier transformation from Florizel to Godall), this process essentially 'cures' itself of its own 'romantic' pretensions. Like Somerset, in other words, the stories also 'grow up'; they reject their youthful 'scepticism' and become (as Godall's concluding remarks on the dynamiter indicate) committed; they finally divest themselves of their own 'romantic' 'point of view.'

Since it confirms a movement away from one's youth, it is tempting to regard The Dynamiter as an 'older' and perhaps more serious sequel to New Arabian Nights. Indeed, written more than six years after the earlier 'new' Arabian Nights stories, The Dynamiter perhaps reflects not only Stevenson's cynical view of contemporary 'bourgeois' attitudes but, moreover, his own sense of having finally 'grown up': perhaps not surprisingly, this collection, coming after Prince Otto and 'The Treasure of Franchard,' seems to mark the end of Stevenson's interest in his French and 'Bohemian' romantic comedies. More important, it also marks (with some exceptions) an end to the kind of stories shown to be 'comic' through their closing emphasis on 'restoration' and 'remedy': Stevenson does not return to this kind of writing until his emigration to the South Pacific in mid-1888. Instead, throughout the mid- and early-1880s, Stevenson developed an 'opposite' and more 'sordid' kind of story which, like 'A Lodging for the Night,' can be characterised in contrast by its absence of 'restorative' values. In the following chapter, which examines three of Stevenson's uncollected short stories, 'The Body-Snatcher' provides the best example of this 'opposite' kind of writing: it is (to recall Stevenson's remarks in his essay on Villon) a particularly 'grisly winter's tale.' But the first uncollected short story to be examined is, again, an early romantic comedy, 'When the Devil was Well.' As the title suggests, this story deals specifically with the 'restoration' of a character's health.

CHAPTER THREE

I. SOME UNCOLLECTED SHORT STORIES: 'WHEN THE DEVIL WAS WELL'

At some time in January 1875, while staying with his parents at 17 Heriot Row in Edinburgh, Stevenson wrote excitedly to Mrs Frances Sitwell,

I am so happy. I am no longer here in Edinburgh. I have been all yesterday evening and this forenoon in Italy, four hundred years ago, with one Sannazzaro (sic), sculptor, painter, poet, etc., and one Ippolita, a beautiful Duchess. O I like it badly! I wish you could hear it at once; or rather I wish you could see it immediately in beautiful type on such a page as it ought to be, in my first little volume of stories....I am quite well again and in such happy spirits, as who would not be, having spent so much of his time at that convent on the hills with these sweet people. Vous verrez, and if you don't like this story--well, I give it up if you don't like it. Not but what there's a long way to travel yet; I am no farther than the threshold; I have only set the men, and the game has still to be played, and a lot of dim notions must become definite and shapely, and a deal be clear to me that is anything but clear as yet. The story shall be called, I think, When the Devil was well, in allusion to the old proverb. 1

At this time, Stevenson had probably only completed a small number of short stories, and had had no fiction published. However, this was one of the first stories he described at length in his correspondence, and he also introduced it to Sidney Colvin in the same month, adding that he was postponing his essay 'An Autumn Effect' in order to finish it:

I shall have another Portfolio paper so soon as I am done with this story, that has played me out; the story is to be called When the Devil was well: scene, Italy, Renaissance; colour, purely imaginary of course, my own unregenerate idea of what Italy then was. 2

1. Letters, i, 210.

2. ibid., p.211.

Stevenson wrote again to Colvin in early February,

I have finished the Italian story; not well, but as well as I can just now; I must go all over it again, some time soon, when I feel in the humour to better and perfect it. 3

However, Stevenson probably never came to revise this story, appearing less enthusiastic about it later on. Indeed, five months later in July, Stevenson criticised his story in another letter to Colvin (who had, apparently, read and liked it):

My discouragement is from many causes: among others the re-reading of my Italian story. Forgive me, Colvin, but I cannot agree with you; it seems green fruit to me, if not really unwholesome; it is profoundly feeble, damn its weakness! 4

In a note in the Tusitala Edition of Stevenson's letters, Colvin had remarked that 'When the Devil was Well' 'was by and by condemned and destroyed like all the others of this time.'⁵ Colvin's assessment of Stevenson's view of his story seems to have been correct, but he was apparently not aware that it had been reprinted in both the Tusitala and Vailima Editions, and that these editions had drawn upon the first posthumous publication of the story, When the Devil was Well: Hitherto Unpublished Story by Robert Louis Stevenson, edited and introduced by William P. Trent (Boston, 1921).⁶ Trent's edition printed the entire manuscript of the story, now held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, noting that 'it consists of fifty-four carefully numbered quarto leaves...the back of each leaf, with one exception, being blank.'⁷

3. ibid., p.216.

4. ibid., ii, 5.

5. ibid., i, 209.

6. G.L. McKay has noted that this edition was published on 10 December 1921, McKay, i, 356-57.

7. Trent, p.14. G.L. McKay has similarly described the manuscript, '55 pp., viz. pp. numbered 1-54 and the verso of p. numbered 11,' McKay, v, 2057 (Beinecke 7143).

Trent also noted that the manuscript was heavily annotated, not only by Stevenson himself but, in the margin especially, by 'at least three other readers':

So far as can be determined, all the alterations due to Stevenson himself are in ink, the numerous changes and suggestions due to others being in pencil. Through how many other revising hands the manuscript passed is difficult to determine....It is clear, however, that at least three readers left their pencilled traces. One annotator--by far the most copious and interesting--we have assumed to be Stevenson's father, the engineer Thomas Stevenson....This assumption is based on statements made in the catalogue of the Anderson Galleries, New York, for the sale of November 29-30, 1920. Another reader, who left but few traces, is identified by the hand assumed to be Thomas Stevenson's as 'Stephen'....and a natural and pleasing inference is that the person we are in search of is no other than the distinguished critic, Leslie Stephen, then editing the Cornhill....In February 1875--the month after When the Devil was Well seems to have been written--Stephen, who was lecturing in Edinburgh, called on Stevenson, and took him to see Henley, who was then confined to an infirmary....The third reader, who has left clear traces in the manuscript, was the enthusiastic one....It has been plausibly conjectured that he was Stevenson's cousin, Robert Alan Mowbray Stevenson, three and a half years his senior, who became a distinguished critic of painting....but positive identification of him with the annotator is impossible, in the absence of specimens of his handwriting. Equally impossible is it to make sure whether all the persons who passed judgement upon the manuscript have been clearly differentiated. More than once what has been assumed to be the handwriting of Thomas Stevenson furnishes occasion for the suspicion that perhaps some mistake has been made, and that a fourth reader is lurking in the misty background. 8

Trent confirmed the identification of Leslie Stephen as one of the readers in an accompanying footnote, remarking,

Since this was written, a comparison of the annotation attributed to 'Stephen' with a holograph letter of Leslie Stephen's leaves practically no doubt that the reader of Stevenson's manuscript at this point was...the editor of

8. Trent, pp.15-17. The 'fourth reader' may have been Colvin, who had (as Stevenson's letter to him in July 1875 indicates) probably read the story. G.L. McKay has also cited part of a letter from Stevenson to Colvin written at some time in 1875, where Stevenson refers to 'an unidentified story' which may have been 'When the Devil was Well': 'My dear Colvin.... I suppose I shall take all your damned corrections, when I come to the proof,' McKay, iii, 940 (Beinecke 3008).

Cornhill. 9

Trent also remarked of the 'enthusiastic' reader assumed to be Stevenson's cousin, that the story was never destroyed possibly 'because at least one early reader was sufficiently enthusiastic--Was it R.A.M. Stevenson? --to write on the last page of the manuscript, "Bravissimo, caro mio".'¹⁰

Trent's edition of the story contains an Appendix listing all the annotations made in the margin and elsewhere by the three or four readers, and he adds, 'the changes made are, as a rule, distinctly for the better.'¹¹ Since Stevenson did not come to revise his story, none of the suggested changes were taken up; but the readers' suggestions are all minor, only involving queries about certain words and expressions, and sometimes suggesting that the names of characters and places be changed. For example, a remark attributed to Thomas Stevenson suggests that the name Sanazarro be changed to 'Lando, say (short for Orlando), a manly kind of name, and belonged to some artists';¹² this same annotator also suggests that the name Isotta be changed to Diamante, 'a good name for a courtesan,'¹³ and that Bartolomeo della Scala be changed to Ercole Manfredi.¹⁴ Trent reproduces a facsimile of the first page of the manuscript of Stevenson's story, thus showing both Stevenson's own corrections (which were recognised in the Vailima and Tusitala Editions) and the annotations of the three or four readers. It may be helpful to

9. ibid., p.16n.

10. ibid., p.11.

11. ibid., p.15.

12. ibid., p.94.

13. ibid., p.102.

14. ibid., p.102.

present a typescript of that first page here. Each typed line will correspond to a written line in the manuscript; the marginal comments will be listed on the left-hand side (as in the manuscript); and all those remarks and deletions not made by Stevenson will be indicated with an asterisk:

<p><u>Count Orsino</u> and so on throughout*</p> <p><u>convent</u>*</p> <p>gentle?*</p> <p>all this is rather too long in the saying*</p> <p>'din and passion of earth' is plenty*</p> <p>There was nothing <u>poor</u> about court life in <u>Italy</u>: rather, 'without being made the witness of crimes and treasons and cruelties'*</p>	<p>the wicked* When Duke Orsino had <u>fairly</u>*worn out <u>finally</u>*</p> <p>the pati endurance of his young wife Ippolita he made it would be hard to say whether it was out of fear for her family, or from one of these occasional returns of a better spirit that now and then surprised him; he made no opposition --but he made no opposition to her departure from his the palace, and even had her escorted with all honour of ^{to} the nunnery among the hills, which she had chosen for her retreat. Here, the <u>good</u>*soul began to heal herself of all the slights that had been put upon her in these last years; and*day by day, shew grew to a greater quietness of spirit and a more deep contentment in the little sunshiny, placid, ways of convent life; until it seemed even to her as if all the surround ^{din} and passion, and all the smoke and stir of that <u>dim spot that men</u> call ^{call} <u>earth</u>*had passed too far away from her to move her any more. It seemed as if it life were quite ended for her, and yet, in a new sense, beginning. As day followed day, without violence, without distrust, without the <u>poor</u>* falsehood and ^{or the} <u>poor</u>*pomp of worldly ^{a court life} life, she seemed to breathe in renovation, and grow ever stronger and ever ^{the}*more peaceful at heart. And yet the third year, had not come to an end, before this peace was ever ^{broken}*thrown*</p>
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Interestingly, two of the marginal comments on this page alone aim at shortening Stevenson's more decorative descriptions ('all this is rather too long in the saying' and '"din and passion of earth" is plenty').

But Stevenson had probably chosen his setting ('my own unregenerate idea of what Italy then was') in order to be decorative: the courtly setting in the Italian renaissance perhaps required a decorative style. It is significant that the central character in the story, Sanazarro, should be a sculptor and painter, since Stevenson had become interested in the visual arts at this time and had remarked at various places on the 'visual' aspects of fiction. In Autumn 1874 (shortly before beginning the story), he wrote to his cousin R.A.M. Stevenson, who was later to become a respected art critic, about some Japanese art he had recently seen. Here, Stevenson provides a context for his decorative style in 'When the Devil was Well' by suggesting that, as in the Japanese art, a story is most effective when it is presented as a 'magnificent decorative design':

...the fact remains that this art is above all others in two points. 1st in that it tells a story, not for the story's sake only, but so as to produce always a magnificent decorative design....and if you could see the pattern, the splendid hurly burly of bright colours and strange forms that they have thus thrown out against the dark background, you could see what ~~is~~ imaginative truth we sacrifice, to say nothing of decorative effect, by our limping, semi-scientific way of seeing things. 2nd. The colours are really fun. In themselves, you know, they are their own exceeding great reward; they're not a damned bit like nature, and don't pretend to be and they're twice as nice. I know I've mixed up these two reasons for my preference and must explain again: I mean, first, because they treat a story decoratively, ~~and~~ instead of really, and second, because ~~they're~~ their decoration is good--better than anything else in the world--Rubens and Raphael were two pretty men; so were Vinci, and others; and M. Angelo could do a thing or two, but they're not so much fun as the Japanese. 15

This is perhaps one of Stevenson's earliest expressions of his 'preference' for 'decorative designs' and his objection against 'real'

15. This letter is held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Beinecke 3560).

and 'semi-scientific' stories.

Stevenson's reference to 'M. Angelo' in his letter is significant, since, as he implied in another letter to Charles Baxter in late 1874, his primary source for 'When the Devil was Well' was the 'volume of Vasari...containing the Life of M. Agnolo (sic) Buonarotti Esqr., an Italian artist of some reputation, now deceased.'¹⁶ The reference is to Mrs Jonathon Foster's translation of Giorgio Vasari's Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects (1850, 1851). Vasari presents the lives of a number of Italian renaissance artists, including Michelangelo, and Stevenson may have 'adapted' his central character, Sanazarro, from this and other accounts. Like Michelangelo, for example, Sanazarro practices a number of arts, as

a young sculptor, who (as was possible in these grand days) was a bit of a painter also, and a bit of an architect too, for the matter of that, and, for that matter, he could turn a sonnet as well as another, or touch a lute. 17

In Stevenson's story, Sanazarro also 'was very absolute, and played Michael Angelo on a small scale in the palace' (p.142). The siege of the town by Bartolomeo della Scala and the 'double' treason which causes Sanazarro to flee to the convent at the end of the story may also have been 'adapted' from Vasari's account of Michelangelo's role in the siege of Florence in 1529:

Michel Agnolo (sic) had discovered treasonable intentions on the part of Malatesta Baglione, Captain-general of the Florentines (who was in treaty with the Pope for the betrayal of the city), and had made this circumstance known to the Gonfaloniere Carduccio; but not finding the attention he expected, then resolved to secure his own safety by flight. 18

16. Baxter, p.43.

17. Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde; Other Stories and Fragments, v, 121. Further references are given after quotations in the text.

18. Giorgio Vasari, Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and

However, Stevenson seems to have drawn more specifically on Vasari's account of another Italian renaissance artist for his story, Fra Filippo Lippi. Sanazarro's commission to create 'a new great alter-piece' (p.121) for the convent and his subsequent infatuation with Ippolita, who becomes his model, have clearly been 'adapted' from Vasari's account of Fra Filippo Lippi's meeting with the young Lucrezia:

Having received a commission from the nuns of Santa Margherita, to paint a picture for the high alter of their church, he one day chanced to see the daughter of Francesco Buti, a citizen of Florence, who had been sent to the convent, either as a novice or boarder. Fra Filippo, having given a glance at Lucrezia, for such was the name of the girl, who was exceedingly beautiful and graceful, so persuaded the nuns, that he prevailed on them to permit him to make a likeness of her, for the figure of the Virgin in the work he was executing for them. The result of this was, that the painter fell violently in love with Lucrezia, and at length found means to influence her in such a manner, that he led her away from the nuns, and on a certain day, when she had gone forth to do honour to the Cintola of our Lady...he bore her from their keeping. By this event the nuns were deeply disgraced....But Lucrezia, whether retained by fear or by some other cause, would not return, but remained with Filippo, to whom she bore a son... 19

Filippo never married Lucrezia, and Vasari, remarking on his continued 'libertinism' with women, suggests that he died finally from venereal disease. Vasari's somewhat disapproving account is transformed in Stevenson's story into a 'romantically comic' situation. For example, Sanazarro's growing love for Ippolita is presented delicately, and (in contrast to Vasari's account of the abduction of Lucrezia) is freely reciprocated. Sanazarro persuades the Abbess to allow Ippolita to model for 'the angel in the right-hand corner' (p.122) of his sculpture, just

Architects...Translated from the Italian...by Mrs Jonathon Foster
(London, 1850, 1851), v, 276n.

19. ibid., ii, 79-80.

as Lucrezia had modelled for Fra Filippo Lippi. But in Stevenson's story, the couple are watched over by the Abbess herself, who conforms to the 'romantically comic' 'conventions' already prescribed by the situation:

The Abbess was usually present at their sittings, and while she was there, there was much talk between the sculptor and the Duchess....All this time, you will ask me, where were the Abbess's eyes? She was a simple creature, indeed, but I do think the good soul had her own suspicions, and I believe the whole business cost her many a God-forgive-me, and that she atoned by secret penances for the little indulgences, the little opportunities of private talk that she was wont to make for the two lovers. You may join the strictest order on the face of the earth; but if you are a good-hearted, sentimental old maid, you will be a good-hearted, sentimental old maid to the end. (pp.124, 126)

Sanazarro, of course, does not abduct Ippolita, as Fra Filippo Lippi had with Lucrezia: indeed, he initially leaves the convent by himself, while Ippolita remains behind. Moreover, whereas Fra Filippo Lippi and Lucrezia remain finally outside the convent (Lucrezia 'would not return'), Stevenson structures his story so that Sanazarro's journey back to the convent to join Ippolita forms the 'romantically comic' climax to events. The 'libertine' and almost sacrilegious conduct of Fra Filippo Lippi, in Vasari's account, has clearly been wholly transformed.²⁰

20. Stevenson seems to have been generally influenced by Vasari for his story. He seems to have named his characters after some of Vasari's major figures, for example: Ippolita comes from the Cardinal Ippolita de' Medici (one of Vasari's patrons), the Duke's uncle Cosmo comes from Cosmo de' Medici (to whom Vasari dedicated his work), and so on. But Stevenson's essay 'An Autumn Effect,' which he mentioned in his letter to Colvin in January 1875 and which he was postponing until he completed 'When the Devil was Well,' outlines another possible but unnamed source for the story. Here, Stevenson recalls spending one night in an inn at Wendover, reading in a 'great armchair': 'The book I read was about Italy in the early Renaissance, the pageantries and the light loves of princes, the passion of men for learning, and poetry, and art; but it was written, by good luck, after a solid, prosaic fashion, that suited the room infinitely more nearly than the matter; and the result was that I thought less, perhaps, of Lippo Lippi, or Lorenzo, or Politan, than of the good Englishman who had written in that volume what he knew of them, and taken so much pleasure in his solemn polysyllables.' Further Memories, xxx, 81-82.

The convent, to which Sanazarro and Ippolita finally return, has an important symbolic function in Stevenson's story. This symbolic function is made clear in the opening paragraph (cited above, in the typescript of the first page of Stevenson's manuscript), where the convent is shown to affect Ippolita in a particular way: 'Here, the good soul began to heal herself....It seemed as if life were quite ended for her, and yet, in a new sense, beginning....she seemed to breathe in renovation...' (p.121, my italics). The convent has an essentially 'restorative' influence: it actually 'restores' Ippolita's health. Not surprisingly, Sanazarro leaves the convent (and Ippolita) at the beginning of the story with some regret:

As he went down that beautiful reach of valley that was visible from the convent garden, he stopped often to look back....he thought how he left his soul behind him in that cleft of the big hills, and how all these kingdoms of the earth that lay outspread below, could offer him nothing that he loved or coveted. It was no wonder if his horse went slowly. (p.127)

The convent is presented here as paradisaical ('that beautiful reach of valley'): when Sanazarro literally descends 'into the world' (p.127), he thus separates himself from his 'soul.' Towards the end of the story, Ippolita, having also left the convent, returns there a second time. With the 'world' under seige by Bartolomeo della Scala and Duke Orsino dead, Sanazarro then searches for Ippolita. His concluding journey up to the convent amounts to an ascent back into paradise where Sanazarro is at last 'restored' to his 'soul':

Insensibly, as he followed this pleasant way, his irritation was calmed, and a good spirit grew upon him whether he would or not....He felt the springtime through his bones; and though he sought (as a man will, when he is in love) to exaggerate his evils and keep himself in a true martyr's humour, for the very life of him he could not withhold his lips from smiling, or keep his step from growing lighter as he went. At length he beheld some way before him, on the left hand, a little grey stone chapel....The iron gates were open; just as he first set eyes on them, they were opened something

farther, and the figure of a woman came forth into the broken sunlight of the grove.--It was Ippolita. His heart stood still for joy. He saw a great start go through her, and then she moved no more, but waited for him quietly upon the lowest step of the three that led up into the little chapel. (p.158)

Going towards the convent, Sanazarro is in a sense 'healed' ('his irritation was calmed...a good spirit grew upon him,' and so on): this essentially 'remedial' process recalls the opening effect of the convent on Ippolita ('the good soul began to heal herself'). The convent perhaps takes on the characteristics of a sanatorium where one literally regains one's health: this image is important to notice, and it will be discussed again in part i of Chapter IV.

This central theme of 'healing' (the 'restoration' of one's health) is most clearly expressed through the character of Duke Orsino, Ippolita's husband. One of the marginal comments written on the first page of Stevenson's manuscript (cited above) had suggested that the Duke's title be changed to 'Count': perhaps this was intended to disguise Stevenson's 'adaption' of the name Orsino from Shakespeare's romantic comedy, Twelfth Night. Interestingly, Stevenson had played the role of Duke Orsino in a production of the play at a 'private theatrical' held at Fleeming Jenkin's house in Spring 1875, shortly after completing 'When the Devil was Well': as he wrote to Frances Sitwell at this time,

I am to act Orsino (the Duke) in Twelfth Night at the Jenkins's. I could not resist that; it is such a delightful part....I am not altogether satisfied that I shall do Orsino comme il faut; but the Jenkins are pleased, and that is the great affair. 21

Of course, Shakespeare's Orsino, 'A noble Duke, in nature as in name' (I. 2. 25), has little in common with Stevenson's treacherous and cowardly character (although Shakespeare's Duke also has his faults, as

21. Letters, i, 224.

Feste points out in II. 4.). However, it is through Stevenson's Orsino that the notion of 'restoration' that is typical of the 'romantically comic' form specifically operates (though, in his case, without any final success). The Duke in the story falls ill and literally has his health 'restored' to him: this particular 'remedial' process is alluded to in the title of the story, 'When the Devil was Well.'

In his letter to Frances Sitwell in January 1875, cited earlier, Stevenson had remarked that the title to his story referred to an 'old proverb.' This 'old proverb' is given in full by Burton Stevenson in his Stevenson's Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases (1949), as follows:

When the Devil was sick, the Devil a monk would be;
When the Devil was well, the Devil a monk was he. 22

The proverb observes that, when we are ill or miserable, we often make promises that we conveniently forget when our health returns and our circumstances change. The proverb is cited in, among other places, Sir Walter Scott's The Black Dwarf (1816), when Elshie the dwarf meets the villainous and recently ill Westburnflat:

'And all those promises of amendment which you made during your illness forgotten?' continued Elshender.
'All clear away, with the water-saps and panada,' returned the unabashed convalescent. 'Ye ken, Elshie, for they say ye are weel acquaint wi' the gentleman--
When the devil was sick, the devil a monk would be,
When the devil was well, the devil a monk was he.' 23

Stevenson used the proverb himself in his essay 'Charles of Orleans,' begun shortly after 'When the Devil was Well' in Spring 1875. Here, through Charles's father Louis, he offers a more appropriate source for

22. Stevenson's Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases, selected by Burton Stevenson (London, 1949), p.569.

23. The Black Dwarf (1816; rpt. Edinburgh, 1886), p.268. Burton Stevenson does not note Scott's use of this proverb.

Duke Orsino than his namesake in Twelfth Night:

Prodigal Louis had made enormous debts; and there is a story extant, to illustrate how lightly he himself regarded these commercial obligations. It appears that Louis, after a narrow escape he made in a thunderstorm, had a smart access of penitence, and announced he would pay his debts on the following Sunday. More than eight hundred creditors presented themselves, but by that time the devil was well again, and they were shown the door with more gaiety than politeness. 24

Like Louis of Orleans (and like the 'devil' in the proverb), Duke Orsino in Stevenson's story, with his health rapidly deteriorating, also makes a number of penitential promises:

Among other signs that the Duke's sands were running low, the Duchess had been recalled from the nunnery where she had lived so many years sequestered....Orsino was going to make a very reputable end, it appeared, to a not very reputable life. Large sums were given daily to the poor. He was to be reconciled before he died (so went the rumour) to his old enemy Bartolomeo della Scala... (p.128)

The expectation of a 'reconciliation' between Orsino and la Scala is underlined later in the story: as the Duke's confessor tells him, 'You must become veritably reconciled to the Lord la Scala....the way is paven for your reconciliation' (p.136). However, when Orsino regains his health after drinking the phial of 'holy' water, his promises are forgotten and replaced instead with a plan for la Scala's murder: the expected 'reconciliation' between them does not take place. Of course, the promise of 'reconciliation' was made only when Orsino had been ill and had been convinced that, through penitence, his health would thus be 'restored' to him. Indeed, the word 'restoration' is itself repeated throughout the story in this context: 'It looked as if they expected some wonderful event on the next day; perhaps the restoration of Orsino's health' (p.129); 'And if I desire to be restored, it is that

24. Familiar Studies of Men and Books, xxvii, 153-54, my italics.

I may undo some of the ill that I have wrought' (p.133); '...its presence in the room with you has had this potently restorative influence' (p.137); '...the penitent was soon asleep in the hope of a miraculous restoration on the morrow' (p.140); 'I could never hear that any but the most inconsiderable property was restored' (p.141).

As the last quotation indicates, Orsino's recovery is physical but not moral: when he is made 'well,' his promises of 'reconciliation' are abandoned. This limited 'remedial' process is expressed in significant terms in the story: 'Orsino's health had been restored, but not his heart renovated' (p.142). Indeed, the Duke is 'cured' only in the most superficial sense, so that afterwards (recalling Villon, who similarly does not 'repent and change' after leaving de Brisetout's house at the end of 'A Lodging for the Night') he returns to 'the mad wicked old days before my chastisement' (p.148). It is this recontinued moral deterioration (even though his health has been 'restored') that denies any concluding 'reconciliation' between Orsino and la Scala: their lives instead reflect the absence of any final 'restorative' values, ending in treachery and 'uproar' (p.156) and, for Orsino, a cowardly and ignoble death.

This essential absence of 'restoration' contrasts Orsino with Sanazarro and Ippolita: as indicated, the story works out its themes of 'restoration' and 'renovation' through their journey back to the convent (with its 'healing' properties) and their final paradisaical 'reconciliation.' It is these two characters, rather than Orsino, who have finally been made 'well': through them (but not through Orsino), the 'remedial' process is properly concluded and the story takes on the familiar characteristics of a romantic comedy.

CHAPTER THREE

II. SOME UNCOLLECTED SHORT STORIES: 'THE BODY-SNATCHER'

'The Body-Snatcher,' along with 'Thrawn Janet' and 'The Merry Men,' was initially intended as part of a proposed collection of supernatural short stories (some of which were to have been written by Fanny) planned in June and July 1881, while Stevenson was staying at Kinnaird Cottage near Pitlochry. In June, the title of the proposed collection was The Black Man and Other Tales,¹ but in a letter to W.E. Henley in July Stevenson made another suggestion: 'How would Tales for Winter Nights do?'² 'The Body-Snatcher' itself opens on a 'dark winter night'³ and ends in the same way on a night chilled with piercing winds and 'cold, dense, lashing rain' (p.199). Clearly, Stevenson has left the 'romantically comic' form here and has turned again to a more 'grisly' kind of 'winter's tale.'

'Thrawn Janet' and a first draft of 'The Merry Men' were completed at Kinnaird Cottage and both stories were first published within the following year. But 'The Body-Snatcher,' as Stevenson wrote to Sidney Colvin in July, was 'laid aside in a justifiable disgust, the tale being horrid':⁴ it is not clear whether the story was finished at this time. The projected collection of Tales for Winter Nights was also 'laid aside' in August, when Stevenson began work on his novel Treasure

1. See Letters, ii, 150-51.

2. ibid., p.161.

3. The Wrong Box. The Body-Snatcher, xi, 183. Further references are given after quotations in the text.

4. Letters, ii, 158.

Island, and 'The Body-Snatcher' remained unpublished until the end of 1884. At this time, Stevenson was writing 'Markheim' for the Christmas number of the Pall Mall Gazette, at the request of its editor Charles Morley. However, 'Markheim' proved to be too short for the space allocated by Morley, and Stevenson instead recalled 'our old friend from Kinnaird, The Body-Snatcher,'⁵ perhaps the only complete and hitherto unpublished story he had available. According to Roger G. Swearingen, 'The Body-Snatcher' was 'hastily retouched'⁶ before being sent to Morley, who accepted it in early December and published it in the Pall Mall Christmas 'Extra', 13 (December 1884). Stevenson's 'justifiable disgust' at the story seems to have remained with him, however: in November 1884, while revising the story for Morley, he wrote to Colvin, 'The Body-Snatcher is a thing I long ago condemned as an offence against good manners.'⁷ This 'disgust' perhaps prevented the story from being collected in book form in Stevenson's lifetime. Indeed, he seems only reluctantly to have agreed with Colvin's later suggestion that the story be included in the (posthumous) Edinburgh Edition of Stevenson's works: as he wrote to Colvin on 18 May 1894, 'Well, I daresay the beastly Body-Snatcher has merit, and I am unjust to it from my recollections of the Pall Mall.'⁸

5. ibid., iii, 26.

6. Swearingen, p.93.

7. McKay, iii, 954 (Beinecke 3084).

8. Letters, v, 128. As indicated, the manuscript of 'The Body-Snatcher,' now held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Beinecke 6020), will not be remarked upon here. It contains only minor revisions in Stevenson's hand, and as G.L. McKay has noted, it was 'faithfully recorded' in the Pall Mall Christmas 'Extra', McKay, v, 1734. The manuscript initially consisted of 17 pages; these have been cut into 100 numbered printer's 'takes,' and these have been mounted on 42 leaves and bound and titled The Original Manuscript of the Body Snatcher by Robert Louis Stevenson.

Although Stevenson may have generally disapproved of his story, 'The Body-Snatcher' nevertheless has certain interesting characteristics worth remarking on. Most obviously, it can be shown that Stevenson 'adapted' his story from events surrounding the crimes committed in 1828 in Edinburgh by the very real and notorious body-snatchers and murderers Burke and Hare. As Owen Dudley Edwards has remarked, Burke and Hare were both 'Ulster Catholics of the agricultural labourer class,'⁹ who emigrated from Ireland to Scotland in 1818. Between February and November 1828, they committed sixteen murders. On 1 November of that year, however, William Burke and his mistress Helen MacDougal were arrested: they were brought to trial on Christmas Eve under the Lord Advocate Sir William Rae. Hare, who had given King's Evidence, was later smuggled into England, and Helen MacDougal 'was also reported to have gone';¹⁰ but after his full confession, Burke was hanged on 28 January 1829 before a large crowd. In 'The Body-Snatcher,' Stevenson mentions 'the execution of Burke' (p.188) and presents a brief sketch of two body-snatchers, presumably Burke and Hare, who deliver the corpse of Jane Galbraith to Fettes: 'The ghouls had come later than usual, and they seemed more than usually eager to be gone. Fettes....heard their grumbling Irish voices through a dream' (p.190).

More significantly, Stevenson seems to have drawn on William Burke's confession for certain details in his story. The confession was published in the Edinburgh Evening Courant, 21 January 1829, one week before Burke was hanged, and among other things it gives accounts of each of the sixteen committed murders. The fourth murder took place in

9. Burke and Hare (Edinburgh, 1980), p.i.

10. ibid., p.ii.

April 1828 and the victim, Mary Paterson, was delivered to the anatomists for dissection after being 'only four hours dead.'¹¹ Among the anatomists was 'a tall lad who seemed to have known the woman by sight';¹² as the confession expressed it, 'One of the students said she was like a girl he had seen in the Canongate as one pea is like to another.'¹³ Clearly, Stevenson drew on this account of the recognition of Mary Paterson for the scene in 'The Body-Snatcher' where Fettes receives the corpse of a young woman:

...his eyes lighted on the dead face. He started; he took two steps nearer, with the candle raised.

'God Almighty!' he cried. 'That is Jane Galbraith!'

The men answered nothing, but they shuffled nearer the door.

'I know her, I tell you,' he continued. 'She was alive and hearty yesterday. It's impossible she can be dead; it's impossible you should have got this body fairly.'... he hastened to confirm his doubts. By a dozen unquestionable marks he identified the girl he had jested with the day before. (p.191)

Owen Dudley Edwards had noted that Stevenson 'adapted' the scene involving Jane Galbraith from the original account of Mary Paterson: since he adds that 'as many as three of the assistants and students may have had previous carnal knowledge of Mary Paterson,'¹⁴ he thus considers the expression of Fettes's recognition of 'the girl he had jested with the day before' as one of Stevenson's 'happiest euphemisms.'¹⁵

11. West Port Murders; or an Authentic Account of the Atrocious Murders Committed by Burke and his Associates (Edinburgh, 1829), ii, 342. The Edinburgh Evening Courant confession is reprinted here.

12. Edwards, p.88.

13. West Port Murders, ii, 342.

14. Edwards, p.89.

15. ibid., p.89. Edwards has interestingly suggested that Stevenson's Villon may have been partly based on William Burke, ibid., p.30: this is only a speculative comparison. However, Burke's confession had noted that there was found on Mary Paterson's corpse 'twopence half-penny, which she

In Stevenson's story, the central character Fettes is not (at least until towards the end) a body-snatcher. He is instead an anatomical assistant: 'it was a part of his duty to supply, receive, and divide the various subjects' (p.189). Fettes is employed by 'a certain extramural teacher of anatomy, whom I shall here designate by the letter K' (p.188). This 'extramural teacher' is clearly Dr Robert Knox, the reputed employer of Burke and Hare as well as of a number of keepers and assistants: in Stevenson's story, 'Mr K--- was then at the top of his vogue' (p.188) and Fettes 'enjoyed and deserved his notice' (p.188). It seems likely that Fettes himself was 'adapted' from the real figure of David Paterson, one of Knox's keepers at the time of the Burke and Hare murders. Paterson gave evidence in the trial of William Burke, and his remarks are set down in 'Letters to the Lord Advocate, Sir William Rae, Bart., Disclosing the Accomplices, Secrets, and Other Facts Relative to the Late Murders' (1829). In the following passage, Paterson receives the corpse of Mary Paterson from Burke and Hare, and his reaction specifically recalls the scene from Stevenson's story where Fettes recognises the body of Jane Galbraith:

Not being in the room when the body was brought,--I found Mr M----- in close conversation with Burke and Hare, and a female subject stretched upon the floor, the beautiful symmetry and freshness of the body attracted my attention; soon after I heard Mr F-----, another assistant of Dr K---, say that he was acquainted with the deceased, and named her as Mary Mitchell (this was the girl Paterson), my curiosity being aroused, I was determined to enquire at the first opportunity where they had got the subject in question. 16

held fast in her hand,' West Port Murders, ii, 342. This description may recall Villon's discovery of the frozen body of the prostitute in 'A Lodging for the Night,' with 'two...small coins' 'in her stocking,' New Arabian Nights, i, 226.

16. West Port Murders, iv, 6-7. The two other assistants in this account are Alexander Miller and William Ferguson: the latter, as Owen Dudley

Fettes similarly hastens 'to confirm his doubts' about the identity of Jane Galbraith in 'The Body-Snatcher.' Afterwards, however, Paterson's reaction is to follow the advice of his employer Dr Knox and leave matters well alone: 'Now, as I remembered that I had positive orders from the Doctor not to interfere at all with these men, I was content to be silent.'¹⁷ In Stevenson's story, Fettes later reacts in the same way and, indeed, the passage itself is remarkably similar to Paterson's account:

...he reflected at length over the discovery that he had made; considered soberly the bearing of Mr K---'s instructions and the danger to himself of interference in so serious a business, and at last, in sore perplexity, determined to wait for the advice of his immediate superior, the class assistant. (p.191)

The 'class assistant,' Wolfe Macfarlane, confirms Dr Knox's 'positive orders' and advises Fettes 'to avert the eye from any evidence of crime' (p.190).

Stevenson thus seems to have 'adapted' Fettes from the real figure of David Paterson, detailing through his character Paterson's basic reaction to the crimes of the body-snatchers, which is simply 'to be silent.' Under the influence of Macfarlane (who best represents Dr Knox's 'instructions'), Fettes comes to receive any corpse without question or 'perplexity':

He saw, with inexpressible dismay, that there was no limit to his weakness, and that, from concession to concession, he had fallen from the arbiter of Macfarlane's destiny to his paid and helpless accomplice....The secret of Jane Galbraith...closed his mouth. (p.197)

Edwards has noted (and as David Paterson's account implies), had also had 'previous carnal knowledge' with Mary Paterson, Edwards, p.89.

17. West Port Murders, iv, 7.

Fettes begins a process of moral 'deterioration' as a consequence of his 'concessions,' a process which is confirmed by Macfarlane after the murder of Gray: 'Mr Gray is the continuation of Miss Galbraith. You can't begin and then stop. If you begin, you must keep on beginning; that's the truth. No rest for the wicked' (p.196). The extent of this deterioration is apparent when Fettes finally takes up the profession which had initially so repelled him: he himself becomes a body-snatcher.

By showing the ease with which Fettes adjusts to his new role, the story shows how someone who deals only in material gain can come to hold an unethical and perhaps sacrilegious view of humanity. Going with Macfarlane to 'the rustic graveyard of Glencorse' (p.198) to procure a recently-buried body, Fettes, having 'slapped his pocket till the gold pieces rang' (p.200), expresses this central moral concern:

Macfarlane, I was born with a contempt. Hell, God, Devil, right, wrong, sin, crime, and all the old gallery of curiosities--they may frighten boys, but men of the world, like you and me, despise them. Here's to the memory of Gray! (p.200)

Gray's unexpected and ghostly reappearance at the end of the story amounts to a profound and chilling challenge to Fettes's proclaimed 'contempt': Gray had, of course, been long ago murdered by Macfarlane and dissected by the anatomists ('"Richardson," said he, "may have the head",' p.195). Describing the trip to Glencorse, Stevenson remarks on the practices of the body-snatchers, noting that by exhuming buried corpses they provide a 'hasty, lamp-lit, terror-haunted resurrection of the spade and mattock' (p.198), and he also refers to 'a by-name of the period' (p.198) used to describe the body-snatcher, 'The Resurrection Man' (p.198). In a sense, Gray's reappearance at the end of the story itself amounts to a 'resurrection' before the 'resurrection men,' Fettes and Macfarlane: he comes to signify 'all the old gallery of curiosities'

that Fettes (as a 'man of the world') had shortly before dismissed. Of course, Gray's 'resurrection' has an immediate effect that most clearly undermines Fettes's claim to Macfarlane that such 'curiosities' only 'frighten boys': now, seeing Gray's 'dead and long-dissected' (p.203) body, Fettes himself is frightened. But this closing scene has a more profound and long-lasting effect on Fettes, and this is presented in the preface to events at the beginning of the story which is set chronologically much later on.

Here, and at this later date, Fettes is introduced as one of four characters who meet together each evening in 'the George at Debenham' (p.183). Although Fettes's 'antecedents' (p.183) are as yet unknown, the opening description of him establishes just exactly what kind of effect the vision of Gray's 'resurrected' body has had:

Fettes was an old drunken Scotsman....He had come to Debenham years ago, while still young, and by a mere continuance of living had grown to be an adopted townsman. His blue camlet cloak was a local antiquity, like the church-spire. His place in the parlour at the George, his absence from church, his old, crapulous, disreputable vices, were all things of course in Debenham....He drank rum-- five glasses regularly every evening; and for the greater portion of his nightly visit to the George sat, with his glass in his right hand, in a state of melancholy alcoholic saturation. (p.183)

The passage emphasises a kind of physical 'deterioration': now 'bald, dirty, pimped, and robed in his old camlet cloak' (p.185), Fettes's appearance certainly contrasts with his 'young days' (p.188): 'he was in those days well favoured, and pleased by his exterior' (p.188).

Almost asleep under the influence of his rum, Fettes overhears that Wolfe Macfarlane, now a famous London doctor, has been called to the George to attend a sick client. Immediately, Fettes's 'deteriorated' condition is utterly changed: 'Fettes became instantly sober; his eyes awoke, his voice became clear, loud, and steady, his language forcible

and earnest. We were all startled by the transformation, as if a man had risen from the dead' (p.184, my italics). The description of this 'transformation' is important to notice: it implies that Fettes has been somehow 'resurrected' by the news of Macfarlane's arrival. More significantly, Fettes's own appearance before the astounded Macfarlane soon afterwards specifically forecasts (or, chronologically, recalls) the 'resurrection' of the body of Gray at the end of the story:

'Toddy Macfarlane!' repeated Fettes.

The London man almost staggered. He stared for the swiftest of seconds at the man before him, glanced behind him with a sort of scare, and then in a startled whisper, 'Fettes!' he said, 'you!'

'Ay,' said the other, 'me! Did you think I was dead too? We are not so easy shut of our acquaintance.' (p.186, my italics)

Fettes's use of the name 'Toddy Macfarlane' particularly recalls Gray himself, who had called Macfarlane by 'that confounded name' (p.193) shortly before his murder. Indeed, Fettes takes on the characteristics of Gray in this opening scene: his own 'transformation' reflects or re-enacts the 'resurrection' of the 'dead and long-dissected Gray' at the end of the story.

To put this another way, Fettes finally comes to embody 'all the old gallery of curiosities' that Gray's ghostly body had 'resurrected' unexpectedly before him: his 'deteriorated' condition serves as a kind of living reminder of those 'old...curiosities' which he had, much earlier in his 'young days,' dismissed. This way of presenting Fettes's 'deteriorated' condition especially compares with Stevenson's treatment of Murdoch Soullis in 'Thrawn Janet' (written, as indicated, at the same time at Kinnaird Cottage). Indeed, 'The Body-Snatcher' and 'Thrawn Janet' share exactly the same kind of structure and present a similar set of events. They both show how a character in his 'young days' comes to acknowledge certain 'old...curiosities' after seeing a 'resurrected'

and ghostly body; and they both show the effects of those 'old... curiosities' on that character by presenting him as he has become much later in time in a preface to events attached to the beginning of the story. The prefaces underline each character's consequent 'deteriorated' condition: the stories end (or rather, begin) with an absence of 'remedial' or 'restorative' values: the characters get 'worse,' not better.

It may be of interest to ask, finally, why Stevenson sent his two body-snatchers to Glencorse in his story: Burke and Hare, by contrast, did not go outside of Edinburgh to procure their bodies. Stevenson was, of course, himself familiar with Glencorse and its 'rustic neighbourhoods' (p.198) a few miles south of the 'far-away city' (p.199). His grandfather, Lewis Balfour, was minister at Colinton manse and, as a child, Stevenson spent much time there: in his unpublished 'Reminiscences of Colinton Manse' he recalled that a part of the church graveyard awoke in him 'homely Scottish superstitions of grues and ghosts and goblins,'¹⁸ and at one time he imagined seeing 'some dead man...sitting up in his coffin and watching us with that strange fixed eye.'¹⁹ The Stevensons' Swanston Cottage was also nearby and, staying there in May 1872, Stevenson remembered,

My father and I walked over to Glencorse to church. A fat, ruddy farm wench showed us the way; for the church, although on the top of a hill, is so buried among the tree-tops that one does not see it till one trips against the

18. Balfour, i, 43. Balfour suggests that these 'Reminiscences' were written in 1872 or 1873.

19. ibid., p.43. Stevenson probably 'adapted' Murdoch Soulis's manse in 'Thrawn Janet' from his memories of Colinton manse. Indeed, the 'dead man' sitting in his grave recalls the appearance of the black man in the story, also sitting 'upon a grave' in 'the bield o' the Black Hill.' The Merry Men and Other Tales, viii, 114. There is a Black Hill in the 'neighbourhood' of Colinton manse and Glencorse.

plate. 20

Returning to Swanston shortly afterwards, Stevenson also recalled seeing 'a pit-worker from mid-Calder'²¹ who

told me some curious stories of body-snatching from the lonely little burying-ground at Old Pentland, and spoke with the exaggerated horror that I have always observed in common people of this very excusable misdemeanour. 22

Clearly, Stevenson associated Glencorse and its 'rustic neighbourhoods' with 'stories of body-snatching' and recollections of 'grues and ghosts': by sending Fettes and Macfarlane into this part of the country in his own story, he certainly expresses the kind of 'exaggerated horror' he had remarked on (perhaps not approvingly) above.

Stevenson may have also known and been influenced by a discussion of Burke and Hare and Dr Knox in Christopher North's 'Noctes Ambrosianae,' Blackwood's Magazine, 25 (March 1829), two months after William Burke had been hanged. Here, North and the Ettrick Shepherd comment on Burke's trial and on some of the sixteen victims of Burke and Hare, including 'Daft Jamie' or James Wilson, a well-known figure in Edinburgh at the time. The Ettrick Shepherd concludes the discussion by proposing a suitable punishment for Hare and Dr Knox, both of whom did not come to be tried for their crimes. The Shepherd insists that these two characters be led out of Edinburgh and left alone in the country, a place where 'every body believes in ghosts,' and his closing remarks perhaps anticipate the 'resurrection' of Gray's 'dead and long-dissected' body in the 'rustic neighbourhood' of Glencorse in Stevenson's

20. Balfour, i, 107. For further recollections of Glencorse churchyard, see Letters, v, 28-30.

21. Balfour, i, 108.

22. ibid., p.109.

story:

Some writers, I see, blame the magistrates o' Edinburgh, and some the polish, and some the London Parliament House, for a' thae murders--but I canna help blamin', especially, Burke and Hare--and neist to them Dr Knox and his assistants. Naebody believes in ghosts in touns, but every body believes in ghosts in the Kintra. Let either Hare or Knox sleep a' night in a lanely wood, wi' the wund roarin' in the tap branches o' the pines, and cheepin' in the side anes, and by skreich o' day he will be seen flyin' wi' his hair on end, and his een jumpin' out o' their sockets, doon into the nearest toun, pursued, as he thinks, by saxteen ghaists a' in a row, wi' Daft Jamie at their head, caperin' like a paralytic as he was, and lauching like to split, wi' a mouth drawn a' to the ae side, at the doctor or the doctor's man, distracted at the sicht o' sae mony spirits demandin' back their ain atomies. 23

As well as recalling the final reappearance of Gray, the Ettrick Shepherd's description of the night in the country, 'wi' the wund roarin'...and cheepin',' compares with the 'rain, now marching to the wind' (p.201) as Fettes and Macfarlane make their way to Glencorse by night in Stevenson's story. The Shepherd's description perhaps provided a context out of which Stevenson (to recall his remarks in his essay on Villon) 'furnished...the matter of a grisly winter's tale.'

23. Blackwood's Magazine, 41 (March 1829), p.382. Although there is no evidence that Stevenson knew this 'Noctes Ambrosianae' in particular, he was nevertheless generally familiar with them, reviewing Christopher North's The Comedy of the Noctes Ambrosianae (1876) in The Academy, 22 July 1876, and quoting with approval passages by the Ettrick Shepherd. See Essays Literary and Critical, xxviii, 194-96.

CHAPTER THREE

III. SOME UNCOLLECTED SHORT STORIES: 'THE MISADVENTURES OF JOHN
NICHOLSON'

Stevenson probably began 'The Misadventures of John Nicholson' at the end of October 1885, just after he had completed The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde: in a letter to Charles Gray Robertson postmarked 1 November, Fanny Stevenson remarked on a transaction with Longmans, Green and Co. for the latter work and added of her husband, 'At this moment, he is down stairs, struggling with John Nicholson.'¹ Stevenson had intended his story to appear in the Christmas 1885 number of Robertson's Court and Society Review. However, his 'struggle' seems to have lasted less than a week: on 4 November, Stevenson wrote to Robertson, 'John has broken down, and its place has been taken by one "Olalla".'² Stevenson laid 'The Misadventures of John Nicholson' aside and did not return to it until the end of the following year. It is not clear whether Stevenson had a publisher in mind for the story at this time, but in a letter to Sidney Colvin on 14 December 1886 he remarked, 'I have been writing...a dam tale to order, which will be what it will be: I don't love it, but some of it is passable in its mouldy way, The Misadventures of John Nicholson.'³ As before, Stevenson may have intended the story to appear at Christmas of that year, but by January 1887 it had still not been published and he wrote to Henry James about

1. This letter is held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Beinecke 3726).

2. McKay, iii, 1015 (Beinecke 3229).

3. Letters, iii, 111-12.

his 'silly Xmas story (with some larks in it) which won't be out till I don't know when.'⁴ As Roger G. Swearingen has noted, Stevenson probably left the story with Cassell and Co. 'for publication at their pleasure,'⁵ and the story finally appeared in Yule Tide, 1887; being Cassell's Christmas Annual under the longer title, 'The Misadventures of John Nicholson: A Christmas Story.' Much later, in Spring 1891, Stevenson recalled the publication of his story in a letter to H.B. Baildon, noting also that Baildon's house at Murrayfield in Edinburgh had been an important source for him (becoming, in the story, Alan Houston's 'House at Murrayfield'):

Did you see a silly tale, John Nicholson's Predicament, or some such name, in which I made free with your home at Murrayfield? There is precious little sense in it, but it might amuse. Cassell's published it in a thing called Yule-Tide years ago, and nobody that ever I heard of read or has ever seen Yule-Tide. It is addressed to a class we never meet-- readers of Cassell's series and that class of conscientious chaff, and my tale was dull, though I don't recall that it was conscientious. Only there's the house at Murrayfield and a dead body in it. 6

As with 'When the Devil was Well' and 'The Body-Snatcher,' Stevenson again seems to have 'condemned' this story after completing it (perhaps explaining why it was not collected in book form in his lifetime). But it has, nevertheless, some interesting characteristics that are worth remarking on.

It is not clear exactly how much of this story Stevenson had written in his first and brief attempt at it in October and November 1885. However, in a notebook now held in the Huntington Library at San Marino

4. ibid., p.115.

5. Swearingen, p.103.

6. Letters, iv, 56.

in California (HM 2405), there is a list of 10 chapter titles to what appears to have been an earlier plan of 'The Misadventures of John Nicholson'; and there is also a handwritten fragment of 6 pages which is a part of this earlier plan. The 10 titles in this earlier plan are not exactly the same as the titles to the final version of the story, but they do suggest that the story itself remained essentially unchanged. However, there are only 9 chapters in the final version of 'The Misadventures of John Nicholson': one of the chapters listed in the earlier plan seems to have been discarded when Stevenson returned to his story at the end of 1886. The 10 chapter titles in the earlier plan also seem to function as working-titles, while the 9 chapter titles in the final version are more cryptic and do not clearly suggest what each chapter is going to deal with. To provide a comparison, the 10 chapter titles of the earlier plan will be listed on the left-hand side, and the 9 chapter titles of the final version will be listed on the right-hand side of the page:

I. School Friends	I. In which John sows the wind
II. Bust at Home	II. In which John reaps the whirlwind
III. California	III. In which John enjoys the
IV. The Way Home	harvest home
V. Mr Myln visits Old Nich.	IV. The second sowing
VI. John's afternoon	V. The prodigal's return
VII. The passkey	VI. The house at Murrayfield
VIII. John Goes to Murrayfield	VII. A tragi-comedy in a cab
IX. John at Murrayfield and	VIII. Singular instance of the utility
until he leaves the cab	of pass-keys
X. The passkey again.	IX. In which Mr Nicholson concedes
	the principle of an allowance

The comparison shows that the chapters were somewhat reorganised in the final version of the story. For example, Chapters VIII and IX in the final version may have originally been Chapter X in the earlier plan.

Chapters VI and VII in the final version respectively correspond with Chapters VIII and IX in the earlier plan, while the first five chapters in the final version roughly correspond with the first four on the left-hand side. The single chapter title in the earlier plan that has no equivalent in the final version is Chapter V, 'Mr Myln visits Old Nich.' Indeed, in the final version no such 'visit' ever takes place and, moreover, there is no such character as Mr Myln. Chapter V in the earlier plan, in other words, seems to have been the chapter that was finally discarded when Stevenson returned to his story in 1886. Yet it has not been entirely lost: part of it (perhaps all that was ever written) is in fact recorded in the handwritten fragment of 6 pages mentioned above, appearing with the list of chapter titles to the earlier plan of the story in Stevenson's notebook.⁷

This notebook fragment begins by introducing 'Old Nich,' John Nicholson's respected but severe father, and it goes on to present the visit to old Mr Nicholson's office by Mr Henry Myln, a verbose man who finds it impossible to come to the point of his business. It finally emerges, however, that Mr Myln's business concerns Mr Nicholson's son John, but the fragment ends mid-sentence just as Mr Myln is about to remark on the nature of John's 'position.' The 6-page notebook fragment of 'Mr Myln visits Old Nich.' is given in full below. The start of each page will be indicated by its page number on the left-hand side of the text; each new line in the notebook will be indicated by a dividing type-stroke; and where further explanations are necessary, footnotes

7. Roger G. Swearingen has drawn attention to this notebook fragment, remarking that it contains an 'untitled very early draft of the beginning of this story (5 pp.),' Swearingen, p.102. A part of this fragment, as will be shown, has been incorporated into the beginning of the final version of the story, but it was clearly meant to go in the middle of the earlier plan, as Chapter V. The fragment is also 6 pages long, not 5.

will be provided:

p.1: John David Nicholson was a man of substance and gravity. Few citizens, few lawyers, held a more distinguished position in the city of Edinburgh; and he was equally well known and equally respected in professional, religious and general society. Simple in toilette, trenchant in speech and opinion, small, sour and dignified in the external man, he walked the streets and took his part in many deliberations both public and private, in the character of one whose word is law. He was unimpeachable in orthodoxy; a pillar of the Free Church; often to be seen, about assembly time, gravely nodding approval to a group of red-headed and enthusiastic clergymen. Where he was, was the precise Disruption Standpoint: a matter not yet entirely plain to others, but to him as luminous as day. He disapproved of religious controversy, as a means of unsettling faith; yet he was known to have a large acquaintance with the ^{of our ancestors} Julio-divinity. 'If Nicholson had not been a lawyer,' people were wont to say, 'he would have been professor of Divinity.' He took no paper but the Daily Review; and even in that, he found ^{traces of} a certain crying discord between the obvious Best and the conduct of the British Empire and the different religious sects. He read it indeed, and it was even a pleasurable morning/pastime; but he read it with unsuppressed indignation.

p.2: Parliament made him wince; the foreign telegrams surprised him into a kind of joy that he was not a foreigner; and the Church/Courts, if he had not been pious, would have made him swear. Practically speaking, he had worn the same clothes since the year 1836. A man of approved discretion, in spite of his tart sayings, clients reposed in him an absolute and perfectly justified trust; he could insult you, but he could never betray. Had he been a Frenchman, he was the man to have blown out his brains at the shadow of dishonour; being a Scotchman of the old Kirk, he could only make sure that that shadow never touched him he made it his business to keep that shadow from his door.

He was sitting at his desk one afternoon towards five:tin

boxes all around him on stout wooden frames, the Kilmockie/Trust, the Forgan Title Deeds, the Trustees of Robert Patten/McGlashan-Dick Esq., Lord Sanquar, Sir Peter Pettibole,/and a great variety of other high- and Scotch-sounding ^{titles} ~~names~~,/ glowing in white letters on the green. His table was spread/ with correspondence; but his pen was laid down, and something/ between sleep and digestion had clothed his soul in peace./

A pale, toothless, blue-spectacled clerk entered the/room with a card./

'This gentleman wanted to see you, sir,' said he./

p.3: 'Mr Henry Myln, I see,' replied Mr Nicholson. 'You can ask him in.'/

Mr Henry Myln was speedily followed his card; and the/ lawyer advanced to ~~him~~ meet him with his usual small, measured/ steps, and regarding the visitor with his usual ambiguous, ironical/and ghostly smile./

'My dear sir,' ^{began} ~~said~~ Mr Myln ^{with surprising volubility.}, 'I had no wish to disturb/ you in ^{your} ~~my~~ business hours, you may suppose; and I feel I/should apologise at once.'/

'What is it?' asked other (sic), checking what he foresaw was/a torrent of words./

'Well,' ^{gobbling harder after the check} ~~said~~ the other ^{not to disguise} the fact, my/ business is of considerable importance; and ~~will~~ ~~±~~ I am/bound to own of considerable interest to yourself. In fact, I was/ about to anticipate your objection and, I may say, your query,/by explaining at once--however welcome I feel sure you would/have made me at your house, you and the Misses Myln--/ that I considered it my duty--a very painful duty ~~to~~--to lose/ not a moment in acquainting you with the facts which/have been brought under my notice. As a friend, I believe/I may say without exaggeration as a most sincere friend,/I felt I had but one course to pursue. I felt myself bound/to come to you and to explain immediately, although with/every possible precaution--for I am a great enemy to anything/

p.4: approaching the nature of a shock--with, as I say, every possible/precaution, the very distressing matter put into my hands. I am./however--'/

'What is it?' repeated Mr Nicholson, with a kind of/

patient invitation, for he knew his man./

'Precisely, what I was coming to. And I feel myself emboldened, by any knowledge of your principles, to come more rapidly to the point. A man who repose--O, I am well aware without the least pretension--I anticipated ^{the upon your lips} your remark --but still one who reposes in the better hope, is not to be cast down like another even by a communication which touches in some degree the honour, as I should rather say, to be within the mark, and yet not disguise the fact, which touches distantly the consideration of his family.'

'My dear sir,' said Mr Nicholson, 'you have now been five minutes--'

'I was about to anticipate--' gasped Myln./

'I was speaking, sir,' said the lawyer; and his countenance became imposing. There was a silence. 'State your business, if you please, in three words,' resumed Nicholson./

'I was about to do so, Mr Nicholson,' returned the ^{with a shade of stiffness} other; /and had I not been interrupted, I should have already placed you in possession of the facts: the business which brings me ~~contrary to my habit~~ to your office is capable of being expressed/

p.5: in few words; ^{though} and nothing but my extreme respect and friendship for yourself would have led me to be the medium of communications--'

'Stop,' said Mr Nicholson, firmly. 'My time is limited. I shall question you. In whose name are you here?'

^{In} ~~For~~ that of my firm, or rather--'

'That will do. ~~Charged~~ About what?'

'But my dear sir, that is what I am here to explain!' cried Myln./

'Mr Myln,' said the old gentleman, 'I cannot decide whether you are making of a fool of me, or only of yourself, but I have ~~get~~ to ask you to give plain answers to plain questions, or else leave ^{this} my office. On no consideration shall my time be occupied with bletherers.' It was above all when he was growing angry that Mr Nicholson had recourse to ^{word of} a Scotch ~~word~~, in despair, apparently, of anything so forcible in

English.⁸ Mr Myln, who was/eminently well-meaning, and meticulously polite, according to his/knowledge, regarded him ~~in~~ with growing surprise. 'You have/still to learn,' pursued the lawyer, 'the act of governing your/tongue. Until you do so, you will be an insufferable man of/business and an intolerable bore in ~~company~~ society. I/suppose you are a christian, which is the great affair; but bear/in mind that there are many wearisome christians. And/now sir: about whom is this business?'/

Mr Myln was the reverse of pleased with the remarks/

p.6: that introduced this question; ~~nor had Mr Nicholson expected~~ he/revenged himself both by the tone and form of his reply./

'I will be as bold as you please,' said he: 'about your son.'/'

Mr Nicholson closed his eyes behind his gold spectacles: a/mark, in him, of an extreme commotion of the spirits./

~~Is Willy!~~ ^{Davy} 'Peter?'⁹ he said at last, ~~though scarcely~~ in a voice that/was scarcely audible./

'Not ^{Davy} Peter: John,' replied Myln./

'I have no son of that name,' said Nicholson./

'But You will allow me ~~to hint~~ however,'/'

'No, sir,' ^{repeated} he ~~said~~ the old man getting on his feet, ~~'I will not allow you~~ ^{Re Sir} /I have no son of the name¹⁰ and I wish to hear no more. I do not/doubt that you came here in kindness --though not perhaps,/without a love of meddling--and I suppose I ought to thank you./But the step was unnecessary.'/'

Mr Myln had not followed the example offered him/so pointedly; he was a good creature, determined to effect a/

8. Compare the use of the Scots word 'dozenedness,' describing old Mr Nicholson's view of the 'world' in the final version of the story: 'it was an evil, wild, rebellious world, lying sunk in dozenedness, for nothing short of a Scot's word will paint this Scotsman's feelings,' Island Nights' Entertainments. The Misadventures of John Nicholson, xiii, 138. Further references are given after quotations in the text.

9. In the final version of the story, John's brother's name is Alexander.

10. The sentence 'I have no son of the name' is circled by Stevenson.

good purpose; and he resolutely kept his seat./

'I must take the liberty of insisting,' said he, 'and I/do so the more readily that I am convinced you have no/idea, not the most distant idea, of the facts that I came here/to lay before you; and Mr John Nicholson is in a ~~end~~/position/

The notebook fragment stops here and, probably, Stevenson abandoned the sketch of Mr Myln and the chapter itself at this point. Yet the contents of this fragment were not altogether left out of the final version of the story. The role (but not the character) of Mr Myln is, for example, taken over in the final version by Mr MacEwen: he also comes to inform Mr Nicholson of his son's 'position,' this time at the end of Chapter IV, 'The Second Sowing.' Mr Nicholson's refusal to recognise the existence of his son John is, of course, also presented in the final version, at the end of Chapter V, 'The Prodigal's Return.' Here, and more brutally than in the fragment from the earlier version, Mr Nicholson tells John directly that 'you are no son of mine' (p.164).

The notebook fragment opens with a long description of Mr Nicholson or 'Old Nich.': since this fragment seems to have been Chapter V in the earlier plan and since the description is introductory, it is likely that Mr Nicholson was first intended to appear quite late in the story. In the final version, however, an essentially similar description of Mr Nicholson is placed at the beginning of the story: it gives him, perhaps, a more commanding and central role in the following events. These descriptions of Mr Nicholson are important to notice, since they they provide a context for recognising why he rejects his son John so vehemently; and in the final version in particular, the description can also be seen as a kind of 'premise' on which the following events (John's 'misadventures') are based. These descriptions amount to a devastating portrait of a conservative and reactionary Edinburgh

patriarch, but this conservatism is defined in significant terms.

These terms are presented most succinctly in the notebook fragment:

'He was unimpeachable in orthodoxy; a pillar of the Free Church.'

Mr Nicholson's definitive Free Church 'orthodoxy' is further elaborated upon in the final version of the story:

...that iron gentleman...long ago enthroned himself on the heights of the Disruption Principles. What these are (and in spite of their grim name they are quite innocent) no array of terms would render thinkable to the merely English intelligence; but to the Scot they often prove unctuously nourishing, and Mr Nicholson found in them the milk of lions....He knew there was a vast world outside, to whom Disruption Principles were as the chatter of tree-top apes; the paper brought him chill whiffs from it; he had met Englishmen who had asked lightly if he did not belong to the Church of Scotland, and then had failed to be much interested by his elucidation of that nice point. (pp.137-38)

The passage essentially refers to the Disruption of 18 May 1843, when a number of ministers popularly known as Evangelicals broke away from the Church of Scotland to form the Free Church. In order to understand better Mr Nicholson's character, the notion of what it meant to be 'a pillar of the Free Church' needs to be further examined.

The split from the established but moderate Church of Scotland was based on the assumption that the new Free Church movement would be more popular and powerful than it actually turned out to be. As Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch remark in their The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-1874 (1975),

...the Evangelicals who abandoned the Establishment would have been seen, not as the Free Church nor as a new denomination, but as the Church of Scotland, the Church of the Reformers and Covenanters, in her rightful freedom. 11

Part of this somewhat optimistic view of their future was based on the Evangelicals' sense that they were perpetuating a 'Covenanter' tradition that had hitherto been of little significance to the Church of Scotland:

11. The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-1874 (Edinburgh, 1975), p.5.

They assumed that the position for which they stood, the tradition of Calvinism, Knox, and the Covenanters, was the authentic voice of their country's past, and they were equally confident that it truly represented the mind of the Scotland of their day for which they claimed to speak. 12

One reason why the Free Church did not become as popular as it expected was because it maintained an essentially 'middle class'¹³ temperament: it alienated both the working class and the landowners. But another reason, as Drummond and Bulloch suggest, was because it promoted its beliefs in a somewhat rigid and inflexible way: 'The Free Church position was that of an intransigent Calvinism while the Church of Scotland...was less rigid, more ready to listen to the voices of time and, perhaps, to compromise.'¹⁴ Drummond and Bulloch present a current view of the Free Church in the 1870s, noting initially that it stood primarily for Scottish Calvinism's 'strict adherence to the doctrines of predestination and the divine decrees':¹⁵

Two other elements, Sabbatarianism and Temperance, combined with the widespread indifference of its membership to the Arts to complete the picture of the Free Church as seen by the average modern Scot....Fundamentally, the Free Church stood for the Gospel of forgiveness and redemption as contrasted with the moralism of the eighteenth century but the continual emphasis upon such causes as Sabbatarianism and Temperance created quite a contrary impression. Within Scotland she was seen as the voice of Puritanism....Rightly or wrongly she was associated with hostility not merely to liquor and sabbath-breaking, but to gambling, dancing, the theatre, and most of the pleasures of the ordinary man.... The issue was further complicated by the fact that the Free Church was so closely identified with those classes which were once described in Scotland as 'well doing,' that is to

12. ibid., p.276.

13. ibid., p.277.

14. ibid., p.32.

15. ibid., p.21.

say, reasonably prosperous even if not rich. The zeal of the Free Church organised opposition to vice...but the way in which the problems were approached and handled bore the mark of middle class consciousness on working class vices. Lack of sensitivity to the secular ethos of the time and theological differences led all the churches, but the Free Church in particular, to reduce complex social issues to matters of personal morality. 16

These remarks provide a useful context for understanding Mr Nicholson's character and behaviour in Stevenson's story. Obviously, his angry reaction to John's nocturnal escapade at the 'contraband hotelkeeper' (p.145) Collette's, with the confirmed 'idler' (p.139) Alan Houston, reflects the Free Church's characteristic 'opposition to vice' as outlined above. Significantly, John confronts his father on the Sabbath: stealing his father's money and leaving for California on this day, he is certainly guilty (from the Free Church 'point of view') of 'sabbath-breaking.' According to Drummond and Bulloch, the Free Church 'stood for the Gospel of forgiveness'; but Mr Nicholson's treatment of his son John creates quite a 'contrary impression' (the implications of this in the story will be discussed further below). Interestingly, Stevenson's description of Mr Nicholson also confirms the Free Church's perpetuation of the 'tradition of...the Covenanters' (albeit in a somewhat concealed way). This confirmation can be traced in the following passage, when Mr Nicholson, intolerant of the 'evil, wild, rebellious world' (p.138) existing outside of the 'tight little theological kingdom of Scotland' (pp.137-38), returns to the sanctuary of his home:

And when he entered his own house in Randolph Crescent (south side), and shut the door behind him, his heart swelled with security. Here, at least, was a citadel unassailable by right-hand defections or left-hand extremes.

16. ibid., pp.28-29.

(p.138, my italics)

The italicised line is lifted from Patrick Walker's Biographia Presbyteriana (1827): Walker was a Covenanter historian and biographer and Stevenson used the Biographia Presbyteriana as a source in certain other Scottish stories (as will be shown in Chapter IV, Part ii). In his introductory address 'To the Reader,' Walker recalled the many obstacles that faced him when he met certain 'old Acquaintances' and talked with them about the Covenanter traditions and the days of the Persecution in the 1670s and 1680s:

When I travelled many Miles, enquiring for my old Acquaintances of the Gleanings of that unheard-of Persecution, it was for the most part answered....Others of them, whom I found alive...were obliged to say, that then it was better with them than now; especially these who have got the World in their Arms, and too much of it in their Hearts, and lost Sight of both their Eyes, and fallen in contentedly with this backsliding and upsitten Church....Others, upon the Right-Hand, of the bigot Dissenters, looking upon me with an evil Eye, and constructing all to the worst about me, gave me indiscreet, upbraiding Language, calling me a vile old Apostate. But these were no new things to me, being Weather-beaten, having been in the Midst of these Fires of Division, between the Left-hand Defections and Right-hand Extrems, upwards of Forty years. 17

Stevenson has used this italicised passage from Walker in his story not only to express the Free Church's perpetuation of a Covenanter tradition, but as a means of suggesting just how conservative that tradition is. It essentially underlines Mr Nicholson's sense of 'security' from 'dissenters' when he re-enters his house in Randolph Crescent (his 'unassailable citadel'): the house, accordingly, comes to symbolise (from Mr Nicholson's Free Church 'point of view') 'the tight little theological kingdom of Scotland' cut off from the 'evil, wild, rebellious

17. Biographia Presbyteriana (Edinburgh, 1827), i, iv, my italics (except for 'old Apostate'); see also p.xvi. I am indebted to Dr Graham Tulloch of the Flinders University of South Australia for pointing out this reference to Walker (which Stevenson reverses in his story).

world' outside. Mr Nicholson's son John, of course, entirely upsets this 'tight little theological kingdom': by (among other things) literally leaving Scotland and going to California, he represents that 'rebellious' outside world. From Mr Nicholson's rigid Free Church 'point of view,' his son reflects Walker's 'Left-hand defections and Right-hand Extrems,' and as a consequence he is excluded from the house at Randolph Crescent. This exclusion is, in other words, based on Mr Nicholson's Free Church view of what his son represents: John is shown to have no place in the conservative 'kingdom' of an Edinburgh Free Church patriarch.

Stevenson presents his criticisms of Free Church conservatism in the framework of a conflict between father and son, a conflict (resulting in the son's 'exclusion' from the father's 'kingdom') he had also described in other stories including the unfinished Weir of Hermiston. 'The Misadventures of John Nicholson' may not be the most obviously autobiographical of these father/son stories, but its setting in particular reflects Stevenson's actual upbringing: the story even mentions Howard Place, where Stevenson was born (p.165).¹⁸ Perhaps of all Stevenson's father/son stories, this story also criticises most severely the father, and it does so in the context outlined above, by presenting Mr Nicholson as 'a pillar of the Free Church.' Stevenson's criticism of Free Church conservatism especially focusses on the 'contrary impression' the Free Church gives with regard to its supposed adherence to 'the Gospel of forgiveness.' This criticism is most effectively incorporated into the father/son framework of this story through Stevenson's 'adaptions' from the Biblical parable of the Prodigal

18. For further remarks on the 'background' to Collette's and to John Nicholson's nocturnal escapades, see J.C. Furnas, p.54. and Balfour, i, 83-84.

Son (Luke 15. 11-32).¹⁹

Ernest J. Mehew has noted that Stevenson's Vailima Library contained J. Goodman's The Penitent Pardoned: or, a Discourse of the Nature of Sin, and the Efficacy of Repentance, under the Parable of the Prodigal Son (1679).²⁰ Goodman's religious tract discusses the implications of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, suggesting that, on the surface, it describes

the Benignity, indulgence and condescension of a Father to his Son, together with the Folly and licentiousness of youth; then the Gradual progress and sad catastrophe of a course of debauchery; after this the usual misgivings of heart and change of mind upon such change of affairs, the serious reflexions upon, and late repentance of such follies; Then again a description of Parental affections; the exorableness of a Father upon his Son's submission; the profuseness of his kindness upon his reformation; and, lastly, the transports of his joy upon his plenary recovery. 21

Goodman then goes on to discuss the Parable's overt meaning: 'here we have God Almighty the Father of Spirits, pardoning and blessing penitent Sinners.'²² Stevenson takes this overt meaning up in his story, so that, for example, John's decision to leave his father's house at Randolph Crescent is presented as if he is now excluded from the 'house' of God:

19. In his edition of Weir of Hermiston and Other Stories, Paul Binding claims that Mr Nicholson is a 'portrait' of Thomas Stevenson, Stevenson's father, Binding, pp.28-31. However, Stevenson's essay on his father 'Thomas Stevenson,' written about the same time as 'The Misadventures of John Nicholson,' offers little ground for such a comparison. Since Binding does not realise it, it is worth underlining again that Mr Nicholson is presented as 'a pillar of the Free Church': Thomas Stevenson by contrast, as Stevenson points out in his essay, 'bore a clansman's loyalty' to the more moderate Church of Scotland, Memories and Portraits, xxix, 69.

20. The Journal of the Robert Louis Stevenson Club, edited by E.J. Mehew, 15 (February 1974), p.10.

21. The Penitent Pardoned (1679; rpt. London, 1689), pp.2-3.

22. ibid., p.249.

...with a pathetic sense of leave-taking, he even ventured up the lane and stood a while...by the west end of St. George's Church....'Who is this King of Glory?' went the voices from within; and to John this was like the end of all Christian observances, for he was now to be a wild man like Ishmael, and his life was to be cast in homeless places and with godless people. (p.153)

John's nocturnal escapades at Collette's and his later trip to California certainly recall verse 13 of the Parable: 'And not many days after, the Younger Son gathered all together, and took his journey into a far Country, and there wasted his substance with riotous living.' In Chapter V, aptly titled 'The Prodigal's Return,' John arrives back in Edinburgh and approaches his father's house again with 'a prayer upon his lips' (p.163). But here, Stevenson diverges from the Biblical Parable: unlike 'God Almighty the Father of Spirits' who welcomes the penitent sinner, Mr Nicholson ('Old Nich.') receives John without 'forgiveness' and, for all his Free Church sympathies, reveals a character that is essentially unChristian:

'Father,' said John, steadily, and even cheerfully....
'I have come back to ask your forgiveness, and to stay Christmas with you and the children.'...'Understand me,' interrupted Mr Nicholson; 'you are no son of mine; and in the sight of God, I wash my hands of you....And now,' with a low voice of absolute authority, and a single weighty gesture of the finger, 'and now--go!' (p.164)

Mr Nicholson's 'intransigent' Free Church outlook, contrary to 'the Gospel of forgiveness,' excludes his son (the penitent sinner) from the 'house' of God (the house at Randolph Crescent).

As indicated, John is excluded from his father's house because of Mr Nicholson's Free Church 'point of view': indeed, that 'point of view' (with its 'unforgiving' attitude towards 'dissenters') seems to create John's consequent 'misfortunes.' To some extent, of course, John creates those 'misfortunes' himself. Like some of the characters in Stevenson's 'new' Arabian Nights stories, John certainly commits a number of 'follies'

so that he is essentially 'the author, as well as the theatre, of so much confusion' (p.173). Yet although he may also be at 'fault' (p.190), it is nevertheless suggested in the story that circumstances are directed against him in an unusually malicious way:

John Varey Nicholson....was of a fat habit, even from boyhood, and inclined to a cheerful and cursory reading of the face of life; and possibly this attitude of mind was the original cause of his misfortunes. Beyond this hint philosophy is silent on his career, and superstition steps in with the more ready explanation that he was detested of the gods. (p.137, my italics)

This view is important to notice, and, indeed, Stevenson employs throughout the story a series of descriptions which underline this sense that John is maliciously dealt with by circumstance: '...the very action sealed his doom' (p.142); '...he turned that way; and by that quite innocent deflection, ripened the crop of his venial errors for the sickle of destiny' (p.144); 'And this delay...was his second step into the snares of fortune' (p.156); 'Henceforth we have to follow the spectacle of a man who was a mere whip-top for calamity...' (p.157), and so on.

The question arises, does John (with his 'cheerful' though 'cursory' character) deserve to be 'detested of the gods' and treated so maliciously by circumstance? He does, only if those 'gods' manifest the kind of 'intransigent' and 'unforgiving' judgements typical of such Free Church patriarchs as Mr Nicholson. Mr Nicholson's Free Church 'point of view,' in other words, operates maliciously throughout the story: it not only excludes John from the house at Randolph Crescent, it also (since it 'detests' 'dissenters') treats him with an unwarranted seriousness (with the 'low voice of absolute authority') and so creates the 'misfortunes' that follow. In a sense, Stevenson's story presents a set of profoundly conservative 'conventions,' prescribed by an old Edinburgh Free Churchman: John 'dissents' from those 'conventions,' and is treated accordingly:

...imagine that natural, clumsy, unintelligent, and mirthful animal, John; mighty well-behaved in comparison with other lads, although not up to the mark of the house in Randolph Crescent; full of a sort of blundering affection, full of caresses which were never very warmly received; full of sudden and loud laughter which rang out in that still house like curses. Mr Nicholson himself had a great fund of humour, of the Scots order--intellectual, turning on the observation of men; his own character, for instance--if he could have seen it in another--would have been a rare feast to him; but his son's empty guffaws over a broken plate, and empty, almost light-hearted remarks, struck him with pain as the indices of a weak mind. (pp.138-39, my italics)

It is clear that only in the context of the house in Randolph Crescent does John become 'detested of the gods': only in Mr Nicholson's 'tight little theological kingdom of Scotland' is John regarded as a 'dissenter' and relegated to the 'evil, wild, rebellious world' outside. Accordingly, it is not John's 'follies' that are 'cured' or corrected at the end of the story: rather, it is Mr Nicholson's 'conventions' that are, finally, called into question.

After being rejected by his 'unforgiving' father at the end of Chapter V, John wanders penniless around Edinburgh, a 'discarded prodigal' (p.165). However, he returns to the house at Randolph Crescent towards midnight and, 'thrusting his pass-key into the door-lock of his father's house' (p.188), he quietly enters, meeting Flora and his brother Alexander. The 'pass-key' has an important role in the story: its prominence had been noted in two of the chapters from the earlier plan of the story in Stevenson's notebook ('The passkey' and 'The passkey again'), and it forms part of the title of Chapter VIII in the final version, 'Singular instance of the utility of pass-keys.' It amounts to a means of infiltrating an 'unassailable' 'citadel' so that not surprisingly, after excluding John from his house, Mr Nicholson then refuses to make the pass-key available to his other son Alexander:

'And how did you get in here?' inquired the younger.
'Oh, I had my pass-key,' says John.

'The deuce you had!' said Alexander. 'Ah, you lived in a better world! There are no pass-keys going now.'

'Well, father was always averse to them,' sighed John.
(p.192)

Alexander then borrows the 'famous pass-key' (p.195) and, clearing his brother's name that same night, he essentially repeats John's earlier 'follies' (taking his father's money, going out in secret, and so on). However, faced with this second example of (to recall Patrick Walker's phrase) 'Left-hand Defections and Right-hand Extrems,' Mr Nicholson is at last forced to admit 'dissenters' into the house at Randolph Crescent:

...the truth is the very mass of his son's delinquencies daunted the old gentleman. He was like the man with the cart of apples--this was beyond him! That Alexander should have spoiled his table, taken his money, stayed out all night, and then coolly acknowledged all, was something undreamed-of in the Nicholsonian philosophy, and transcended comment. The return of the change, which the old gentleman still carried in his hand, had been a feature of imposing impudence; it had dealt him a staggering blow. Then there was the reference to John's original flight--a subject which he always kept resolutely curtained in his own mind; for he was a man who loved to have made no mistakes, and when he feared he might have made one kept the papers sealed. In view of all these surprises and reminders, and of his son's composed and masterful demeanour, there began to creep on Mr Nicholson a sickly misgiving. He seemed beyond his depth; if he did or said anything, he might come to regret it....And if wrong had been done--and done to one who was, after, and in spite of, all, a Nicholson--it should certainly be righted. (pp.199-200)

Mr Nicholson's Free Church 'conventions' are challenged at this point and, accordingly, the 'Nicholsonian philosophy' is at last transformed: John is received back into the house at Randolph Crescent, and (to quote the title of the last chapter) Alexander is conceded 'the principle of an allowance.' Stevenson's story ends by returning to the original form of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, confirming through Mr Nicholson the hitherto ignored 'Gospel of forgiveness.' By ending in this way, 'The Misadventures of John Nicholson' finally establishes itself as a

'romantically comic' story. Indeed, by conforming at last to the Parable of the Prodigal Son (which shows how the penitent sinner is finally welcomed back into the 'house' of a forgiving 'God Almighty'), the story presents a familiar 'remedial' process: in Goodman's terms, the story (like the Parable) eventually manifests a 'plenary recovery.' With Mr Nicholson's Free Church 'philosophy' under question and with John finally 'restored' to the house at Randolph Crescent, the Nicholson family are 'welded once more into a fair semblance of unity' (p.202).

This sense of a 'restorative' ending in 'The Misadventures of John Nicholson' is certainly central to its role as (to recall its subtitle in Yule Tide) 'A Christmas Story.' As John himself considers, waking up on Christmas Day in Alan Houston's house at Murrayfield (which, incidentally, provides a 'grisly' contrast to life in the house at Randolph Crescent),

Here were Christmas weather and Christmas morning duly met, to the delight of children. This was the day of reunited families, the day to which he had so long looked forward, thinking to awake in his own bed in Randolph Crescent, reconciled with all men and repeating the foot-prints of his youth; and here he was alone, pacing the alleys of a wintry garden and filled with penitential thoughts.
(p.171, my italics)

The story's Christmas 'message' clearly involves the need to become 'reconciled with all men': it is a message that is worked out in the closing transformation of Mr Nicholson's hitherto 'intransigent' and 'unforgiving' Free Church 'philosophy.'

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MERRY MEN AND OTHER TALES: INTRODUCTION

The Merry Men and Other Tales was first published by Chatto and Windus on 9 February 1887: appearing four and a half years after New Arabian Nights (also published by Chatto and Windus) and two years after More New Arabian Nights: The Dynamiter, it was Stevenson's third collection of short stories. Yet this volume contains one story, 'Will o' the Mill,' that was written even before the earliest story in New Arabian Nights, in mid-1877; and, in fact, The Merry Men and Other Tales collects stories written over a period of more than eight years. However, of the six stories in this volume, only 'The Merry Men' and 'Markheim' exist in an earlier and significantly different form.¹

Between writing 'Will o' the Mill' in mid-1877 and the final publication of The Merry Men and Other Tales in February 1887, Stevenson had planned a number of collections of short stories. Most of the six stories finally included in The Merry Men and Other Tales were also listed in these earlier collections. For example, in December 1879 Stevenson outlined a plan for a collection titled Fables and Tales in a letter to Sidney Colvin: this volume was to contain 'Will o' the Mill,' as well as Stevenson's three French stories later included in New Arabian Nights, and the uncollected 'The Story of a Lie.'² A later collection planned in mid-1881 while Stevenson was at Kinnaird Cottage near Pitlochry, has already been mentioned: The Black Man and Other Tales

1. The original title of this collection, as published by Chatto and Windus, was The Merry Men and Other Tales and Fables. Subsequent editions of Stevenson's works have shortened the title.

2. Letters. ii, 88.

(changed in July 1881 to Tales for Winter Nights) was to contain, among other stories, 'Thrawn Janet' and 'The Merry Men' (but not 'Will o' the Mill').³ Later still, in a letter to W.E. Henley in February 1883, Stevenson outlined another proposed collection, which he intended to give to Chatto and Windus to publish. The list of six stories here contains four of those finally included in The Merry Men and Other Tales:

You can tell Chatto, he will have this summer or autumn, as much as the New Arabian Nights of stories: Will o' the Mill, Thrawn Janet, Story of a Lie, Merry Men, Treasure of Franchard and an April Day: which last is 'Autolycus in Service' rewritten with a literary, not a dramatic, finish. 4

The idea for this proposed collection of stories seems to have been maintained at least until Spring 1884. Writing to his father Thomas Stevenson on 19 April of this year, Stevenson mentions re-reading 'Thrawn Janet' and 'The Merry Men,' planning to revise the latter story and 're-write entirely' 'The Story of a Lie'; and he added, 'When they are all on their legs this will make an excellent collection.'⁵

'Markheim' and 'Olalla' were written after this proposed 1883/84 collection, and they replaced 'The Story of a Lie' and 'An April Day' in the finally published The Merry Men and Other Tales. Given Stevenson's list for the 1883/84 collection, the stories finally included in The Merry Men and Other Tales would seem to be of his own choosing; but, in their themes and settings, they seem to have little in common with each other.

3. ibid., pp.150-51, 158.

4. This letter is held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Beinecke 3164) and is quoted in full in Schiffman, pp.xviii-ix. Henley wrote to Andrew Chatto on 14 February 1883 outlining this proposal: this letter is also quoted in full in Schiffman, p.180, and is held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Beinecke 4665).

5. Letters, ii, 303.

Indeed, at the beginning of 1887 Stevenson wrote almost apologetically to Lady Taylor (to whom the collection is dedicated) about the diversity of the stories:

The tales are of all dates and places; they are like the box, the goose, and the cottage of the ferryman; and must go floating down time together as best they can....I fear they will be but an awkward squad. 6

Stevenson's 'Note for "The Merry Men"' (a drafted preface to the collection that was published only in the Vailima and Tusitala Editions) refers to the stories in similar terms, as 'somewhat of a scratch lot.'⁷ Although it is certainly difficult to link the stories together in terms of their 'conventions,' nevertheless some stories can clearly be compared with certain others. The first part of this chapter will discuss 'Will o' the Mill' and 'The Treasure of Franchard' together, since they both represent versions of the 'remedial' process within an essentially medicinal framework (as will become clear). There are two Scottish stories in the collection: 'The Merry Men' will be discussed separately, but 'Thrawn Janet' will be discussed with Stevenson's 'The Tale of Tod Lapraik,' a short story included in the novel Catriona and, like most of 'Thrawn Janet,' also 'told' in Scots. 'Markheim' and 'Olalla,' although they do compare with each other in certain ways, will be discussed separately.

6. ibid., iii, 113.

7. The Merry Men and Other Tales, viii, xv.

CHAPTER FOUR

I. 'WILL O' THE MILL' AND 'THE TREASURE OF FRANCHARD'

'Will o' the Mill' was written in July or August 1877, when Stevenson was twenty-six. Perhaps encouraged by Cornhill Magazine's acceptance of a number of his essays at this time, Stevenson sent his story to the editor Leslie Stephen: as he wrote to Frances Sitwell in August, 'Will o' the Mill I sent, red hot, to Stephen in a fit of haste, and have not yet had an answer. I am quite prepared for a refusal.'¹ Stephen had read the story by the end of September and, although he agreed to publish it, he suggested that it be revised 'either to make it more grotesque or more realistic.'² However, the story was first published in Cornhill Magazine, 37 (January 1878) without change, and Stevenson also never revised it for republication in The Merry Men and Other Tales nine years later (the name of the Parson's daughter is changed slightly, from 'Marjarie' to 'Marjory'). Yet although he may have ignored Stephen's advice, Stevenson seems to have been particularly encouraged by this early acceptance of one of his stories by such a respected literary editor: as J.A. Steuart has remarked,

He was prepared for rejection...but, to his delight, the story was not only accepted but elicited warm editorial appreciation. Of all his early stories, 'Will o' the Mill' was Stevenson's own favourite, and many good judges share his partiality. 3

On the whole, these 'good judges,' Stevenson's contemporary critics, praised 'Will o' the Mill' for, among other things, its apparent

1. Letters, ii, 32.

2. McKay, iv, 1592 (Beinecke 5561).

3. Steuart, p.210.

difference from many of his other stories. As Edmund Gosse has remarked, 'Will o' the Mill' is 'unique among Stevenson's productions in its support of the prudent rather than the adventurous spirit.'⁴ Graham Balfour has commented on the story's 'uniqueness' in more detail:

Apart from its manner, the interest of the story lies for us in its divergence from Stevenson's scheme and conduct of life. It was written, he told me, as an experiment, in order to see what could be said in support of the opposite theory....One of his ruling maxims was that 'Acts may be forgiven: not even God can forgive the hanger-back'; yet here he depicted the delight of fruition indefinitely deferred, the prudence of giving no hostages to fortune... 5

In his famous essay 'Robert Louis Stevenson,' Henry James also discussed this story and suggested again that it deals with 'prudence':

The story is in the happiest key, and suggests all kinds of things, but what does it in particular represent? The advantage of waiting, perhaps--the valuable truth, that, one by one, we tide over our impatiences....So the sub-title of Mr Stevenson's story might be 'The Beauty of Procrastination.' 6

But James also noted that the 'opposite theory' presented in the story was not entirely clear in its meaning:

...in Will of the Mill there is something exceedingly rare, poetical, and unexpected, with that most fascinating quality a work of imagination can have, a dash of alternative mystery as to its meaning....When it came to the point, poor Will had not even the curiosity to marry; and the author leaves us in stimulating doubt as to whether he judges him too selfish or only too philosophic. 7

It can be shown that 'Will o' the Mill' does present a particular kind of 'opposite theory'; but the way it is presented is complex, and perhaps reflects what James had called 'an alternative mystery.'

4. Gosse, v, 255.

5. Balfour, i, 160, my italics.

6. The Century Magazine, 35 (April 1888), p.875.

7. ibid., p.875, my italics.

The story begins by presenting a young man who desperately wants to travel into the wide world beyond the valley in which he lives:

'Something kept tugging at his heartstrings; the running water carried his desires along with it....he felt his heart flow out after it in an ecstasy of longing.'⁸ Yet, for certain reasons, Will later changes his mind and decides to remain where he is: as he gets older, he is less eager to pursue the 'true life, the true bright sunshine' (p.64) he believes to exist beyond the valley. Will's decreasing interest in this 'true life' is reflected in his refusal to marry the Parson's Marjory who is herself a kind of life-symbol:

...her eyes shone peaceably; the light lay around her hair like a kerchief; something that was hardly a smile rippled her pale cheeks, and Will could not contain himself from gazing on her in an agreeable dismay. She looked, even in her quietest moments, so complete in herself, and so quick with life down to her finger-tips and the very skirts of her dress, that the remainder of created things became no more than a blot by comparison; and if Will glanced away from her to her surroundings, the trees looked inanimate and senseless, the clouds hung in heaven like dead things, and even the mountain-tops were disenchanted. The whole valley could not compare in looks with this one girl. (p.69, my italics)

Marjory signifies, in other words, the 'true life, the true bright sunshine' that is seen to exist beyond the valley (and which Will does not come to experience). Through Marjory, moreover, Stevenson presents a definition of that 'true life' that is important to notice in order to understand Will's condition:

He became conscious of a soul beautifully poised upon itself, nothing doubting, nothing desiring, clothed in peace....Her influence was one thing, not to be divided or discussed, only to be felt with gratitude and joy. (p.70, my italics)

Will, by contrast, does 'divide and discuss' the 'true life' and,

8. The Merry Men and Other Tales, viii, 62. Further references are given after quotations in the text.

accordingly, never comes to experience it: he is, to recall Henry James's phrase, 'too philosophic.' Indeed, Will begins to 'philosophise' after asking the advice of a 'fat young man' (p.66) who comes to his inn early in the story. The young man offers Will a 'parable' concerning his desire to travel out of the valley towards the 'true life': 'Did you ever see a squirrel turning in a cage? and another squirrel sitting philosophically over his nuts? I needn't ask you which of them looked more of a fool' (p.67). To recall Henry James's description of the story itself, the parable has an 'alternative' meaning: which squirrel is 'more of a fool'? Will, of course, takes up the second 'alternative' and remains 'sitting philosophically' inside his valley.

Will finally does go 'upon his travels' (p.86), however, at the end of the story when, as an old man, he is at last carried away by a dark stranger who, as he informs Will, is Death. The notion of travelling out of the valley thus becomes more complex: it takes on, to recall James's phrase again, an 'alternative' meaning. Earlier in the story, it had signified Will's youthful desire to go out of the valley towards the 'true life,' and yet now it seems to mean the journey Will finally takes when he dies. Moreover, these two 'alternative' meanings operate simultaneously. Stevenson presents the arrival of Death (who at last takes Will 'upon his travels') in allegorical terms, so that he comes in person in a 'great carriage':

Will...stood listening for the summons to be repeated and as he listened he became conscious of another noise besides the brawling of the river and the ringing in his feverish ears. It was like the stir of the horses and the creaking of harness, as though a carriage with an impatient team had been brought up upon the road before the court-yard gate....once again he heard the noise of an equipage upon the road. (pp.81-82)

This image of Death's 'equipage' is important to notice, since it is also given much earlier in the story. Indeed, it is first presented to Will

while he is still quite young, so that even at this early stage the second and more ominous 'alternative' meaning of 'travel' is made apparent to him:

And so life wagged on in the valley, with high satisfaction to all concerned but Will. Every carriage that left the inn-door seemed to take a part of him away with it; and when people jestingly offered him a lift, he could with difficulty command his emotion. Night after night he would dream that he was awakened by flustered servants, and that a splendid equipage waited at the door to carry him down into the plain; night after night; until the dream, which had seemed all jollity to him at first, began to take on a colour of gravity, and the nocturnal summons and waiting equipage occupied a place in his mind as something to be both feared and hoped for. (p.65, my italics)

In a sense, Will (while still young) forecasts his final journey with Death at the end of the story: he comes to understand where such 'travels' out of the valley might take him. Since this understanding occurs quite early in the story, it not surprisingly explains (along with the 'parable' of the squirrels) why Will soon loses all desire to go 'upon his travels.' Yet, since the notion of 'travel' has two 'alternative' meanings, Will's attitude towards it is essentially ambivalent: 'travel' becomes 'something to be both feared and hoped for.' It is this ambivalence that makes the story complex, and it depends on which of the 'alternative' meanings of 'travel' is accepted at any time. Thus, at the beginning of the story 'travel' seemed only to imply a straightforward journey out of the valley towards the 'true life' and 'the greater part of the world' (p.60): Will naturally 'hopes for' this first 'alternative' meaning. But his enthusiasm mellows after the 'parable' and the recurring dreams of the 'great carriage': accordingly, he avoids and perhaps comes to 'fear' that outside 'world.' If the second and more ominous 'alternative' meaning of 'travel' is taken up, Will's attitude is reversed. Forecasting his own death early in the story with his dream of the 'equipage,' Will's interest in going 'upon his travels' quickly decreases:

he naturally 'fears' death. But as his desire to experience the 'true life' diminishes, Will comes to look upon death as attractive: by the end of the story, he 'hopes for' Death's arrival and rejoices when the 'equipage' finally takes him away ('Give me your hand, and welcome,' p.85). The complex merging of these two 'alternative' meanings provides an overall view of the meaning of 'travel' that perhaps recalls Stevenson's description of the Parson's Marjory: it as (as the 'philosophical' Will cannot understand) 'not to be divided or discussed, only to be felt with gratitude and joy.'

Stevenson seems to have 'adapted' parts of his story from the famous 'To be or not to be' soliloquy in Shakespeare's Hamlet: in particular, this soliloquy presents the second and more ominous 'alternative' meaning of 'travel' as discussed above. Like Will, Hamlet is 'too philosophic,' and this prevents him from (to use the second 'alternative' meaning) going 'upon his travels.' He does not, in other words, allow himself to be carried away by Death:

...The undiscover'd country, from whose bourne
No traveller returns, puzzles the will,
And makes us rather bear those ills we have,
Than fly to others that we know not of? (III. 1. 79-82)

Much of the beginning of 'Will o' the Mill' paraphrases this part of Hamlet's soliloquy so that, perhaps even before Will's dream of the 'equipage' the second 'alternative' meaning of 'travel' is made apparent:

...at last one of the commanders pushed an army over the pass by forced marches, and for three days horse and foot, cannon and tumbril, drum and standard, kept...sweeping onward and downward past the mill. No one in the valley ever heard the fate of the expedition, for they lay out of the way of gossip in those troublous times; but Will saw one thing plainly, that not a man returned. Whither had they all gone? Whither went all the tourists and pedlars with strange wares? whither all the brisk barouches with servants in the dicky?...all else were posting downward to the unknown world. (p.60)

Stevenson may have drawn on other works that presented a notion of

'travel' in symbolic or allegorical terms. He knew the works of Goethe particularly well, and his story may have been influenced by Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship and Travels, translated into English by Thomas Carlyle in 1824 and 1827.⁹ This long story uses 'travel' (Wanderjahre) as a symbol for growth, comparing with the first 'alternative' meaning of 'travel' in 'Will o' the Mill' (as a means of experiencing the 'true life'); it also, interestingly, draws on Shakespeare's Hamlet, basing its structure around an on-going production of the play. Like Will in Stevenson's story, Wilhelm longs to leave his home, and is at last encouraged to do so by Mariana, a girl who compares with the Parson's Marjory: 'He imagined that he understood the visible beckoning of fate reaching out its hand by Mariana to save him from the stagnant, weary, drudging life out of which he had so often wished for deliverance.'¹⁰ Wilhelm later decides 'to make my life a life of Travel,'¹¹ and he meets various other characters who offer ideas about the value of travelling as he moves about. One such character is Leonardo, who had initially wanted to travel through Europe but had allowed his trip to become 'postponed': 'What was at hand attracted me, retained me; and the distant lost more and more of its charms, the more I read of it, or heard it talked of.'¹² Towards the end of Wilhelm's 'travels,' a mysterious carriage arrives, perhaps recalling the 'equipage' in Stevenson's story: '"Who can be coming?" cried Lucinda. The thought of

9. For Stevenson's interest in Goethe, see for example Letters, i, 55, or The Wrecker, xii, 284-85.

10. Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship and Travels, translated by Thomas Carlyle (1839; rpt. London, 1899), i, 63.

11. ibid., ii, 200.

12. ibid., p.242.

a strange presence was frightful to Lucindor; and the carriage seemed entirely unknown to him.'¹³ However, they all get in and at last go 'upon their travels': the carriage seems to 'roll through the world' and 'Over the mountains,'¹⁴ and they look down at the plains spread out below. The story ends finally with a poem that proclaims the virtues of travelling over 'the greater part of the world':

Keep not standing fix'd and rooted,
 Briskly venture, briskly roam!
 Head and hand, where'er thou foot it,
 And stout heart are still at home.
 In each land the sun does visit
 We are gay whate'er betide;
 To give space for wand'ring is it
 That the world was made so wide. 15

Of course, Stevenson's story presents a character who remains 'fix'd and rooted' and does not 'travel' (at least in this sense): it clearly illustrates, to recall Graham Balfour's phrase, the 'opposite theory.'

Balfour has also noted that 'Will o' the Mill' shows the 'obvious influence of Hawthorne.'¹⁶ Stevenson knew Hawthorne's short stories well, and his library contained copies of Twice-Told Tales (1842) and The Snow Image, and Other Tales (1851).¹⁷ Stevenson's story compares in many ways with Hawthorne's short moral fables, but he may have been especially influenced by one particular story from Twice-Told Tales, 'The Toll-Gatherer's Day. A Sketch of Transitory Life.' This brief allegory represents, through events in a single day, the life of a character who, like Will in his inn, remains 'fix'd and rooted' while

13. ibid., p.401.

14. ibid., pp.401-02.

15. ibid., p.416.

16. Balfour, i, 159.

17. Both books (from an 1866 Bell and Daldy edition of Hawthorne) are now held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Beinecke 2533).

the world passes by:

Methinks, for a person whose instinct bids him rather to pore over the current of life, than to plunge into its tumultuous waves, no undesirable retreat were a toll house beside some thronged thoroughfare of the land. In youth, perhaps, it is good for the observer to run about the earth--to leave the track of his footsteps far and wide--to mingle himself with the action of numberless vicissitudes--and, finally, in some calm solitude, to feed a musing spirit on all that he has seen and felt. But there are natures too indolent, or too sensitive, to endure the dust, the sunshine, or the rain, the turmoil of moral and physical elements, to which all the wayfarers of the world expose themselves. For such a man, how pleasant a miracle, could life be made to roll its variegated length by the threshold of his own hermitage, and the great globe, as it were, perform its revolutions and shift its thousand scenes before his eyes without whirling him onward in its course. If any mortal be favoured with a lot analogous to this, it is the toll-gatherer. So, at least, have I often fancied, while lounging on a bench at the door of a small square edifice, which stands between shore and shore in the midst of a long bridge. Beneath the timbers ebbs and flows an arm of the sea; while above, like the lifeblood through a great artery, the travel of the north and east is continually throbbing. 18

In Stevenson's story Will's inn is similarly situated 'beside some thronged thoroughfare of the land' and is described in essentially the same terms:

...the road that ran along beside the river was a high thoroughfare between two splendid and powerful societies. All through the summer, travelling-carriages came crawling up, or went plunging briskly downwards....All the light-footed tourists, all the pedlars laden with strange wares, were tending downward like the river that accompanied their paththe traffic on the road...passed by Will, like something seen in a picture...a mere symbol, which he contemplated from apart... (pp.59, 64)

Although Will had initially wanted 'to run about the earth,' he becomes, like the toll-gatherer, 'too indolent, or too sensitive' to go 'upon his travels': he illustrates the 'opposite theory' of remaining 'apart' from the 'true life' outside his valley. For the toll-gatherer, as for Will,

18. Twice-Told Tales (1842; rpt. London, 1851), p.209.

the noises of passing carriages are also heard in his dreams (so that, in both stories, the sleeping and the waking lives merge together):

...the distant roll of ponderous wheels begins to mingle with my old friend's slumbers, creaking more and more harshly through the midst of his dream...Hardly conscious of the change from sleep to wakefulness, he finds himself partly clad and throwing wide the toll-gates... 19

Compare Will's gradual awareness of the approach of Death's 'equipage' in Stevenson's story:

He was once again awakened by...the noise of an equipage upon the road. And so thrice and four times, the same dream, or the same fancy, presented itself to his senses; until at length...he proceeded towards the gate... (p.82)

It seems clear that Stevenson's story was to some degree 'adapted' from Hawthorne's story and, perhaps, from the account of 'travel' in Goethe's Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship and Travels. But 'Will o' the Mill' also brings together themes that Stevenson himself had discussed in a number of essays written around the same time in the early 1870s, most of which were also published in Leslie Stephen's Cornhill Magazine: it may be worth remarking on these essays to understand more exactly what the story's 'opposite theory' might represent. 'Will o' the Mill' essentially shows how youthful aspirations can give way to the quiet disillusionment characteristic of old age, a theme central to the essay 'Crabbed Age and Youth,' first published two months after Stevenson's story in Cornhill Magazine, 37 (March 1878). Here, Stevenson uses the imagery of 'travel' to express the youthful desire for 'truth' and experience, and in a short digressive 'parable' about a man who lives alone in a 'Happy Valley' he warns against trying to repress that desire through (to quote from Stevenson's story) a 'life of artificial calm'

19. ibid., p.210.

(p.77). The essay celebrates the pursuit of changing experience and a commitment to the 'flux of things' using the imagery of 'travel' from 'Will o' the Mill':

we may compare the headlong course of our years to a swift torrent in which a man is carried away...at the end, he is hurled out and overwhelmed in a dark and bottomless oceanIt is vain to seek for consistency or expect clear and stable views in a medium so perturbed and fleeting. 20

Yet Stevenson also acknowledges the 'simple nobility'²¹ of those who (like Will in his story) resist this commitment, noting that there are 'two sides to a question.'²² His comments on this 'opposite' attitude towards the 'true life' provide a kind of definition for events in 'Will o' the Mill':

To be suddenly snuffed out in the middle of ambitious schemes is tragical enough at best; but when a man has been grudging himself his own life in the meanwhile, and saving up everything for the festival that was never to be, it becomes that hysterically moving sort of tragedy which lies on the confines of farce. 23

Stevenson takes up this 'opposite' attitude in another essay, 'Aes Triplex,' first published a month after 'Crabbed Age and Youth' in Cornhill Magazine, 37 (April 1878). Here, Stevenson criticises those who, like Will, let their 'fear of Death' take precedence over their 'love of Life,'²⁴ again polarising youthful exuberance with the quiet resignation of old age. This essay suggests that the pursuit of changing experience is

20. Virginibus Puerisque and Other Essays in Belles Lettres, xxv, 43. The title of this essay was probably lifted from William Hazlitt's 'On the Past and Present,' which similarly deals with 'the difference between...the pleasantness of youth and the crabbedness of age,' The Complete Works of William Hazlitt, edited by P.P. Howe (London, 1931), viii, p.29. For Stevenson's remarks on this essay, see 'A Retrospect (A Fragment written at Dunoon, 1870),' Further Memories, xxx, 180.

21. Virginibus Puerisque, p.48.

22. ibid., p.50.

23. ibid., p.45.

24. ibid., p.76.

an end in itself, to be felt with 'unconcern and gaiety'²⁵ (recalling Stevenson's description of the Parson's Marjory in his story, who symbolises the sense that the 'true life' is 'only to be felt with gratitude and joy'). 'Aes Triplex' ends with a vision of death overtaking such a committed and exuberant life that, in contrast to 'tragic farce' at the end of 'Will o' the Mill,' seems almost 'romantically comic':

In the hot-fit of life, a-tiptoe on the highest point of being, he passes at a bound on to the other side. The noise of the mallet and chisel is scarcely quenched, the trumpets are hardly done blowing, when, trailing with him clouds of glory, this happy-starred, full-blooded spirit shoots into the spiritual land. 26

Other essays such as 'El Dorado' or 'An Apology for Idlers' continue to discuss this sense of commitment (or lack of commitment) to life, often drawing on the 'travel' imagery taken up in 'Will o' the Mill.' But the essay that has the most interesting and significant bearing on this story deals with a very different subject. 'Ordered South' was first published in Macmillan's Magazine, 30 (May 1874) and is an account of Stevenson's trip 'south' to Mentone in France in late 1873 under doctor's orders, to recover his failing health. This essay is written in an impersonal and detached way, and presents a general picture of the invalid in his sickroom. For Stevenson, the invalid is characterised by his decreasing sense of commitment to the world he sees outside:

Many a white town that sits far out on the promontory, many a comely fold of wood on the mountain-side, beckons and allures his imagination day after day, and is yet as inaccessible to his feet as the clefts and gorges of the clouds. The sense of distance grows upon him wonderfully; and after some feverish efforts and the fretful uneasiness of the first few days, he falls contentedly in with the

25. ibid., p.75.

26. ibid., p.81.

restrictions of his weakness. His narrow round becomes pleasant and familiar to him as the cell to a contented prisoner....He sees the country people come and go about their every-day affairs, the foreigners stream out in goodly pleasure parties; the stir of man's activity is all about him, as he suns himself inertly in some sheltered corner... 27

The setting of the sickroom, cut off from 'the greater part of the world,' recalls the valley in 'Will o' the Mill' with 'pine-woods and great mountains' (p.59) on either side. Indeed, the passage provides a way of looking at Will himself: by remaining 'inert' and 'contented' within the 'restrictions' of his valley, he essentially shares those characteristics attributed to the invalid. In the essay, Stevenson remarks further on the invalid's decreasing interest in the 'true life' around him, suggesting that, like Will at the end of the story, he finally comes to 'hope for' the arrival of death:

And to him the idea of mortality comes in a shape less violent and harsh than is its wont, less as an abrupt catastrophe than as a thing of infinitesimal gradation, and the last step on a long decline of way....he feels, if he is to be thus tenderly weaned from the passion of life, thus gradually inducted into the slumber of death, that when at last the end comes, it will come quietly and fitly. If anything is to reconcile poor spirits to the coming of the last enemy, surely it should be such a mild approach as this; not to hale us forth with violence, but to persuade us from a place we have no further pleasure in. 28

Perhaps not surprisingly in 'Will o' the Mill,' the figure of Death arriving finally to take Will 'upon his travels' is given a 'remedial' role:

'You are a doctor?' quavered Will.
'The best that ever was,' replied the other; 'for I cure both mind and body with the same prescription.' (p.85)

27. ibid., p.68.

28. ibid., pp.68-69.

Stevenson wrote another essay about the invalid which has not yet been collected in book form but which also has an interesting bearing on 'Will o' the Mill.' 'The Misgivings of Convalescence' was published only in the Pall Mall Gazette, 17 March 1881, towards the end of Stevenson's first winter stay at the sanatorium at Davos in Switzerland. Stevenson had elsewhere written several essays praising the 'healing' properties of the Davos sanatorium, both treating and 'diverting' the invalid;²⁹ and in 'The Misgivings of Convalescence' he makes the same kind of remarks. For Stevenson, the sanatorium actually encouraged the invalid to overcome certain 'misgivings' and recover his health: it made him want to break away from the 'restrictions' of his 'sheltered corner':

...a man who puts his pleasure in activity, who desires a stirring life or none at all, will be certain to do better in the Alps. The continual, almost painful bracing, the boisterous inclemencies, the rough pleasure of tobogganing ...spur him on to the gallop in his quest for health. He takes a risk; he makes an effort; action is in all his thoughts. The very sameness of his prison valley bids him make a push to recover and escape....to-day, if not yesterday, he will gain the summit of that hill. 30

Again, Stevenson uses the image of the 'prison valley' in the context of remarking on the invalid: since, in the story, Will shares the characteristics of the invalid, his own valley might then represent or symbolise the 'sickroom.' But the picture of the invalid in this essay sharply contrasts with the invalid in 'Ordered South': whereas that earlier invalid had been 'content' to remain within his sickroom, the convalescent in the sanatorium makes the effort 'to recover and escape.' There are clearly two 'opposite theories' at work here: the first presents an image of declining health and 'imprisonment' within the confines of

29. See especially 'The Stimulation of the Alps,' Further Memories, xxx, 143-58.

30. The essay is reproduced in McKay, ii, (facing) 485 (Beinecke 1003), my italics.

the sickroom, while the second presents a 'restorative' 'quest for health' and an accompanying sense of liberation. This 'restorative' quest distinguishes the invalid from the convalescent: for the latter, 'action is all in his thoughts' and he is committed to the 'true life' beyond his sanatorium (beyond his 'prison valley'). This distinction has already been noticed in the two 'opposite' descriptions of the final arrival of death, given above. For the invalid in 'Ordered South' (and for Will in 'Will o' the Mill'), death is 'a thing of infinitesimal gradation' coming without 'violence'; it is welcomed and 'hoped for.' But for the recovering convalescent, committed to 'action' and liberation, death (as the passage from 'Aes Triplex' had envisaged) takes him in 'the hot-fit of life': it concludes an essentially comic process of 'restoration.'

Like the invalid in 'Ordered South' (but not the convalescent in 'The Misgivings of Convalescence'), Will also never 'escapes' from his 'prison valley.' He never goes 'upon his travels' until Death arrives at the end of the story: the process of 'restoration' (with Death as the 'doctor') never begins until he dies. Will's 'inertia' thus reflects the 'opposite theory' he comes to represent, and it explains why Stevenson's contemporaries had found this story so unique. By contrast, most of Stevenson's more popular protagonists are almost continually on the move, always going 'upon their travels.' In Kidnapped in particular, Stevenson had spent some time outlining David Balfour's itinerary with detailed maps, and in early 1886 he attempted to justify the great distances Balfour was supposed to cover, writing to his cousin David A. Stevenson (who had offered to sketch the map of Balfour's travels), 'The improbability of the itinerary is not so great as it appears, for my hero was trying to escape--like all heroes.'³¹ This notion of the 'hero,'

31. Letters, iii, 77, my italics.

with his commitment to liberation and 'action,' contrasts with Will in 'Will o' the Mill' who, sharing the characteristics of the invalid in 'Ordered South,' never manages 'to recover and escape.' Will is perhaps a kind of 'anti-hero,' demonstrating an 'opposite theory' involving the loss of health and a process of resigned deterioration.

Stevenson used the 'conventions' of sickness and health again in 'The Treasure of Franchard.' Whereas 'Will o' the Mill' is set in a 'prison valley' reflecting the properties of the sickroom as described in 'Ordered South,' 'The Treasure of Franchard' is by contrast set in a place that reflects the 'remedial' properties of Stevenson's Davos sanatorium: here, a character who loses his health is, finally, 'cured.' This setting is Grez-sur-Loing (spelt 'Gretz' in the story) in the forest of Fontainebleau a few miles south-east of Paris in France. Fanny Stevenson had stayed at this village in Summer 1876, some time before marrying Stevenson. But Stevenson himself had also visited the forest of Fontainebleau earlier on in Spring 1875, staying at Barbizon as, in fact, a convalescent. As he wrote to Frances Sitwell in April of this year,

I begin to go all right; you need not be vexed about my health; I was really ill at first, as bad as I have been for nearly a year; but the forest begins to work, and the air, and the sun, and the smell of the pines. If I could stay a month here, I should be as right as possible. 32

As Stevenson recalled in a letter to George Iles on 29 October 1887, 'The Treasure of Franchard' was 'mostly written at Kingussie'³³ in Scotland in August 1882, but it was probably not completed until towards the end of the year when Stevenson had moved to Campagne Delfi, a house

32. ibid., i, 222.

33. Bookman, 7 (February 1895), p.136.

in Marseilles in France.³⁴ Stevenson first offered his story to Cornhill Magazine, edited at this time by James Payn who had taken over from Leslie Stephen at the end of 1882. Payn refused it,³⁵ although his reasons for doing so are not clear: perhaps they centred around Stevenson's portrayal of Doctor and Anastasie Desprez, who are certainly an unconventional French couple. Stevenson mentioned Payn's refusal much later in a letter to Sidney Colvin on 31 January 1892, remarking on his story in the context of a controversy over the 'immoral' marriage contract in his South Pacific story, 'The Beach of Falesá':

This is a poison bad world for the romancer, this Anglo-Saxon world; I usually get out of it by not having any women in it at all; but when I remember I had The Treasure of Franchard refused as unfit for a family magazine, I feel despair weigh upon my wrists. 36

Stevenson then sent his story to Longman's Magazine: he received the proofs in February 1883, and the story was first published in Longman's Magazine, 1 (April 1883) and 2 (May 1883), the first number containing the first three chapters. The story was republished in The Merry Men and Other Tales without change.

Stevenson had described the forest of Fontainebleau (where the story is set) in an early essay 'Forest Notes,' written after his trip to Barbizon and first published in Cornhill Magazine, 33 (May 1876). For Stevenson, the convalescent, the forest was a 'great moral spa'³⁷ and had clear 'remedial' properties:

34. See Sidney Colvin, 'Introductory Note,' Letters, ii, 210.

35. See McKay, iii, 1009 (Beinecke 3214) and Swearingen, p.80, for further remarks on Payn's refusal.

36. Letters, iv, 149.

37. Further Memories, xxx, 137.

...it is not so much for its beauty that the forest makes a claim upon men's hearts, as for that subtle something, that quality of the air, that emanation from the old trees, that so wonderfully changes and renews a weary spirit. 38

These same 'remedial' properties characterise Gretz for Doctor Desprez in 'The Treasure of Franchard':

He thought at first there was no place so healthful in the arrondissement. By the end of the second year, he protested there was none so wholesome in the whole department....but whether his adorations were addressed to the goddess Hygieia or some more orthodox deity, never plainly appeared. For he had uttered doubtful oracles, sometimes declaring that a river was the type of bodily health, sometimes extolling it as the great moral preacher... (pp.175-76)

As in 'Forest Notes,' the forest becomes an Edenic place capable of 'restoring' one's health. For Desprez, this Edenic place stands in sharp contrast to the distant and corrupt city of Paris:

Now, if I were still rich, I should indubitably make my residence in Paris--you know Paris--Paris and Paradise are not convertible terms. This pleasant noise of the wind streaming among leaves changed into the grinding Babel of the street, the stupid glare of plaster substituted for this quiet pattern of greens and greys, the nerves shattered, the digestion falsified --picture the fall! Already you perceive the consequences; the mind is stimulated, the heart steps to a different measure, and the man is himself no longer. (pp.195-96, my italics)

This 'fall' amounts to a loss of one's health ('the nerves shattered, the digestion falsified'), which Desprez attempts always to avoid. Indeed, he tries to exclude sickness from the Edenic and 'healthful' forest altogether: 'I remark it, as a flaw in our civilisation, that we have not the proper horror of disease' (p.176). Yet regardless of his attempts to the contrary, such a 'fall' does take place in the story,

38. *ibid.*, p.137. See also Stevenson's later essay 'Fontainebleau: Village Communities of Painters,' written shortly after 'The Treasure of Franchard' in Spring 1883: the forest is 'something ancient and healthy,' with a 'sanative' influence. *ibid.*, p.99.

as a consequence of meeting the boy Jean-Marie and later discovering the treasure of Franchard. Doctor Desprez becomes, as he had forecasted, 'himself no longer.'

The discovery of the treasure of Franchard most clearly precipitates a 'fall' since, afterwards, Desprez and Anastasie resolve to leave their Edenic forest and go to Paris: 'both [would] be lost for ever to Jean-Marie and their better selves' (p.212). This loss of their 'better selves' is expressed earlier in the story when Desprez (before discovering the treasure) almost succumbs to Parisian temptations:

I am in the black fit....The vices of my nature are now uppermost; innocent pleasures woo me in vain; I long for Paris, for my wallowing in the mire....Save me from that part of myself which I disown. (p.197)

In a sense, the discovery of the buried treasure amounts to the exposure of 'that part of myself which I disown': the character (with his 'vices... now uppermost') becomes 'worse,' not 'better.' This opposition between the 'better' self and a 'disowned' and 'worse' self anticipates the kind of dualism presented later in the more tragic The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde. Indeed, 'The Treasure of Franchard' provides an early and clear expression of this dualism through the transformation in Doctor Desprez and his wife after the discovery of the buried treasure: as Jean-Marie considers,

He was to leave this familiar hamlet, this green, rustling country, this bright and quiet stream; he was to pass into the great city; his dear lady mistress was to move bedizened into saloons; his good, garrulous, kind-hearted master to become a brawling deputy....And he began dimly to believe the Doctor's prophecies of evil. He could see a change in both. (pp.211-12)

Yet whereas Doctor Jekyll remains transformed into Hyde ('that part of myself which I disown') at the end of his story, Doctor Desprez's 'better self' is finally 'restored' back to him: he regains his health and remains in the Edenic forest. This process of 'restoration' is carried out by

the boy Jean-Marie.

Doctor Desprez had confidently proclaimed the virtues of 'hygiene and mediocrity of fortune' (p.196), but these 'watchwords' (p.196) are upset after the treasure of Franchard is discovered. Desprez's first meeting with Jean-Marie also upsets his notions of 'hygiene' so that he literally loses his health: 'He has spoiled the quiet of my morning.... I shall be nervous all day, and have a febricule when I digest' (p.179). Jean-Marie may be implicated in Desprez's consequent 'fall,' but his role in the story is nevertheless finally 'remedial': he removes the treasure from the house and thus prevents the trip to Paris. His function is to make Desprez aware that he is 'himself no longer': when this is achieved and when Desprez has been thoroughly 'ruined' (p.233), Jean-Marie returns the treasure (now equal in value to Desprez's original capital) and 'restores' him back to normal. This essentially comic process is familiar enough, recalling Prince Florizel's 'restorative' influence over those characters in Stevenson's 'new' Arabian Nights stories who are similarly 'dazzled' by the 'Satanic' Rajah's Diamond. Indeed, comparing especially with Mr Simon Rolles and Francis Scrymgeour, Doctor Desprez is finally divested of the 'romantic' pretensions his discovered treasure had nurtured, as the end of the story indicates:

'Casimir,' said Desprez, raising his wet face, 'do you see that boy, that angel boy? He is the thief; he took the treasure from a man unfit to be entrusted with its use; he brings it back to me when I am sobered and humbled. There, Casimir, are the Fruits of my Teaching, and this moment is the Reward of my Life.'
(p.236)

The 'angel boy' Jean-Marie's strange appearance is worth remarking on:

He had a great arched skull, the forehead and the hands of a musician, and a pair of haunting eyes....There was a look in them, besides, which thrilled the Doctor, and made him half uneasy....the boy would give him no peace; he seemed profoundly indifferent to what was going on, or rather abstracted from it in a superior contemplation

....The little fellow, although he was as straight as a dart, had the eyes that go usually with a crooked back; he was not at all deformed, and yet a deformed person seemed to be looking at you from below his brows. (pp. 172-73) 39

Jean-Marie's sprite-like appearance reflects his essentially symbolic function in the story, so that he seems 'unhuman': as Desprez tells him,

Perhaps you have blood in your veins, perhaps celestial ichor, or perhaps you circulate nothing more gross than respirable air; but of one thing I am inexpugnably assured:--that you are no human being....Write, write it in your memory--'I am not a human being--I have no pretension to be a human being--I am a dive, a dream, an angel, an acrostic, an illusion--what you please, but not a human being. (pp.180-81)

Jean-Marie is further described as 'a spirit wholly abstracted' (p.199) and an 'admirable imp' (p.179), so that his 'unhuman' characteristics are further underlined. These descriptions are important to notice and, since he lies behind the 'restorative' comic process outlined in the story, it seems likely that he represents what George Meredith had called 'the Comic Spirit.'

Meredith's influential essay 'On the Idea of Comedy, and the Uses of the Comic Spirit' was first published in C. Kegan Paul's The New Quarterly Magazine, 8 (April 1877). At this time, Kegan Paul was Stevenson's publisher and through his assistance Stevenson first met Meredith in March 1878, while lodging at Burford Bridge. Stevenson admired Meredith long after this first meeting. The Egoist (1879) was especially important to him: as he wrote to W.E. Henley in April 1882 (shortly before beginning 'The Treasure of Franchard'),

39. Jean-Marie's concealed 'deformity' interestingly compares with a later description of Mr Hyde: 'Only on one point were they agreed; and that was the haunting sense of unexpressed deformity with which the fugitive impressed his beholders,' The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde, v, 24. As the discussion in Chapter V will indicate, Hyde's influence on Doctor Jekyll (and others who see him) clearly contrasts with Jean-Marie's influence over Doctor Desprez.

...I have just re-read for the third and fourth time The Egoist. When I shall have read it the sixth or seventh, I begin to see I shall know about it....I had no idea of the matter--human, red matter he has contrived to plug and pack into that strange and admirable book.

Willoughby is, of course, a pure discovery; a complete set of nerves not heretofore examined, and yet running all over the human body--a suit of nerves....I see more and more that Meredith is built for immortality. 40

Meredith had remarked on 'the Comic Spirit' in The Egoist, personifying it through a number of 'very penetrative, very wicked imps'⁴¹ who co-habit with Sir Willoughby Patterne, the 'egoist' of the novel. But the 'Spirit' itself was described in greater detail in Meredith's essay, where its function is essentially to transform the 'egoist' so that he emerges (to recall Desprez in 'The Treasure of Franchard') 'sobered and humbled':

If you believe that our civilisation is founded in common-sense (and it is the first condition of sanity to believe it), you will, when contemplating men, discern a Spirit overhead; not more heavenly than the light flashed upward from glassy surfaces, but luminous and watchful; never shooting beyond them nor lagging in the rear; so closely attached to them that it may be taken for a slavish reflex, until its features are studied. It has the sage's brows, and the sunny malice of a faun lurks at the corners of the half-closed lips drawn in an idle wariness of half tension. That slim feasting smile, shaped like the long-bow, was once a big round satyr's laugh, that flung up the brows like a fortress lifted by gunpowder. The laugh will come again, but it will be of the order of the smile, finely tempered, showing sunlight of the mind, mental richness rather than noisy enormity. Its common aspect is one of unsolicitous observation, as if surveying a full field and having leisure to dart on its chosen morsels, without any fluttering eagerness. Men's future upon earth does not attract it; their honesty and shapeliness in the present does; and whenever they wax out of proportion, overblown, affected, pretentious, bombastical, hypocritical, pedantic, fantastically delicate; whenever it sees them self-deceived or hoodwinked, given to run riot in idolatries, drifting

40. Letters, ii, 196.

41. The Works of George Meredith, Volume xv, The Egoist (1879; rpt. Westminster, 1897), p.6.

into vanities, congregating in absurdities, planning short-sightedly, plotting dementedly, whenever they are at variance with their professions, and violate the unwritten but perceptible laws binding them in consideration one to another; whenever they offend sound reason, fair justice; are false in humility or mined with conceit, individually, or in the bulk--the Spirit overhead will look humanely malign and cast an oblique light on them, followed by volleys of silvery laughter. That is the Comic Spirit. 42

Meredith's description of 'the Comic Spirit,' with its 'sage's brows, and the sunny malice of a faun' under 'half-closed lips,' certainly recalls Jean-Marie's sprite-like appearance in Stevenson's story. Clearly, too, Jean-Marie has the role of a 'Comic Spirit,' 'attracted' to a character, Doctor Desprez, who commits most of the above 'follies' (especially after discovering the treasure of Franchard). Yet Jean-Marie has a further 'remedial' function that is not accounted for in Meredith's remarks: he does more than simply 'cast an oblique light' on Desprez's 'pretensions.' The nature of this 'remedial' function is made clearer in a further description of Jean-Marie:

When he was by himself, his pleasures were almost vegetable. He would slip into the woods towards Achères, and sit in the mouth of a cave among grey birches. His soul stared straight out of his eyes; he did not move or think; sunlight, thin shadows moving in the wind, the edge of firs against the sky, occupied and bound his faculties. He was pure unityA single mood filled him, to which all the objects of sense contributed, as the colours of the spectrum merge and disappear in white light. (pp.198-99)

The passage shows that Jean-Marie achieves a special kind of 'unity' with the forest of Fontainebleau in which he persuades Desprez finally to remain. Indeed, connected with the forest in this way, he comes to reflect its intrinsic 'remedial' properties: bringing the story and Desprez to a comic and 'restorative' conclusion, Jean-Marie perhaps also represents the 'Spirit' of this 'healthful' and 'sanative' place.

CHAPTER FOUR

II. THE SCOTTISH STORIES: 'THRAWN JANET' AND 'THE TALE OF TOD LAPRAIK'

'Thrawn Janet' was written in June 1881, while Stevenson was at Kinnaird Cottage near Pitlochry. It was probably completed within two weeks and Stevenson sent it straight away to Leslie Stephen and Cornhill Magazine: as he wrote to Sidney Colvin later in the month, 'Thrawn Janet is off to Stephen, but as it is all in Scotch he cannot take it, I know. It was so good, I could not help sending it.'¹ Stephen, however, wrote back immediately, on 23 June, accepting and praising the story,² and by August Stevenson had received the proofs.³ 'Thrawn Janet' was first published in Cornhill Magazine, 44 (October 1881) and was republished in The Merry Men and Other Tales without change. It is one of two short stories by Stevenson written entirely (or almost entirely) in Scots: the other is included as Chapter XV in the novel Catriona and is subtitled 'The Tale of Tod Lapraik.' Looking back at these two stories later on, writing to Colvin in April 1893, Stevenson proclaimed, 'he who can't read Scots can never enjoy Tod Lapraik....Tod Lapraik is a piece of living Scots: If I had never writ anything but that and Thrawn Janet, still I'd have been a writer.'⁴ Although 'The Tale of Tod Lapraik' was written much later than 'Thrawn Janet,' in February 1892,⁵ these two Scottish stories share a number of characteristics. It may be useful to

1. Letters, ii, 151.

2. See McKay, iv, 1594 (Beinecke 5567).

3. See Letters, ii, 163: 'Thrawn Janet (with Stephen), proof to-day.'

4. ibid., v, 18.

5. See ibid., iv, 158.

discuss them together and to examine what Stevenson might have meant by the term 'living Scots.'

Stevenson seems to have attempted (or at least planned) an early version of 'Thrawn Janet' in 1868, thirteen years before the final published version written at Kinnaird Cottage. In a notebook now held in the Haverford College Library and dated 1868-69, Stevenson listed the titles to ten stories under the general heading, 'A Covenanting Story-Book.' One of the titles is 'The Story of Thrawn Janet': others include 'The Curate of Anstruther's Bottle' and 'The Devil of Crammond (sic)' and stories about actual Covenanters such as 'A story of James Renwicks (sic) College Days.'⁶ Although these other stories are now untraced, Stevenson worked on them throughout the 1870s and 1880s: for example, 'The Curate of Anstruther's Bottle' is mentioned again in January 1874 and January 1875,⁷ while 'The Devil on Cramond Sands' is mentioned in January 1875, December 1879 and (with 'Thrawn Janet') in June 1881 as part of the projected collection of stories, The Black Man and Other Tales.⁸

Stevenson had listed titles to another seven 'Covenanting stories' in a second notebook, also dated 1868-69, now held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Beinecke 6642): one of the titles is

The adventures of William Spang, a prisoner after Bothwell,
sent as a slave to the West Indies, shipwrecked on the
coast of Caithness and finally a companion of Mr Peden's. 9

Mr Peden was an actual Covenanter minister, and he is taken up again, some

6. The complete list is given in Swearingen, p.6.

7. See Letters, i, 133, 213.

8. See Letters, i, 213; ii, 89, 151.

9. The complete list is given in Swearingen, p.6. The titles of two stories, 'Strange Adventures of the Reverend Mr Solway' and 'Houliston House,' have slightly changed equivalents in the Haverford College Library notebook.

twenty-four years later, as 'Prophet Peden' in 'The Tale of Tod Lapraik.' Clearly, the notion of the 'Covenanting story' remained with Stevenson for most of his life, and it forms an important context for his two stories written in Scots.

Indeed, as the notebook titles indicate, Stevenson became interested in the Covenanters themselves at an early age, and he renewed that interest in Samoa shortly before he died as he began work on Weir of Hermiston and Heathercat: as he wrote to J.M. Barrie in December 1893, remarking on three of the better-known Covenanting histories he was using as source material for his unfinished novels,

When I was a child, and indeed until I was nearly a man, I consistently read Covenanting books. Now that I am a grey-beard--or would be, if I could raise the beard--I have returned, and for weeks back have read little else but Wodrow, Walker, Shields, etc. 10

Graham Balfour has noted that as a child Stevenson's 'deepest and most lasting interest was...centred in the Covenanters, of whom he had first learned from his nurse,'¹¹ Alison Cunningham, who came originally from Fife. Balfour has also remarked on a novel Stevenson attempted, on the Covenanter 'Hackston of Rathillet,' 'before he was fifteen.'¹² Stevenson recalled this attempt in his essay 'The Coast of Fife,' written in Spring 1888, remarking on David Hackston's involvement in the murder of Archbishop Sharpe of St Andrews in 1679:

10. Letters, v, 93. The three references are to Robert Wodrow, The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution (1721); Patrick Walker, Biographia Presbyteriana (1827); and John Howie, Faithful Contendings Displayed...Collected and kept in record by Mr Michael Shields: collected and transcribed by John Howie (1780). Stevenson's use of Walker will be remarked on later in the chapter.

11. Balfour, i, 67.

12. ibid., p.67. Rathillet is a small town in the north of Fife.

No scene of history has ever written itself so deeply on my mind....The figure that always fixed my attention is that of Hackston of Rathillet, sitting in the saddle with his cloak about his mouth, and through all that long, bungling, vociferous hurly-burly, revolving privately a case of conscience....It is an old temptation with me, to pluck away that coat and see the face--to open that bosom and to read the heart. With incomplete romances about Hackston, the drawers of my youth were lumbered. 13

Fife itself became an important setting for Stevenson through its own Covenanting history. As well as describing its influence on him in 'The Coast of Fife,' Stevenson also remarked on it in 'The Education of an Engineer,' a sequel written at the same time in Spring 1888. Stevenson had stayed at Anstruther in Fife in his late teens, and in this essay he proclaimed, 'Anstruther is a place sacred to the Muse... and I have there waited upon her myself with much devotion.'¹⁴ As indicated above, Stevenson had planned a story (under the general heading of 'A Covenanting Story-Book') titled 'The Curate of Anstruther's Bottle.' This story is now untraced and was probably never completed, but Stevenson gave an account of what was to have happened in his essay 'The Coast of Fife.' Here, he introduces Mr Thomson, 'the "curat" of Anstruther Easter,' who

was a man highly obnoxious to the devout: in the first place, because he was a 'curat'; in the second place, because he was a person of irregular and scandalous life; and in the third place, because he was generally suspected of dealings with the Enemy of Man. These three disqualifications, in the popular literature of the time, go hand in hand; but the end of Mr Thomson was a thing quite by itself, and in the proper phrase, a manifest judgement. 15

13. Further Memories, xxx, p.14. For further remarks on this early 'romance,' see 'My First Book,' Treasure Island, ii, xxiii.

14. Further Memories, p.20.

15. ibid., p.16.

This 'manifest judgement' takes place when Mr Thomson, thoroughly under the influence of the 'bottle,' is fetched home one dark night by a child carrying a lantern:

...the poor tippler started in some baseless fear and looked behind him; the child, already shaken by the minister's strange behaviour, started also; in so doing, she would jerk the lantern; and for the space of a moment the lights and shadows would be all confounded. Then it was that to the unhinged toper and the twittering child, a huge bulk of blackness seemed to swoop down...and to vanish on the farther side in the general darkness of the night. 'Plainly the devil came for Mr Thomson!' thought the child.... and she fled home screaming to her parents. Not a soul would venture out; all that night, the minister dwelt alone with his terrors in the manse; and when the day dawned, and the men made bold to go about the streets, they found the devil had come indeed for Mr Thomson. 16

The story compares in a number of ways with 'Thrawn Janet,' especially recalling the Reverend Murdoch Soulis's final night in his own manse with 'thrawn' Janet herself. But it also shows itself to be a 'Covenanting story': it does this by exercising a Covenanting 'manifest judgement' over someone who is seen to represent a set of 'disqualifications.' Mr Thomson is a Catholic 'curat' who leads an 'irregular and scandalous life,' and accordingly he is 'disqualified' from the prevailing 'devout' Covenanting 'point of view': he is associated with, and finally taken by, the devil himself. It is possible to read 'Thrawn Janet' in this way, as a story that exercises a 'judgement' on someone who is 'disqualified' from the prevailing Covenanting 'point of view.' This story is set in the fictional parish of Balweary, but this, too, may be based in Fife: as Sir Robert Sibbald has noted in The History, Ancient and Modern, of the Sherrifdoms of Fife and Kinross (1803), to the east of Auchtertule (or Auchtertool) 'is the ruinous tower of Balweerie, which belonged for at least 500 years to

gentlemen of the name of Scott, who had Scotts-Craig and many other lands in this shire.'¹⁷

The events in 'Thrawn Janet' conclude on 'the nicht o' the seeventeenth o' August, seeventeen hun'er' an' twal'.¹⁸ Historically, this date places the story about twenty-five years after the end of the 'Killing Times' in Scotland, when Catholic James II was overthrown and, to quote the Covenanting historian Robert Wodrow, 'the sufferings of presbyterians' were 'ended by the happy and glorious revolution.'¹⁹ Stevenson had referred to these earlier 'Killing Times' in a long essay written in 1866 (when he was sixteen) to mark the bi-centenary of the Battle of Rullion Green, The Pentland Rising: A Page of History. Here, he remarks on the 'prejudices of the people against Episcopacy'²⁰ and outlines the popular contempt at this time for those Catholic 'incumbents' who had replaced the 'ejected' Presbyterian ministers in local parishes:

It was little to be wondered at...that the countryfolk refused to go to the parish church, and chose rather to listen to outed ministers in the field. But this was not to be allowed, and their persecutors at last fell on the method of calling a roll of the parishioners' names every Sabbath and marking a fine of twenty shillings Scots to the name of each absenter. 21

The opening part of Stevenson's unfinished novel Heathercat is also set

17. The History...of Fife and Kinross (Cupar, Fife, 1803), p.316. Stevenson's library contained a copy of this book, originally belonging to his grandfather Robert Stevenson: it is now held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Beinecke 2577). For further remarks on the connection between Balweary and Fife, see Coleman O. Parsons, 'Stevenson's Use of Witchcraft in "Thrawn Janet",' Studies in Philology, 43 (July 1946), pp.551-52; and Frances Watt, R.L.S. (London, 1913), p.76.

18. The Merry Men and Other Tales, viii, 116. Further references are given after quotations in the text.

19. History of the Sufferings... (1721; rpt. Glasgow, 1829), iv, iv.

20. Essays Literary and Critical, xxviii, 93.

21. ibid., pp.93-94.

in the 'Killing Times' and it presents this popular contempt through the rivalry between an 'outed' Covenanter minister and an 'incumbent' Catholic curate nicknamed 'Hell Haddo.' Like 'Thrawn Janet,' Heathercat is also set in the fictional parish of Balweary; and, more important, it presents a glimpse of 'thrawn' Janet M'Clour as a young woman.

Stevenson began Heathercat in 1893, twelve years after writing 'Thrawn Janet.' However, it begins chronologically thirty years before this story, taking place towards the end of the 'Killing Times' in July 1682. The opening fragment of Heathercat shows that the 'incumbent' curate 'Hell Haddo,' like Mr Thomson, leads a profligate and drunken existence, joined by the somewhat carefree (and, at this time, quite young) Janet M'Clour:

This Janet M'Clour was a big lass, being taller than the curate; and what made her look the more so, she was kilted very high....at the last he gets a bottle from his plaid-neuk and holds it up to her; whereupon she came at once into a composition, and the pair sat, drinking of the bottle, and daffing and laughing together, on a mound of heather. 22

'Hell Haddo' recalls Mr Thomson from 'The Curate of Anstruther's Bottle' in a number of ways, and, indeed, Stevenson had planned a 'sudden, violent, and unprepared fate'²³ for him that (especially given his popular nickname) may have been similar in kind: he may have been, finally, carried away by the devil. Yet this particular 'fate' is also worked out on Janet M'Clour in 'Thrawn Janet,' thirty years later in 1712. It seems reasonable to assume that, for Janet, her 'fate' was a consequence of her reckless liaisons with 'Hell Haddo,' and this provides a context for reading 'Thrawn Janet' as a 'Covenanting story.' Essentially, Janet has 'disqualified'

22. Weir of Hermiston. Some Unfinished Stories, xvi, 149-50.

23. ibid., p.147.

herself from the 'devout' Presbyterians in the parish of Balweary: even though in 'Thrawn Janet' the 'Killing Times' have long since ended, she nonetheless receives a 'manifest judgement' from a prevailing Covenanting 'point of view' for her behaviour in those earlier days. This kind of exclusion from 'devout' Presbyterian 'conventions' provides a context for understanding why she is later thought to be a witch and 'sib to the de'il' (p.111), just as Mr Thomson had been 'generally suspected of dealings with the Enemy of Man.'

In a sense, the grisly 'fate' of Janet M'Clour shows how events in the earlier 'Killing Times' come to influence the much later time of the story. This kind of influence is also expressed in 'Thrawn Janet' through the 'fate' of a second character, the Reverend Mr Murdoch Soulis. Soulis is a young minister and a newcomer to Balweary, and has clearly had no experience of the 'Killing Times' and 'the sufferings of presbyterians' in those earlier days. Indeed, he dissociates himself from those earlier days by scoffing at the parishioners' warnings about Janet, who he takes as his housekeeper:

When folk tauld him that Janet was sib to the de'il, it was a' superstition by his way o' it; an' when they cast up the Bible to him an' the witch of Endor, he wad threep it doun their thrapples that thir days were a' gane by, an' the de'il was mercifully restrained. (pp.111-12, my italics)

Although his sermons appeal to the 'younger sort' (p.110) who are 'greatly taken wi' his gifts and his gab' (p.110), Soulis's attitude towards 'thir days...gane by' hardly endears him to the 'auld, concerned, serious men and women' (p.110) in Balweary who had, presumably, lived through the earlier 'Killing Times.' Since the narrator of 'Thrawn Janet' is himself 'one of the older folk' (p.110), the story presents the young minister from a somewhat disapproving 'point of view.' This disapproval is expressed most clearly when it is realised that Soulis, formally educated 'at the

college' (p.111), no longer reflects the Covenanting traditions represented by 'outed' Presbyterian ministers in those earlier days:

...there were folk even then that said the Lord had left the college professors to their ain devices, an' the lads that went to study wi' them wad hae done mair an' better sittin' in a peat-bog, like their forebears of the persecution, wi' a Bible under their oter an' a speerit o' prayer in their heart. (p.111, my italics)

The old narrator considers that young Soulis has, accordingly, had 'nae leevin' experience in religion' (p.110): the story provides that 'leevin' experience' through Soulis's later confrontation with 'thrawn' Janet, who is herself implicitly connected with 'thir days...gane by.'

Soulis's contempt for the 'superstitions' of the 'older folk' of Balweary establishes a conflict between two exclusive generations that is central to 'Thrawn Janet.' Stevenson had touched on this conflict in this Covenanting context in Travels with a Donkey in the Cévennes, written in late 1878 and early 1879. Here, drawing a number of comparisons between the Scottish Covenanters and the French Camisards (Protestants who were similarly 'outed' into the Cévennes by 'persecuting' Catholics around the beginning of the 1700s), Stevenson then remarked on how the Covenanting traditions of those earlier days have now generally been forgotten or dismissed:

Among the hills of the south-west, by Mauchline, Cumnock, or Carsphairn, in isolated farms or in the manse, serious Presbyterian people still recall the days of the great persecution, and the graves of local martyrs are still piously regarded. But in towns and among the so-called better classes, I fear that these old doings have become an idle tale....it is not likely that the talk would run on Covenanters. 24

In 'Thrawn Janet,' the 'serious Presbyterian people' of Balweary are shown to be in conflict with young Soulis, who comes from the 'town' and

24. Travels with a Donkey in the Cévennes, xvii, 233, my italics.

represents 'the so-called better classes.' But Stevenson's remarks also refer to a conflict between two generations, since he paraphrases here from a favourite Covenanting source, Patrick Walker's Biographia Presbyteriana (already mentioned in part iii of Chapter III). Walker's address 'To the Reader' similarly alludes to the declining interest in the traditions and 'superstitions' of 'thir days...gane by':

To the most part of the old Generation, all these signal Manifestations and remarkable Steps of the Lord's Providence, in that Time, are now out of Date, and lookt upon as idle Tales; and few of the Young incline or desire now to be informed. 25

Through 'thrawn' Janet and through the black man or 'de'il,' Stevenson's story presents young Soulis with such 'signal Manifestations' from those earlier days. Janet's connection with 'thir days...gane by' has already been discussed, and a similar kind of connection is established when the black man or 'de'il' makes his first appearance in the story. Soulis sees him sitting in an open grave in 'a bit enclosed grund' 'in the bield o' the Black Hill' (p.114), outside Balweary: '...it seems, in the auld days, that was the kirkyaird o' Ba'weary, an' consecrated by the Papists before the blessed licht shone upon the kingdom' (p.114). The rhetoric of the passage shows how the old narrator himself reflects Covenanting 'conventions': the 'blessed licht' refers to the 'happy and glorious revolution' that marked the end of the 'Killing Times' (or, to quote Stevenson above, 'the days of the great persecution'). But the passage also connects the black man with 'thir days...gane by' and, moreover, aligns him with the 'incumbent' Catholics who had since been 'disqualified' from the prevailing Covenanting 'point of view.' The black man and 'thrawn' Janet thus both present Soulis with grisly images from the

25. Walker, i. v. my italics.

'Killing Times': they provide him with a 'leevin' experience' in the kind of 'religion' that had characterised those earlier days of the 'great persecution.' By manifesting the 'superstitions' of 'thir days...gane by' within a later present, the story perhaps shows what Stevenson had meant by the term 'living Scots' in his letter to Colvin in April 1893. For young Soulis, the Covenanting traditions he had previously dismissed function here as much more than just an 'idle tale.'

In simple terms Soulis, dismissing the 'superstitions' of the 'older folk' of Balweary, commits a 'folly': the old narrator's story essentially 'cures' that 'folly' and gives the arrogant and educated newcomer a well-deserved lesson. Yet this reading, which would suggest that the story is 'comic' in its treatment of Soulis, can only operate from the old narrator's Covenanting 'point of view.' By contrast, from young Soulis's own 'point of view,' the 'leevin' experience' with 'thrawn' Janet has consequences that are anything but 'comic.' The old narrator's story is preceded by an introduction written in English fifty years later on, in 1762. Now, the very much older Soulis no longer appeals to the 'younger sort': 'Many young persons, coming to prepare themselves against the season of the Holy Communion, were dreadfully affected by his talk....The children were frightened into fits...' (p.109). The description of Soulis in this English introduction shows the consequences of his experience with 'thrawn' Janet:

A severe, bleak-faced old man, dreadful to his hearers.... his eye was wild, scared, and uncertain; and when he dwelt, in private admonition, on the future of the impenitent, it seemed as if his eye pierced through the storms of time to the terrors of eternity. (p.109)

Clearly, a kind of radical transformation has taken place: in a sense, Soulis now comes to resemble his 'forebears of the persecution.' The 'religion' of those earlier days (with all its accompanying 'superstitions')

is now manifested through Soulis himself: he now takes on the characteristics of his 'forebears' and literally becomes an 'outed' Covenanter minister, living 'without...any human company' (p.109). This transformation is important to notice, because it really begins just after Soulis's experience with 'thrown' Janet while he is still young: as the old narrator remarks at the end of his story, 'lang, lang he lay ravin' in his bed; an' frae that hour to this, he was the man ye ken the day' (p.120). Soulis has, in other words, aged prematurely: no longer one of the 'younger sort,' he comes to reflect the Covenanter traditions of the 'older folk' 'Fifty years syne' (p.110). From this alternative 'point of view,' it might now be said that the old narrator's story essentially shows how a newcomer is made to conform to the 'conventions' prescribed by the 'older folk' of the parish. The English introduction (which embodies that alternative 'point of view') questions the cost of that conformity by showing that, as a consequence of his experience with the 'religion' of 'thir days...gane by,' Soulis's character has undergone a pronounced kind of 'deterioration.' Far from being 'cured' of a 'folly,' Soulis's condition (as he 'lay ravin' in his bed') testifies to the loss of his health.

Stevenson seems to have recognised this alternative 'point of view,' remarking on the following 'defect' in 'Thrawn Janet' in his 'Note for "The Merry Men"':

Poor Mr Soukis's (sic) faults we may equally recognise as virtues; and feel that by his conversion he was merely coarsened; and this, although the story carries me away every time I read it, leaves a painful feeling on the mind.
(pp.xv-vi)

The term 'conversion' expresses the process of conformity outlined in the old narrator's story: Soulis is, finally, 'converted' to the Covenanted traditions of the 'older folk' of Balweary. But the English

introduction suggests that, by this 'conversion,' Soulis's character has been 'coarsened' (or, that his character has 'deteriorated'): it essentially questions the 'conventions' operating in the old narrator's 'Covenanting story' of 'thrawn' Janet. To recall the above passage from Walker's Biographia Presbyteriana, the Scots story 'informs' the 'Young' about 'thir days...gane by'; but the English introduction challenges this Walker-like adherence to such distant Covenanting traditions, with (to quote from 'The Misadventures of John Nicholson') its conservative distrust of 'right-hand defections or left-hand extremes.'

Stevenson's second 'Covenanting story' written in Scots, 'The Tale of Tod Lapraik,' makes this notion of a 'conversion' to Covenanting 'conventions' clearer: with no preceding English introduction to challenge it, the story manifests its Covenanting 'point of view' in simple and unequivocal terms. Its setting is particularly important to notice, and contributes to its function as a 'Covenanting story.' Just as 'Thrawn Janet' had drawn on parts of Fife within a Covenanting context, so 'The Tale of Tod Lapraik' is set in a place which had a real and interesting role to play in 'thir days...gane by,' Bass Rock.

As with Anstruther in Fife, Stevenson's fascination with Bass Rock probably began in his late adolescence, with visits to North Berwick. He had planned an essay on it in August 1877,²⁶ and he wrote about the Bass and North Berwick in late 1887 in his essay 'The Lantern Bearers.' One of the interests this place held for Stevenson was that, in the days of the 'great persecution,' it had been a prison for 'outed' Covenanters: as Robert Wodrow has noted, Bass Rock was bought in 1671 by Charles II and turned into a garrison with 'Eighteen soldiers, besides officers...

26. See Letters, ii, 32.

placed in it.'²⁷ One of the Covenanters held prisoner on Bass Rock at this time was Alexander Peden, 'Prophet' Peden in Stevenson's 'The Tale of Tod Lapraik.' Peden remained on Bass Rock from late 1673 to October 1677, and an account of his stay is given in Anderson's chapter in The Bass Rock: Its Civil and Ecclesiastic History by the Rev. Thomas M'Crie D.D.: Geology by Hugh Miller: Martyrology by the Rev. James Anderson: Zoology and Botany by Professor Fleming and Professor Balfour (1847-48). However, Stevenson seems to have lifted his account of 'Prophet' Peden in 'The Tale of Tod Lapraik' directly from Patrick Walker's Biographia Presbyteriana. In his first 'The Life of Alexander Peden' (1725), Walker presents the 'mocking' girl on Bass Rock who, after Peden's 'manifest judgement,' is blown over one of the cliffs; and he also introduces one of the soldiers in the prison who, in Stevenson's story, becomes Tam Dale, the father of the narrator 'Black Andie':

While Prisoner in the Bass, one Sabbath Morning, being about the publick Worship of God, a young Lass, about the Age of Thirteen or Fourteen Years, came to the Chamber-door, mocking with loud Laughter: He said, Poor Thing, thou mocks and laughs at the Worship of God; but ere long, God shall write such a sudden, surprising Judgement on thee, that shall stay thy Laughing, and thou shalt not escape it. Very shortly thereafter, she was walking upon the Rock, and there came a Blast of Wind, and swepted her off the Rock into the Sea where she was lost.

While Prisoner there, one Day walking upon the Rock, some Soldiers passing by him, one of them cried, The Devil take Him; He said, Fy, fy, poor Man, thou knowest not what thou'rt saying, but thou wilt repent that: At which Words the Soldier stood astonished, and went to the Guard distracted, crying aloud for Mr Peden, saying, The Devil would immediately take him away. He came and spoke to him, and prayed for him; The next Morning he came to him again, and found him in his Right Mind, under Deep Convictions of great Guilt. The Guard being to change, they desired him to go to his Arms; he refused, and said, He would lift no Arms against Jesus Christ his Cause, and persecute his People, I've done that too long: The Governor threatened him with Death to Morrow at Ten a

27. Wodrow, ii, 190.

Clock; he confidently said Three Times, Tho' he should tear all his Body in Pieces, he should never lift Arms that Way. About three Days after the Governor put him out of the Garrison, setting him ashore; he having Wife and Children, took a House in East-Lothian, where he became a singular Christian. 28

Stevenson clearly 'adapted' Walker's account of Peden on Bass Rock into the opening part of 'The Tale of Tod Lapraik.' He also retained Walker's Covenanting 'point of view,' presenting again the process of 'conversion' undergone by the soldier with 'Deep Convictions of great Guilt,' where his role as a 'persecutor' is rejected and he conforms to the Covenanting cause:

Now there was a lass on the rock, and I think she had little to do, for it was nae place far dacent weemen; but it seems she was bonny, and her and Tam Dale were very well agreed. It befell that Peden was in the gairden his lane at the praying when Tam and the lass cam by; and what should the lassie do but mock with laughter at the sant's devotions? He rose and lookit at the twa o' them, and Tam's knees knoitered together at the look of him. But whan he spak, it was mair in sorrow than in anger. 'Poor thing, poor thing!' says he, and it was the lass he lookit at, 'I hear you skirl and laugh,' he says, 'but the Lord has a deid shot prepared for you, and at that surprising judgement ye shall skirl but the ae time!' Shortly thereafter she was daundering on the craigs wi' twa-three sodgers, and it was a blawy day. There cam a gowst of wind, claught her by the coats, and awa' wi' her bag and baggage. And it was remarked by the sodgers that she gied but the ae skirl.

Nae doubt this judgement had some weicht upon Tam Dale; but it passed again and him none the better. Ae day he was flyting wi' anither sodger-lad. 'Deil hae me!' quo' Tam, for he was a profane swearer. And there was Peden glowering at him, gash an' waefu'; Peden wi' his lang chafts an' luntin' een, the maud happed about his kist, and the hand of him held out wi' the black nails upon the finger-nebs--for he had nae care of the body. 'Fy, fy, poor man!' cries he, 'the poor fool man! Deil hae me, quo' he; an' I see the deil at his oxter.' The conviction of guilt and grace cam in on Tam like the deep sea; he flang doun the pike that was in his hands-- 'I will nae mair lift arms against the cause o' Christ!' says he, and was as gude's word. There was a sair fyke in the beginning, but the governor, seeing him resolved, gied him his dischairge, and he went and dwallt and merried in North Berwick, and had aye a gude name with honest folk frae that day on. 29

28. Walker, i, 43.

29. Catriona, vii, 130-31. Further references are given after quotations in the text.

In Stevenson's story, Peden (presented in Scots by the narrator Black Andie) becomes a more colourful and awesome character than he is even in Walker's account. Here, Walker's 'young Lass' is romantically linked with the soldier on Bass Rock who is now Tam Dale, a central character in 'The Tale of Tod Lapraik.' But essentially Stevenson has reproduced the two main incidents given by Walker: Peden's 'prophecy' about the girl, and the 'conversion' of the soldier away from his role as a 'persecutor' and towards the Covenanting 'cause o' Christ.'

Tam Dale's 'conversion' also amounts to a rejection of the devil: it takes place after Peden had taunted him with a 'prophecy,' 'Deil hae me, quo' he; an' I see the deil at his oxter.' In a sense, and from the Covenanting 'point of view,' Tam Dale's role as a 'persecutor' in the Bass prison had been sufficient to connect him with the devil, just as Mr Thomson's role as a 'curat' had been sufficient to make him 'generally suspected of dealings with the Enemy of Man.' When Tam is 'converted' away from that role, the devil is no longer 'at his oxter': he is, in other words, 'restored' to the Covenanting cause. By contrast, a second soldier on Bass Rock, Tod Lapraik, never comes to reject his role as a 'persecutor' and thus undergoes no such final 'conversion': since he is never 'restored' to the Covenanting cause, the devil thus remains 'at his oxter.' Perhaps not surprisingly, Tod Lapraik later comes to receive a Covenanting 'manifest judgement' (or, in Walker's 'proper phrase,' a 'surprising Judgement'): the devil remains with him for many years afterwards, so that he has to be slain, finally, with a 'siller tester' (p.135). This takes place in 'the year seeventeen hunner and sax' (p.131), about thirty years after Peden had been imprisoned on Bass Rock. Yet Peden's 'prophecy' still operates even at this later time: through the grisly 'fate' of Tod Lapraik, the story shows how Covenanting traditions

from 'thir days...gane by' are manifested within a later present as 'living Scots.'

This 'manifest judgement' on the 'persecutor' Tod Lapraik, where he finally has to be slain with a 'siller tester,' perhaps requires further explanation: it seems most helpful to turn at this point to a second major source for Stevenson's story, Sir Walter Scott's 'Wandering Willie's Tale.' Just as 'The Tale of Tod Lapraik' is placed inside the novel Catriona, so Scott's 'Wandering Willie's Tale' is a part of his novel Redgauntlet (1824). Both novels also look back in time to their incorporated tales. Thus although Catriona itself is set in 1752, 'The Tale of Tod Lapraik' begins in the 1670s and climaxes thirty years later in 1706. Similarly, although Redgauntlet is set in the 1760s, 'Wandering Willie's Tale' begins in the midst of the 'Killing Times' and climaxes at some time around 1710, shortly after young Sir John Redgauntlet had 'sat in the last Scots Parliament and voted for the Union.'³⁰ Both tales are also told 'orally' in Scots, and their narrators each have a recognisable Covenanting identity: Stevenson's Black Andie is 'a good Whig and Presbyterian...leaning more than a little towards the Cameronian extremes' (p.120), while Scott's Wandering Willie, also a devout Presbyterian, 'can speak like ony minister frae the pu'pit, and...might have been a minister himsell...'³¹ Accordingly, both tales exercise certain Covenanting 'judgements' and reflect a Covenanting 'point of view.' Both Black Andie and Wandering Willie also present their 'forebears' in their tales: Black Andie talks about his father and grandfather, while Wandering Willie introduces his 'gudesire' Steenie Steenson, a name which

30. Redgauntlet (1824; rpt. Edinburgh, 1887), p.117.

31. ibid., p.110.

may itself have attracted Stevenson. Like Tam Dale, Steenie Steenson, employed by Sir Robert Redgauntlet, is at first presented in the role of a 'persecutor'; but the story shows that, finally, he undergoes a kind of 'conversion' and is 'restored' to the Covenanting cause. This 'conversion' is presented in the same terms in both tales. Thus, although Tam Dale had been 'a wild, sploring lad in his young days' (p.129), his experiences with Peden make him mend his ways and he 'had aye a gude name with honest folk frae that day on' (p.131). Similarly, although Steenie Steenson had been a 'rambling, rattling chiel'...in his young days,'³² after his experiences with Sir Robert Redgauntlet he later 'held a circumspect walk' and 'of his ain accord, lang forswore baith the pipes and the brandy.'³³ Stevenson clearly drew on 'Wandering Willie's Tale' for his own story: indeed, he probably lifted the name of Tod Lapraik from the name given to Steenie Steenson's neighbour in Scott's tale, 'Laurie Lapraik--a sly tod.'³⁴

Whereas Tam Dale and Steenie Steenson compare with each other, the equivalent of Tod Lapraik in Scott's tale is Sir Robert Redgauntlet. In the earlier 'Killing Times,' Redgauntlet was a 'redhot prelatist'³⁵ commissioned by Charles II 'to put down a' the Whigs and Covenanters in the country.'³⁶ Like Tod Lapraik, Redgauntlet is never 'converted' away from his role as a 'persecutor,' and accordingly he later receives a Covenanting 'manifest judgement.' Redgauntlet had been such a brutal

32. ibid., p.114.

33. ibid., p.129.

34. ibid., p.115.

35. ibid., p.113.

36. ibid., p.113.

'persecutor' that he is connected with the devil himself by the local parishioners: 'The best blessing they wared on him was, "Deil scowp wi' Redgauntlet!"',³⁷ Sir Robert certainly compares with Tod Lapraik, who has the devil 'at his oxter,' and because of their connection with the devil neither 'persecutor' can thus be slain in the normal fashion: they must both be killed with a 'siller tester.' This is clear in Scott's tale, where Sir Robert is thought to have entered into 'a direct compact with Satan--that he was proof against steel--and that bullets happed aff his buff-coat like hailstones from a hearth.'³⁸ Scott paraphrases here his description of the real and notorious 'persecutor,' Claverhouse of Dundee, in his earlier novel Old Mortality (1816). Here, Scott remarks on the Covenanting 'superstition' of the silver bullet in the context of the Covenanters' attempts to assassinate Claverhouse:

The superstitious fanatics, who looked upon him as a man gifted by the Evil Spirit with supernatural means of defence, averred that they saw the bullets recoil from his jackboots and buff-coat like hailstones from a rock of granite....Many a whig that day loaded his musket with a dollar cut into slugs, in order that a silver bullet (such was their belief) might bring down the persecutor of the holy kirk, on whom lead had no power. 39

Stevenson himself had drawn on this Covenanting 'superstition' in his long essay The Pentland Rising, giving an account of Captain John Paton's attempt to assassinate the 'persecutor' Thomas Dalzell:

Paton fired, but the balls hopped off Dalzell's buff-coat and fell into his boot. With the superstition peculiar to his age, the Nonconformist concluded that his adversary was rendered bullet-proof by enchantment, and pulling some small silver coins from his pocket, charged his pistol therewith. Dalzell, seeing this and supposing, it is likely, that Paton

37. ibid., pp.113-14.

38. ibid., p.113.

39. Old Mortality (1816; rpt. Edinburgh, 1886), p.178.

was putting in larger balls, hid behind his servant, who was killed. 40

Stevenson uses this 'superstition' again when he shows how Sandie Fletcher prepares to kill Tod Lapraik in his story, as Tod dances madly on Bass Rock. Given the context described above, this method of killing confirms the Covenanting 'point of view' that Tod Lapraik was a 'persecutor' who had never been 'restored' to the 'cause o' Christ':

My grandsire gied Sandie a siller tester to pit in his gun wi' the leid draps, bein' mair deidly again bogles....When the corp was examined the leid draps hadnae played buff upon the warlock's body; sorrow a leid drap was to be fund; but there was grandfaither's siller tester in the puddock's heart of him. (pp.135-36)

Both 'Thrawn Janet' and 'The Tale of Tod Lapraik' thus essentially present a 'restorative' process within the framework of the 'Covenanting story': they show, in other words, how a character is 'restored' or 'converted' to the Covenanting cause and to Covenanter traditions. This 'conversion' is presented quite simply in 'The Tale of Tod Lapraik' through Tam Dale: it reflects a 'comic' process whereby he is received at last into the 'cause o' Christ.' But in 'Thrawn Janet,'- this kind of 'conversion' has more complex consequences: outside the prevailing Covenanting 'point of view,' it reflects a process that is by no means 'comic' or 'restorative.' Finally, there is also a character, Tod Lapraik, who never undergoes any such 'conversion.' Tod Lapraik is 'disqualified' from the Covenanting 'conventions' operating in his story because he is never 'restored' to the 'cause o' Christ.' Like Sir Robert Redgauntlet, he 'remained just the man he was':⁴¹ he never comes to conform to the Covenanting 'point of view,' and is judged accordingly.

40. Essays Literary and Critical, xxviii, 104.

41. Redgauntlet, p.115.

CHAPTER FOUR

III. THE SCOTTISH STORIES: 'THE MERRY MEN'

Referring in her 'Prefatory Note' to The Merry Men and Other Tales to the stories written at Kinnaird Cottage in June and July 1881, Fanny Stevenson remarked that 'The Merry Men' 'did not come so easily as Thrawn Janet.'¹ As Stevenson himself noted in 'My First Book: Treasure Island,' only a 'first draft'² of the story was completed at this time. 'The Merry Men' was in fact begun under a different title, 'The Wreck of the Susanna';³ but some time in July Stevenson changed its name, announcing to Sidney Colvin that he was 'more than half through.'⁴ Later in the same month, Stevenson wrote to W.E. Henley that he had 'written to the middle of Chapter IV,'⁵ but he added, 'Like enough, when it is finished I shall discard all chapterings; for the thing is written straight through. It must, unhappily, be re-written--too well written not to be.'⁶ Stevenson probably completed this first draft at the end of the month, letting Henley see the manuscript and replying somewhat defensively to Henley's criticisms shortly before he left Kinnaird Cottage at the beginning of August. At this time, Stevenson postponed re-writing the story: 'Goodness knows when I shall be able to re-write; I must first get over this copper-headed cold.'⁷ Moving to Braemar, Stevenson began

1. The Merry Men and Other Tales, viii, xiii.

2. Treasure Island, ii, xxv.

3. Letters, ii, 151.

4. ibid., p.158.

5. ibid., p.160.

6. ibid., p.160.

7. ibid., p.162.

Treasure Island, and he never revised the first draft of 'The Merry Men' until the end of 1881 or early 1882: as he wrote to George Iles on 29 October 1887, the story was 'finished at Davos'⁸ in Switzerland. This revised version was sent to Leslie Stephen, and it was published in Cornhill Magazine, 45 (June 1882) and 46 (July 1882), the first number containing the first three chapters (Stevenson did not, as he had intimated to Henley, come to 'discard all chapterings').

The first draft of 'The Merry Men' is now untraced, but Stevenson's outline of the chapters and events in his letters to Henley and Colvin in July 1881 suggests that the story itself essentially remained the same. However, some changes are worth remarking on. The former title of the story, 'The Wreck of the Susanna,' indicates that the ill-fated Christ-Anna originally had a different name. Also, Stevenson had called his Spanish ship in the outline of his first draft the 'Sant^{ma} Trini_d,'⁹ but in the revised version it is changed to the Espirito Santo. The title of Chapter III in the first draft is listed as 'Past and Present in Sandag Bay,'¹⁰ but in the revised version it becomes 'Land and Sea in Sandag Bay' (although this is badly mis-spelt in Cornhill Magazine as 'Lad and Leo in Sandag Bay').¹¹

In April 1884, almost two years after the story had been published in Cornhill Magazine, Stevenson wrote to his father, 'The Merry Men I

8. Bookman, p.136.

9. Letters, ii, 160.

10. ibid., p.160.

11. Cornhill Magazine, 45 (June 1882), p.688. A list of chapter titles to 'The Merry Men' is held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Beinecke 6576). It follows the revised version, except for Chapter II which is titled 'The catechist.' It is not clear when this list was drafted: possibly at Davos at the end of 1881.

mean to make much longer, with a whole new dénouement, not yet quite clear to me.'¹² Although Stevenson did not come to revise the story a second time as thoroughly as he might have wished, he did make a number of interesting and important changes to the Cornhill Magazine version at some time between this date and the story's final publication in The Merry Men and Other Tales in early 1887. Stevenson thus worked intermittently on 'The Merry Men' for well over five years, producing a first draft in July 1881, a revised version for Cornhill Magazine in 1882, and a second revised version published in book form in February 1887. As Fanny Stevenson perhaps rightly observed in her 'Prefatory Note,' 'The Merry Men' 'never quite satisfied its author, who...had failed to get a real grip on his story.'¹³

For a complete list of differences between the earlier Cornhill version and the final published version of 'The Merry Men,' see Appendix ii. However, it may be useful to present and remark upon some of the major differences between these two versions here, as a means of pointing to those parts of the story that least 'satisfied' Stevenson. Most of the major changes to the Cornhill version of 'The Merry Men' were made in the last chapter, 'A Man Out of the Sea.' These changes are all to do with the presentation of the negro or 'black man' who, stranded on Aros, causes or contributes to the death of the narrator Charles Darnaway's uncle Gordon. In the earlier Cornhill version, the negro is a kind of 'Man Friday' figure who behaves in a comical and suppliant way. Here, first spotting him on the wreck of the Christ-Anna, Charles goes to greet the negro after seeing uncle Gordon run away in terror:

12. Letters, ii, 303.

13. The Merry Men and Other Tales, xiii.

I advanced accordingly towards the negro, who now awaited my approach with undisguised alarm. As I came nearer, I held out my hand; and the poor creature ran to it, kissed it, and placed it on his heart, breaking at the same time into a torrent of words that were incomprehensible to me. My eyes filled with tears, partly at his gratitude, partly at thought of the far different scene in February; but I signed to my castaway that I was unable to comprehend him, and tried him with a few words, first of English and then of Gaelic, in vain. It was plain that we should have to rely upon the language of looks and gestures; and I was reminded of a book that I had read, Robinson Crusoe, where, upon an island in a far part of the world, another Englishman relates difficulties of the same nature with another negro. I motioned him to follow me, which he readily did. As we passed the grave, I paused and raised my eyes and hands to heaven in token of respect and sorrow for the dead. As if to show that he understood me, he fell at once upon his knees and appeared to offer up a prayer, looking up when he had done, nodding and smiling, with an irreverence that somehow shocked my notions of religion. Then he turned, pointed to my uncle, whom we could just see perched upon the top of Aros, and touched his head, to indicate that he was mad. 14

The corresponding passage in the final version of 'The Merry Men' is almost entirely changed. The negro's animated 'Man Friday' behaviour has been discarded, and he is now more dignified and solemn. Indeed, his role as a 'fallen king' in this passage more clearly accounts for uncle Gordon's terror at first seeing him:

I advanced accordingly towards the black, who now awaited my approach with folded arms, like one prepared for either destiny. As I came nearer, he reached forth his hand with a great gesture, such as I had seen from the pulpit, and spoke to me in something of a pulpit voice, but not a word was comprehensible. I tried him first in English, then in Gaelic, both in vain; so that it was clear we must rely upon the tongue of looks and gestures. Thereupon I signed to him to follow me, which he did readily and with a grave obeisance like a fallen king; all the while there had come no shade of alteration in his face, neither of anxiety while he was still waiting, nor of relief now that he was reassured; if he were a slave, as I supposed, I could not but judge he must have fallen from some high place in his own country, and fallen as he was, I could not but admire his bearing. As we passed the grave, I paused and raised my

14. Cornhill Magazine, 46 (July 1882), p.67.

hands and eyes to heaven in token of respect and sorrow for the dead; and he, as if in answer, bowed low and spread his hands abroad; it was a strange motion, but done like a thing of common custom; and I supposed it was ceremonial in the land from which he came. At the same time he pointed to my uncle, whom he could just see perched upon a knoll, and touched his head to indicate that he was mad. 15

The negro's response to Charles is now entirely changed: his 'undisguised alarm' in the earlier Cornhill version has been dropped, and he faces Charles with 'folded arms' and 'no shade of alteration in his face.' More importantly, however, Stevenson begins in the final version to present the negro in symbolic terms. Appearing just after Charles had warned his uncle about the possibility of a 'memorable judgement' (p.48), the negro's role is essentially ambivalent: he comes to symbolise the 'black man' or devil that uncle Gordon takes him for (so that he is described as 'a fallen king...fallen from some high place'), and yet he is also placed in a Christian context (speaking 'in something of a pulpit voice,' and so on). None of this is evident in the earlier Cornhill version.

The animated and comical behaviour of the negro is further presented in the Cornhill version when he communicates to Charles by gestures his account of the growing storm and the wrecking of his ship:

In the meantime the negro continued his imitation of the scene, mingling and distinguishing the different parts with what seemed to me the talent of an actor....Throughout the performance, for I can call it nothing else, he assumed in turn the port (sic) and the grimace of every character he represented; now strutting and turning out his toes, now squinting and hanging the lip, so that, had I known the parties, or even seen them nearer hand, I might have recognised each as he appeared.

The mystery of his presence being thus solved for me, I explained to him by means of a sketch the fate of the vessel and of all aboard her. He showed no surprise and, I thought, little sorrow; his gestures seemed to indicate a philosophical

15. The Merry Men and Other Tales, p.50. Further references are given after quotations in the text.

acquiescence in the laws of nature and the common fate of man; and next moment he had picked a flower and was trying to explain to me, as I thought I gathered, some virtue latent in the plant, now in words, now by vigorous pantomime, smiling the while from ear to ear.

There was something in this poor castaway that engaged my affectionate interest. For all his height, which was almost gigantic, and his strength and activity, which seemed truly formidable, he appealed to me rather as a child than as a full-grown man. In our necessary pantomime, he plainly found the relish of play; his eye and his mind were continually wandering; and I have never seen any one who smiled so often or so brightly. Even his black face was beautified; and before we reached the house of Aros I had entirely conquered the first repulsion of his looks. 16

Again, the corresponding passage in the final version of the story is almost entirely changed. The negro is no longer presented as a 'child' who likes to 'play.' Instead, the final version presents the negro as a serious and dignified figure: the passage is now shorter and more precise in its description, without (to quote from the Cornhill version above) 'continually wandering.' Whereas Charles had responded earlier with 'affectionate interest,' now he treats the negro with a growing 'respect':

In the meantime the black continued his imitation of the scene...but all with the same solemnity of manner, so that I was never even moved to smile....and thereupon [he] folded his arms once more, and stooped his head, like one accepting fate.

The mystery of his presence being thus solved for me, I explained to him by means of a sketch the fate of the vessel and of all aboard her. He showed no surprise nor sorrow, and, with a sudden lifting of his open hand, seemed to dismiss his former friends or masters (whichever they had been) into God's pleasure. Respect came upon me and grew stronger, the more I observed him; I saw he had a powerful mind and a sober and severe character, such as I loved to commune with; and before we reached the house of Aros I had almost forgotten, and wholly forgiven him, his uncanny colour. (p.51)

Charles's last remark in the final version of this passage is important to

16. Cornhill Magazine, 46 (July 1882), p.68.

notice, since he unwittingly confirms the negro's symbolic role as the 'black man': moreover, having 'forgiven' the negro his 'uncanny colour,' Charles's attitude towards him contrasts with (and recalls) his uncle's terror. Charles's admiration for the negro's 'sober and severe' character here is also significant: he, too, is a particularly 'sober' character (literally in contrast to his uncle's drunken behaviour in Chapter IV of the story). Indeed, he perhaps compares with the 'priggish' Frank Cassilis in 'The Pavilion on the Links' in his attitude towards uncle Gordon, 'severely' rebuking him just before the negro is first sighted on the wreck.

The final major change in this last chapter best illustrates how Stevenson was concerned to present the negro in simple, efficient and yet serious terms. The following passage from the earlier Cornhill version is quite long and contains a number of incidents and sketches that detract from the central and most important function of the negro in the story, including a prosaic explanation of why uncle Gordon is inclined to view the negro as a manifestation of the 'black man' or devil. It begins when Charles, deciding that the negro should leave Aros but finding that his coble had broken loose in the storm the night before, tries to get him to swim across the narrow stretch of water between the islet and the mainland:

I...called to the negro to follow me. His terror at the idea was extreme; the more I insisted, the more abject became his signals of reluctance and petition; and when at last, weary with the whole business, I swam back again to Aros, he greeted my arrival with the most speaking pantomime of affection, submission, and gratitude for his escape.

'Poor lamb,' said Mary, 'he durstn't. And I'll tell ye one thing, Charlie Darnaway: whether he was sent here in Heaven's anger or Heaven's mercy, I would think shame upon the house of Aros if we drove him forth. Man, or bairn, or beast, I can hardly tell which to think him, he shall have a seat at the fireside and a spoon at the table for me.'

Even Rorie was of much the same way of thinking. 'He will be a fine, canny body at all,' was his opinion of the

negro; and I can hardly explain how glad I was to hear their verdict. Perhaps his special gratitude to myself had touched me; but I have never felt a more affectionate pity for any creature calling himself man. Indeed, in the long hours that followed, he began to show a sympathy with our sorrow and an intelligent understanding of its cause and nature, that endeared him equally to all. I could never reproduce in words the series of fantastic gestures and grimaces by which he managed to explain his meaning; it was a strange business, and made stranger by the glee and the noisy laughter with which he perceived he had been understood. He must have closely and thoughtfully observed our comings and goings, and the behaviour of the maniac on the hill; for, absurd as it may seem, we owed to his suggestion the simple and obvious plan by which food was conveyed to my uncle. Acting, as he had done before, two parts in succession, he climbed the hill with a basket in the character of Rorie, observed him from the hilltop in that of the madman; came higher as Rorie, ran away as my uncle; as Rorie, left the basket on the summit and descended to the house; returned as my uncle to his perch, and, finding the basket, opened it with every sign of joy, and supped with the most laughable and unnecessary details, such as licking the lips and fingers or smacking gluttonously with the mouth.

It was like a ray of light to the rest of us, and no sooner understood than put in execution. Rorie carried it out, Rorie speechless in admiration of the negro. From that moment, in fact, the Hebridean servant began to regard our castaway with eyes of singular respect, like some odd sort of collie, especially intelligent and kind. And it is here, among all these events, that I can see most plainly the mark of the hand of God. Judging by guess, I should have thought this superstitious old fellow would have held the stranger in the extreme degree of horror. But his superstitions were of another order; he had not been fed in youth, like my uncle among the Cameronians, on tales of the devil appearing in the similitude of a black man, and, with cozening words and specious pretexts, luring men to ruin. It was rather as an animal than as a fiend that Rorie thought of our visitor; and as he found him more and more human in his ways, he came more and more both to admire and condescend.

Again my uncle was visible on his perch... 17

In the corresponding passage in the final version of 'The Merry Men,' most of the above has been discarded as (to quote again from the Cornhill version above) 'unnecessary details': there are now no 'pantomimes' and no 'fantastic gestures' to clutter and detract from the more serious presentation of the negro. Rorie's view of the negro (which is not

unlike Charles's view) and the explanation about uncle Gordon's Cameronian 'superstitions' have been dropped, the latter perhaps because the negro, as a serious and dignified representation of the 'fallen king' in this final version, thus now more effectively symbolises the 'black man.' In this passage, in other words, no such explanation is needed:

I...called to the black to follow me. He signed, with the same clearness and quiet as before, that he knew not the art; and there was truth apparent in his signals, it would have occurred to none of us to doubt his truth; and that hope being over, we must all go back even as we came to the house of Aros, the negro walking in our midst without embarrassment.

All we could do that day was to make one more attempt to communicate with the unhappy madman. Again he was visible on his perch... (pp.53-54)

These major changes in the presentation of the negro in the last chapter of 'The Merry Men' are thus quite significant: whereas he had been a comical and 'playful' 'Man Friday' figure in the earlier Cornhill version, he becomes, finally, a 'sober and severe' manifestation of the 'memorable judgement' exercised on Gordon Darnaway at the end of the story. As the changes show, Stevenson certainly did not (as he had planned in his letter to his father in April 1884) make 'The Merry Men' 'much longer' than it was, nor did he write 'a whole new dénouement'; but he clearly did alter much of the last chapter, concentrating especially on the 'Man Out of the Sea.'

The changes in Chapter V notwithstanding, some critics have wondered about the place and function of the negro within the context of the whole story. George E. Brown, for example, has remarked that there is

in the ending of the tale a desertion of the key in which it opens. If it is true that Stevenson adopted the highly delicate method of presenting the fury of the sea not as a real thing, but as existing in the mind of the crazed islander, Gordon Darnaway, then the climax of the storm, and the manner of the uncle's death has the air of shattering this construction, of suddenly exchanging an imagined for

a very real horror. 18

John Robert Moore in his essay 'Stevenson's Source for "The Merry Men"' has also been unable to reconcile the sighting of the negro in the last chapter with what had been presented earlier on in the story. He suggests that the 'partial failure' of 'The Merry Men'

grew out of the existence of two divergent elements...the psychological study of Charles Darnaway's uncle against the background of the island and sea, and the melodramatic appearance of the Black Man at the end to drive the elder Darnaway to destruction. 19

Yet it can be shown that the 'melodramatic appearance' of the negro in the final chapter is entirely congruous with what had preceded it in the story. Indeed, the sighting of the 'Man Out of the Sea' is forecasted much earlier in at least two ways: through uncle Gordon's 'superstitions' as outlined in Chapter II, and through Charles's own experiences while diving for the treasure of the Espirito Santo in Chapter III. To recall Stevenson's remarks about the 'dénouement' of 'The Beach of Falesá,' cited in the introduction, 'I never use an effect...unless it prepares the effects that are to follow; that's what a story consists in.'

In his letter to W.E. Henley in August 1881, Stevenson noted of Gordon Darnaway, 'My uncle himself is not the story as I see it, only the leading episode of that story. It's really a story of wrecks, as they appear to the dweller on the coast. It's a view of the sea.'²⁰ This 'view of the sea' is presented through uncle Gordon (though it is not confined to him), and it focusses on the Merry Men themselves, fierce breakers on the seaward side of Aros that have claimed a number of ships including the Espirito

18. A Book of RLS: Works, Travel, Friends, and Commentators (London, 1919), p.165.

19. Philological Quarterly, 23 (April 1944), p.135.

20. Letters, ii, 161, my italics.

Santo and the Christ-Anna. The names of these wrecked ships (with their Christian overtones) emphasise the opposing diabolic ferocity of the Merry Men, and, indeed, it is this diabolic ferocity that characterises uncle Gordon's 'view of the sea': as he tells Charles in Chapter II,

...if it wasna prentit in the Bible, I wad whiles be temp'it to think it wasna the Lord, but the muckle, black deil that made the sea....they were sair wonders that God showed to the Christ-Anna--wonders, do I ca' them? Judgements, rather: judgements in the mirk nicht among the draygons o' the deep. And their souls--to think o' that--their souls, man, maybe no prepared! The sea--a muckle yett to hell! (pp.14-15, my italics)

Uncle Gordon's 'view of the sea' here provides a context for his 'view' of the negro as the 'black man' in the last chapter: the sea and 'the muckle, black deil' are integrally connected. More importantly, uncle Gordon goes on to give the sea a kind of living diabolic personality, outlining his 'superstitions' to Charles in some detail:

If there's folk ashore, there's folk in the sea--deid they may be, but they're folk whatever; and as for deils, there's nane that's like the sea-deils....there's deils in the deep sea would yoke on a communicant! Eh, sirs, if ye had gane doon wi' the puir lads in the Christ-Anna, ye would ken by now the mercy o' the seas. If ye had sailed it for as lang as me, ye would hate the thocht of it as I do.... Oh sirs...the horror--the horror o' the sea! (p.16, my italics)

Uncle Gordon's 'view' that there are 'folk in the sea' makes it more understandable why he reacts with 'horror' at the sighting of the negro in the last chapter: as the title to that chapter suggests, the negro is, of course, 'A Man Out of the Sea.'

As the story continues, uncle Gordon becomes more and more attracted to the sea and to the Merry Men in particular. At the height of the storm in Chapter IV when the Merry Men are about to claim another ship, uncle Gordon watches while drinking from a bottle of brandy:

'Eh, Charlie man, it's grand!' he cried. 'See to them!... see to them dancin', man! Is that no' wicked?...They're

yowlin' for thon schooner....Charlie, lad, they're a' drunk in yon schooner, a' dozed wi' drink. They were a' drunk in the Christ-Anna, at the hinder end. There's nane could droon at sea wantin' the brandy....they daurna droon without it.'...My kinsman...drained the remainder to the dregs. Then, with a loud laugh, he cast the bottle forth among the Merry Men, who seemed to leap up, shouting, to receive it.

'Ha'e, bairns!' he cried, 'there's your han'sel. Ye'll get bonnier nor that, or morning.' (pp.42-43)

Uncle Gordon, also 'dozed wi' drink,' in a sense prepares himself for his 'fate' in the last chapter: like the brandy bottle, he too is finally 'received' into the sea. In the earlier Cornhill version of the story, this passage is followed by a long description of uncle Gordon which has been dropped from the final published version of 'The Merry Men.' Here, now drunk with his whisky, uncle Gordon begins to dance, as if imitating the 'dancin'' Merry Men below:

For a moment, he stood stupefied; then, the whisky working in his brain, he began to gesticulate, and to bow, and to step to and fro, and back and forward, in a sort of formless dance. We could hear him accompany his movements, now with a snatch of a sea-drinking song; now, as he bettered the pace, with such cries as young men utter in a reel; and now, as again he moved more slowly, with old Scottish psalm tunes and verses of the Psalms of David. Sometimes a gust would strike and almost overthrow him; sometimes great, lashing sprays fell upon us and hid him from our sight; and again, in a lull, we could hear the words of his song, and see him modulate his steps and gestures to the air. 21

Uncle Gordon's attraction to and imitation of the 'dancin'' Merry Men is important to notice, and its implications are expressed more clearly in the last chapter of the story, just before the negro is sighted. Here, uncle Gordon tells Charles that his drunken behaviour is a consequence of the Merry Men's diabolic influence:

'There's nae soberer man than me in my ordinar; but when I hear the wind blaw in my lug, it's my belief that I gang

21. Cornhill Magazine, 46 (July 1882), p.62.

gyte.'

'You are a religious man,' I replied, 'and this is sin.'

'Ou,' he returned, 'if it wasna sin, I dinna ken that I would care for't. Ye see, man, it's defiance. There's a sair spang o' the auld sin o' the warld in yon sea; it's an unchristian business at the best o't; an' whiles when it gets up, an' the wind skreighs--the wind an' her are a kind of sib, I'm thinking--an' thae Merry Men, the daft callants, blawin' and lauchin', and puir souls in the deid thraws warstlin' in the leelang nicht wi' their bit ships--weel, it comes ower me like a glamour. I'm a deil, I ken't....I'm wi' the sea, I'm just like ane o' her ain Merry Men. (p.46, my italics)

Uncle Gordon's drunken imitation of the Merry Men is such that he finally comes to resemble them: he becomes himself one of the 'unchristian' 'sea-deils' or 'folk in the sea' presented in his 'superstitions' earlier on in Chapter II.

In this context, the sighting of the negro in the last chapter is especially significant. As indicated, the negro is consistent with uncle Gordon's particular 'view of the sea' and is seen as a manifestation of its living and diabolic personality: he is, to uncle Gordon, 'the muckle, black deil' or, at least, one of the 'folk in the sea.' But since uncle Gordon has also become like one of the 'folk in the sea,' it might be said that, by sighting the negro, he sees himself as he now is. This point can be better understood if it is realised that uncle Gordon's 'view of the sea' is essentially the result of a long process of 'deterioration.' His drunken behaviour (though there may be 'nae soberer man than me in my ordinar') certainly expresses the extent of this 'deterioration,' but it is signified more clearly through uncle Gordon's 'unchristian' condition (as it has now become). This 'unchristian' condition determines his 'view of the sea,' created (as far as uncle Gordon is concerned) not by 'the Lord' but by 'the muckle, black deil.' By taking the negro to represent 'the muckle, black deil,' uncle Gordon thus both confirms this 'view of the sea' and provides himself with an

image of his own 'deteriorated' character. In this way, his drowning at the end of the story is self-destructive: of course, both he and the negro (his 'image') are finally 'received' by the Merry Men.

This argument can be elaborated upon by examining Charles Darnaway who, while his uncle is 'dozened wi' drink,' remains 'sober' ('sober and severe') throughout the story. Charles had disapproved of his uncle for hoarding the 'grand braws' (p.13) from the wreck of the Christ-Anna, but, searching for the treasure from the sunken Espirito Santo of the Spanish Armada, Charles begins to commit the same kind of crimes: 'To make a profit of such pitiful misadventures seemed an unmanly and a sordid act; and I began to think of my then quest as of something sacrilegious in its nature' (pp.25-26, my italics). This notion that it is 'somehow sacrilegious' to hoard the treasures from wrecked ships provides an important context for understanding the extent of uncle Gordon's 'unchristian' condition: as he had told Charles earlier in the story, 'it's for the like o' them, an' maybe no' even sae muckle worth, folk daunt on God to His face and burn in muckle hell' (p.13). In Chapter III, when Charles goes into Sandag Bay to look for the treasure of the Espirito Santo, this 'sacrilegious' context is made clearer. Diving into the water a first time, Charles recovers 'an iron shoe-buckle' (p.28). This 'poor human relic' (p.28) leads Charles to consider, as his uncle had, that there are 'folk in the sea':

I held it in my hand, and the thought of its owner appeared before me like the presence of an actual man. His weather-beaten face, his sailor's hands, his sea-voice hoarse with singing at the capstan, the very foot that had once worn that buckle and trod so much along the swerving decks--the whole human fact of him, as a creature like myself, with hair and blood and seeing eyes, haunted me in that sunny, solitary place, not like a spectre, but like some friend whom I had basely injured....I was assailed with dreary thoughts; my uncle's words, 'the dead are down there,' echoed in my ears... (p.28)

Charles dives again with a 'strong repugnance' (p.28) and, clutching at a human bone this time, both confirms his 'uncle's words' and shares uncle Gordon's 'view of the sea' ('the horror--the horror o' the sea!'): '...it was not until I touched that actual piece of mankind that the full horror of the charnel ocean burst upon my spirit' (p.29). However, this brief contact with the 'folk in the sea' is enough to make Charles resolve to 'meddle no more with the spoils of wrecked vessels or the treasures of the dead' (p.30) and, saying a prayer 'for all poor souls upon the sea' (p.30), he undergoes a kind of 'conversion': 'The horror, at least, was lifted from my mind; I could look with calm of spirit on that great bright creature, God's ocean' (p.30). Abandoning his 'sacrilegious' search for the treasure of the Spanish ship, Charles's 'view of the sea' is thus transformed: it is now (as it was not for his 'unchristian' uncle) 'God's ocean.' For Charles, an essentially 'restorative' process has taken place: in contrast to his uncle's madness ('I gang gyte') in the storm in Chapter IV, he is able to look upon the sea 'with calm of spirit.' Yet, of course, his earlier vision of the dead sailor (and his accompanying 'horror') also forecasts the sighting of the 'Man Out of the Sea' in the final chapter: 'it prepares the effects that are to follow...'

This scene in Chapter III, describing Charles's 'horror' while diving for the sunken treasure of a wrecked ship from the Spanish Armada, may have drawn on legends surrounding such treasure, one of which is included in Joseph Train's Strains of the Mountain Muse (1814). Train's book is a collection of ballads and epitaphs, and was a favourite of Sir Walter Scott's (containing, for example, a source for Scott's 'Wandering Willie's Tale'):²² it is possible that Stevenson also knew of it. In a note to the

22. See Strains of the Mountain Muse (Edinburgh, 1814), pp.192-95.

ballad 'Elcine de Aggart,' Train draws attention to the line, 'The last ship has sunk by our good Lady's Isle.' The ship referred to here had belonged to the Spanish Armada, and Train remarks on the kind of popular superstitions attached at this time to the recovery of sunken Spanish treasures:

It is reported, that the ship which carried the Vice-Admiral Alcarede, after being nearly dashed to pieces, went down by this rocky islet, about two leagues from the bar of Ayr. Many articles of immense value, particularly a golden chair, intended as a throne for the personage who was to be the viceroy of his Catholic Majesty in England, was said to have been lost in this man of war; to recover which, two celebrated divers were brought, at the public expence, from the coast of Holland, who succeeded in stripping the bodies of the grandees and their ladies of such an amazing variety of jewellery, on deck, as really to justify the expectation that vast treasure would be found on searching the state rooms; but one of them, on his attempting to enter the cabin, had heard such an unearthly voice issue from within, that he never could be prevailed on to descend again. The other, although more robust, was so much intimidated by the assurances of his companion, that it was not until he had received the grant of some crown-lands in Carrick, that he would venture on the dangerous enterprise. Agreeable to his contract, he entered by a hatchway at the forecastle, and, with the intention of rummaging the whole ship as he passed along the different wards, neither soldier, sailor, nor galley-slave, escaped the rifling hand of the amphibious Hollander. Here he drew the silver-hilted sword which once dangled at the side of a proud Castilian, and there he snatched the crucifix from the hand of a military monk, whose sightless eye was still fixed on the idolatrous image. Thus performing the object of his mission, he went on, although he was often startled by the sudden appearance of angry-looking spirits, that seemed to take particular persons under their protection, yet he had the courage to proceed to the very door of the great cabin, where his countryman had been so awfully alarmed. To fortify his mind, he there put up a short ejaculation, and stepped forward; but as he crossed the threshold, a very ordinary looking old gentleman, who was sitting in the golden chair, rose to salute him, presenting, at the same time, his cloven foot, the sight of which so terrified the Dutchman, that he retreated in the utmost confusion, so that he was nearly drowned ere he could find his way to the surface of the water. 23

23. ibid., pp.217-18.

Train's account of the diver's meeting with the devil while searching for the sunken Spanish treasure provides an interesting context for Stevenson's diving-scene in Chapter III and for the notion that there are 'folk in the sea,' which operates throughout the story. It also provides a context for uncle Gordon's 'view' of the negro, as 'the muckle, black deil' and as the manifestation of a 'memorable judgement' against him for hoarding the wrecked treasures of the Christ-Anna. Indeed, Stevenson may have alluded to Train's account in his story, when Charles remarks on his research into the Spanish ship before coming to Aros:

I...had been set to work on some papers of an ancient date to rearrange and sift of what was worthless; and in one of these, to my great wonder, I found a note of this very ship, the Espirito Santo, with her captain's name, and how she carried a great part of the Spaniard's treasure, and had been lost upon the Ross of Grisapol... (p.8) 24

Stevenson identified the fictional 'Ross of Grisapol' as well as the islet Aros itself in his letter to Henley in July 1881: 'Aros is Earraid, where I lived lang syne; the Ross of Grisapol is the Ross of Mull; Ben Ryan, Ben More.'²⁵ Eilean Earriad is a small island off the

24. In his essay 'Stevenson's Source for "The Merry Men",' John Robert Moore has suggested that Stevenson drew on a short story by William E. Aytoun, 'The Santa Trinidad. A Tale of the Hebrides' (1842). This story concerns two brothers who live on the island of Benbecula in the Outer Hebrides, to the west of Skye. Near a cavern where a treasure-ship from the Spanish Armada had been wrecked, one of the brothers finds a wedge of gold. Tempted by a stranger who arrives mysteriously in a boat without oars or sail, he then proceeds to dive for the Spanish treasure, recovering at first a casket of silver coins. He dives again as the tide begins to flow, and is drowned. Moore notes that Stevenson had called his Spanish ship by the same name, the Sant^{ma} Trini^d, in his outline of the first draft of 'The Merry Men' in his letter to Henley in July 1881. See Moore, pp.136-40. W.E. Aytoun had been Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature at the University of Edinburgh from 1845-65, and the family had occupied the house at 1 Inverleith Terrace before the Stevensons had moved there in 1853: Stevenson would certainly have known of Aytoun and may have also known of his story. Aytoun, of course, may himself have drawn on Train's account of the Dutch divers given above.

25. Letters, ii, 160.

south-west coast of Mull (and in fact some distance away from Lady Isle near Ayr in Train's account of the Spanish ship above). Stevenson had stayed here in 1870, accompanying his father who was chief engineer on the nearby Dhu Heartach lighthouse: he wrote about Earriad in 1887 in his essay 'Memoirs of an Islet,' and he also used it as a setting in his novel Kidnapped. However, Stevenson may have 'adapted' Aros from other places around the coast of Scotland. For example, his description of Bass Rock in Catriona especially recalls the atmosphere surrounding Aros in 'The Merry Men': it produces 'superstitious fear',²⁶ amongst David Balfour's Highlander companions, and 'When the waves were anyway great they roared about the rock like thunder...dreadful but merry to hear.'²⁷ While staying at Wick on the north-east coast of Scotland in 1868, Stevenson wrote to his mother about a particularly fierce storm:

I stood a long while on the cape watching the sea below me; I hear its dull, monotonous roar at this moment below the shrieking of the wind; and there came ever recurring to my mind the verse I am so fond of:--

'But yet the Lord that is on high
Is more of might by far
Than noise of many waters is
Or great sea-billows are.' 28

Stevenson uses this favourite verse (from the metrical Psalm XCIII) in 'The Merry Men': it is quoted 'solemnly' (p.47) at the height of a storm by Charles Darnaway, to remind his father that it is 'God's ocean.'

This atmosphere surrounding Aros, with its storms and wind and the treacherous Merry Men, may have also been 'adapted' from descriptions of the southern coast of the Shetland Islands in perhaps the major source for

26. Catriona, vii, 127.

27. ibid., p.128, my italics.

28. Letters, i, 25.

Stevenson's story, Sir Walter Scott's The Pirate (1822). Although he had called it an 'ill-written, ragged book,'²⁹ Stevenson may have especially valued The Pirate because it drew on Scott's experiences while touring the northern coasts of Scotland in July and August 1814 with the Commissioners for the Northern Lighthouse Service, a party that included Stevenson's grandfather, the engineer Robert Stevenson. The elder Robert Stevenson had written an account of this tour and of Scott in particular, and while working on his Records of a Family of Engineers in July 1892 Stevenson put his grandfather's notes aside and published them separately under the title 'Scott's Voyage in the Lighthouse Yacht' and subtitle 'Reminiscences of Sir Walter Scott, Baronet, by Robert Stevenson,' Scribner's Magazine, 14 (October 1893). In his introductory 'Note,' Stevenson remarked,

My grandfather was a man in whom Scott could hardly fail to have been interested and from whom he could scarce help but profit. Romantically minded, he had led a life of some romance....his knowledge of the islands and their inhabitants was probably unrivalled; and his memory was rich in strange incidents and traits of manners, some of which have been preserved by Sir Walter in substance, while many others were doubtless boiled down into the general impression of 'The Pirate.' 30

Robert Stevenson's 'Reminiscences' of the tour with Scott include an account of their visit to Sumburgh Head on the southern tip of the Shetlands. Here, the touring party are caught in the fast-flowing tide of the Sumburgh Roost:

...our captain shaped a direct course for Sumburgh Head in Zetland. This seemed to act as a charm to Sir Walter.... [but] from the state of the weather and troubled motion of the sea, this became a very disagreeable part of the voyage....It was more than conjectured that we had got into the tail of the tide at Sumburgh Roost, from the ship's bouncing and sending into the trough of the sea at such a rate that she at times had a tremulous motion from stem to

29. 'A Gossip on Romance,' Memories and Portraits, xxix, 129.

30. Scribner's Magazine, 14 (October 1893), p.492.

stern. 31

Scott's The Pirate opens with a description of the Sumburgh Roost, with its 'current of strong and furious tide...setting betwixt the Orkney and Zetland Islands, and running with force only inferior to that of the Pentland Firth.'³² This description, linked with Robert Stevenson's account of the Sumburgh Roost above, may have been a source for Stevenson in his presentation of Aros Roost and the treacherous Merry Men in his story. It is perhaps worth noting too that Stevenson may have lifted the title of his story from the tribute Scott had paid to the friendliness of the touring party in his introduction to the 1831 edition of The Pirate. Here, Scott remarked that

for a time we might have adopted the lines of Allan
Cunningham's fine sea-song,
 'The world of waters was our home,
 And merry men were we!' 33

Stevenson concluded his 'Note' on his grandfather's 'Reminiscences' by referring to the fourth volume of J.G. Lockhart's Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart. (1837) and to Scott's own recollections of his tour of the northern coasts of Scotland, Voyage in the Lighthouse Yacht to Nova Zembla, and the Lord knows where, 'one of the most delightful passages in one of the most delightful of books.'³⁴ In his diary entry for 9 August 1814, Scott had remarked on the 'frightful tide...called Sumburgh-rost (sic)',³⁵ and at one point stood at the top of Sumburgh Head to look down at it:

...he must have a stouter heart than mine, who can

31. ibid., p.496.

32. The Pirate (1822; rpt. Edinburgh, 1886), p.9.

33. ibid., p.3.

34. 'Scott's Voyage in the Lighthouse Yacht,' p.494.

35. Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart. (1837; rpt. Edinburgh, 1839), iv, 226.

contemplate without horror the situation of a vessel of an inferior description caught among these headlands and reefs of rock, in the long and dark winter nights of these regions. Accordingly, wrecks are frequent. 36

Scott had presented this particular 'horror' in The Pirate, which begins by introducing Basil Mertoun and his son Mordaunt, who come to stay at Yarlshof on the isolated tip of Sumburgh Head. Early in the novel, they walk up to the edge of the Head and watch (as Scott had imagined) a ship come to grief in 'the huge swelling waves'³⁷ of Sumburgh Roost that follow a recent storm. The ship looks empty, but young Mordaunt sees a single survivor on board and runs forward to help him ashore. This scene seems to have been 'adapted' by Stevenson in Chapter IV of 'The Merry Men,' when Charles and his uncle similarly walk up to Aros Head and watch a ship come to grief in the stormy Roost below: there is also one survivor here, the negro, who is helped ashore by young Charles. It seems likely, then, that Stevenson had been influenced by Scott's descriptions of Sumburgh Head (with its connections with his grandfather) and of the 'horror' of a shipwreck 'in the long and dark winter nights': 'The Merry Men' was, of course, to have been included in the projected collection of stories Tales for Winter Nights and certainly shares the characteristics of a 'grisly winter's tale.' In his letter to Henley in July 1881, Stevenson had, incidentally, confessed to drawing on this novel for 'The Merry Men': '...there is a little of Scott's Pirate in it, as how should there not? He had the root of romance in such places.'³⁸

The Pirate also provides a context for the notion that it is 'somehow sacrilegious' to hoard the treasures from such shipwrecks, which

36. ibid., p.229.

37. The Pirate, p.83.

38. Letters, ii, 160.

operates throughout 'The Merry Men.' Like Gordon Darnaway, the Shetlanders in Scott's novel also hoard the shipwrecked goods washed up along the coast, and they develop an accompanying 'superstition' which Scott calls the 'Reluctance to Save Drowning Men.'³⁹ Scott explains this reluctance most clearly in his Voyage in the Lighthouse Yacht to Nova Zembla, and the Lord knows where, since it is based on fact:

A worse and most horrid opinion prevails, or did prevail, among the fishers--namely, that he who saves a drowning man will receive at his hands some deep wrong or injury....It is conjectured to have arisen as an apology for rendering no assistance to the mariners as they escaped from a shipwrecked vessel, for these isles are infamous for plundering vessels....I fear even yet the drowning mariner would in some places receive no assistance in his exertions, and certainly he would in most be plundered to the skin upon his landing. 40

When young Mordaunt helps the survivor of the shipwreck ashore in The Pirate, he is also told that 'to save a drowning man was to run the risk of future injury from him.'⁴¹ The rescued man, Clement Cleveland, is described by the 'superstitious' islanders as a 'serpent' who 'dark Influences desire as the tools of their agency,'⁴² and he does, briefly, cause a number of 'injuries.' But the novel discredits these 'horrid opinions': as Magnus Troil tells the avaricious islanders (who would have 'plundered' Cleveland, but given him 'no assistance'), '...till we learn to regard the rights of them that suffer by the winds and waves, we shall deserve to be oppressed and hag-ridden.'⁴³

Stevenson takes up these 'opinions' in 'The Merry Men' in a number of ways. It is suggested that Gordon Darnaway had 'plundered' but given 'no

39. The Pirate, p.463 (Note F).

40. Lockhart, iv, 209-10.

41. The Pirate, p.87.

42. ibid., pp.116, 417-18.

43. ibid., p.196.

assistance' to a sailor from the wrecked Christ-Anna. As a consequence, he is 'hag-ridden': the role of the negro, as 'the muckle, black deil,' perhaps recalls Clement Cleveland's diabolic character, and certainly he causes a 'future injury' after being helped ashore by Charles. But just Cleveland is seen as diabolic only by the 'superstitious' islanders, so the negro is taken to be the 'black man' only by uncle Gordon: it is only within the context of this 'superstition' (or, this 'view of the sea') that uncle Gordon is considered to be 'hag-ridden' by the negro. Indeed, both Scott and Stevenson discredit these island 'superstitions' in their stories. In The Pirate, the Shetlanders' 'horrid opinions' are best represented by the old sibyl, Norma of the Fitful Head: Cleveland (who, it turns out, is her son) later tries to make her aware of her 'supernatural pretensions'⁴⁴ and, finally, she concedes that they are nothing more than 'the idle belief of the ignorant.'⁴⁵ Towards the end of the novel, the old sibyl and her disciple Minna Troil undergo a kind of 'conversion' away from these 'superstitions': Norma takes up the Bible and, acknowledging 'far higher powers,'⁴⁶ becomes a 'different character,'⁴⁷ while Minna similarly learns to 'exchange the visions of wild enthusiasm which had exerted and misled her imagination, for a truer and purer connection with the world beyond us...'⁴⁸ In Stevenson's story, Charles Darnaway tries to persuade his uncle to undergo a similar kind of 'conversion' shortly before they sight the negro in the last chapter: '...if there shall follow no

44. ibid., p.420.

45. ibid., p.364.

46. ibid., p.455.

47. ibid., p.456.

48. ibid., p.458.

repentance, no improvement, no return to Him, what can we look for but the following of some memorable judgement?' (p.48). Charles's request is important to notice, recalling, for example, the 'conversion' of Tam Dale in 'The Tale of Tod Lapraik' to the 'cause o' Christ'; and as indicated, Charles himself had undergone this kind of 'conversion' in Chapter III of the story. But for uncle Gordon, no such concluding 'conversion' takes place: when the negro is sighted on the Christ-Anna, he does not, as Charles urges him, 'welcome [it] like a father' (p.49) and thus provide an 'atonement' (p.49) for his earlier treatment of the shipwrecked sailor. In a sense, Stevenson shows how the Shetlanders' 'horrid opinions' persist through uncle Gordon, so that his 'view of the sea' (based on these morally 'deteriorated' island 'superstitions') remains unchanged. Uncle Gordon never 'returns to Him': he never comes to experience this essentially 'restorative' process.

CHAPTER FOUR

IV. 'MARKHEIM'

'Markheim' was begun while Stevenson was staying at Bonallie Towers in Bournemouth in late 1884, after a request by Charles Morley, one of the managers of the Pall Mall Gazette, for a story for that magazine's Christmas number. A completed draft was sent to Morley on 1 December but Stevenson, believing it 'was not his best work,'¹ wrote to Morley three days later to ask that the stipulated fee be reduced accordingly from £40 to £30. Morley, however, could not accept the story for reasons of space: requiring a length of 8000 words, 'Markheim' was found to be 'fifteen hundred words too short for the space Morley had already budgeted.'² Stevenson then put 'Markheim' aside and sent in its place 'The Body-Snatcher,' writing to his parents on 9 December that all had finally been resolved:

The dreadful tragedy of the Pall Mall has come to a happy . but ludicrous ending: I am to keep the money, the tale writ for them is to be buried certain fathoms deep, and they are to flash out before the world with our old friend of Kinnaird, The Body-Snatcher. 3

'Markheim' was 'buried fathoms deep' until Autumn 1885 when Stevenson, now at Skerryvore in Bournemouth, was approached by the editor Henry Norman for a story for Unwin's Annual, 1886, subtitled The Broken Shaft, Tales in Mid-Ocean (December 1885). Stevenson revised his first draft of 'Markheim' for Norman's annual, and it is this revised version that also appeared in The Merry Men and Other Tales in 1887. Although the story

1. Swearingen, p.93.

2. ibid., p.93.

3. Letters, iii, 26.

itself remains essentially the same, there are a number of major and minor differences between the first draft and the revised version of 'Markheim.' It may be helpful to remark upon some of the major changes to the first draft here, but for a complete list of differences, see Appendix iii. The hitherto unpublished first draft manuscript of 'Markheim' is now held in the Houghton Library at Harvard University (MS Eng 269.2).

The story can be divided into three basic sections: Markheim's opening conversation with the antique-dealer on Christmas day, the murder and Markheim's consequent 'terrors,' and the final appearance of the strange visitant in the room upstairs. The changes Stevenson made to the first draft can be divided in the same way. The first set of changes affect the presentation of Markheim's conversation with the dealer in his shop, and show how Stevenson revised certain aspects of this opening scene, developing images that were not necessarily there before. The longest revision here occurs in a passage following the dealer's offer to Markheim of an antique hand-mirror as a 'Christmas gift.' In the first draft, the passage (including Stevenson's deletions) is as follows:

...a shock had passed through Markheim, and then whether bodily or mental had been hard to say; ^{and even} ~~his eyes~~ as he took the glass ^{from} ~~out~~ of the dealer's ^{his} hands still trembled. 'A glass?' he said, hoarsely. 'For Christmas? Surely not.' And he looked the little man ^{in the face all over with a an} ~~between the eyes with infinite~~ indefinable expression ~~and yearning pity~~. 'Come,' he resumed, 'you only laugh at me; you wear indifference like a mask; but even you have some kind association with this day, whether of family ties or pious aspirations. ~~Own it;~~ You have been a child; and you have had parents, who have gone before and whom you sometimes weary to rejoin; you have some belief or hope that sanctifies this holiday to your affections; and were you ten times the greedy bargainer that I have known you,

you are still a Christian and still a man, born of woman.'

The dealer looked at him in deep amazement. 'And what has this,' he cried, 'to do with a ~~get~~ French mirror?'

'Little, if you like,' returned Markheim. 'Call it a pretext. I have an interest that I ^{should} ~~can~~ find it hard to justify; an interest in you; ~~in yourself;~~ the ~~real~~ man below the dealer. Tell me of him; tell me of your aspirations; your beliefs; be human; you do not know what you may gain; ~~I have a friendship for you.~~ ^{give an account; can fu} Sham; if you please; but give me an excuse to care for you. It is the day; you know; upon this day; I would be friends with all men.'⁴

The passage from this first draft shows Markheim's attempts to find 'the real man below the dealer': he tries to uncover, in other words, evidence that the dealer is 'human,' with 'family ties,' 'pious aspirations,' and so on. The passage is, of course, full of irony given the murder that is to follow: Markheim's 'interest' in the dealer has its more sinister aspects. Indeed, Markheim's attempt to find 'humanity' in the dealer clearly reflects back on his own condition, and it is this process of reflection that is taken up in the corresponding passage in the revised version of the story. Here, the antique hand-mirror is given a symbolic role it did not previously have: Markheim's refusal to look into it (and see 'the real man' within himself) conflicts with his attempt to uncover 'the real man below the dealer.' The passage begins in the same way:

...a shock had passed through Markheim, a start both of hand and foot, a sudden leap of many tumultuous passions to the face. It passed as swiftly as it came, and left no trace beyond a certain trembling of the hand that now received the glass.

'A glass,' he said hoarsely, and then paused, and repeated it more clearly. 'A glass? For Christmas? Surely

4. 'Markheim' (early version) MS Eng 269.2, p.2, 11.17-34.

not?'

'And why not?' cried the dealer. 'Why not a glass?'

Markheim was looking upon him with an indefinable expression. 'You ask me why not?' he said. 'Why, look here --look in it--look at yourself! Do you like to see it? No! nor I--nor any man.'

The little man had jumped back when Markheim had so suddenly confronted him with the mirror; but now, perceiving there was nothing worse on hand, he chuckled. 'Your future lady, sir, must be pretty hard-favoured,' said he.

'I ask you,' said Markheim, 'for a Christmas present, and you give me this--this damned reminder of years, and sins and follies--this hand-conscience! Did you mean it? Had you a thought in your mind? Tell me. It will be better for you if you do. Come, tell me about yourself. I hazard a guess now, that you are in secret a very charitable man?'

The dealer looked closely at his companion. It was very odd, Markheim did not appear to be laughing; there was something in his face like an eager sparkle of hope, but nothing of mirth.

'What are you driving at?' the dealer asked.

'Not charitable?' returned the other, gloomily. 'Not charitable; not pious; not scrupulous; unloving, unbeloved; a hand to get money, a safe to keep it. Is that all? Dear God, man, is that all?' 5

This corresponding passage in the revised version of 'Markheim' is almost completely changed. Taking up the hand-mirror as a symbol, it shows that while Markheim searches for 'the real man below the dealer,' he avoids looking at evidence of 'the real man' within himself. This passage is, of course, also full of irony. Indeed, although he does not wish to look into the hand-mirror, he unwittingly expresses what 'the real man' within himself is like through his somewhat negative observations about the dealer: planning to rob and murder the 'little man,' Markheim also seems to be 'not pious; not scrupulous; unloving, unbeloved; a hand to get money...'

A second major change in the opening conversation with the antique-dealer occurs just after the dealer offers Markheim the hand-glass a

5. The Merry Men and Other Tales, pp.90-91. Further references are given after quotations in the text.

second time. In the first draft of the story, Markheim continues to look for 'the real man' within the dealer, speculating about his possible 'future' in terms that again ironically contrast with Markheim's murderous motives. The hand-glass, far from being a symbol here, is virtually pushed aside: as Markheim remarks, 'the glass is not the point':

'You will not take the glass?'

'The glass?' said Markheim. 'Not today: a more appropriate present. But you try to evade me; the glass is not the point. Come--~~one~~ ^{this} day ^{of all} in the year, unmask yourself ~~to one who asks no better than to love you, I declare it!~~ Only ~~tell~~: Have you no friend; no love, nor any hope of love; no sense of a divine presence, comforting or compunctious? I will not ask so much; I see the answer; but to this, at least, you have looked forward: to an ample future, to leaving this grim house, to some more generous and easy life--a cottage in the country, let us say, with birds and roses, or were it but a tavern club with a bright fire and pleasant comrades?'

'Now, sir,' replied the dealer, 'just one word: are we going on with this piece of business or ~~shall I be~~ ^{are we not?}' 6

Although the hand-mirror is not taken up as a symbol of 'reflection' here, nevertheless Markheim's remarks to the dealer 'reflect' back on his own condition. Thus, he also has 'no sense of a divine presence, comforting or compunctious': this is supplied later in the story through the appearance of the strange visitant in the room upstairs. In the corresponding passage in the revised version, however, these remarks are dropped. Now, although Markheim still looks for 'the real man' within the dealer, he seems more overtly threatening and perhaps even hints at the murder that is to follow. Just before this passage, the dealer had told Markheim that he had 'never

6. 'Markheim' (early version) MS Eng 269.2, p.3, 11.7-16.

had the time' (p.91) for love, adding, 'nor have I the time to-day for all this nonsense' (p.91). Markheim takes up this notion of 'time' in (given his plans to murder the dealer) a sinister way:

'Will you take the glass?'

'Where is the hurry?' returned Markheim. 'It is very pleasant to stand here talking; and life is so short and insecure that I would not hurry away from any pleasure--no, not even from so mild a one as this. We should rather cling, cling to what little we can get, like a man at a cliff's edge. Every second is a cliff, if you think upon it--a cliff a mile high--high enough, if we fall, to dash us out of every feature of humanity. Hence it is best to talk pleasantly. Let us talk of each other; why should we wear this mask? Let us be confidential. Who knows we might become friends?'

'I have just one word to say to you,' said the dealer. 'Either make your purchase, or walk out of my shop.'
(pp.91-92)

Markheim's remarks about the passing of time obviously forecast the murder of the dealer, but they also express a process of 'deterioration' that again reflects back on his own character: 'Every second is a cliff...high enough, if we fall, to dash us out of every feature of humanity.' Markheim had looked for some 'feature of humanity' within the dealer; but, murdering the dealer soon afterwards, he shows that his own 'humanity' has also been 'dashed out.' This is made clearer after the appearance of the strange visitant towards the end of the story.

The image of passing time is taken up after the murder of the dealer: indeed, the first major change to the first draft in this part of the story begins just after the murder, where a number of ticking clocks re-establish the passing of time in Markheim's consciousness. The following passage from the first draft shows Markheim's fear of 'phantom witnesses' and obviously forecasts the later appearance of the strange visitant. Since Markheim is least upset by the actual corpse of the dealer, this passage also shows how 'unloving' and 'uncompunctious' he has become. He is, in other words, without any 'feature of humanity':

The clocks, some ticking to a very stately measure, some to a jaunty and precipitate, counted a score of seconds, before the cloud had rolled away from Markheim's eyes and he began to see, before the curtain lifted from his mind and left him face to face with terror. (The passage of a lad's feet, heavily running in the lane, alarmed and then restored him, as it died away.) The shop, in that faint illumination, was all beset with shadows and ambiguous shapes. These ~~shined~~^{moved} with the shaking of the flame, the tall shadows nodding, the gross blots of darkness swelling and dwindling as with respiration, the faces of the portraits and the china gods changing and wavering like images in water. In this perpetual stir and parody of life, his eye was never suffered to repose from vigilance, and his mind leaped unceasingly from terror to terror. An inner door stood open in the house, and stared into the ~~dim~~ shop with a long slit of daylight; and ~~that~~^{the} open door appalled him like a witness. From these ~~terror~~^{fear}-stricken roving, his eye returned to his victim, where he lay, both humped and sprawling, incredibly small, ~~as it appeared,~~ and shabbier and meaner than in life; and the sight brought no compunction of remorse. Rather it brought relief+. In this house, which his own terrors had peopled with phantom witnesses, on whose most innocent feature he could not turn his eyes without a seizure of alarm, here was, at last, one object that he could behold without emotion. He had feared to see it; ~~and lo! now, with~~^{it was the one thing he} had feared to see; and lo! it was as nothing. In these poor, miserly habiliments, in that ungainly attitude, the dealer lay like so much sawdust; ~~far~~^{far}, indeed, from life's high-coloured force and ~~motion~~^{beauty}, but yet as far, or even farther still, from what the murderer had dreaded to perceive in death.

And yet as Markheim gazed... 7

7. ibid., p.3, 1.33-p.4, 1.22. The sentence in parenthesis is situated between 'terror.' and 'An' (11.8-9) above in the manuscript. It is circled by Stevenson and directed with an arrow to where it is now placed.

The corresponding passage in the revised version does not concentrate on Markheim's 'terrors' and omits the reference to the 'phantom witness.' Rather, the dealer's shop itself is 'witness' to the crime, becoming almost animate here. Thus, for example, the 'long slit of daylight' in the first draft now becomes the 'long slit of daylight like a pointing finger': the room seems actually to accuse Markheim:

Time had some score of small voices in that shop, some stately and slow as was becoming to their great age; others garrulous and hurried. All these told out the seconds in an intricate chorus of tickings. Then the passage of a lad's feet, heavily running on the pavement, broke in upon these smaller voices and startled Markheim into the consciousness of his surroundings. He looked about him awfully. The candle stood on the counter, its flame solemnly wagging in a draught; and by that inconsiderable movement, the whole room was filled with noiseless bustle and kept heaving like a sea: the tall shadows nodding, the gross blots of darkness swelling and dwindling as with respiration, the faces of the portraits and the china gods changing and wavering like images in water. The inner door stood ajar, and peered into that leaguer of shadows with a long slit of daylight like a pointing finger.

From these fear-stricken roving, Markheim's eyes returned to the body of his victim, where it lay both humped and sprawling, incredibly small and strangely meaner than in life. In these poor, miserly clothes, in that ungainly attitude, the dealer lay like so much sawdust. Markheim had feared to see it, and lo! it was nothing. And yet, as he gazed... (pp.92-93)

The animate and accusatory aspects of Markheim's 'surroundings' are important to notice since, in one sense, it is suggested that the strange visitant (the 'phantom witness') is already present. When he finally does appear, his description recalls part of the passage above: 'the outlines of the new-comer seemed to change and waver like those of the idols in the wavering candle-light of the shop' (p.100). His appearance is thus forecasted in the way that, for example, the appearance of the negro at the end of 'The Merry Men' had been forecasted by events in the preceding chapters.

In the first draft, this forecasting is made clearer by elaborating on Markheim's fear of 'phantom witnesses': later, he is aware of 'an

atmosphere of stealthy presences, human or diabolie,⁸ and he often imagines that a 'spy' is in the shop with him, 'stooping with hands on knees...and nodding and grinning to himself.'⁹ In this part of the story, the first draft also contains a long passage that was dropped from the revised version, describing further Markheim's fear of 'spies.' It begins after Markheim hears the 'very jovial gentleman' (p.95) call the dealer by name from outside the shop. Here, Markheim becomes frightened that other visitors, such as the milk boy, will call at the shop and accordingly he visualises a second murder. This entire passage was both deleted and underlined in Stevenson's hand, but it will be given here without interference:

Suppose the milk ^{was to be brought} ~~to come,~~ was he condemned to take it in, to show his face, ^{compromise the very} ~~to leave behind him~~ elements of safety? Was he to leave such damning evidence behind him? or must he decoy the milk boy within doors, and, welding crime to crime, once more risk everything upon the chances of a blow? (The milk boy would be stronger, he would show more fight than that poor man on the floor; a slip, a tremor, a defect of luck, and what a ~~shriek~~ scream would ~~ring~~ startle the silence of the house and call into the street...) And the neighbours--the accursed neighbours,^{now} listening and whispering, peeping ^{and} ~~and~~ spying, from the windows! Ah! the next time, let it be in the country, in some beautiful ^{retired} ~~and~~ rural spot; ^{in summer too,} and near a stream where he might ^{angle;} and even at the thought, his white-hot fancy conjured up the neighbourhood, a picture and a plan at once, and showed him the face of the new victim, and told him, with the brevity of thought, the whole details of this imaginary crime.....His mind

8. ibid., p.6, 1.14. The deletions and underlinings are in Stevenson's hand.

9. ibid., p.6, 11.27-30. The deletions and underlinings are in Stevenson's hand.

returned reluctantly to fact; he had to spur himself to action. 10

The passage shows Markheim considering not just a second murder but a 'next time': it reveals the extent of his 'deterioration' and shows that he has divested himself of every 'feature of humanity.'

The above passage in the first draft also indicates Markheim's capacity for 'fancy' and 'imagination': 'His mind returned reluctantly to fact.' But the story merges 'fancy' and 'fact,' so that it is difficult to tell them apart, and it is in the context of this confused atmosphere that the strange visitant makes his appearance. Going upstairs and into the dealer's drawing-room, Markheim shuts out the evidence of his crime in the shop below and feels 'a respite from alarms' (p.99). His imaginary 'terrors' cease (or so he thinks) and, in contrast with the 'phantom' noises in the shop, 'The rain falling in the street sounded natural and pleasant' (p.99). Listening to some neighbouring children sing a Christmas hymn, Markheim feels 'at peace' (p.99): the sudden appearance of the strange visitant is now entirely unexpected. The major change in this last part of the story involves the visitant's sudden appearance and its effect on Markheim. In the first draft, the passage begins when, listening to the children's hymn, Markheim ('...a hand to get money') searches for the key to the dealer's money-cabinet:

Markheim nodded time, as he sorted out the keys; a little more, and he had hummed the air. For now the last danger was at an end; he had recovered his composure; he was himself again, with all his organs at command; let the luck but hold, and he was ^{now} sure of the result.

With the tail of his eye, he could ^{saw} command the door; even glanced at it from time to time directly, like a

10. ibid., p.7, 11.7-19. The passage in parenthesis is written in the margin, circled by Stevenson and directed by an arrow to where it is now placed.

besieged & commander pleased to verify the good estate of his defences. And suddenly ~~the~~^{he} saw the handle move; the lock clicked, the door opened; and there presented himself in the aperture, a gentleman unknown to Markheim, and of no ~~p~~ marked age or feature. He was gracefully at his ease; closed the door behind him, as a thing of course; and ~~although he made no salutation,~~ regarded Markheim without surprise, but with a serious and obliging interest. The unhappy murderer sat turned to stone; conscious of no thought, whether to fly or to resist; mere brute wonder storming in his ears.

'You are looking for the money...' 11

In the corresponding passage in the revised version of the story, there are some important changes and additions. As he listens to the children's hymn, Markheim now recollects his own childhood. His memories of Sundays in church ironically recall his earlier search for evidence of the antique-dealer's 'humanity': 'even you have some kind association with this day, whether family ties or pious aspirations....You have been a child.' In a sense, these memories reveal a glimpse of Markheim's own hitherto absent 'humanity'; and it is in this context that the strange visitant now makes his appearance. Here, the visitant's entrance is not so straightforward as it was in the first draft: he enters the drawing-room twice. He is also described in more detail in this revised version:

Markheim gave ear to it smilingly, as he sorted out the keys; and his mind was thronged with answerable ideas and images; church-going children and the pealing of the high organ; children afield, bathers by the brookside, ramblers on the brambly common, kite-fliers in the windy and cloud-navigated sky; and then, at another cadence of the hymn, back again to church, and the somnolence of summer Sundays, and the high genteel voice of the parson (which he smiled a little to recall) and the painted Jacobean tombs, and the dim lettering of the Ten Commandments in the chancel.

And as he sat thus, at once busy and absent, he was

11. ibid., p.10, 1.33-p.11, 1.11.

startled to his feet. A flash of ice, a flash of fire, a bursting gush of blood, went over him, and then he stood transfixed and thrilling. A step mounted the stair slowly and steadily, and presently a hand was laid upon the knob, and the lock clicked, and the door opened.

Fear held Markheim in a vice. What to expect he knew not, whether the dead man walking, or the official ministers of human justice, or some chance witness blindly stumbling in to consign him to the gallows. But when a face was thrust into the aperture, glanced round the room, looked at him, nodded and smiled as if in friendly recognition, and then withdrew again, and the door closed behind it, his fear broke loose from his control in a hoarse cry. At the sound of this the visitant returned.

'Did you call me?' he asked, pleasantly, and with that he entered the room and closed the door behind him.

Markheim stood and gazed at him with all his eyes. Perhaps there was a film upon his sight, but the outlines of the new-comer seemed to change and waver like those of the idols in the wavering candle-light of the shop; and at times he thought he knew him; and at times he thought he bore a likeness to himself; and always, like a lump of living terror, there lay in his bosom the conviction that this thing was not of the earth and not of God.

And yet the creature had the strange air of the commonplace, as he stood looking on Markheim with a smile; and when he added: 'You are looking for the money...' (pp.99-100)

In this much longer passage in the revised version, the visitant is given a number of possible characteristics, so that his role seems unclear. But, as indicated, he appears after Markheim had recalled a 'feature' of his lost 'humanity'; and moreover, given Markheim's memories of Sunday church and the Ten Commandments, the visitant also now enters the drawing-room in a context of Christian morality.

This Christian context notwithstanding, the visitant is a complex figure whose behaviour often seems thoroughly 'unchristian': he urges Markheim to commit further crimes (to murder the returning maid-servant) and at one point Markheim considers him to be 'the devil' (p.100). Indeed, the visitant's function in the story has been the cause of some critical discussion, not only recently but also among Stevenson's contemporaries. This discussion perhaps began when 'Markheim' was first published in Henry Norman's The Broken Shaft, Tales in Mid-Ocean, and it may be useful to

remark upon the appearance and reception of Stevenson's story in this collection.

The Broken Shaft also includes stories by F. Anstey, Walter Herries Pollock, William Archer, Tighe Hopkins, F. Marion Crawford and Henry Norman himself. With Stevenson, these authors are all brought together in an on-going linking narrative. They are (as the narrative has it) sailing in the Bavaria, a ship which becomes stranded 'mid-ocean' because of a 'broken shaft.' The authors each come onto the deck, where they are introduced under a kind of allegorical pseudonym, as the Editor, the Critic, the Eminent Tragedian, and so on: Stevenson is the Romancer. To pass the time while the ship is being repaired, the authors sit down and, one by one, tell their stories. Stevenson (the Romancer) tells the story 'Markheim' in response to somebody's question of whether or not he has ever seen a ghost. His reply (before he begins his story) has an important bearing on the appearance of the strange visitant:

'That is a question,' remarked the Romancer, 'which no man has a right to put to another. It's as bad, and in the same way, as asking a man whether certain things move him to the sins of the imagination. If I have seen ghosts it is because I have deserved to see ghosts, and if I have deserved to see ghosts, why even the law, the unfairest thing on earth, would not ask me to criminate myself by saying so. But I have no objection to tell you about a ghost that somebody saw, if you care to hear.' The company cared very much indeed, as the Romancer learned instantly... 12

These remarks imply that the visitant is himself a 'ghost': more importantly, they suggest that the visitant is a function of Markheim's 'sins of the imagination.' Because of his 'sins,' in other words, Markheim has 'deserved' to see (or to 'imagine') the visitant. Incidentally, Markheim also 'criminate' himself 'by saying so' at the end of the story to the returning maid-servant.

12. Unwin's Annual, 1886: The Broken Shaft, Tales in Mid-Ocean, edited by Henry Norman (London, 1885-86), p.7, my italics.

However, when the Romancer finishes telling 'Markheim,' the responses from his 'company' indicate an uneasiness about the story. The Eminent Tragedian's remarks are especially important to notice, since he provides an interesting context for the events:

There was another long pause at the end of the Romancer's story, and no one seemed inclined to carry the debate between Mr Markheim and his strange visitant beyond the point where the narrator had left it. The Critic, indeed, meditatively slid in an epigram, and whispered to the Editor, 'Poe with a moral sense superadded, by Jove'; but that gentleman only frowned abstractedly. 'It's gruesome,' growled the Tragedian; 'that jovial fellow battering at the gate; why, it reminds one of the knocking in "Macbeth," and answers much the same purpose'; and he seemed to be making mental notes, 'with a view,' as Mr Gladstone would say, 'to future operations.' 13

The Tragedian draws a connection between the 'very jovial gentleman' who taps at the shop door just after Markheim has murdered the dealer, and the knocking at the gate in the well-known Porter scene in Shakespeare's Macbeth, (II. 3. 1-22) just after Macbeth has murdered King Duncan. Stevenson certainly knew and admired this scene, writing excitedly about it to Charles Baxter in November 1873: 'Do you remember the knocking in Macbeth? That is some pumpkins. There is not much knocking about the world that can come up to that. The Porter is a man I have a great respect for.'¹⁴ Like the knocking on the gate in Macbeth, the tapping on the dealer's door provides a kind of momentary relief after the impact of the murder itself: this is, perhaps, its 'purpose.' 'Markheim' and Macbeth compare generally with each other through their study of a character's moral 'deterioration,' where in both cases the 'sins of the imagination' are shown to operate: like Markheim, Macbeth also sees 'ghosts.' But the Eminent Tragedian's remarks may have alluded not so much to the Porter scene in Macbeth itself,

13. ibid., p.39, my italics.

14. Baxter, p.28.

as to an equally well-known and more contemporary account of that scene, Thomas De Quincey's essay 'On the Knocking at the Gate in Macbeth' (1823).

Stevenson certainly knew De Quincey's essay and mentioned it together with the Porter scene in Macbeth in a sketch of his childhood written in the early 1870s, 'Nuits Blanches.' Here Stevenson recalls one of his many sleepless nights as a 'feverish' boy, and the relief he felt at the long-awaited arrival of the night-cart which heralded the morning:

There is now an end of mystery and fear. Like the knocking at the door in Macbeth [Stevenson's footnote: 'See a short essay of De Quincey's.']. . . they show that the horrible caesura is over and the nightmares have fled away, because the day is breaking and the ordinary life of men is beginning to bestir itself among the streets. 15

This recollection in 'Nuits Blanches' is important to notice, since it essentially outlines the sort of 'restorative' process that Stevenson had presented in a number of his 'romantically comic' stories: indeed, a story such as 'The Pavilion on the Links' is structured in exactly these terms, showing that 'the nightmares have fled away' and concluding with the arrival of morning. This 'restorative' process also, to some degree, operates in 'Markheim,' and it is perhaps best explained by first examining De Quincey's short essay.

'On the Knocking at the Gate in Macbeth' looks at the consciousness of a murderer about to commit his crime, and suggests ways in which such an unsavoury character and such a gruesome scene might be presented in literature. Noting that the murderer 'exhibits human nature in its most abject and humiliating attitude,'¹⁶ De Quincey indicates that the 'poet' must (as Shakespeare does in Macbeth) make his subject more comprehensible:

15. Further Memories, xxx, 165.

16. Masson, x, 391.

What...must he do? He must throw the interest on the murderer. Our sympathy must be with him (of course I mean a sympathy of comprehension, a sympathy by which we enter into his feelings, and are made to understand them,--not a sympathy of pity or approbation). 17

De Quincey's poet will, then, concentrate on the inner turmoil of the murderer's mind: he 'will create a hell within him; and into this hell we are to look.'¹⁸ But when the murder has been committed, a kind of relief is signalled: just as the 'feverish' child is brought back to 'the ordinary life of men' in Stevenson's 'Nuits Blanches,' so the murderer's inner 'hell' is transformed and he returns to 'normal.' De Quincey uses the image of the knocking at the gate to express this 'restorative' process:

The murderers and the murder must be insulated--cut off by an immeasurable gulf from the ordinary tide and succession of human affairs--locked up and sequestered in some deep recess; we must be made sensible that the world of ordinary life is suddenly arrested, laid asleep, tranced, racked into a dread armistice; time must be annihilated, relation to things without abolished; and all must pass self-withdrawn into a deep syncope and suspension of earthly passion. Hence it is that, when the deed is done, when the work of darkness is complete, then the world of darkness passes away like a pageantry in the clouds: the knocking at the gate is heard, and it makes known audibly that the reaction has commenced; the human has made its reflux upon the fiendish; the pulses of life are beginning to beat again; and the re-establishment of the goings-on of the world in which we live first makes us profoundly sensible of the awful parenthesis that had suspended them. 19

In 'Markheim,' this same 'restorative' process takes place and, moreover, De Quincey's remarks provide a context for the story's setting. The murder is, for example, 'insulated' within the dark confines of the antique-shop, away from 'the world of ordinary life' outside. The image of passing time has already been remarked upon: as the clocks in the shop

17. ibid., p.391.

18. ibid., p.392.

19. ibid., p.393. my italics.

strike together shortly after the murder, Markheim begins 'to bestir himself' (p.93) and the sense of 'suspension' established at this point is halted. The tapping on the shop door by the 'very jovial gentleman' outside has the same kind of function, breaking the 'suspension' for Markheim: 'Here was a broad hint to hurry what remained to be done...' (p.95). But the kind of 'reaction' described by De Quincey has hardly begun here: remaining inside the shop and contemplating further crimes, Markheim is still 'insulated' from the world outside, and his 'fiendish' nature still persists. Indeed, for De Quincey, the murderer's 'insulation' from 'the ordinary life of men' outside actually allows his 'fiendish' nature to flourish:

...the murderers are taken out of the region of human things, human purposes, human desires. They are transfigured: Lady Macbeth is 'unsexed'; Macbeth has forgot that he was born of woman; both are conformed to the image of devils; and the world of devils is suddenly revealed. 20

Alone in the dealer's shop, Markheim is also 'taken out of the region of human things': indeed, as indicated earlier, he has been divested of every 'feature of humanity.' A massive kind of 'deterioration' has taken place so that, like Macbeth, he is now 'conformed to the image of devils.' A context is now supplied for the sudden appearance of the strange visitant: 'the world of devils is suddenly revealed.'

The visitant, in other words, reflects Markheim's own diabolic or 'fiendish' nature, as a murderer: "'What are you?" cried Markheim: "the devil?"' (p.100). To express this another way, the visitant provides a reflection of Markheim's character as it now is: like the antique hand-mirror earlier in the story, he reveals 'the real man' (which is now

20. ibid., p.393. my italics.

'conformed to the image of devils') within the murderer. It is through this reflection of himself (as he now is) that Markheim is led to recognise the extent of his own 'deterioration':

...the visitant raised his finger. 'For six-and-thirty years that you have been in this world,' said he, 'through many changes of fortune and varieties of humour, I have watched you steadily fall....Downward, downward, lies your way; nor can anything but death avail to stop you.' ...'It is true,' said Markheim; 'and I see clearly what remains for me by way of duty. I thank you for those lessons from my soul; my eyes are opened, and I behold myself at last for what I am.' (pp.104-05, my italics)

It is only after Markheim properly recognises his 'fiendish' nature that the kind of 'reaction' De Quincey had outlined begins. Urged to murder the returning maid-servant by the visitant (or, by his own 'fiendish' nature), Markheim now refuses, and the symbolic 'knocking at the gate' now becomes effective: 'the reaction has commenced: the human has made its reflux upon the fiendish.' This 'reaction' is best expressed through the visitant's concluding transformation: 'The features of the visitor began to undergo a wonderful and lovely change: they brightened and softened with a tender triumph' (p.106). Since he reflects 'the real man' within Markheim as it now is, the visitant's transformation thus aptly indicates that De Quincey's 'reaction' has taken place: Markheim's hitherto absent 'human' nature is at last 'restored' to him. This 'reaction' also signals an end to the murderer's 'insulation' and a return to 'the world of ordinary life' outside: Markheim goes down through the shop, opens the front door and, standing 'upon the threshold' (p.106), confesses his crime to the maid-servant.²¹

21. A link between 'Markheim' and De Quincey's essay has already been noted by Ann Gossman in her article 'On Knocking on the Gate in "Markheim",' Nineteenth-Century Fiction, 17 (June 1962). However, Gossman only notices a few superficial connections, and she mainly tries to reconcile the effect on Markheim of the tapping of the 'very jovial gentleman' on the shop door with the effect on Macbeth of the knocking at the gate in

This 'restorative' ending is hardly sufficient to mark the story as 'romantically comic' and, indeed, Markheim's final transformation (as expressed through the visitant) is not entirely positive: although he confirms his 'hatred of evil' (p.106), nevertheless his 'love of good is damned to barrenness' (p.106). 'Markheim' is, essentially, the study of a morally 'deteriorated' murderer who manages, at least, to 'restore' his sense of 'humanity' by the end of the story. Yet within the context of the story itself, this 'restorative' process is significant. Before he had committed his murder, Markheim had searched for evidence of the antique-dealer's 'humanity': the first draft, especially, suggests that if Markheim had found the dealer to be 'human' the murder might not have taken place at all. Since the dealer had appeared to Markheim to be without 'humanity' (perhaps also reflecting Markheim's own condition at this time), he is able to look at the corpse without 'penitence' (p.97): '...and, lo! it was nothing' (p.93). But with his own 'humanity' 'restored' at the end of the story, Markheim recognises 'the greatness of his crime' (p.96) and accordingly looks upon the dealer with a new importance: as he goes out of the shop to confess, 'Thoughts of the dealer swarmed into his mind...' (p.106).²² This process of 'restoration' also involves, for Markheim, the recognition of 'humanity' in others.

This 'restoration' of a sense of 'humanity' in Markheim may also be

the Porter scene in Shakespeare's play: she wrongly suggests that the disturbance makes Markheim (as it had for Macbeth) 'conscious of his crime,' Gossman, p.74. Ignoring the crucial remarks in De Quincey's essay, Gossman goes on to conclude only that the visitant in Stevenson's story 'assumes the role of supernatural tempter or Bad Angel,' *ibid.*, p.76. Indeed, the recent discussions of the visitant's function in 'Markheim' have all tended to present him as simply 'good' or 'evil,' without noticing his role as Markheim's 'reflection' (with all its implications). See, for example, Richard Aldington, Portrait of a Rebel (London, 1957), p.171; or Edwin Eigner, Robert Louis Stevenson and the Romantic Tradition (Princeton, New Jersey, 1966), p.127.

22. The first draft adds, 'mingled and tender thoughts': see 'Markheim' (early version) MS Eng 269.2, p.14, l.26.

the Christmas message of what is essentially a Christmas story, taking place (like the last chapters of 'The Misadventures of John Nicholson') on Christmas Day. The presentation of this kind of message, where a morally 'deteriorated' character regains his 'human' nature after seeing a 'ghost,' perhaps recalls another Christmas story, Charles Dickens's 'A Christmas Carol' (1843). Stevenson knew and admired Dickens's Christmas stories, writing about them to Frances Sitwell in September 1874:

I wonder if you ever read Dickens' Christmas books? I don't know that I would recommend you to read them, because they are too much perhaps. I have only read two of them yet, and feel so good after them and would do anything, yes and shall do anything, to make it a little better for people. I wish I could lose no time; I want to go out and comfort some one... 23

In 'A Christmas Carol,' the Ghost of Christmas Yet to Come arrives on Christmas eve and, like the visitant in Stevenson's story, has a 'restorative' influence on the miserly Scrooge. In Stevenson's story, the visitant had provided Markheim with a sense of his own moral 'deterioration' by first showing him his past ('Fifteen years ago you would have started at a theft,' p.104) and then predicting his future: '...content yourself with what you are, for you will never change' (p.105). Similarly in 'A Christmas Carol,' after Scrooge has glimpsed his past and present, the Ghost of Christmas Yet to Come reveals a possible bleak future based on Scrooge's character as it now is, assuming that it too will 'never change.' But like Markheim, Scrooge is prompted to react against this image of his own 'deterioration': as he exclaims, 'I will not be the man I must have been but for this intercourse. Why show me this, if I am past all hope!' ²⁴ Having produced a gleam of 'humanity' in

23. Letters, i, 180. Interestingly, 'Markheim' was published in America (shortly after it had appeared in The Broken Shaft) in The Argonaut, 13 February 1886, under the Dickensian title of 'The Curiosity Shop': see McKay, ii, 491 (Beinecke 1040).

24. Christmas Books (1852; rpt. London, 1924), p.66.

Scrooge, the Ghost's outstretched 'inexorable finger',²⁵ now begins 'to shake',²⁶ and he undergoes a kind of transformation that reflects the change in Scrooge and perhaps recalls the transformation of the visitant in Stevenson's story: 'The kind hand trembled....he saw an alteration in the Phantom's hood and dress.'²⁷ Like Markheim, Scrooge has his 'humanity' 'restored' to him and accordingly determines to lead 'an altered life.'²⁸ At this point in both stories, the 'sins of the imagination' disappear: after this closing 'restorative' process, they are no longer needed.

25. ibid., p.65.

26. ibid., p.66.

27. ibid., p.67.

28. ibid., p.67.

CHAPTER FOUR

V. 'OLALLA'

'Olalla' was probably begun in late 1885, at about the time 'Markheim' was being revised. It replaced 'The Misadventures of John Nicholson' as the story requested by Charles Gray Robertson for the Christmas number of his Court and Society Review: as Stevenson had written to him on 4 November, 'John has broken down, and its place has been taken by one "Olalla".'¹ Probably, 'Olalla' was completed in early December:² it was first published in Court and Society Review, 17 December 1885. It was republished in The Merry Men and Other Tales without change.

'Olalla' is set in Spain, one of the few countries Stevenson had never visited; yet, as several commentators have observed, the story seems in many ways to be remarkably 'Spanish.' Frances Watt has noted, for example, that although in 'Olalla' Stevenson 'touched on what he never saw....the account of the Residencia, of the groves of cork trees, the hill and the woods around, and the parting at the crucifix seems... admirably Spanish.'³ Clayton Hamilton has also suggested that

...what may be termed the psychological atmosphere of Olalla is absolutely Spanish....The slow decay of the entire Spanish nation seems symbolised by the tragic disintegration of Olalla's family; and the sedentary, smiling, and weak-witted mother is characteristic of fully half the women that one sees in Spain today. ⁴

In his 'Notes on Stevenson's "Olalla",' Ramon Jaén has similarly remarked,

1. McKay, iii, 1015 (Beinecke 3229).

2. Fanny Stevenson wrote to Robertson on 11 December thanking him for the payment for 'Olalla,' ibid., 1137 (Beinecke 3727).

3. Watt, p.153.

4. On the Trail of Stevenson (London, 1917), pp.109-10.

...it is extraordinary that Stevenson, without having visited the country, should have divided and discussed actual phrases of Spanish sentiments, the mental habits and emotions of Spaniards, and reproduced the landscape as accurately as if he had contemplated it in person. 5

Of course, many other stories by Stevenson, such as 'When the Devil was Well' or Treasure Island or Prince Otto, are also set in places he had never actually 'visited': they show, instead, how Stevenson 'adapted' his settings from (among other things) various literary and historical sources. The 'unvisited' setting of 'Olalla' has similarly been drawn from at least two major accounts of Spain and Spanish life (allowing Stevenson to 'reproduce' it 'accurately'). The first is George Borrow's The Bible in Spain, or Journeys Adventures and Imprisonments of an Englishman in an Attempt to Circulate the Scriptures in the Peninsula (1842).

Stevenson was particularly fond of The Bible in Spain, referring to it in his essay 'A Gossip on a Novel of Dumas,' written in mid-1887, as one of his 'dear acquaintances' he often liked to 'revisit.'⁶ He also listed it as one of the books he would most like to keep, in his essay 'The Ideal House,' written in 1884,⁷ and he took his own copy of The Bible in Spain with him when he went through the Cévannes with his donkey Modestine in Autumn 1878.⁸ Borrow had gone into a predominantly Catholic Spain in the mid-1830s to spread the Protestant faith, but as well as giving an account of his successes and failures he also documented in detail his 'adventures' in rural Spain and gave picturesque descriptions

5. The University of California Chronicle, 25 (July 1923), p.376.

6. Memories and Portraits, xxix, 110.

7. Virginibus Puerisque and Other Essays in Belles Lettres, xxv, 195.

8. Stevenson's copy of The Bible in Spain (London, 1869) is now held at Lady Stair's House Museum in Edinburgh.

of rural Spanish people. Attempting to 'introduce the gospel of Christ into a country where it is not known,'⁹ Borrow presents a view of Spanish Catholicism that perhaps recalls the Covenanting view of 'curats' noted earlier:

I said repeatedly that the Pope, whom they revered, was an arch deceiver, and the head minister of Satan here on earth, and that the monks and friars...were his subordinate agents. 10

Borrow's anti-Catholicism, expressed in these terms, may provide a context for Stevenson's story, with its padre and its 'decaying' aristocratic Spanish family.

Stevenson describes the narrator of 'Olalla' as 'a wounded officer, wounded in the good cause.'¹¹ Borrow had been in Spain during the first Carlist War (1833-40), and it seems likely that Stevenson's story also takes place at this time. In July 1835 Lord Palmerston had sent 10,000 mercenaries over to Spain, under the collective title 'The British Legion,' to fight in support of the Queen Regent Cristina against the Pretender Don Carlos: possibly, Stevenson's narrator was a part of this particular 'good cause.' Edgar Holt has explained that Carlism had 'represented an agrarian, clerical, separatist and feudal movement,'¹² while the Cristinos (the followers of the Regent Cristina) were basically 'anti-clerical.'¹³ Fighting with The British Legion, Stevenson's narrator may also reflect this 'anti-clerical' position: this is perhaps consistent

9. The Works of George Borrow, Volume i, The Bible in Spain, edited by Clement Shorter (1842; rpt. New York, 1967), p.85.

10. ibid., p.39.

11. The Merry Men and Other Tales, viii, 123. Further references are given after quotations in the text.

12. The Carlist Wars in Spain (Chester Springs, Pennsylvania, 1967), p.45.

13. ibid., p.45.

with the padre's later remark to him, 'I had forgotten, my child, that you were not a Christian' (p.163), and with the narrator's reluctant admiration of the 'ghastly, daubed' (p.166) crucifix at the end of the story. This 'anti-clerical' position perhaps also underlines the anti-Catholic context described above: the narrator, staying at the isolated residencia, is juxtaposed with a Spanish family who represent by contrast Borrow's 'Satanic' Catholicism as well as the Carlists' 'agrarian, clerical, separatist and feudal' values.¹⁴

Stevenson may have actually 'adapted' some of Borrow's descriptions of places and characters for his story. At one point in The Bible in Spain, Borrow presents a villager's account of a nearby Castilian mountain range:

...opposite to Madrid they are termed the Mountains of Guadarrama, from a river of that name which descends from them....Caballero, there is not another such range in Spain; they have their secrets, too--their mysteries. Strange tales are told of those hills, and of what they contain in their deep recesses....Many have lost themselves on those hills, and have never again been heard of. Strange things are told of them: it is said that in certain places there are deep pools and lakes, in which dwell monsters... 15

In 'Olalla,' the narrator's journey up to the residencia in the mountains perhaps recalls the villager's account of 'monsters' in the pools and lakes:

The voice of that wild river was inconstant, now sinking lower as if in weariness, now doubling its hoarse tones... and I observed it was at each of these accessions to the clamour, that my driver more particularly winced and blanched. Some thoughts of Scottish superstition and the river-kelpie passed across my mind; I wondered if perchance the like were prevalent in that part of Spain... (p.127)

14. For further remarks on The British Legion, see Holt, pp.83-93, 155-67. For an account more contemporary with Stevenson, see Major Francis Duncan, The English in Spain; or, A Story of the War of Succession (London, 1877).

15. Borrow, ii, 164-65.

Later in the story, a 'gaunt peasant' (p.164) gives the narrator an account of the residencia in the mountains that perhaps recalls the villager's description of the Mountains of Guadarrama in The Bible in Spain. His remarks, 'vamped up...by village ignorance and superstition' (p.165), tell of how a muleteer once ventured up to the residencia and was 'never again...heard of': '...it was there that one of my comrades sold himself to Satan; the Virgin shield us from temptations!...But these are things that it is sin to speak of' (pp.164-65). The villager's view of the residencia might also be put into the context of Borrow's 'Satanic' view of Spanish Catholicism: this will be further remarked upon below. Incidentally, Ramon Jaén has also suggested that 'Olalla' is set in the mountain range described by Borrow's villager:

The landscape is purely Castilian; and of the Castiles, the Sierra of the Guadarramas is best described....the nameless city mentioned at the outset of the narrative can be no other than Madrid. 16

Stevenson might also have drawn on various descriptions of rural Spanish people in The Bible in Spain for his story: as Borrow himself had remarked, 'Spain is the land of extraordinary characters.'¹⁷ Early in The Bible in Spain, Borrow is surprised by the behaviour of his guide, a boatman who takes him across the Tagus on the first stage of his trip into Portugal and Spain. Suddenly, the guide begins

to gabble in the most incoherent manner. He had the most harsh and rapid articulation that has ever come under my observation in any human being; it was the scream of the hyena blended with the bark of the terrier, though it was by no means an index of his disposition, which I soon found to be light, merry, and anything but malevolent. 18

16. Jaén, pp.381-82.

17. Borrow, ii, 148.

18. ibid., i, 19.

In Stevenson's story, the narrator is similarly surprised by the behaviour of his guide Felipe, as they go up to the residencia:

What began to strike me was his familiar, chattering talk ...the sprightly incoherence of the matter, so very difficult to follow clearly without an effort of the mind ...he began to sing aloud in a falsetto voice, and with a singular bluntness of musical perception, never true either to melody or key, but wandering at will, and yet somehow with an effect that was natural and pleasing, like that of the song of birds. As the dusk increased, I fell more and more under the spell of this artless warbling, listening and waiting for some articulate air, and still disappointed... (pp.126, 128)

In his In the South Seas Stevenson had remarked that Felipe was 'intended to be partly bestial,'¹⁹ and here again he may have 'adapted' some of these 'bestial' characteristics from people described by Borrow: for example, the 'wild and savage' goatherd who carries a 'lontra, or otter' with him and has a wolf-cub on a leash.²⁰ Borrow's description of the Maratogas, a strange race of 'Moorish Goths' from the barren Telleno mountains, may have influenced Stevenson's presentation of Olalla's beautiful but 'blankly stupid' (p.135) mother. Entirely isolated from the Spanish, the Maratogas are

strong, athletic men, but loutish and heavy, and their features, though for the most part well formed, are vacant and devoid of expression....it is very difficult to arouse their anger; but they are dangerous and desperate when once incensed....sluggish and stupid though [they] may be on other occasions. 21

Stevenson similarly describes the face of Olalla's mother as 'devoid of either good or bad--a moral blank expressing literally naught' (p.136). Like the 'well formed' Maratogas, she is 'unimpaired in shapeliness and

19. In the South Seas, xx, 310.

20. Borrow, i, 31-32.

21. ibid., pp.341-42.

strength' (p.137); but she is also capable of 'dangerous and desperate' violence, as the narrator discovers when she bites into his hand 'with bestial cries' (p.155).

Borrow's general view of Spain may have been especially important for Stevenson and 'Olalla.' Indeed, the following passage from The Bible in Spain, presenting a summary of that view, expresses perhaps the central theme of Stevenson's story:

Those who aspire to the romantic, the poetical, the sentimental, the artistical, the antiquarian, the classical, in short, to any of the sublime and beautiful lines, will find both in the past and present state of Spain subjects enough, in wandering with lead-pencil and note-book through this singular country, which hovers between Europe and Africa, between civilisation and barbarism....Here we fly from the dull uniformity, the polished monotony, of Europe, to the racy freshness of an original, unchanged country, where antiquity treads on the heels of to-day, where Paganism disputes the very alter with Christianity. 22

This passage provides a wider context for the British narrator's journey up to Olalla's isolated Spanish residencia: he moves from 'civilisation' into a place where 'Paganism' and 'barbarism' seem to flourish, a place where 'antiquity treads on the heels of to-day.' But the 'dispute' described by Borrow is presented most clearly through the figure of Olalla herself, torn between an inherited loyalty to her 'Pagan' and 'bestial' family and a morally upright attraction to the 'civilised' world outside to which the narrator finally returns.

This kind of 'dispute' also characterises the second account of Spain and Spanish life that seems to have influenced Stevenson's story, Washington Irving's The Alhambra (1832). There is no direct evidence that Stevenson knew The Alhambra, but he seems to have been familiar with the works of Irving. He mentions Irving's Life of George Washington (1855) in

22. ibid., ii, 435, my italics.

a letter to Sidney Colvin on 25 November 1890;²³ and in his short essay 'My First Book: Treasure Island,' he remarks on his 'debt' to Irving's Tales of a Traveller (1824):

It is my debt to Washington Irving that exercises my conscience, and justly so, for I believe plagiarism was rarely carried farther. I chanced to pick up the Tales of a Traveller some years ago, with a view to an anthology of prose narrative, and the book flew up and struck me; Billy Bones, his chest, the company in the parlour, the whole inner spirit and a good deal of the material detail of my first chapters--all were there, all were the property of Washington Irving. 24

Like George Borrow in The Bible in Spain, Irving had based The Alhambra on his own travels through Spain, with David Wilkie in Spring and Summer 1829. However, Irving's book is less an account of those travels than a collection of tales and superstitions loosely centred around the Alhambra itself, where Irving had stayed. Most of these tales recreate the old 'Pagan' world of the Moors, who had once peopled the Alhambra in the 'ancient kingdom of Granada':

...the Moslem empire in Spain was but a brilliant exotic, that took no permanent root in the soil it embellished. Severed from all their neighbours in the West, by impassable barriers of faith and manners, and separated by seas and deserts from their kindred of the East, they were an isolated people....Never was the annihilation of a people more complete than that of the Moresco-Spaniards....They have not even left a distinct name behind them, though for nearly eight centuries they were a distinct people....A few broken monuments are all that remain to bear witness to their power and dominion....Such is the Alhambra. A Moslem pile, in the midst of a Christian land...an elegant memento of a brave, intelligent, and graceful people, who conquered, ruled, and passed away. 25

Stevenson's description of Olalla's ancestors may have been 'adapted' from this account of the Moors: as Olalla tells the narrator,

23. Letters, iv, 30.

24. Treasure Island, ii, xxvii.

25. The Alhambra (1832; rpt. London, 1850), pp.29-30.

My fathers, eight hundred years ago, ruled all this province: they were wise, great, cunning, and cruel; they were a picked race of the Spanish; their flags led in war....Presently a change began....but you have seen for yourself how the wheel has gone backward with my doomed race. (pp.159-60)

In many of Irving's tales, the ancient Moors actually reappear to certain characters, as ghostly and diabolic figures: the stories carry 'the mind back to the chivalric days of Christian and Moslem warfare, and to the romantic struggle for the conquest of Granada.'²⁶ This 'struggle' (or, this 'dispute' between 'Paganism' and 'Christianity') is the theme of the 'Legend of the Three Beautiful Princesses.' Here, three daughters of a 'Pagan' Moorish king each take a Christian lover. The lovers arrange to steal the daughters away from their Moorish stronghold in secret, but although the youngest daughter Zorahayda is deeply in love, she is unable to overcome her inherited sense of loyalty to her family and race:

The two eldest princesses followed...with beating hearts; but when it came to the turn of the youngest princess, Zorahayda, she hesitated, and trembled....She cast a wistful look back into the silken chamber; she had lived in it, to be sure, like a bird in a cage; but within it she was secure: who could tell what dangers might beset her, should she flutter forth into the wide world! Now she bethought her of her gallant Christian lover, and her little foot was instantly upon the ladder; and anon she thought of her father, and shrank back. 27

The princess's decision to remain with the Moors perhaps compares with Olalla's decision to remain at the residencia with her 'doomed race' in Stevenson's story, so that the narrator (like Zorahayda's 'Christian lover') returns to the 'civilised' outside world without her.

For Irving, Spain inspired recollections of the Arabian Nights stories: writing to his fellow-traveller David Wilkie in his dedication

26. ibid., p.4.

27. ibid., p.106.

at the beginning of The Alhambra, Irving remembered that they were

more than once struck with scenes and incidents in the streets, which reminded us of passages in the 'Arabian Nights.' You then urged me to write something that should illustrate those peculiarities, 'something in the Haroun Alrasched style,' that should have a dash of that Arabian spice which pervades everything in Spain. I call this to your mind to show you that you are, in some degree, responsible for the present work, in which I have given a few 'Arabesque' sketches from the life, and tales founded on popular traditions... 28

The 'Arabesque' characteristics of Irving's tales may have particularly attracted Stevenson. Irving, in a later essay 'Recollections of the Alhambra' included in Wolfert's Roost and Other Tales (1855), also described his experiences at the Alhambra as 'Arabesque' and presented a view of this place in Spain that compares with Borrow's remarks above as well as Stevenson's story:

It was a dreamy sojourn, during which I lived, as it were, in the midst of an Arabian tale, and shut my eyes as much as possible to everything that should call me back to everyday life. If there is any country in Europe where one can do so it is among these magnificent but semi-barbaric ruins of poor, wild, legendary, romantic Spain. In the silent and deserted halls of the Alhambra, surrounded with the insignia of regal sway, and the vivid, though dilapidated traces of Oriental luxury, I was in the stronghold of Moorish story, where everything spoke of the palmy days of Granada when under the dominion of the crescent. 29

Irving's 'dreamy sojourn' at the Alhambra perhaps recalls the narrator's stay at the residencia in 'Olalla,' 'like one in a dream' (p.154): he is similarly severed from 'everyday life.' It is likely, moreover, that Stevenson incorporated a part of Irving's 'sojourn' at the Alhambra into his story. When he first arrives at the Alhambra, Irving is shown to a room in an isolated wing that has strong Moorish connections. Spending

28. ibid., n.p.

29. Wolfert's Roost and Other Tales (London, 1855), p.267.

his first night in this 'solitary, remote, and forlorn apartment,'³⁰ well away from the other inhabitants, he falls under the influence of the room's strange history:

A vague and indescribable awe was creeping over me....the long-buried impressions of the nursery were reviving, and asserting their power over my imagination. Everything began to be affected by the working of my mind. The whispering of the wind among the citron-trees, beneath my window, had something sinister....I was glad to close the window, but my chamber itself became infected....Rousing myself...I resolved to brave it, and, taking lamp in hand, sallied forth to make a tour of the ancient palace....The vaulted corridors were as caverns; the vaults of the halls were lost in gloom; what unseen foe might not be lurking before or behind me!...In this excited state, as I was traversing the great Hall of Ambassadors there were added real sounds to these conjectural fancies. Low moans, and indistinct ejaculations seemed to rise as it were beneath my feet; I paused and listened. They then appeared to resound from without the tower. Sometimes they resembled the howlings of an animal, at others they were stifled shrieks, mingled with articulate ravings. The thrilling effect of these sounds in that still hour and singular place, destroyed all inclination to continue my lonely perambulation. I returned to my chamber with more alacrity than I had sallied forth, and drew my breath more freely when once more within its walls and the door bolted behind me. When I awoke in the morning, with the sun shining in at my window and lighting up every part of the building with his cheerful and truth-telling beams, I could scarcely recall the shadows and fancies conjured up by the gloom of the preceding night; or believe that the scenes around me, so naked and apparent, could have been clothed with such imaginary horrors.

Still, the dismal howlings and ejaculations I had heard, were not ideal; but they were soon accounted for by my hand-maid Dolores; being the ravings of a poor maniac, a brother of her aunt, who was subject to violent paroxysms... 31

Stevenson may have been attracted to this passage because of its representation of the 'fevered' imagination operating at night, and the final arrival of morning which puts an end to those 'imaginary horrors': it outlines the kind of 'restorative' process Stevenson himself had used

30. The Alhambra, p.38.

31. ibid., pp.39-40, my italics.

in, for example, 'The Pavilion on the Links' and 'Markheim.' Stevenson also seems to have drawn on this passage for the scene in 'Olalla' where, arriving at the residencia and spending a stormy night alone in his 'great and somewhat bare apartment' (p.128), the narrator overhears similar 'articulate ravings' coming from elsewhere in the building:

I went to bed early, wearied with day-long restlessness: but the poisonous nature of the wind, and its ungodly and unintermittent uproar, would not suffer me to sleep. I lay there and tossed, my nerves and senses on the stretch. At times I would doze, dream horribly, and wake again; and these snatches of oblivion confused me as to time. But it must have been late on in the night, when I was suddenly startled by an outbreak of pitiable and hateful cries. I leaped from my bed, supposing I had dreamed; but the cries still continued to fill the house, cries of pain, I thought, but certainly of rage also, and so savage and discordant that they shocked the heart. It was no illusion; some living thing, some lunatic or some wild animal, was being foully tortured. The thought of Felipe and the squirrel flashed into my mind, and I ran to the door, but it had been locked from the outside; and I might shake it as I pleased, I was a fast prisoner. Still the cries continued. Now they would dwindle down into a moaning that seemed to be articulate, and at these times I made sure they must be human; and again they would break forth and fill the house with ravings worthy of hell. I stood at the door and gave ear to them, till at last they died away. Long after that, I still lingered and still continued to hear them mingle in fancy with the storming of the wind; and when at last I crept to my bed, it was with a deadly sickness and a blackness of horror on my heart....The next day came, the wind had blown itself out, and there was nothing to remind me of the business of the night. (pp.140-41, my italics)

Stevenson describes the 'articulate ravings' in the residencia in the same terms used by Irving, although they are not explained away quite so simply: they are linked, instead, with the 'barbarism' of Olalla's family and provide the narrator with an early glimpse of that family's moral 'deterioration.' Of course, Stevenson retains and elaborates on the structure of Irving's account above: the 'articulate ravings' now 'mingle in fancy' in the narrator's feverish dreams with the storm outside, and he experiences a 'deadly sickness' that is 'cured' only with the arrival of the morning. To recall Stevenson's remarks on this kind of 'restorative'

process in his essay 'Nuits Blanches,' 'the horrible caesura is over and the nightmares have fled away...'

Irving's 'Arabesque' tales in The Alhambra present Borrow's 'dispute' by showing how a 'Pagan' past still influences an essentially 'Christian' and 'civilised' present: indeed, this 'Pagan' past is often literally resurrected in the present, as (to recall Stevenson's description in 'Thrawn Janet') a kind of 'leevin' experience.' This theme is central to 'Olalla' and is expressed through Olalla's family in terms of a notion of inheritance: the characteristics of their ancestors (after the 'change' had 'began') are reflected through the features and behaviour of Olalla, her mother, and Felipe. As Olalla tells the narrator,

The hands of the dead are in my bosom; they move me, they pluck me, they guide me; I am a puppet at their command; and I but re-inform features and attributes that have long been laid aside from evil in the quiet of the grave....The race exists; it is old, it is ever young, it carries its eternal destiny in its bosom; upon it, like waves upon the sea, individual succeeds to individual, mocked with a semblance of self-control... (p.159)

Stevenson had remarked on this notion of inheritance in his essay 'A Chapter on Dreams,' written in October 1887. Here, he recalled that he had dreamed parts of 'Olalla' as well as parts of The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde. In the case of 'Olalla,' his dream seems to have provided him with, among other things, the story's central theme:

Here the court, the mother, the mother's niche, Olalla, Olalla's chamber, the meetings on the stair, the broken window, the ugly scene of the bite, were all given me in bulk and detail as I have tried to write them; to this I added only the external scenery (for in my dream I was never beyond the court), the portrait, the characters of Felipe and the priest, the moral, such as it is, and the last pages, such as, alas! they are. And I may even say that in this case the moral itself was given me; for it arose immediately on a comparison of the mother and the daughter, and from the hideous trick of atavism in the first. 32

In 'Olalla,' this 'hideous trick of atavism' is first made apparent to the narrator when, in his apartment at the residencia, he sees the 'portrait' ('added' by Stevenson himself), an ancient painting of a woman. At this stage in the story he has not met Olalla, but the woman's features remind him of Felipe:

...I was struck by a picture on the wall. It represented a woman, still young. To judge by her costume and the mellow unity which reigned over the canvas, she had long been dead; to judge by the vivacity of the attitude, the eyes and the features, I might have been beholding in a mirror the image of life. Her figure was very slim and strong, and of a just proportion; red tresses lay like a crown over her brow; her eyes, of a very golden brown, held mine with a look; and her face, which was perfectly shaped, was yet marred by a cruel, sullen, and sensual expression. Something in both face and figure, something exquisitely intangible, like the echo of an echo, suggested the features and bearing of my guide; and I stood a while, unpleasantly attracted and wondering at the oddity of the resemblance. (p.130)

This 'resemblance' is later explained by Olalla:

'Have you,' she said, 'seen the portraits in the house of my fathers? Have you looked at my mother or at Felipe? Have your eyes ever rested on that picture that hangs by your bed? She who sat for it died ages ago; and she did evil in her life. But look again: there is my hand to the least line, there are my eyes and my hair. (p.158)

This expression of the 'hideous trick of atavism' through Olalla's 'resemblance' to an old portrait of a beautiful but 'evil' woman may have been 'adapted' from a third source for Stevenson's story, a tale of vampires by Sheridan Le Fanu titled 'Carmilla' and included in the collection In a Glass Darkly (1872).

According to W.E. Henley, Stevenson knew Le Fanu's In a Glass Darkly well, basing his play 'The Hanging Judge' on another of the stories in this collection, 'Mr Justice Harbottle': as Henley wrote to Sidney Colvin on 10 November 1895, 'The Hanging Judge idea was suggested by a story in Sheridan Lefanu's Through (sic) a Glass Darkly; a book for which R.L.S. had

a profound respect.'³³ Le Fanu's 'Carmilla' is set in Styria and is narrated by a young woman who lives with her father near an old ruined castle. One day, the father meets two strangers, a mother and her daughter, who are in distress and appeal for his help. He assists them by letting the daughter Carmilla lodge at his house, while the mother goes off to attend to her affairs. The female narrator and Carmilla become closely attached to each other: indeed, Carmilla treats her somewhat erotically with 'the ardour of a lover.'³⁴ Yet at the same time, the narrator's health begins to 'deteriorate': she has 'horrible' dreams and experiences 'a very strange agony.'³⁵ In the surrounding countryside, her father is also disturbed to hear rumours of plagues and 'hauntings.' In Chapter V of the story, 'A Wonderful Likeness,' a portrait restorer arrives and uncovers a picture of a woman who had once ruled in the nearby castle. The portrait is over a century old, but the narrator notices an unusual resemblance to the new lodger: 'It was quite beautiful; it was startling; it seemed to live. It was the effigy of Carmilla!'³⁶ The narrator, in love with Carmilla by this time, begs her father to let her keep the portrait in her bedroom. Soon afterwards, Carmilla establishes the 'atavistic' link between the woman in the portrait and herself:

The name is Mircalla, Countess Karnstein....I am descended from the Karnsteins; that is, mama was....The family were ruined, I believe, in some civil wars, long ago, but the ruins of the castle are only about three miles away. 37

33. Cited in E.V. Lucas, The Colvins and Their Friends (London, 1928), p.247.

34. In a Glass Darkly (1872; rpt. London, 1886), p.391.

35. ibid., p.415.

36. ibid., p.402.

37. ibid., p.403.

This scene in Le Fanu's story, expressing 'the oddity of the resemblance' between the woman in the ancient portrait and Carmilla, clearly seems to have been incorporated into 'Olalla.'

Later in 'Carmilla,' the narrator and her father accompany a General to the castle ruins and listen with surprise as he tells them about his own daughter, who had sickened and died under the strange influence of a girl, Mircalla, who had come to lodge with them: as the narrator remarks, 'You may suppose...how I felt as I heard him detail habits and mysterious peculiarities which were, in fact, those of our beautiful guest, Carmilla!'³⁸ Having realised that Carmilla and Mircalla are (as their anagrammed names would suggest) one and the same person, the narrator is told that Carmilla's 'race,' the Karnsteins, are vampires who had once inhabited the castle: 'It was a bad family, and here its blood-stained annals were written....It is hard that they should, after death, continue to plague the human race with their atrocious lusts.'³⁹ A nearby villager adds further details about the Karnsteins: as the General remarks, 'These rustics preserve the local traditions of great families, whose stories die out among the rich and titled so soon as the families themselves become extinct.'⁴⁰ The General and the narrator's father then make plans to 'execute' Carmilla, the last 'descendant' of this vampirish race.

Le Fanu's account of the 'ruined' Karnsteins certainly compares with Stevenson's presentation of Olalla's 'doomed race' (p.160); and indeed, Stevenson also suggests that Olalla's family (which resurrects the 'hideous trick of atavism' through each 'descendant') exhibits vampirish 'features.'

38. ibid., p.450.

39. ibid., p.451.

40. ibid., p.451.

The 'bestial' behaviour of the mother best illustrates this, when the narrator holds his hand up to her, 'oozing and dripping' (p.155) with blood:

...she drew in her breath with a widening of the nostrils and seemed to come suddenly and fully alive....Her great eyes opened wide, the pupils shrank into points; a veil seemed to fall from her face....she came swiftly up to me, and stooped and caught me by the hand; and the next moment my hand was at her mouth, and she had bitten me to the bone....she sprang at me again and again, with bestial cries, cries that I recognised, such cries as had awakened me on the night of the high wind. (p.155)

The superstitions of the 'gaunt peasant' (p.164) also suggest that Olalla's family are vampires, and his remarks recall the villager's 'rustic' account of the Karnsteins in Le Fanu's story:

'There are neither men nor women in that house of Satan's! What? have you lived here so long, and never heard?' And here he put his mouth to my ear and whispered, as if even the fowls of the mountain might have overheard and been stricken with horror.

What he told me was not true, nor was it even original; being, indeed, but a new edition, vamped up again by village ignorance and superstition, of stories nearly as ancient as the race of man. It was rather the application that appalled me. In the old days, he said, the Church would have burned out that nest of basilisks; but the arm of the Church was now shortened....The Padre was...even bewitched himself; but...some day--ay, and before long--the smoke of that house should go up to heaven. (pp.165-66)

The peasant's remarks in 'Olalla' might recall Borrow's view of the 'Satanic' Spanish Catholics (so that the padre himself is 'bewitched'): indeed, this story manifests the kind of anti-Catholic 'superstitions' that Stevenson had also presented in 'Thrawn Janet' and his other 'Covenanting stories.' But these 'superstitions' are hardly central to 'Olalla': they seem only to exaggerate the 'barbarism' of Olalla's family and underline the theme of 'atavism' and of the family's moral 'deterioration.' These themes are, rather, placed within a more significant context that is best expressed by Olalla herself. At the end of the story, she meets the narrator for the last time by the 'ghastly, daubed' (p.166) crucifix on a

hill above the residencia. Here, looking up at Christ on the Cross, she summarises (as Stevenson had put it) 'the moral, such as it is,' placing her family's 'atavism' and 'deteriorated' condition within the context of the Fall of Man: 'We are all such as He was--the inheritors of sin; we must all bear and expiate a past which was not ours' (p.167, my italics).

The placing of her family, with all its 'barbarism,' within this essentially 'Christian' context illustrates the 'dispute' George Borrow had described above. Indeed, Olalla's 'bestial' family actually serve as a kind of emblem of the Fall, signifying its consequences through their own perpetual 'deterioration': as Olalla tells the narrator,

...those who learn much do but skim the face of knowledge;
they seize the laws, they conceive the dignity of the design
--the horror of the living fact fades from their memory.
It is we who sit at home with evil who remember, I think,
and are warned and pity. (pp.157-58, my italics)

Olalla herself perhaps best represents Borrow's 'dispute' since, although she reflects her family's 'barbarism,' she also aspires to the 'Christian' world beyond the residencia: she merges these two apparent 'opposites,' so that the narrator considers her to be 'a thing brutal and divine' (p.154, my italics). As a consequence, her attitude towards her 'bestial' family is ambiguous: she is both attached to and repelled by them; she decides to remain with them, and yet she also resolves to make them 'cease from off the earth' (p.160). Her decision in a sense both confirms and rejects 'the horror of the living fact': returning to the residencia at the end of story, she both assents to and rebels against her family's prescribed 'deterioration' and, indeed, against the implications of the Fall itself where (to quote in anticipation from The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde) the 'movement was thus wholly toward the worse.'⁴¹

41. The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde, v, 62.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE STRANGE CASE OF DR JEKYLL AND MR HYDE

At some time in Autumn 1885, Fanny Stevenson wrote to Sidney Colvin, 'Louis is...possessed by a story that he will try to work out.'¹ This story was The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde (to be abbreviated as Jekyll): it was probably written in September and October of this year. Initially, it was offered to Longman's Magazine for serialisation: Prince Otto had been serialised here at this time, from April to October. However, as Roger G. Swearingen has noted, 'Longmans suggested separate publication instead, and on 3 November 1885 Stevenson executed a contract with them.'² Jekyll was printed before Christmas, but as Charles Longman himself had remarked, '...when it was ready the bookstalls were already full of Christmas numbers etc., and the trade would not look at it. We therefore withdrew it until after Christmas.'³ The book was finally released by Longmans, Green and Co. on 9 January 1886.⁴

On 1 March 1886, Stevenson wrote to F.W.H. Myers on the speed with which his book was written and published: 'Jekyll was conceived, written, re-written, re-re-written, and printed inside ten weeks.'⁵ It has been popularly established that Stevenson quickly wrote his first draft of the story which he then destroyed after criticisms made by Fanny. Her

1. McKay, iii, 1116 (Beinecke 3648).

2. Swearingen, p.98. G.L. McKay summarises a second letter from Fanny to Colvin later in Autumn of this year: 'She refers to Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde, the manuscript of which has just been sent to Longman's, as a very good weird thing,' McKay, iii, 1116 (Beinecke 3649).

3. Cited in Balfour, ii, 14.

4. Swearingen, p.98.

5. Letters, iii, 83.

'Prefatory Note' to Jekyll presents the best-known summary of events, suggesting that the re-writing process was accomplished just as speedily:

In three days the first draft, containing thirty thousand words, was finished, only to be entirely destroyed and immediately re-written from another point of view,--that of the allegory, which was palpable and had yet been missed, probably from haste....In another three days the book, except for a few minor corrections, was ready for the press. The amount of work this involved was appalling. That an invalid in my husband's condition of health should have been able to perform the manual labour alone, of putting sixty thousand words on paper in six days, seems almost incredible. 6

Graham Balfour has elaborated on Fanny's role in persuading Stevenson to re-write his first draft:

...Mrs Stevenson...wrote her detailed criticism of the story as it then stood, pointing out her chief objection--that it was really an allegory, whereas he had treated it purely as if it were a story. In the first draft Jekyll's nature was bad all through, and the Hyde change was worked only for the sake of a disguise. She gave the paper to her husband and left the room. After a while his bell rang; on her return she found him sitting up in bed (the clinical thermometer in his mouth), pointing with a long denunciatory finger to a pile of ashes. He had burned the entire draft. 7

Balfour agrees that the story was 'written again in three days,'⁸ but he goes on to quote from remarks made by Lloyd Osbourne which admit that the modifications to Jekyll (Fanny's 'few minor corrections') took much longer:

Of course it must not be supposed that these three days represent all the time that Stevenson spent upon the story, for after this he was working hard for a month or six weeks in bringing it into its present form. 9

Naturally no trace of the first draft of Jekyll exists, but sections from

6. The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde, v, xvii-iii.

7. Balfour, ii, 13.

8. ibid., p.13.

9. ibid., p.14.

the unmodified re-written version (the 'intermediate' draft) are available: this is presumably the version 'written again in three days' after the first draft had been burnt. Also, there is a complete manuscript of the final modified version, with corrections and deletions. Of course, Stevenson had accounted for these intermediate and final versions in his remark to F.W.H. Myers that Jekyll was 'written, re-written, re-re-written.'

The manuscript of the final modified version of the story is now held in the Pierpont Morgan Library, Silverado Museum, at St Helena in California: as Roger G. Swearingen has noted, it is 'complete except for pages missing in the middle.'¹⁰ This final version is described by Eugene Limedorfer in his article 'The Manuscript of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde' as consisting of 'sixty-two large foolscap pages, closely written, and containing a map of corrections, excised paragraphs and general remarks...'¹¹ Limedorfer reproduces facsimiles of three pages from this final version (an unnumbered page, and pp.45 and 61), and he presents typescript accounts of a number of phrases, passages and comments which were omitted from the final published version of the story (although, as Swearingen has noted, Limedorfer presents these omissions with 'some inaccuracies').¹² Photostats of four pages from this manuscript of the final version (pp.39, 43, 47 and 52) are also held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Beinecke 6935): p.39, written on the verso of p.43, contains an 'excised paragraph' that is presented by Limedorfer (again, with 'some inaccuracies') in his article.¹³

10. Swearingen, p.98.

11. Bookman, 12 (September 1900), p.52.

12. Swearingen, p.98.

13. See McKay, v, 1993 on these four pages.

The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library also contains sections of the unmodified 'intermediate' draft of Jekyll (Beinecke 6934). Stevenson had written this draft into a notebook, of which only 24 pages are available here: pp.58, 67, 69-84, 86-90 and 103. G.L. McKay (who used the term 'intermediate' to describe this version) has noted that these pages contain 'words and passages crossed out and inserted revisions.'¹⁴ Two more pages from this notebook are also held in the Henry E. Gerstley Stevenson Collection at Princeton University Library: pp.33 and 48. On the verso of these two pages, Stevenson had written a letter to his cousin R.A.M. Stevenson, probably in mid-1886: he remarks, 'Excuse the use of ancient scraps of MS; I have no other paper.'¹⁵ A total of 26 pages thus survive from this unmodified 'intermediate' version of the story.

The 24 notebook pages from this version held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library differ substantially from the corresponding pages in the final published version of the story: for a complete list of differences (showing how this 'intermediate' version was modified for publication), see Appendix iv. However, the two pages held at Princeton University Library have in fact been entirely omitted from the final published version of Jekyll, and it may be useful to present and comment

14. ibid., p.1992.

15. These two pages and Stevenson's letter to his cousin are described in Robert Louis Stevenson: A Catalogue of the Henry E. Gerstley Stevenson Collection, the Stevenson Section of the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists, and Items from Other Collections in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections of the Princeton University Library (Princeton, 1971), p.104: 'A portion of the autograph manuscript [of Jekyll] written on two leaves numbered 33 and 48....The first leaf has been crossed out, while one diagonal line has been drawn across the second leaf. On the verso of the two leaves there is an undated autograph letter signed from Stevenson to Robert A.M. Stevenson.' The two pages are not identified as belonging to the 'intermediate' notebook version, nor are the accompanying pages in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library mentioned.

upon them here. In this 'intermediate' version, Hyde's murder victim is called Mr Lewsome, while in the final published version he is Sir Danvers Carew. P.33 of the 'intermediate' version (which has no equivalent at all in the final published version) introduces Mr Lewsome and implies that he has some prior knowledge of Mr Hyde. No such prior relationship is sketched between Sir Danvers Carew and Hyde in the final published version and, indeed, the first glimpse of Carew here occurs only when he is actually being murdered: he does not (as Mr Lewsome does in the 'intermediate' version) make an earlier appearance, and only after the murder does Jekyll admit, 'Carew was my client.'¹⁶ In the 'intermediate' version, however, it seems that Mr Lewsome has dealt not with Jekyll but with Hyde, and it is also suggested that these dealings may have been improper: they may have been given in an earlier missing part of the notebook. Here is p.33 of this 'intermediate' version, showing Mr Lewsome in Mr Utterson's office, with the latter puzzling over the existence of Hyde and the strange contents of Jekyll's will. Stevenson's deletions are included, and each new line will be indicated by a dividing type-stroke:

ten years old. For ten years he had kept that preposterous/
document in his safe; and here was the first ^{independent/sign} ~~external/proof~~
that such a man as Mr Hyde existed--here, ^{from} ~~on~~ the lips/of a
creature who had come to him bleating for help under the/
most ignoble and deserved misfortunes, he ^{heard} ~~found~~ the name/of
the man to whom Henry Jekyll had left everything and/whom;
~~in that~~ he named his 'friend and benefactor.' He studied/Mr
Lewsome covertly. He was ~~still~~ a young man man of about
twenty/eight, with a fine forehead and good features;
anaemically pale;/shielding a pair of faint suffering eyes
under blue spectacles:/and dressed with that sort of ^{outward} ~~external~~

16. The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde, v, 26. Further references are given after quotations in the text.

decency that implies ^{both} a lack/of means and a defect of taste.
 By his own confession, Mr Utterson/knew him to be a bad
 fellow; in this short¹⁷ seenting, he ~~read/him through~~ ^{made/out very plainly} and
~~that~~ through him out to be a bad fellow of the he now/saw for
 himself that he was an incurable cad./

'Sit down,' said he, 'I will take your business.'/

No one was more astonished than the client; but as he/
 had been speaking uninterruptedly for some three minutes,/
 he set down the success to the score of his own eloquence./
 And there never was a client who did less credit to his
 lawyer;/but still Mr Utterson stuck to him on the chance
 that something/

(might

Mr Lewsome certainly contrasts with his counterpart, Sir Danvers Carew,
 in the final published version of the story: while Lewsome is 'a bad
 fellow' with 'a lack of means,' Carew (in the brief description given
 just before his murder) is an 'aged and beautiful gentleman, with white
 hair' (p.20), and 'an innocent and old-world kindness of disposition'
 (p.20). Given Lewsome's 'bad' character and his suggested association
 with Hyde, his subsequent murder may not have provided the sense of
 outrage evident in the final published version with the murder of the
 kindly and 'beautiful' Carew: the murderer and his victim are not quite
 so polarised in the earlier 'intermediate' version of the story.

P.48 of this 'intermediate' version also has no or little equivalent
 in the final published version of Jekyll. However, since it shows Utterson
 returning home after his interview with the police after the murder of Mr
 Lewsome/Sir Danvers Carew, it can be placed in the context of the final
 published version more easily. Here, Utterson lies down on his bed and,
 'like one sick,' has a feverish dream in which he imagines a kind of

17. In the Princeton University Library's typescript of this page, this
 word is misread as 'hunt.'

growing 'evil' in the streets of London outside as the day comes to an end:

Thereupon, Mr Utterson, conceiving that he had done the/all and more than could be asked of him, went home to his rooms and lay down upon his bed, ^{like one} ~~mentally~~ sick. The last/words of the police officer had been the last straw on his overtaxed/endurance a there was something in the ~~as of a man who said a pleasant and witty thing~~ ^{with which/} ~~heaving sin~~ that deadly truth had been communicated that finally un-/manned the lawyer. He had been dragged all day through scenes/and among characters that made his gorge rise; hunting a low/murderer, and himself hag-ridden by the thought that this/murderer was the chosen heir ^{and} the secret ally ^{of his friend} ~~and the so-called/benefactor~~ of the good, learned and well balanced Henry Jekyll;/and now, at the end of that experience, an honest man and/active public servant ^{spoke out in} ~~tells~~ words ^{what had been for Mr Utterson the haunting moral and} ~~him with a smile~~ unspoken refrain of the day's journeyings:-- that all/men, high and low, are of the ^{pattern} same. He lay on the outside/^{of} side his bed in the fall of the foggy night; and he heard/the pattering of countless thousands of feet, all, as he/now told himself, making haste to do evil, and the rush/^{of} the wheels of countless cabs and carriages conveying men/~~to~~ ~~still yet~~ ^{deadly yet} more expeditiously to sin and punishment;/and the horror of that monstrous seething mud-jot of a city, and/of that kindred ~~monster~~ monster--man's soul, rose up within ^{him} to/

(the

Utterson's fevered dream, described here, has been dropped from the final published version. However, in this latter version there is a possible comparison at about the same place in the story, when Utterson leads the police-officer to Hyde's apartment in a 'dismal quarter of Soho' (p.22) after Carew's murder. Here, Utterson is quite awake and his imagination operates at the beginning rather than the end of the day:

...as the cab crawled from street to street, Mr Utterson

beheld a marvellous number of degrees and hues of twilight
The dismal quarter of Soho seen under these changing
 glimpses, with its muddy ways, and slatternly passengers,
 and its lamps, which had never been extinguished or had been
 kindled afresh to combat this mournful reinvasion of
 darkness, seemed, in the lawyer's eyes, like a district of
 some city in a nightmare. The thoughts of his mind...were
 of the gloomiest dye... (p.22)

However, the comparison with Utterson's fevered dream in the 'intermediate' version above is only slight. The police-officer's 'haunting moral' which had so horrified Utterson, that 'all men, high and low, are of the same pattern,' has also been dropped from the final published version.

Utterson's fevered dream in the 'intermediate' version is a direct consequence of his growing experience of Hyde and his visit with the police-officer to Hyde's apartments: Hyde, in other words, has inspired Utterson to lie down 'like one sick' and imagine the 'monstrous seething' of the city outside, where everyone makes 'haste to do evil.' In the final published version (and much earlier in the story), Utterson has another feverish dream where, now, Hyde is the subject. Utterson has not yet seen Hyde at this point in the story, and his dream is entirely the result of Enfield's account of Hyde in the first chapter:

It was a night of little ease to his toiling mind, toiling in mere darkness and besieged by questions....Hitherto it had touched him on the intellectual side alone; but now his imagination was also engaged, or rather enslaved; and as he lay and tossed in the gross darkness of the night and the curtained room, Mr Enfield's tale went by before his mind in a scroll of lighted pictures. He would be aware of the great field of lamps of a nocturnal city; then of the figure of a man walking swiftly; then of a child running from the doctor's; and then these met, and that human Juggernaut trod the child down and passed on regardless of her screams. (p.10, my italics)

The passage shows that, even at this early stage in the story, Utterson's 'imagination' is 'enslaved' to Mr Hyde (or an image of Hyde). This imaginative 'enslavement' is important to notice and, indeed, Hyde soon awakens and completely dominates Utterson's 'curiosity': '...there sprang

up and grew apace in the lawyer's mind a singularly strong, almost an inordinate, curiosity to behold the features of the real Mr Hyde' (p.11).

Uttersson's 'enslavement' to Hyde suggests a comparison with Jekyll's own relation to this character: indeed, Jekyll himself uses the same terms to describe that relation, remarking later in the story on his 'slavery' (p.62) to a 'new power' (p.62). For Jekyll, the 'enslavement' to Hyde is represented through a transformation, but it is also possible to say that Utterson, too, is somehow 'transformed' by Hyde. Clearly, Hyde is responsible for making Utterson behave 'like one sick': he inspires Utterson's feverish dreams, so that he imagines the city around him to be 'like...a nightmare'; and he arouses and dominates Utterson's 'curiosity.' It can be demonstrated that Stevenson's story as a whole shows how Hyde arouses the 'curiosity' of various characters (including Jekyll): the story shows how Hyde 'transforms' those characters who see (or imagine) him, and it suggests that this kind of transformation (where the character consequently behaves 'like one sick') implies a process of 'deterioration.'

Hyde's ability to 'transform' characters other than Jekyll is made clear in the first chapter, 'Story of a Door,' in Enfield's account of Hyde as told to Utterson. After remarking on the collision between Hyde and the young girl, Enfield describes how a crowd quickly gathers around and draws attention to a doctor who had also 'put in his appearance' (p.4). Enfield describes the doctor's reaction to Hyde even before describing Hyde himself:

...the doctor's case was what struck me. He was the usual cut and dry apothecary, of no particular age and colour, with a strong Edinburgh accent, and about as emotional as a bagpipe. Well, sir, he was like the rest of us; every time he looked at my prisoner, I saw that Sawbones turned sick and white with the desire to kill him. (p.4, my italics)

The transformation of the young girl's family is similarly expressed:

'...they were as wild as harpies. I never saw a circle of such hateful faces' (p.4). This kind of transformation forecasts the change from Jekyll to Hyde that is fundamental to the story: as Jekyll expresses it, the 'movement was...wholly toward the worse' (p.62).

This kind of transformation also operates on another character in the story, Dr Lanyon. Hyde comes to Dr Lanyon's house late one night, to collect his 'powders.' Preparing the chemicals as soon as they are handed to him, Hyde arouses Lanyon's 'curiosity':

'And now,' said he, 'to settle what remains. Will you be wise? will you be guided? will you suffer me to take this glass in my hand, and go forth from your house without further parley? or has the greed of curiosity too much command of you?' (p.55, my italics)

Hyde drinks the mixture and is transformed into Jekyll, but the effect of this on Dr Lanyon is perhaps more significant:

I saw what I saw, I heard what I heard, and my soul sickened at it....My life is shaken to its roots; sleep has left me; the deadliest terror sits by me at all hours of the day and night; I feel that my days are numbered, and that I must die... (p.56, my italics)

Clearly, Dr Lanyon has also been 'transformed,' and this transformation (which recalls Utterson who behaves 'like one sick,' or the Edinburgh doctor who 'turned sick and white') is expressed in terms of a process of 'deterioration.' This consequent 'deterioration' literally amounts to a loss of health, and this is made apparent again when Utterson sees Dr Lanyon for the last time:

...when he came in, he was shocked at the change which had taken place in the doctor's appearance. He had his death-warrant written legibly upon his face. The rosy man had grown pale; his flesh had fallen away; he was visibly balder and older... (p.31)

The transformation from Hyde to Jekyll in Dr Lanyon's house is also expressed in significant terms: as Lanyon observes, '...there before my eyes--pale and shaken, and half fainting, and groping before him with his

hands, like a man restored from death--there stood Henry Jekyll!' (p.56, my italics). The story shows that this 'restorative' process, where Hyde returns back to Jekyll, takes place less and less frequently: indeed, ending with Jekyll about to change into Hyde again, it suggests instead that an opposite and familiar process of 'deterioration' has prevailed. Thus, it is Hyde who finally commits suicide and it is Hyde, not Jekyll, who is found dead in Jekyll's room: as Jekyll admits when he closes his 'Statement,' '...what is to follow concerns another than myself' (p.74). This transformation into Hyde (this 'movement...wholly toward the worse') also involves the loss of Jekyll's health, so that he appears (recalling Utterson and Lanyon) 'like one sick':

Under the strain of this continually impending doom and by the sleeplessness to which I now condemned myself, ay, even beyond what I had thought possible to man, I became, in my own person, a creature eaten up and emptied by fever, languidly weak both in body and mind, and solely occupied by one thought: the horror of my other self. But when I slept...I would leap almost without transition (for the pangs of transformation grew daily less marked) into the possession of a fancy brimming with images of terror....The powers of Hyde seemed to have grown with the sickliness of Jekyll. (p.72)

Jekyll's 'sleeplessness' and heightened 'fancy' compare with Utterson's feverish dreams and with Lanyon ('sleep has left me...'): Hyde inspires and is the subject of each character's consequent 'nightmare' (p.71).

This point is important to notice, since it re-expresses the notion of 'man's dual nature' (p.57) which is fundamental to the story. It amounts to the difference, in other words, between a 'restored' and healthy existence operating (as Jekyll does under these circumstances) 'in the eye of day' (p.57) and a 'deteriorated' existence involving nightmares and sleeplessness and feverish dreams. For those characters whose 'curiosity' (or 'fancy') has been aroused by Hyde, this 'deteriorated' existence predominates, and the 'nightmares' persist. This is clear in

the cases of Utterson, Lanyon and Jekyll in particular: perhaps they demonstrate (to recall the police-officer's 'haunting moral' given in the 'intermediate' draft of Jekyll above) 'that all men...are of the same pattern.' However, one character in the story does not allow his 'curiosity' to become aroused by Hyde and consequently undergoes no such process of 'deterioration.' Mr Enfield, after telling Utterson about Hyde and the young girl in the first chapter, 'Story of the Door,' remains altogether 'unimpressible' (p.11). Indeed, he refuses to inquire further into the mystery of Hyde:

'And you never asked about--the place with the door?' said Mr Utterson.

'No, sir: I had a delicacy,' was the reply. 'I feel very strongly about putting questions....You start a question, and it's like starting a stone. You sit quietly on the top of the hill; and away the stone goes, starting others; and presently some bland old bird (the last you would have thought of) is knocked on the head in his own back garden, and the family have to change their name. No, sir, I make it a rule of mine: the more it looks like Queer Street, the less I ask.' (pp.5-6)

For Enfield, the 'Story of the Door' remains closed, and he reappears only once again in Jekyll to confirm this: as he tells Utterson (in ignorance of what has since followed his first chapter), 'Well...that story's at an end, at least. We shall never see more of Mr Hyde' (p.34). Enfield never allows himself to become 'transformed' by Hyde: never experiencing the consequent process of 'deterioration,' his health is maintained and he has no 'nightmares' or feverish dreams: but his 'story' comes to an 'end.' Of course, the story of Jekyll itself is taken up by Utterson and Lanyon and Jekyll himself: inspired by (or 'enslaved' to) Hyde, their 'curiosity' and fevered dreams operate throughout the remaining chapters until Hyde is (Enfield's remarks notwithstanding) actually 'seen.' To use the title of the second chapter, the story goes on its 'Search for Mr Hyde' in spite of Enfield. It is carried on, in other words, by those characters who, under

Hyde's influence, experience the kind of 'deterioration' or 'sickness' described above. Indeed, this process of 'deterioration' becomes a necessary premise without which (as the 'unimpressible' Enfield had shown in the first chapter) the story of Jekyll would not continue.

The 'sleeplessness' and fevered dreams that are the symptoms of this process of 'deterioration' are put into context in Stevenson's essay 'A Chapter on Dreams,' where he remarks on how Jekyll itself came to be written. Here, Stevenson suggests that dreams are inspired by 'some Brownie, some Familiar, some unseen collaborator,'¹⁸ and he claims that such a dream had provided him with one of the central scenes in his story, the transformation ('like a man restored from death') from Hyde back to Jekyll:

I can but give an instance or so of what part is done sleeping and what part awake...and to do this I will first take a book that a number of persons have been polite enough to read, the Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde. I had long been trying to write a story on this subject, to find a body, a vehicle, for that strong sense of man's double being, which must at times come in upon and overwhelm the mind of every thinking creature....For two days I went about racking my brains for a plot of any sort; and on the second night I dreamed the scene at the window, and a scene afterwards split in two, in which Hyde, pursued for some crime, took the powder and underwent the change in the presence of his pursuers. All the rest was made awake, and consciously, although I think I can trace in much of it the manner of my Brownies. The meaning of the tale is therefore mine....Mine, too, is the setting, mine the characters. All that was given me was the matter of three scenes, and the central idea of a voluntary change becoming involuntary....[and] the business of the powders, which... is, I am relieved to say, not mine at all but the Brownies'. 19

There is an interesting implied connection here between the dream ('what part is done sleeping and what part awake') and the theme of Stevenson's

18. Further Memories, xxx, 51.

19. ibid., pp.51-52.

story, 'that strong sense of man's double being': indeed, the dream manifests that 'sense of...double being' through the imagined transformation from Hyde to Jekyll, and by providing the means by which that transformation is performed ('the business of the powders...is...the Brownies'). This connection is not accidental, since earlier in this essay Stevenson had presented himself in the role of a 'dreamer' and had remarked in these terms on a series of dreams he once had while still a student at Edinburgh University:

...there came to him a dream-adventure which he has no anxiety to repeat; he began, that is to say, to dream in sequence and thus to lead a double life--one of the day, one of the night--one that he had every reason to believe was the true one, another that he had no means of proving to be false. 20

In these terms, the 'sense of...double being' presented in Jekyll amounts to an expression of the 'double life' of the dreamer. This is made clearer still when Stevenson goes on to recall that his dreams at this time had left 'a great black blot upon his memory'²¹ and adds that he had been obliged to seek a 'cure':

...the gloom of these fancied experiences clouded the day, and he had not shaken off their shadow ere it was time to lie down and renew them. I cannot tell how long it was that he endured this discipline; but it was long enough to ...send him, trembling for his reason, to the doors of a certain doctor; whereupon with a simple draught he was restored to the common lot of man. 22

The dreamer's 'simple draught' of course recalls 'the business of the powders' which Stevenson uses in Jekyll as the means by which each transformation takes place (and which, as he claims in this essay, he had

20. ibid., p.43, my italics.

21. ibid., p.44.

22. ibid., p.44, my italics.

dreamed). More importantly, this description of the dreamer awakening also compares with the scene in Jekyll when Hyde goes into Dr Lanyon's house ('to the doors of a certain doctor...'). Just as the dreamer takes his 'simple draught' and, waking up, is 'restored to the common lot of man,' so Hyde swallows his 'powders' and stands before Lanyon 'like a man restored from death.'

This 'restorative' process, where Hyde turns back to Jekyll, thus amounts to a kind of awakening where the dream (or 'nightmare') is ended: the distinction between 'night' and 'day' (which had been confused for the dreamer) is thus made clear again. But, as indicated, Jekyll is 'restored' in this way less and less frequently in the story: instead, the opposite process (where Jekyll turns into Hyde) predominates and the story goes on to detail the symptoms of the dream or 'nightmare' (with all its feverish 'fancy' and sleeplessness). These symptoms persist, and Jekyll is (unlike the awakening dreamer) thus never 'restored to the common lot of man.' This image is important, since it recalls Stevenson's earlier essay 'Nuits Blanche' in which the sleepless and feverish night is brought to a close with the arrival of morning: in Jekyll, however, 'the horrible caesura' and the 'nightmares' do not come to an end, and the morning (where 'the ordinary life of men is beginning to bestir itself...') never arrives. Or, rather, when the morning does arrive Jekyll is still Hyde, and the 'nightmare' encroaches on his life 'in the eye of day':

...I...woke the next day in bed with somewhat odd sensations. It was in vain I looked about me; in vain I saw the decent furniture and tall proportions of my room in the square; in vain that I recognised the pattern of the bed curtains and the design of the mahogany frame; something still kept insisting that I was not where I was, that I had not wakened where I seemed to be, but in the little room in Soho where I was accustomed to sleep in the body of Edward Hyde....in one of my more wakeful moments, my eye fell upon my hand. Now, the hand of Henry Jekyll (as you have often remarked) was professional in shape and size; it was large, firm, white and comely. But the hand which I now

saw, clearly enough, in the yellow light of a mid-London morning, lying half shut on the bedclothes, was lean, corded, knuckly, of a dusky pallor, and thickly shaded with a swart growth of hair. It was the hand of Edward Hyde....Yes, I had gone to bed Henry Jekyll, I had awakened Edward Hyde. How was this to be explained? I asked myself; and then, with another bound of terror--how was it to be remedied? (p.64, my italics)

No 'remedy' is supplied in the story, and the 'nightmare' remains: Hyde literally takes over the life Jekyll leads 'in the eye of day.' Since Hyde both produces and reflects Jekyll's 'nightmares,' his role in the story may interestingly compare with Stevenson's remarks on the 'Brownie' or 'Familiar' in his 'A Chapter on Dreams': indeed, Jekyll once refers to Hyde as the 'familiar that I called out of my own soul' (p.63). Like Stevenson's 'Brownie,' in other words, Hyde makes Jekyll dream: he gives Jekyll (as well as other characters, such as Utterson and Lanyon) 'nightmares.' Of course, this view of Hyde as a kind of manifestation of someone's 'nightmare,' is not at all incompatible with his apparent capacity for evil. As Stevenson had remarked in 'A Chapter on Dreams,' the 'Brownies' or 'Little People' (and, incidentally, Hyde is also noticeably short in stature) do not deal in morals and 'ethical narrowness': they 'have not a rudiment of what we call a conscience.'²³

The effects of the 'business of the powders,' describing the transformation from Jekyll to Hyde and back again, are presented twice in the story. The first time occurs when Hyde goes to Dr Lanyon's house at midnight to collect 'some tincture' (p.52) and 'a paper of some salt' (p.52) kept in a drawer. Lanyon describes Hyde's reactions when the drawer is produced:

He sprang to it, and then paused, and laid his hand upon his heart; I could hear his teeth grate with the

23. ibid., pp.52, 53.

convulsive action of his jaws; and his face was so ghastly to see that I grew alarmed both for his life and reason.... At the sight of the contents, he uttered one loud sob of such immense relief that I sat petrified. (p.54)

Hyde mixes his 'powders' together, and the mixture gives off 'small fumes of vapour' (pp.54-55) and changes into a 'watery green' (p.55) colour: he then drinks this and, 'staring with injected eyes, gasping with open mouth' (p.55), is 'restored' back to Jekyll. The second account of the effects of the 'powders' occurs early in the last chapter, 'Henry Jekyll's Full Statement of the Case.' Here, Jekyll mixes together what would seem to be the same ingredients used by Hyde, a 'tincture' and 'a particular salt' (p.59), which similarly 'boil and smoke together in the glass' (p.59). After drinking this, Jekyll experiences 'racking pangs' (p.59) and 'deadly nausea' (p.59), but the subsequent effects are more pleasing:

There was something strange in my sensations, something indescribably new, and, from its very novelty, incredibly sweet. I felt younger, lighter, happier in body; within I was conscious of a heady recklessness, a current of disordered sensual images running like a mill race in my fancy....the thought, in that moment, braced and delighted me like wine. (p.60)

The effect of the 'powders' here is 'incredibly sweet'; but chronologically later in the story when Hyde goes to Dr Lanyon's house to pick up the same ingredients, a sense of hopeless addiction is made apparent ('he uttered one loud sob of...immense relief...'). Indeed, these descriptions of the effects of the 'powders' (along with their capacity to transform the character) suggest an involvement with and consequent addiction to hallucinogenic drugs.

The notion that a 'sense of...double being' might be linked to the career of the drug addict was not unfamiliar in nineteenth-century fiction: it had been presented in writing ranging from Theophile Gautier's short stories to Charles Dickens's The Mystery of Edwin Drood (1870). Stevenson

seems to have explored this link in Jekyll, and he also possibly drew on a major study of the drug addict's 'double being,' Charles Baudelaire's Les Paradis Artificiels (1869). Stevenson certainly knew of this study, and his own copy of Petits Poèmes en Prose--Les Paradis Artificiels--Par Charles Baudelaire (Paris, 1869), with notes in his hand, is now held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Beinecke 2500).²⁴ Les Paradis Artificiels remarks on 'the mysterious and morbid excitements'²⁵ produced by taking opium or hashish, and goes on to warn against the 'inevitable chastisements which are the result of too continual a use of them.'²⁶ More importantly, however, it questions why such drugs should be taken in the first place: it examines 'the immorality implied in their [the drug addicts'] pursuit of a wrong ideal.'²⁷

Baudelaire begins his study by commenting on the achievement of a 'charming and singular state'²⁸ when the 'imagination' breaks away from 'the moral sense' and embarks on 'its most perilous adventures.'²⁹ He suggests that this liberated experience of 'the guilty joys of the imagination'³⁰ must have 'appeared to man as perhaps the best of his belongings';³¹ but this liberation (this 'paradise') is most often only realised through 'artificial' stimulants. The addict, as Baudelaire notes,

24. See McKay, ii, 766.

25. Les Fleurs du Mal, Petits poèmes en prose, Les Paradis Artificiels, translated by Arthur Symons (London, 1925), p.247.

26. ibid., p.247.

27. ibid., p.248.

28. ibid., p.246.

29. ibid., p.246.

30. ibid., p.246.

31. ibid., p.246.

finds his 'means of escaping, were it only for a few hours,'³² in 'physical science, in pharmacopoeia, in the grossest liqueurs...'³³ For Baudelaire, the consequent addiction to drugs such as hashish and opium 'violate the laws of his [the addict's] constitution,'³⁴ and a devastating 'fall' follows where, rather than achieving a 'paradisical' ideal, the addict instead approaches 'diabolical perfection':

I shall avow that these exciting poisons seem to me not only one of the most terrible and most certain means disposed by the Power of Darkness to enlist and to enslave deplorable Humanity, but one of his most perfect incorporations. 35

That is, the addict, taking his drugs to realise liberation or 'paradise,' goes 'in...pursuit of a wrong ideal.' Becoming instead 'enslaved' to his 'artificial' stimulants, the consequent transformation represents the opposite process of 'deterioration': as Baudelaire explains,

In effect, it is forbidden to man, under the pain of intellectual death and decay, to derange the primordial conditions of his existence and to shatter the equilibrium of his faculties with the surroundings where they are destined to move, in a word, to derange his destiny so as to substitute a fatality of a worse kind....In effect, every man who does not accept the conditions of life, sells his soul....Man has desired to become God, and now he has found that he has, in virtue of an uncontrollable moral law, fallen much lower than his real nature. 36

There are some clear comparisons with the 'business of the powders' in Stevenson's story here, and with Jekyll's own 'paradisical' ideals. Like Baudelaire's addict, Jekyll takes his 'powders' because he 'does not accept

32. ibid., p.246.

33. ibid., p.246.

34. ibid., p.246.

35. ibid., p.274, my italics.

36. ibid., p.284, my italics.

the conditions of life':

...I learned to recognise the thorough and primitive duality of man; I saw that...two natures...contended in the field of my consciousness....[and] I had learned to dwell with pleasure, as a beloved daydream, on the thought of the separation of these elements....It was the curse of mankind that these incongruous faggots were thus bound together-- that in the agonised womb of consciousness, these polar twins should be continuously struggling. (p.58)

Jekyll manufactures his 'powders' to liberate himself from this 'curse' of 'duality,' and as a consequence he 'violates the laws of his constitution': as he expresses it (using an image of liberation, or rather, 'enslavement'), 'The drug...shook the doors of the prison-house of my disposition' (p.61). But for Jekyll, as for Baudelaire's addict, the 'paradisical' 'aspirations' (p.57) are not realised and, instead, the 'movement was...wholly toward the worse':

Enough, then, that I...managed to compound a drug by which these powers should be dethroned from their supremacy, and a second form and countenance substituted, none the less natural to me because they were the expression, and bore the stamp, of lower elements in my soul. (p.59)

For Stevenson, as for Baudelaire, the drug addict begins by experiencing 'the guilty joys of the imagination' (Jekyll's 'incredibly sweet' sensations); but, later 'enslaved' to his 'fermented drinks,'³⁷ he is instead ('in virtue of an uncontrollable moral law') the subject of a recognisable process of 'deterioration.' Incidentally, Baudelaire describes hashish as a 'queer green colour':³⁸ as indicated, the mixture Hyde drinks in front of Lanyon is also, after changing colours several times, 'a watery green' (p.55).

Stevenson may have drawn on another story which examines the 'sense of ...double being' produced by an 'artificial' stimulant, Sheridan Le Fanu's

37. ibid. p.247.

38. ibid., p.251.

'Green Tea,' included in the collection In a Glass Darkly already mentioned in part v of Chapter IV. This story introduces the Reverend Mr Lynder Jennings, who becomes addicted to 'green tea' (a euphemism for hashish, with its 'queer green colour'): as Jennings confesses to Dr Hesselius at the beginning of a long 'Statement,' 'I found the effect pleasanter, it cleared and intensified the power of thought....it became a habit with me.'³⁹ Dr Hesselius, the narrator, is interested in extraordinary medical cases and visits Jennings after hearing that his health has broken down. Jennings is generally a mild and kindly gentleman, but he surprises Hesselius with 'a face so dark and wild that I should hardly have known him.'⁴⁰ It transpires that, just as Jekyll's 'scientific studies' had 'led towards the mystic and the transcendental' (p.58), so Jennings has become interested in 'Metaphysical Medicine.'⁴¹ Indeed, just as Hyde had taunted Jekyll's 'hide-bound' (p.17) colleague Dr Lanyon ('...you who have so long been bound to the most narrow and material views, you who have denied the virtue of transcendental medicine,' p.55), so Jennings dismisses a colleague of Hesselius, Dr Harley, in the same terms: 'A mere materialist...you can't think how that sort of thing worries one who knows better.'⁴² Jennings' 'metaphysical' studies lead to an interest in 'interior sight'⁴³ and he is able to see 'evil spirits' which appear 'in the shape of the beast (fera) which represents their particular lust and life, in aspect direful and atrocious':⁴⁴ this

39. Le Fanu, p.25.

40. ibid., p.17.

41. ibid., p.17.

42. ibid., p.19.

43. ibid., p.14.

44. ibid., p.16.

'interior sight' is, of course, stimulated by his addiction to 'green tea.' As a consequence of his studies and his addiction, Jennings, while sitting alone one night inside a cab, 'sees' a mysterious 'travelling companion.'⁴⁵ This 'companion' appears in the shape of a monkey and remains with Jennings, exerting an 'evil' influence over him: as Jennings confesses to Hesselius, 'it is always urging me to crimes, to injure others, or myself.'⁴⁶ Jennings' 'travelling companion' (seen only under the stimulant of 'green tea') recalls the role of Hyde in Stevenson's story who also interestingly appears 'like a monkey' (p.42), with 'ape-like' (p.21) characteristics. When the 'travelling companion' is not seen for a while (implying a break in the addiction to 'green tea'), Jennings feels 'released...a new man,'⁴⁷ passing a 'whole month of liberty':⁴⁸ when Jekyll temporarily breaks his 'enslavement' to Hyde, he similarly feels 'gratitude for my escape' (p.72). However, Jennings' 'Statement' ends soon after the 'travelling companion' returns again (and the addiction re-continues) and, some time later, he is found in his room with his throat cut. His servant Jones fetches Dr Hesselius and tells him that he was alerted to noises in the room just before Jennings' death:

'...I knocked and called, and still no answer. So not being able to force the door, I called Thomas from the stables, and together we forced it, and found him in the shocking way you saw.'

Jones had no more to tell. Poor Mr Jennings was very gentle, and very kind. All his people were fond of him. I could see that the servant was very much moved. 49

Jones's account recalls the 'forcing' of Jekyll's door in Stevenson's

45. ibid., p.42.

46. ibid., p.42.

47. ibid., p.34.

48. ibid., p.34.

49. ibid., p.47.

story by the servant Poole and Utterson, who similarly find the body of Hyde 'sorely contorted and still twitching' (p.44). Indeed, the structure of the two stories, with the addict's final 'Statement' followed chronologically by the discovery of his body in his room, is essentially the same. Both stories also imply that the addict, 'enslaved' to his stimulant and transformed under its 'evil' influence, finally takes his own life.⁵⁰

Le Fanu's use of the term 'travelling companion,' to describe what is seen under the 'evil' influence of a stimulant, is perhaps important to notice. In his essay 'A Chapter on Dreams,' Stevenson remarks on a story he had written called 'The Travelling Companion' and, interestingly, suggests that it dealt with the themes taken up in Jekyll:

...I will first take a book that a number of persons have been polite enough to read, the Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde. I had long been trying to write a story on this subject, to find a body, a vehicle, for that strong sense of man's double being, which must at times come in upon and overwhelm the mind of every thinking creature. I had even written one, The Travelling Companion, which was returned by an editor on the plea that it was a work of genius and indecent, and which I burned the other day on the ground that it was not a work of genius, and that Jekyll had supplanted it. 51

50. Stevenson may also have drawn upon a second story from In a Glass Darkly for Jekyll, 'The Familiar.' Here, Sir James Barton, 'a man of perfect breeding' (ibid., p.59), finds himself haunted by the 'familiar' of a sailor who had died of his wounds after being flogged by Barton for a serious crime. This 'familiar' is actually much smaller than the sailor, which puzzles Barton: it appears 'short in stature,' an 'odd-looking person...with a look of maniacal fury....[and] a singularly evil countenance' (ibid., pp.71-72). Barton goes to his doctor to discover how the sailor could have been transformed in this way: 'Is there any disease, in all the range of human maladies, which would have the effect of perpetually contracting the stature, and the whole frame--causing the man to shrink in all his proportions...' (ibid., p.75). There are clear comparisons here with Hyde: his description as a 'familiar' has already been remarked upon; and the transformation from Jekyll to Hyde also entails a process of shrinking: '...I was suddenly aware that I had lost in statureEdward Hyde was so much smaller...than Henry Jekyll' (pp.60-61).

51. Further Memories, pp.51-52.

This story is now untraced (apparently receiving the same treatment as the first draft of Jekyll), but Stevenson implies here that he used the notion of the 'travelling companion' as Le Fanu had done, as a representation of the more 'evil' side to the 'sense of man's double being.' Indeed, this story seems to have been one of Stevenson's more 'grisly' 'winter's tales.' It was probably begun while Stevenson was at Kinnaird Cottage in mid-1881, and he listed it as one of his Tales for Winter Nights in his letter to Sidney Colvin in August of this year.⁵² Stevenson returned to it again some time later in November 1883,⁵³ and his essay 'A Chapter on Dreams' suggests that he was working on it before starting Jekyll in late 1885. As he remarks in this essay, he burned his story 'the other day' ('A Chapter on Dreams' was written in October 1887) because 'Jekyll had supplanted it'; but in a letter to Colvin in June 1886, he gives another reason for abandoning this 'winter's tale':

O! the Travelling Companion won't do; I am back on it entirely: it is a foul, gross, bitter, ugly daub, with lots of stuff in it, and no urbanity and no glee and no true tragedy--to the crows with it, a carrion tale! I will do no more carrion, I have done too much in this carrion epoch; I will now be clean; and by clean, I don't mean any folly about purity, but such things as a healthy man with his bowels open shall find fit to see and speak about without a pang of nausea. 54

Characterising 'The Travelling Companion' (and, by implication, Jekyll) as 'a carrion tale,' Stevenson rejects not just a particular story but a certain kind of writing. It has been suggested that Jekyll traces a process of 'deterioration' into a condition of 'sickness,' with its accompanying 'enslavement' to stimulants and its consequent symptoms of

52. Letters, ii, 163.

53. ibid., p.278.

54. ibid., iii, 95. my italics.

'sleeplessness' and feverish dreams and the ceaseless 'nightmare.'
 Clearly, Stevenson's remarks signal an end to this preoccupation and a return to those stories which, as his images of 'health' and 'cleanliness' indicate, present instead a 'remedial' and 'restorative' process. Indeed, Stevenson took up the 'romantically comic' form again in those short stories included in his South Pacific collection, Island Nights' Entertainments: they each represent a kind of 'exorcism' of 'sickness' where, now, it is actually overcome and excluded from a place defined in terms of its 'remedial' properties. It seems quite understandable that Stevenson should return to this 'restorative' kind of fiction in the South Pacific since, as he remarked in the opening chapter of his In the South Seas, begun in mid-1888, his emigration there had itself amounted to a 'restorative' process:

For nearly ten years my health had been declining; and for some while before I set forth upon my voyage, I believed I was come to the afterpiece of life, and had only the nurse and undertaker to expect. It was suggested that I should try the South Seas; and I was not unwilling to visit like a ghost, and be carried like a bale, among scenes that had attracted me in youth and health....Hence, lacking courage to return to my old life of the house and the sick-room, I set forth to leeward in a trading schooner, the Equator... 55

Stevenson had made this 'restorative' process clearer in a letter written from Samoa in April 1891 to an acquaintance, Miss Rawlinson, who had visited him at Skerryvore in Bournemouth, where he had written Jekyll:

I am a very different person from the prisoner of Skerryvore. The other day I was three-and-twenty hours in an open boat; it made me pretty ill; but fancy its not killing me half-way! It is like a fairy story that I should have recovered liberty and strength... 56

55. In the South Seas, xx, 3.

56. Letters, iv, 74.

CHAPTER SIX

ISLAND NIGHTS' ENTERTAINMENTS: INTRODUCTION

Stevenson's fourth and last collection of short stories was Island Nights' Entertainments, published in Britain by Cassell and Co. on 6 April 1893. The collection contains only three stories, 'The Bottle Imp,' 'The Isle of Voices' and 'The Beach of Falesá': all are set in the South Pacific, to which Stevenson and his family had emigrated in mid-1888.

Although 'The Bottle Imp' was the first of these stories to be written and serialised in a magazine, 'The Beach of Falesá' was the first that Stevenson offered for publication in book form. On 14 October 1891, he sent this story to Charles Baxter, advising about serial rights and suggesting that it also be published 'as a small volume through Cassell's and Scribner's.'¹ In December of this year, however, he agreed with Cassell's to publish 'The Beach of Falesá' with several other 'realistic' South Pacific stories in a collection to be called Beach de Mar.² Probably, two other stories intended for this collection (but themselves never published and now untraced) were 'The Bloody Wedding,' planned in March 1891,³ and 'The Labour Slave,' planned around September.⁴ But Stevenson later remarked, in a letter to Sidney Colvin in May 1892, that Beach de Mar 'petered out' because 'the chief of the short stories got sucked into Sophia Scarlet,'⁵ a projected novel about the 'labour trade'

1. Baxter, p.287. Scribner's published Island Nights' Entertainments in America.

2. See Swearingen, p.155.

3. Letters, iv, 64.

4. ibid., p.94.

5. ibid., p.182. See also Baxter, p.293.

on 'a big South Sea plantation run by ex-English officers':⁶ clearly, he was referring here to 'The Labour Slave.' This must have happened around late December 1891, because Stevenson soon returned to his original suggestion to Cassell's that 'The Beach of Falesá' be published on its own. On 1 February 1892, however, he wrote to Baxter remarking that Cassell's had advised 'holding off for other stories to make a larger volume.'⁷ Stevenson had also written to E.L. Burlingame of Scribner's on 2 January of this year about 'The Beach of Falesá,' 'I want you and Cassell to bring it out in a little volume';⁸ but like Cassell's, Burlingame, replying on 25 February, recommended that the 'publication of The Beach of Falesá be delayed until it can be accompanied by another short story...'⁹ Stevenson agreed to this somewhat reluctantly, writing to Baxter on 30 March, 'There seems a strong feeling against Falesá for a volume, so I consent to withhold it till there are more.'¹⁰

Sidney Colvin had kept in touch with Baxter's dealings with Cassell's for the possible publication of 'The Beach of Falesá' in book form:¹¹ when it was agreed that more stories were required, Colvin went ahead with arrangements to publish 'The Beach of Falesá' with 'The Bottle Imp,'

6. Letters, iv, 150.

7. Baxter, p.293. This advice notwithstanding, Cassell and Co. actually printed a copyright edition of 'The Beach of Falesá,' one of which is now held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Beinecke 563). G.L. McKay notes that 25 copies of this edition were printed, McKay, i, 250.

8. Letters, iv, 143.

9. This letter is summarised by McKay, iv, 1259 (Beinecke 4148).

10. Baxter, p.295.

11. See Colvin's letter to Baxter on 6 February 1892, McKay, iv, 1276 (Beinecke 4213): 'Will you tell me what are the arrangements made with Cassell's about the publishing of The Beach of Falesá?'

outlining his plans to Baxter in a letter dated 6 July 1892.¹² Baxter presumably passed these plans directly on to Stevenson who replied immediately on 11 August, asking Baxter to communicate to Colvin 'my answer':

The B. of F. is simply not to appear along with The Bottle Imp, a story of a totally different scope and intention, to which I have already made one fellow, and which I design for a substantive volume. If on the other hand Cassell shall choose to publish it by itself, I would remind the lot of you that this was my own original proposal, which I have seen no reason to change, and which I should be rather glad to see come in operation. 13

However, perhaps in spite of Stevenson's objections, Colvin went ahead with his plans and Cassell's printed a trial copy of The Beach of Falesá, Being the Narrative of a South Sea Trader, And The Bottle Imp, sending it to Stevenson probably in October for approval and corrections.¹⁴

Stevenson seems not to have replied straight away, but Colvin may have known of his objections through Baxter: on 21 November, Colvin wrote to Baxter that the publication of these two stories together 'should be postponed until receipt of Stevenson's specific approval...'¹⁵ Stevenson clearly never approved of Colvin's arrangements, and at last wrote to him directly on 3 December:

12. ibid., p.1277 (Beinecke 4217).

13. Baxter, p.302.

14. This trial copy is now held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Beinecke 564). It remained with Colvin until 1913, then passed to Walter T. Spencer and then to Walter M. Hill, who describes it in Unique; or, A Description of a Proof Copy of The Beach of Falesá, containing over 100 manuscript changes by Robert Louis Stevenson (Chicago, 1914), also held in Beinecke 564. Almost all the 'manuscript changes' made by Stevenson involve accidentals, although he deleted the subtitle to 'The Beach of Falesá.' For a facsimile of the title page of this copy, see McKay, i, 250 (facing).

15. This letter is summarised by McKay, iv, 1279 (Beinecke 4227).

When I heard you and Cassells had decided to print The Bottle Imp along with Falesá, I was too much disappointed to answer. The Bottle Imp was the pièce de résistance for my volume, Island Nights' Entertainments. 16

Island Nights' Entertainments (in this early form) was the 'substantive volume' Stevenson had mentioned above in his letter to Baxter: the other 'fellow' intended to accompany 'The Bottle Imp' here was probably 'The Isle of Voices.' In another letter to Colvin soon afterwards in January 1893, Stevenson further explained the original concept of Island Nights' Entertainments, suggesting that it was to have been a collection of tales very different in kind to the 'realistic' 'The Beach of Falesá':

What annoyed me about the use of The Bottle Imp was that I had always meant it for the centre-piece of a volume of Märchen which I was slowly to elaborate. You always had an idea that I depreciated the B.I.; I cannot think wherefore; I always particularly liked it--one of my best works, and ill to equal; and that was why I loved to keep it in portfolio till I had time to grow up to some other fruit of the same venue. However, that is disposed of now, and we must just do the best we can. 17

Clearly, then, the final published Island Nights' Entertainments was something of a compromise for Stevenson: the only way of getting 'The Beach of Falesá' into book form was, then, to accompany it with whatever 'märchen' were currently available. In his letter to Colvin on 3 December, Stevenson had enclosed 'The Isle of Voices' and 'The Waif Woman,' but even here he stipulated that although they were to appear in the same volume as 'The Beach of Falesá,' these 'märchen' were to be formally separated:

First have The Beach of Falesá.
Then a fresh false title: ISLAND NIGHTS' ENTERTAINMENTS;
and then
The Bottle Imp: a cue from an old melodrama.

16. Letters, iv, 268.

17. ibid., v, 5.

The Isle of Voices.

The Waif-Woman: a cue from a saga.

Of course these two others are not up to the mark of The Bottle Imp: but they each have a certain merit, and they fit in style....If this is in time, it will be splendid, and will make quite a volume.

Should you and Cassells prefer, you can call the whole volume I.N.E.--though The Beach of Falesá is the child of a quite different inspiration. They all have a queer realism, even the most extravagant, even the Isle of Voices; the manners are exact. 18

Fanny Stevenson had, however, written to Colvin at some time in December stating that 'she is opposed to including Stevenson's story The Waif Woman, in Island Nights' Entertainments':¹⁹ although Stevenson had considered it to 'fit in style' with the other 'märchen,' it is nevertheless the only story here that is not set in the South Pacific (it is, instead, an Icelandic saga). Eventually, 'The Waif-Woman' was laid aside and, together, Baxter and Colvin carried out the negotiations for the three remaining stories.²⁰ Colvin must have informed Stevenson of the final plans in early February 1893: on 19 February, Stevenson replied, 'About Island Nights' Entertainments all you say is highly satisfactory. Go in and win.'²¹

Partly because of the separation in the collection outlined above and keenly felt by Stevenson, the two 'märchen' ('The Bottle Imp' and 'The Isle of Voices') will be discussed together in the first part of the chapter, while 'The Beach of Falesá' will be discussed alone in the second.

18. ibid., iv, 269.

19. This letter is summarised by McKay, iii, 1123 (Beinecke 3677).

20. See ibid., iv, 1231 (Beinecke 4040) and 1280 (Beinecke 4231). For further remarks on 'The Waif-Woman,' see Swearingen, pp.177-78.

21. Letters, v, 13. For further remarks on the sales and relative success of Island Nights' Entertainments, see Swearingen, pp.179-80.

CHAPTER SIX

I. 'THE BOTTLE IMP' AND 'THE ISLE OF VOICES'

Roger G. Swearingen has noted that Stevenson 'had written or at least conceived a first version of "The Bottle Imp" before he left Honolulu aboard the Equator on 24 June 1889.'¹ However, taking into account Sidney Colvin's remark that 'The Bottle Imp' was written during Stevenson's first visit to Upola in Samoa, between December 1889 and January 1890,² Swearingen adds that this story must have 'occupied Stevenson on several different occasions in various locations.'³ 'The Bottle Imp' was completed at some time in 1890 and, as Swearingen notes, was probably 'among the various manuscripts which S.S. McClure acknowledged receiving from Stevenson on 4 December 1890.'⁴ This seems likely, since McClure arranged soon afterwards for the story's weekly serialisation in the New York Herald, from 8 February to 1 March 1891. 'The Bottle Imp' also appeared in Britain in Black and White, 28 March and 4 April 1891, and in the London Herald, 13 December and 20 December 1891. With the Reverend Arthur E. Claxton, Stevenson also helped to translate 'The Bottle Imp' into Samoan in March and April of this year: under the title 'O Le Fagu Aitu; O le tala lenei a le Tusitala,' it was serialised in the Samoan paper O Le Sulu Samoa, 10 (May 1891), 11 (June 1891), 12 (July 1891), 13 (August 1891), 15 (October 1891),⁵ 15 (November

1. Swearingen, p.145.

2. See Letters, iii, 200.

3. Swearingen, p.145.

4. ibid., p.145. See the summary of S.S. McClure's letter to Stevenson, McKay, iv, 1494 (Beinecke 5195).

5. This is misnumbered and should be 14. There was no September number.

1891) and 15 (December 1891).⁶

Stevenson had arrived at Honolulu on the yacht Casco, having left San Francisco in June 1888, sailing first to the Marquesas Islands and then to the Paumotus and Tahiti. This trip formed the first of two cruises (the second beginning when Stevenson left Honolulu in June 1889 on the Equator) documented in his In the South Seas, written and revised from June 1888 to Autumn 1891 and first published by S.S. McClure in the New York Sun from 1 February to 13 December 1891. As Swearingen had suggested, 'The Bottle Imp' was at least drafted at some time on this first cruise, since the story itself is set in those places Stevenson visited at this time: Hawaii, Tahiti and, of course, San Francisco. Stevenson's account of Hawaii in In the South Seas is given in 'Part III: The Eight Islands.' Here, in the opening chapter 'The Kona Coast,' Stevenson gives details of the place in which, in the story, Keawe's 'Bright House' is located, and he also mentions the steamer Hall that Keawe and Lopaka take 'down Kona way...'⁷ In 'The Bottle Imp,' Stevenson mentions Keawe's namesake 'Keawe the Great' (p.79), whose bones 'lie hidden in a cave' (p.79): this character is described in the third chapter of 'The Eight Islands,' 'The City of Refuge.' Keawe was an old king of Hawaii and 'the reigning and the hallowing saint':⁸ his bones were actually buried in 'Hale Keawe' or the House of Keawe, a temple in the City of Refuge, but they were removed to prevent desecration and are now 'hidden' 'in some unknown crevice of that caverned isle.'⁹ It is likely that Keawe's 'Bright House' built in

6. This is also misnumbered and should be 16. For further remarks on the translation of 'The Bottle Imp,' see Letters, iv, 62 and Swearingen, pp.145-46.

7. Island Nights' Entertainments, xiii, 86. Further references are given after quotations in the text.

8. In the South Seas, xx, 196.

9. ibid., p.196.

'The Bottle Imp' is a reference to Hale Keawe in the City of Refuge, described as king Keawe's 'house which he had builded.'¹⁰ Accordingly, Keawe's return to the 'Bright House' with his bride Kokua at the end of the story, after ridding themselves of the Bottle Imp, has a special significance. They enter, in other words, the City of Refuge: '...great, since then, has been the peace of all their days in the Bright House' (p.110). This return recalls, for example, Sanazarro's journey back up to the convent at the end of 'When the Devil was Well': it amounts to a final celebratory entrance into 'paradise.' Indeed, this is made clear in 'The Bottle Imp' just after Keawe has finished building his 'Bright House': 'Here am I now upon my high place....all shelves about me towards the worse' (p.91). This final celebratory ascent into 'paradise' marks the end of an essentially 'restorative' process and indicates Stevenson's own return to the 'romantically comic' form.

The name of Keawe's bride in the story, Kokua, is given a particular and significant meaning in the fifth chapter of 'The Eight Islands,' 'The Lepers of Kona.' This chapter is an account of Stevenson's first experiences with the leper colonies of Hawaii, and he writes mainly about the strong bonds of affection binding an afflicted family and the effects on them of introduced laws of segregation:

It is no fear of the lazaretto; they know the dwellers are well used in Molokai; they receive letters from friends already there who praise the place; and could the family be taken in a body, they would go with glee, overjoyed to draw rations from Government. But all cannot become pensioners at once; a proportion of rate-payers must be kept; and the leper must go alone or with a single relative; and the native instinctively resists the separation as a weasel bites. 11

10. ibid., p.197.

11. ibid., p.206.

Stevenson then goes on to sketch the sorrow and lamenting of a mother about to lose her afflicted daughter to the leper settlement at Molokai, adding that she can only hope to visit her daughter again by taking on the role of 'a Kokua, or clean assistant.'¹² The name of Keawe's bride in 'The Bottle Imp' is thus clearly defined: indeed, Stevenson again referred to the 'clean Kokuas' in these terms in a later essay on the lepers of Molokai, 'The Lazaretto of To-Day,' as 'connections of the sick allowed to accompany their wives, husbands, or children.'¹³ In the context of 'The Bottle Imp,' this definition suggests that Kokua has a certain 'connection' to Keawe which needs to be further remarked upon.

After he builds the 'Bright House' and rids himself of the Bottle Imp for the first time, Keawe falls in love with Kokua and determines to marry her. But, one evening, he discovers he has 'fallen in the Chinese Evil' (p.92): he has, in other words, become afflicted with leprosy:

Now, it is a sad thing for any man to fall into this sickness. And it would be a sad thing for any one to leave a house so beautiful and so commodious, and depart from all his friends to the north coast of Molokai, between the mighty cliff and the sea-breakers. But what was that to the case of the man Keawe, he who had met his love but yesterday and won her but that morning, and now saw all his hopes break, in a moment, like a piece of glass? (p.92)

Reacting against the laws of segregation that apply to leprosy natives, Keawe contrives to remain with Kokua by buying back the Bottle Imp. Yet although his leprosy is 'cured,' the laws of segregation still seem to apply, as Keawe realises when he takes the Bottle Imp to Tahiti, with Kokua, to sell it a second time:

So far from gaining ground, these two began to find they were avoided in the town; the children ran away from them

12. ibid., p.210.

13. Vailima Papers, xxi, 331-32.

screaming, a thing intolerable to Kokua...and all persons began with one accord to disengage themselves from their advances. (p.101)

This description of the reaction to Keawe and Kokua in Tahiti interestingly recalls Stevenson's description in his essay 'A Pearl Island: Penrhyn' of a particularly deformed leper who arrives one day at Penrhyn (an island without leprosy): he was 'a thing for children to flee from screaming.'¹⁴ In a sense, Keawe is still somehow 'contagious,' and it becomes clear that the cause of this continued contagion is the Bottle Imp itself. Keawe's leprosy and his retrieval of the Bottle Imp perhaps amount to the same thing: the Bottle Imp itself begins his 'fall into...sickness,' and Kokua remains as his 'clean assistant.'

This argument can be better understood by remarking on the effects of the Bottle Imp on its other owners in the story. Searching for the Bottle Imp to buy again, Keawe is directed to 'a Haole in Beritania Street' (p.95). The Haole, or white man, has to Keawe's surprise been thoroughly transformed by his experience:

...when the owner came, a shock of hope and fear ran through Keawe; for here was a young man, white as a corpse, and black about the eyes, the hair shedding from his head, and such a look in his countenance as a man may have when he is waiting for the gallows. (p.95)

The Haole's clear 'deterioration' is, of course, caused by his possession of the Bottle Imp: as Keawe realises, 'When I see pale cheeks and hear sighing, I shall know that I am near the bottle' (p.95). When Keawe buys it back again, his health also begins to 'deteriorate': although the Bottle Imp literally cures his leprosy, he still has 'a sick spirit....a sick heart' (p.98). Learning about the bottle, Kokua takes it upon herself to 'save my lover' (p.99). Indeed, by taking the Bottle Imp from

14. ibid., p.314.

Keawe, she becomes his 'saviour': as he tells her, 'I put my life and my salvation in your hands' (p.99). But Kokua, the leper's 'clean assistant,' also takes Keawe's 'sickness' upon herself. Through this ultimate sacrifice for her husband, she has allowed herself now to become 'unclean': as she tells Keawe later, 'My husband, I am ill...' (p.105). Realising that she has the Bottle Imp, Keawe tries to buy it back using 'an old brutal Haole' (p.106) as his intermediary; but the Haole, returning drunk with rum, decides to keep the bottle for himself. By taking the Bottle Imp away from Keawe and Kokua, the Haole thus also removes their 'sickness' and puts an end to their segregation. In a comic touch at the end of the story he takes a last drink before departing, exclaiming to Keawe, 'Here's your health, and good-night to you!' (p.110): the 'health' of Keawe and Kokua is thus finally 'restored' to them, and the Bottle Imp goes 'out of the story' (p.110).

The general story of the Bottle Imp (where, if it is not sold for less than it was bought for, the owner will be damned to hell) is not original: as Stevenson had noted in his letter to Sidney Colvin on 3 December 1892, it was taken from 'an old melodrama.'¹⁵ In her 'Prefatory Note' to Island Nights' Entertainments, Fanny Stevenson further explains that 'The Bottle Imp' drew on an 'old-fashioned' melodrama 'by an author even then almost forgotten, named Fitzball' (p.xi), which in turn had been 'adapted from an old German legend' (pp.xi-ii):

No doubt Fitzball's melodrama differed widely from the original German Bottle Imp; certainly there was very little resemblance between his version and my husband's story that was meant to appeal more particularly to the native mind. (p.xii)

In fact, the 'old melodrama' was R.B. Peake's The Bottle Imp. A Melo-

15. Letters, iv, 269.

Dramatic Romance, In Two Acts (1828): Fitzball was only responsible for the 'Lyrical portion'¹⁶ of the play. Stevenson had also drafted a preface to 'The Bottle Imp' which drew attention to his debt to Peake's play:

Note.--Any student of that very unliterary product, the English drama of the early part of the century, will here recognise the name and the root idea of a piece once rendered popular by the redoubtable O. Smith. The root idea is there, and identical, and yet I believe I have made it a new thing. And the fact that the tale has been designed and written for a Polynesian audience may lend it some extraneous interest nearer home.--R.L.S. (p.78)

'O. Smith' or Obi Smith had played the role of the Bottle Imp in the original casting of Peake's play.

Two articles have traced the 'old German legend' from which Peake's The Bottle Imp was adapted: J.W. Beach, 'The Sources of Stevenson's Bottle Imp,' Modern Language Notes, 25 (January 1910) and Basil F. Kirtley, 'The Devious Genealogy of the "Bottle Imp" Plot,' American Notes and Queries, 9 (January 1971). Roger G. Swearingen has summarised the German sources to the story of the Bottle Imp as listed by Beach and Kirtley: they include Hans Jacob Christoffel von Grimmelhausen's Trutz Simplex (1610), LaMotte-Foque's Das Galgenmännlein (1810), Grimm's folktale 'Spiritus Familiaris' (1816), a tale (based on the translation of Das Galgenmännlein) included in the anonymous Popular Tales and Romances of the Northern Nations (1823), and a story included in Thomas Roscoe's German Novelists (1826) called 'The Mandrake.'¹⁷ Interestingly, a story resembling the Bottle Imp 'plot' may have had its origins in Scottish folklore. In his An Autobiography (1954), Edwin Muir recalls listening as a child to a tale his father told in the evenings that was.

16. The Bottle Imp... (London, 1828), p.5n.

17. See Swearingen, p.146.

apparently, 'common in Scotland':

My father had...a great number of stories about the Book of Black Arts. This book could be bought only for a silver coin, and sold only for a smaller silver one. It ended in the possession of a foolish servant-girl who paid a threepenny-piece for it. It was very valuable, for it gave you all sorts of worldly power; but it had the drawback that if you could not sell it to some one before you died you would be damned. The servant-girl of my father's story tried every means to get rid of it. She tore it to pieces, buried it, tied a stone to it and flung it into the sea, burned it; but after all this it was still at the bottom of her chest when she went to look there. What happened in the end I can't remember; I fancy the poor girl went off her head. 18

There is no evidence to suggest that Stevenson knew this or any of the German versions of the Bottle Imp story listed above; but it is clear that he drew on Peake's melodrama, as he himself acknowledged. This melodrama is set almost entirely in Venice and shows how a young German traveller Albert, accompanied by his servant Willibald, is overawed by the city's wealth and by a beautiful woman, Lucretia. A wicked necromancer, Nicola, encourages Albert to gamble and, when Albert has lost nearly everything, offers to sell him the Bottle Imp: as Nicola remarks to himself, '...for well I know my doom, should I die without having disposed of this charmed object for a less sum than I purchased it.'¹⁹ It transpires that the Bottle Imp (who appears several times in this play) simply reflects Nicola's own wickedness, fulfilling commands which are evil in themselves: as it tells Nicola, 'Your own conscience will accuse you of every vice that can be engendered in a human being with a bad heart.'²⁰ Albert buys the Bottle Imp from Nicola for five

18. An Autobiography (London, 1954), p.13. For Stevenson's own remarks on 'points of similarity' between Scottish legends and South Seas 'superstitious belief,' see In the South Seas, p.13.

19. Peake, p.9.

20. ibid., p.9.

ducats and eventually gives it to Willibald to sell for him. Willibald buys it for himself for three ducats while, in the meantime, Albert, having learnt his lesson, decides to forget Lucretia and return to his old love Marcellia. Willibald finally sells the Bottle Imp to a Jewish pedlar while Nicola, now reduced to poverty, is given a 'picola,' a 'piece of money, of the smallest value in the world.'²¹ Albert, now hunted by the Inquisition, buys the pedlar's cart as a disguise and thus retrieves the Bottle Imp. He then loses it to Jomelli, while gambling, for six soldi. Jomelli later tells Marcellia that Albert has been arrested and sentenced to death for 'gambling away his canteen,'²² and Marcellia, to save him, buys the Bottle Imp (Albert's 'canteen') back from Jomelli. Albert immediately buys it back from her at a lower price; but at that moment Nicola arrives, poverty-stricken and 'expiring with thirst.'²³ Begging for a drink, he buys back the canteen/Bottle Imp with his picola and is at last dragged off to Hell.

Stevenson's story shifts the setting to Hawaii and uses Hawaiians, rather than Germans, as his central characters; but there are other differences between his story and the play that are worth remarking upon. The play shows that Marcellia buys the Bottle Imp to save Albert, but she only considers it to be the 'canteen' Albert had lost while gambling: she does not realise it is the Bottle Imp, nor does she know what that signifies. In Stevenson's story on the other hand, this purchase (by Kokua, who knows about the Bottle Imp) is transformed to become the ultimate sacrifice made by lovers: it emerges as perhaps the story's

21. ibid., p.23.

22. ibid., p.26.

23. ibid., p.29.

central theme, and shows Kokua (and later, Keawe) transcending the usual motives of power and greed that had hitherto made people buy the Bottle Imp. The role of the Bottle Imp itself is also changed. In the play, it is a 'tormenting fiend'²⁴ who appears to Nicola several times with great flourishes and gusto. In Stevenson's story, however, the Bottle Imp makes only one fleeting appearance where, moreover, he is not even described: '...as soon as that was said, the imp looked out of the bottle, and in again, swift as a lizard' (p.88). The story focusses not so much on the Bottle Imp itself but on the effect it has on its owners. Thus, after the imp's fleeting appearance, the story goes on to show how Keawe is consequently 'turned to stone' (p.88): as Keawe remarks later, '...the look of him has cast me down' (p.88). As indicated, the effect of the Bottle Imp on its owners is explored in the story and amounts to a kind of 'deterioration' or 'sickness': it perhaps recalls the effect on Dr Lanyon of seeing Hyde transform into Jekyll in The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde.

In the play, the wicked necromancer Nicola owns the Bottle Imp in the first place and buys it again at the end, when he is at last carried off to Hell: the play thus shows how a wicked man receives what he has deserved. In Stevenson's story, however, none of the characters are at all wicked: indeed, they all use the Bottle Imp as the original owner had advised, 'in moderation' (p.81). The final owner of the Bottle Imp is, however, the 'old brutal Haole' (p.106): he has 'a low mind and a foul mouth' (p.106) and, perhaps of all the previous owners of the Bottle Imp, he is most likely to use it immorally. But his fate is not quite so clear as Nicola's in the play. Used by Keawe as a means of buying the Bottle

24. ibid., p.9.

Imp back from Kokua, the Haole decides not to resell and instead keeps it for himself. Keawe gives him 'two centimes' (p.108) for the first purchase from Kokua, implying that, when Keawe buys it from the Haole, it can never again be resold: Keawe's sacrifice would have been even greater than Kokua's had been since, like Nicola in the play, he would have finally bought the Bottle Imp with a coin 'of the smallest value in the world.' But with the Haole refusing to sell, this final transaction does not take place: the story stops before any of the characters, including the Haole, reach the point where the Bottle Imp is unsaleable and damnation follows. The Bottle Imp thus 'goes...out of the story' (p.110): since the Haole is still able to sell it for one centime, its role, along with the final consequences of damnation, has not yet been concluded. These final consequences are, of course, avoided in Stevenson's essentially 'comic' story: with the Bottle Imp and its accompanying symptoms of 'sickness' now removed, Keawe and Kokua ascend at last into their 'Bright House.'

Like 'The Bottle Imp,' 'The Isle of Voices' is also a comic story, ending with a celebratory reconciliation of husband and wife after a long separation. Recalling Keawe in 'The Bottle Imp,' it also presents a young Hawaiian who is foolishly attracted to money which seems to 'come out of the devil's pocket' (p.114). However, through 'The Isle of Voices' Stevenson may have presented a purer example of a South Pacific folktale: it is not indebted, as 'The Bottle Imp' was, to an English melodrama or to 'old German legends.'

In her 'Prefatory Note' to Island Nights' Entertainments, Fanny Stevenson suggests that 'The Isle of Voices' was perhaps written as a result of listening to tales told to them by Monsieur Donat Rimareau, the half-French and half-Tahitian acting governor of Fakarava. The Stevensons

had arrived at Fakarava in September 1888 on their first South Seas cruise in the Casco, on their way to Hawaii. They hired a cottage on the beach of the atoll for two weeks, dining in the evenings with Rimareau: as Fanny recalls,

Our conversation with M. Rimareau...was at first rather of the Shakespeare and musical glasses order, but after the recital of several Scottish legends--I remember particularly my husband's telling the story of Ticonderoga--the governor felt more at his ease, and gradually he became the narrator and we the spell-bound listeners. Night after night we literally sat at his feet entranced and thrilled by stories of Tahiti and the Paumotus, always of a supernatural character....I am sure that when my husband came to write The Isle of Voices he had our evenings in Fakarava and the stories of M. Rimareau in his mind. I know that I never read The Isle of Voices without a mental picture rising before me of the lagoon, and the cocoa palms, and the wonderful moonlight of Fakarava. (p.xiv)

The Isle of Voices itself is Fakarava, set, as Stevenson notes at the end of his story, in the 'Low or Dangerous Archipelago' (p.133): as a native girl tells Keola, it is a place where 'ships come, and Donat-Kimaran comes and talks for the French, and there is a white trader there in a house with a verandah, and a catechist' (p.128). Stevenson had also remarked on Fakarava in In the South Seas in the second chapter of 'Part II: The Paumotus,' 'Fakarava: An Atoll at Hand.' Here, he noted that only the area around the lagoon was inhabited and that, by contrast, 'the beach of the ocean is a place accursed and deserted, the fit scene only for wizardry and shipwreck, and in the native belief a haunting ground of murderous spectres.'²⁵ Stevenson seems to have taken up this 'native belief' in his presentation of the invisible wizards in his story, collecting their 'millions and millions of dollars' (p.130) on the beach of the Isle of Voices.

Stevenson may have begun 'The Isle of Voices' at any time after his

25. In the South Seas, p.130.

visit to Fakarava in September 1888, and he may have completed it well before he finally sent the story to Sidney Colvin on 3 December 1892. Roger G. Swearingen has noted that Colvin received the story on 13 January 1893:²⁶ on 19 January, Colvin approached Thomas Heath Joyce, editor of The Graphic, in an attempt to serialise 'The Isle of Voices' in a magazine before it appeared in book form in April.²⁷ However, as Swearingen summarises, Joyce 'could not find space'²⁸ for the story.

Some time before this on 29 August 1892, W.E. Henley, now editor of The National Observer, wrote to Charles Baxter, 'I wonder if R.L.S. would write a story for the N.O.?'²⁹ Somewhat impatiently (the friendship between Stevenson and Henley had by this time nearly dissolved), Henley wrote again to Baxter on 12 November asking, 'Is it not time we had an answer to my offer...from Samoa?'³⁰ Baxter probably took up 'The Isle of Voices' after Colvin's attempts to publish it in The Graphic, and passed it on to Henley. The story was then serialised in four instalments in The National Observer, 4 February to 25 February 1893. Like 'The Bottle Imp,' 'The Isle of Voices' remained unchanged in book form; however, each instalment in The National Observer was subtitled, 'I: The Enchanted Beach,' 'II: The Lantern,' 'III: Keola's Troubles' and 'IV: The Wizard's Tryst.'

'The Isle of Voices' shows how Keole, a young Hawaiian from Molokai, becomes curious as to where his father-in-law, the wizard Kalamake, gets

26. Swearingen, p.176.

27. The correspondence between Colvin and Joyce is held in the Parrish Collection, Princeton University Library (AM 21017).

28. Swearingen, p.176.

29. McKay, iv, 1372 (Beinecke 4637).

30. ibid., p.1372 (Beinecke 4638).

his great wealth. One day, Kalamake magically transports Keole to the source of his 'bright dollars' (p.114): they arrive at the Isle of Voices from where, as Keole later realises, 'all the new coin in all the world is gathered' (p.130). The magical flight with Kalamake is particularly traumatic for Keole: as he tells the wizard, 'The pang of it was like death' (p.116). They return to Molokai but, angered by his son-in-law's curiosity about his money, Kalamake later takes Keole out to 'the Sea of the Dead' (p.120) and leaves him there. Keole manages to get aboard a ship where, in the place of a 'sailor...who had been drowned' (p.123), he finds himself back at the Isle of Voices. These links between 'death' and the journey to the Isle of Voices are important to notice: Keole's return to his wife Lehua at Molokai at the end of the story in a sense amounts to a kind of resurrection, where he is finally 'restored' back to his normal life. Moreover, Keole has ensured that the cause of his 'death' has now been removed: Kalamake remains stranded on the Isle of Voices. This 'restorative' process is underlined when Keole is finally cured of his greed for Kalamake's money: indeed, taking the advice of a missionary, he gives the remains of these 'dollars...out of the devil's pocket' (p.114) 'to the lepers' (p.133) who live on Molokai.

This final removal of the wizard and his 'devil's' money from Molokai is also a kind of exorcism: like the Bottle Imp, Kalamake is sent 'out of the story.' The same sort of process is presented in more detail in Stevenson's third South Pacific short story, the 'realistic' 'The Beach of Falesá.' This story presents a character who, like Keawe in 'The Bottle Imp,' is treated as if he is somehow 'contagious.' His consequent segregation is, he discovers, the result of 'Devil-Work.' and the story shows how he proceeds with a kind of exorcism that both 'cures' him and 'restores' him back into the community.

CHAPTER SIX

II. 'THE BEACH OF FALESÁ'

Stevenson began 'The Beach of Falesá' around the end of October 1890, shortly after returning from Sydney in Australia to set up his property in Samoa, Vailima. The story was originally titled 'The High Woods of Ulufanua,' and Stevenson explained the name and listed seven chapter headings in a letter to Sidney Colvin in early November. The story seems to have been inspired by Stevenson's 'long, silent contests in the forest,'¹ clearing land for the property:

...I have taken refuge in a new story, which just shot through me like a bullet in one of my moments of awe, alone in that tragic jungle:--

The High Woods of Ulufanua

1. A South Sea Bridal.
2. Under the Ban.
3. Savao and Faavao.
4. Cries in the High Wood.
5. Rumour full of Tongues.
6. The Hour of Peril.
7. The Day of Vengeance.

It is very strange, very extravagant, I daresay; but it's varied, and picturesque, and has a pretty love affair, and ends well. Ulufanua is a lovely Samoan word, ulu=grove; fanua=land; groveland--'the tops of the high trees.' Savao, 'sacred to the wood,' and Faavao, 'woodways,' are the names of two of the characters, Ulufanua the name of the supposed island. 2

These seven original chapter headings have been reduced to five in the final version of 'The Beach of Falesá,' which are as follows:

- I. A South Sea Bridal
- II. The Ban
- III. The Missionary
- IV. Devil-Work
- V. Night in the Bush

1. Letters, iv, 19.

2. ibid., p.20.

There is clearly little change in the first two chapter headings, and indeed the story itself seems to have remained essentially the same. 'The Beach of Falesá' also 'ends well' and has 'a pretty love affair,' and it also moves towards the same kind of climax as the chapter headings for 'The High Woods of Ulufanua' outline. However, in this original version it is suggested that Stevenson might have treated the 'high woods' themselves as a kind of symbol: the names 'Ulufanua,' 'Savao' and 'Faavao' (given Stevenson's English translations) testify to the importance of the 'high woods' in this story, and only the name 'Fa'avao' survives in 'The Beach of Falesá.'

Stevenson put 'The High Woods of Ulufanua' to one side soon afterwards towards the end of the month: on 25 November he wrote to Colvin, 'I have ...given up, as a deception of the devil's, the High Woods...' ³ He returned to it, only briefly, in April 1891: as he wrote to Colvin on 29 April,

I have taken up again The High Woods of Ulufanua. I still think the fable too fantastic and far-fetched. But, on a re-reading, fell in love with my first chapter, and for good or evil I must finish it. It is really good, well fed with facts, true to the manners, and (for once in my works) rendered pleasing by the presence of a heroine who is pretty. Miss Uma is pretty; a fact. All my other women have been as ugly as sin... ⁴

Stevenson returned to his story a second time in September of this year, writing again to Colvin, 'O, it's so good, the High Woods, but the story is craziness--that's the trouble...' ⁵ Stevenson had written or re-written his first chapter by this time, and remarked in the same letter about the

3. ibid., p.25.

4. ibid., p.75.

5. ibid., p.94.

effect this had had on his original ending:

I have just...read through the chapter of the High Woods that is written, a chapter and a bit, some sixteen pages, really very fetching....it's sixteen pages of the South Seas; their essence. What am I to do? Lose this little gem--for I'll be bold, and that's what I think it --or go on with the rest, which I don't believe in, and don't like, and which can never make aught but a silly yarn? Make another end to it? Ah, yes, but that's not the way I write; the whole tale is implied; I never use an effect, when I can help it, unless it prepares the effects that are to follow; that's what a story consists in....Well, I shall end by finishing it against my judgement; that fragment is my Delilah. Golly, it's good. I am not shining by modesty; but I do just love the colour and movement of that piece so far as it goes. 6

Three days later and in the same letter, Stevenson added that he had found a suitable ending at last and announced a change in the story's title:

The High Woods are under way, and their name is now the Beach of Falesá, and the yarn is cured. I have about thirty pages of it done; it will be fifty to seventy I suppose. No supernatural trick at all; and escaped out of it quite easily; can't think why I was so stupid for so long. 7

Stevenson wrote to Colvin again on 28 September remarking that the story was now almost complete. Here, he explained that the changes to the ending now meant returning to the beginning of the story again to correct certain 'liberties':

...I have written and rewritten The Beach of Falesá; something like sixty thousand words of sterling domestic fiction (the story, you will understand, is only half that length); and now...I've got to overhaul it once again to my sorrow. I was all yesterday revising, and found a lot of slackness and (what is worse in this kind of thing) some literaryisms. One of the puzzles is this:

6. ibid., p.95.

7. ibid., pp.99-100. It is not known what 'supernatural trick' Stevenson had employed. See Balfour, ii, 138: '...the story which at first, as The High Woods of Ulufanua, turned on a supernatural element...then came down to earth in its final form as The Beach of Falesá.'

it is a first person story--a trader telling his own adventure in an island. When I began I allowed myself a few liberties, because I was afraid of the end; now the end proved quite easy, and could be done in the pace; so the beginning remains about a quarter tone out (in places); but I have rather decided to let it stay so. The problem is always delicate; it is the only thing that worries me in first person tales....There is a vast deal of fact in the story, and some pretty good comedy. It is the first realistic South Sea story; I mean with real South Sea character and details of life. Everybody else who has tried, that I have seen, got carried away by the romance, and ended in a kind of sugar candy sham epic, and the whole effect was lost--there was no etching, no human grin, consequently no conviction. Now I have got the smell and look of the thing a good deal. You will know more about the South Seas after you have read my little tale than if you had read a library. 8

Stevenson probably finished 'The Beach of Falesá' in early October: as indicated, he sent the manuscript of the story to Charles Baxter on 14 October 1891, remarking on its publication in book form and telling Baxter to expect an offer for the serial rights from S.S. McClure (who at this time was publishing the final instalments of Stevenson's In the South Seas).⁹ As Roger G. Swearingen has noted, an agreement for serialisation was made with the McClures on 19 December,¹⁰ and 'The Beach of Falesá' was first published under the longer title 'Uma; or The Beach of Falesá (Being the Narrative of a South-Sea Trader),' in The Illustrated London News, 2 July to 6 August 1892.

The manuscript of 'The Beach of Falesá' is now held in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California (HM 2391). It differs in many ways from the serialised and published versions of the story, which are themselves also slightly different from one another. Two significant

8. Letters, iv, 100-01.

9. See Baxter, p.287.

10. Swearingen, p.154.

omissions from the manuscript are a paragraph deleted by Stevenson himself at the end of the story, and a 'yarn' told by Case to Wiltshire in the first chapter: the 'yarn' will be given below, but for a complete list of differences between the manuscript and the final published version of 'The Beach of Falesá' in Island Nights' Entertainments, see Appendix v. A third passage in the manuscript, presenting the marriage contract between Uma and Wiltshire, was left out entirely from the serialised version of the story and altered in the final published version. Indeed, the omission of this marriage contract from The Illustrated London News probably explains why its publication here was so delayed. Stevenson had received the galley proofs of 'The Beach of Falesá' around the end of January 1892: on 1 February he wrote to Colvin,

The Beach of Falesá I still think well of, but it seems it's immoral and there's a to-do, and financially it may prove a heavy disappointment. The plaintive request sent to me, to make the young folks married properly before 'that night,' I refused; you will see what would be left of the yarn, had I consented. This is a poison bad world for the romancer, this Anglo-Saxon world... 11

By mid-May, the marriage contract still seems to have been an issue for the editor of The Illustrated London News, Clement Shorter, and for Cassell's who at this time were arranging to publish the story in book form. Shorter eventually left the marriage contract out altogether, but on 17 May 1892 Stevenson replied to a letter from Colvin which had presumably conveyed a compromise from Cassell's, that the contract between Wiltshire and Uma be lengthened to something more than 'one night' only. Stevenson finally acquiesced: 'Well, well, if the dears prefer a week, why, I'll give them ten days, but the real document, from which I have scarcely varied, ran for one night.'¹² In fact, the original

11. Letters, iv, 149.

12. ibid., p.182.

manuscript had married Uma and Wiltshire 'for one night ~~only~~, and Mr John Wiltshire is at liberty to send her to hell next morning.'¹³ In Island Nights' Entertainments, as Stevenson's letter to Colvin had indicated, the time is extended and the marriage contract is altered in two places: they are married 'for one week, and Mr John Wiltshire is at liberty to send her to hell when he pleases.'¹⁴

Although Stevenson seems to have agreed to compromise in May, Cassell's were apparently still trying to finalise Stevenson's view of the marriage contract by October 1892: on 4 October, T. Wemyss Reid, representing Cassell's, wrote to Stevenson that the publication of 'The Beach of Falesá' in book form had been 'delayed by uncertainty regarding Stevenson's wishes concerning his text relating to the certificate of marriage.'¹⁵ Wemyss Reid added in his letter, 'You must naturally have been very angry when you saw how that part of the book had been dealt with by the editor of the Illustrated London News.'¹⁶ Indeed, Stevenson was particularly upset at the omission of the marriage contract from the serialised version of his story, and wrote to Colvin in August 1892 listing this and other complaints after seeing The Illustrated London News version:

I am sending you a wire...that is to say either you or Cassell, about Falesá; I will not allow it to be called Uma in book form, that is not the logical name of the story. Nor can I have the marriage contract omitted; and the thing is full of misprints abominable. 17

13. 'The Beach of Falesá...the original manuscript' (HM 2391), p.8, ll. 17-18.

14. Island Nights' Entertainments, xiii, p.10. Further references are given after quotations in the text.

15. This letter is summarised by McKay, iv, 1550 (Beinecke 5401).

16. ibid., p.1550.

17. Letters, iv, 229.

One of the reasons why Stevenson had been upset by the omission of the marriage contract was because it had been, as he wrote to Colvin earlier on 17 May, based on a 'real document, from which I have scarcely varied.' This 'real document' is described by Stevenson in his In the South Seas in the seventh chapter of 'Part IV: The Gilberts,' 'Husband and Wife.'

Stevenson had visited the Gilbert Islands in Autumn 1889 as part of his second cruise of the South Pacific aboard the Equator, and in this chapter (and others) he remarks on the activities of the white traders operating here. Although he criticises their behaviour, he observes in this chapter that the 'trader must be credited with a virtue: he often makes a kind and loyal husband.'¹⁸ He then goes on to describe five native wives taken by white traders in Butaritari, and mentions the marriage contract he had used in 'The Beach of Falesá':

All these women were legitimately married. It is true that the certificate of one, when she proudly showed it, proved to run thus, that she was 'married for one night,' and her gracious partner was at liberty to 'send her to hell' the next morning; but she was none the wiser or the worse for the dastardly trick. 19

In Stevenson's story, the negro 'Chaplain' had not used the Bible in the mock-wedding: instead, 'The book he made believe to read from was an old volume of a novel...' (p.10). This 'novel' may be identified in 'Husband and Wife' when Stevenson goes on to mention the marriage of a second native woman to a white trader: 'Another, I heard, was married on a work of mine in a pirated edition; it answered the purpose as well as a Hall Bible.'²⁰

18. In the South Seas, xx, 266.

19. ibid., p.267.

20. ibid., p.267.

Since 'The Beach of Falesá' is written (as the subtitle suggests) by 'a South Sea trader' and since it presents several other South Sea traders, it may be helpful to examine some of Stevenson's remarks on their real counterparts in this part of In the South Seas. Interestingly, the trader's only 'virtue,' that 'he...makes a kind and loyal husband,' is upheld in the story not only by Wiltshire but also by the 'Tiapolo' (p.49), Case:

I know but one good point to the man--that he was fond of his wife, and kind to her. She was a Samoa woman, and dyed her hair red--Samoa style; and when he came to die (as I have to tell of) they found one strange thing--that he had made a will, like a Christian, and the widow got the lot... (p.4)

In his section on the Gilbert Islands, Stevenson had directed most of his criticisms at those white traders who made their living mainly by selling gin to the natives, arguing that (among other things) it generated an unhealthy kind of competition:

The sale of drink is in this group a measure of the jealousy of traders; one begins, the others are constrained to follow; and to him who has the most gin, and sells it the most recklessly, the lion's share of copra is assured. It is felt by all to be an extreme expedient, neither safe, decent, nor dignified. 21

Stevenson tells that he actually visited a white trader, Muller, to urge him to stop supplying the natives with gin,²² and he had sent a 'petition to the United States, praying for a law against the liquor trade in the Gilberts,'²³ to no avail. He describes the havoc caused at night by drunken natives who have access to guns,²⁴ but he also notes that the

21. ibid., p.247.

22. See ibid., pp.249-51.

23. ibid., p.252.

24. See ibid., p.251.

white traders themselves could fall under the influence of their alcohol, remarking on one particular 'black sheep,'

the man is typical of a class of ruffians that once disgraced the whole field of the South Seas, and still linger in the rarely visited isles of Micronesia. He had a name on the beach of 'a perfect gentleman when sober,' but I never saw him otherwise than drunk. 25

However, Stevenson adds that only a minority of white traders were involved in the sale and consumption of gin, and generally speaking his opinion of them is positive: 'We found them at all times simple, genial, gay, gallant, and obliging; and, across some interval of time, recall with pleasure the traders of Butaritari.'²⁶

Stevenson's disapproval of those white traders who deal in gin is obviously manifested in 'The Beach of Falesá.' Wiltshire's first sight of Case's station establishes exactly what kind of trader Case really is: his store contains 'the poorest possible display of trade....the only thing well represented being the contraband firearms and liquor' (p.6).²⁷ The sketch of Captain 'Papa' Randall, who owns the station, perhaps recalls the 'black sheep' described above in In the South Seas. As Randall somewhat ironically proclaims to Wiltshire, 'Take gin for my health's sake... 's a precautionary measure' (p.7); but his character has clearly 'deteriorated' under the influence of the alcohol, and Wiltshire quickly reacts against this overwhelming sense of 'unhealthiness':

In the back room was old Captain Randall, squatting on the floor native fashion, fat and pale, naked to the

25. ibid., p.231.

26. ibid., p.231.

27. The Illustrated London News and Island Nights' Entertainments versions of the story read 'the finest possible display of trade...' The manuscript clearly shows that 'finest' is a misreading of 'poorest.' and certainly the former adjective makes no sense in its context. See Appendix v.

waist, grey as a badger, and his eyes set with drink. His body was covered with grey hair and crawled over by flies; one was in the corner of his eye--he never heeded; and the mosquitoes hummed about the man like bees. Any clean-minded man would have had the creature out at once and buried him; and to see him, and think he was seventy, and remember he had once commanded a ship, and come ashore in his smart togs, and talked big in bars and consulates, and sat in club verandahs, turned me sick and sober. (pp.6-7, my italics)

Significantly, Wiltshire, both 'sickened' and 'sobered' after seeing Randall, returns home and empties out all the bottles of gin he had brought with him to sell on the island: as he tells Uma, 'Man he drink, he no good' (p.12).

Wiltshire's reaction against such a 'deteriorated' white trader is important to notice: Wiltshire is a trader himself, but he is also a 'clean-minded man.' That is, he has all the characteristics and prejudices of the traders, and yet he rejects those traders who reflect a practice that is (as Stevenson had expressed it in In the South Seas) 'neither safe, decent, nor dignified.' Wiltshire's essential 'clean-mindedness' is clearly shown through his developing relationship with his native wife Uma, and begins with his 'shame' (p.10) at the bogus marriage contract. Indeed, his attitude to Uma quickly changes after their marriage so that, initially being 'one of those most opposed to any nonsense about native women' (p.11), he eventually elevates her to a position superior to his own: '...it came over me she was a kind of countess really, dressed to hear great singers at a concert, and no even mate for a poor trader like myself' (p.11). However, Wiltshire's trader's prejudices still operate so that, when the natives later avoid his store and stay away from his house, he refuses to confide in his native wife: 'You might think I would tell Uma, but that was against my system....it's a bad idea to set natives up with any notion of consulting them, so I went to Case' (p.21, my italics). In a sense, the events in the story overturn Wiltshire's 'system': only

by consulting Uma later on does he realise that Case had been responsible for the 'ban' on his store, and eventually Wiltshire understands that 'she was my only friend in that queer place' (p.29). He consequently destroys the bogus marriage contract and is 'married to her right' (p.38), with the ceremony given, significantly, 'in native' (p.38).

Wiltshire's reaction against the traders' 'system' (especially as reflected by Case and Randall) is important since he had earlier been impressed by Case in particular: 'All the better part of the day we sat drinking better acquaintance in the cabin, and I never heard a man talk more to the point. There was no smarter trader, and none dodgier, in the islands' (p.4). Wiltshire initially accepts without question Case's account of what had happened to the previous traders on Falesá (Johnny Adams, Vigours and Underhill): however, perhaps the best example of his early uncritical admiration of Case occurs in a long passage in the manuscript of the story that is left out of the serialised and published versions. Here, Case tells Wiltshire about the fate of a fourth trader called Miller, as they sit 'drinking better acquaintance' in the opening chapter. Case's 'yarn' is a cautionary tale testifying to his malicious influence and ruthlessness, but at this stage Wiltshire is not at all suspicious, accepting his 'new companion' and condoning his trading practices. Stevenson's deletions are included, and each new line will be indicated by a dividing type-stroke:

I remember ^{one} a bit of advice he gave me that morning, and
 one/^{yarn} story he told. The bit of advice was this. 'Whenever
 you get hold of any money,' says he/--'any christian money,
 I mean--the first thing to do is to fire it up to Sydney
 to the/bank. It's only a temptation to a copra merchant;
 some day, he'll be in a row with/the other traders. and
 he'll get his baek up shirt out and buy copra with it. And
 the/name of the man that buys copra with gold is Damfool.'

says he. That was the advice; and/this was the yarn, which might have opened my eyes to the danger of that man for neighbours (sic),/if I had been anyway suspicious. It seems Case was trading somewhere in the Ellices./There was a man Miller, a Dutchman there, who had a strong hold with the natives and/handled the bulk of what there was. Well one fine day ~~there was~~ a schooner ^{got in the lagoon} wrecked, and Miller bought her/(the way these things are usually managed) for an old song, which was the ruin of him./For having a bit of trade in hand that cost him practically nothing, what/does he do but begin by cutting rates? Case went round to the other traders. 'Wants/to lower prices?' says Case. 'All right, then. He has five times the ^{turn-over} ~~turnover~~ of any/one of us; if buying at a loss is the game, he ~~loses~~ stands to lose five times more./Let's give him ^{the} bed rock; let's bilge the -----!' And so they did, and five months/after, Miller had to sell out his boat and station, and begin again somewhere in the/Carolinas./

Well, All this talk suited me, and my new companion suited me... 28

This passage shows the importance of the traders' 'system' (with its competitive ruthlessness) in Stevenson's story: Wiltshire, a trader himself, has to break away from that 'system' in order to understand that it is 'neither safe, decent, nor dignified.' This movement away from the traders' 'system' is represented by his increasing attachment to his native wife, Uma: it is through her that he realises the 'danger' of Case 'for neighbours.' Wiltshire is also led to consult the missionary, Mr Tarleton, which again amounts to a break away from the prejudices of the traders' 'system': 'This was the first time, in all my years in the Pacific, I had ever exchanged two words with any missionary, let alone asked one for a favour. I didn't like the lot, no trader does' (p.35).

28. 'The Beach of Falesá...the original manuscript,' p.3, 11.13-31.

Wiltshire's movement away from the white traders' 'system' on the island amounts to a challenge to the dominant white presence, represented by Case and 'Papa' Randall. Indeed, Wiltshire's allies against Case are the non-whites in the story: they include his native wife Uma, the missionary Tarleton, who is 'partly Kanakaised, and suck[s] up with natives instead of with other white men' (p.35), and the young native chief Maea, who is significantly presented in terms of a racial role-reversal, occupying the position from which those corrupt white traders are now excluded: as Wiltshire exclaims, 'I tell you I shook hands with that Kanaka like as if he was the best white man in Europe' (p.61). Stevenson himself had pointed to this reaction against the 'whites' in his story in his letter to Colvin on 17 May 1892:

I think you seem scarcely fair to Wiltshire, who had surely, under his beast-ignorant ways, right noble qualities. And I think perhaps you scarce do justice to the fact that this is a place of realism à outrance; nothing extenuated or coloured. Looked at so, is it not, with all its tragic features, wonderfully idyllic, with great beauty of scene and circumstance? And will you please observe that almost all that is ugly is in the whites? I'll apologise for Papa Randal (*sic*) if you like; but if I told you the whole truth--for I did extenuate there! --and he seemed to me essential as a figure, and essential as a pawn in the game, Wiltshire's disgust for him being one of the small, efficient motives in the story. Now it would have taken a fairish dose to disgust Wiltshire. 29

For Stevenson, Wiltshire, himself a white trader, is redeemed by his 'right noble qualities': as indicated, his 'disgust' at the 'deteriorated' figure of Randall is a part of his essential 'clean-mindedness.' But Stevenson is also careful not to exaggerate these 'noble qualities': Wiltshire is, as he describes himself, 'just a common low God-damned white man and British subject....I hope that's plain!' (p.36). Indeed, his 'disgust' at Randall and his later battle against Case notwithstanding,

29. Letters, iv, 182. my italics (except for a outrance).

Wiltshire does not finally come to reject entirely the traders' 'system' of prejudices in which those characters had operated. Accordingly, his closing remarks, when he settles down in Falesá with Uma and his children, are somewhat ambivalent:

I'm stuck here, I fancy. I don't like to leave the kids, you see: and--there's no use talking--they're better here than what they would be in a white man's country, though Ben took the eldest up to Auckland, where he's being schooled with the best. But what bothers me is the girls. They're only half-castes, of course; I know that as well as you do, and there's nobody thinks less of half-castes than I do; but they're mine, and about all I've got. I can't reconcile my mind to their taking up with Kanakas, and I'd like to know where I'm to find the whites? (p.75)

Wiltshire finds himself, finally, polarised between the white traders' 'system' (which perpetuates his derogatory view of 'Kanakas') and his new understanding of the 'unhealthiness' of that 'system' and of the whites who uphold it, Randall and Case.³⁰

Wiltshire is first alerted to the 'danger' of Case when it becomes clear that he had arranged the 'ban' on Uma which had initially caused a native suitor Ioane to desert her:

It seems...Uma and her mother had been looked down upon, of course, for kinless folk and out-islanders, but nothing to hurt; and, even when Ioane came forward, there was less trouble at first than might have been looked for. And then, all of a sudden, about six months before my coming, Ioane backed out and left that part of the island, and from that day to this Uma and her mother had found themselves alone. None called at their house--none spoke to them on the roads. If they went to church, the other women drew their mats away and left them in a clear place

30. Peter Gilmore, in his article 'Robert Louis Stevenson: Forms of Evasion,' has drawn attention to Wiltshire's closing remarks: 'There is a disturbing last paragraph, in which Wiltshire's racism is allowed to surface....It is as though, at the very end, Stevenson....is trying to suggest that the story has addressed itself to the racial issues inherent in it,' Robert Louis Stevenson, edited by Andrew Noble (London, 1983), p.194. The above argument has indicated that Wiltshire's 'racism' is part of a white traders' 'system' that has operated throughout the story (it does not just 'surface' at the end). The closing remarks show Wiltshire still upholding that 'system' while nevertheless having recognised its essential 'unhealthiness.'

by themselves. It was a regular excommunication... (p.32)

This kind of segregation is important to notice, since it recalls the treatment of Keawe and Kokua in Tahiti in 'The Bottle Imp.' When (again as arranged by Case) Wiltshire marries Uma, he becomes a part of the 'ban' and is also subject to the laws of segregation by other natives:

Three little boys sat beside my path, where I must pass within three feet of them....A while they sat their ground, solemn as judges. I came up hand over fist, doing my five knots, like a man that meant business; and I thought I saw a sort of a wink and gulp in the three faces. Then one jumped up (he was the farthest off) and ran for his mammy. The other two, trying to follow suit, got foul, came to the ground together bawling, wriggled right out of their sheets, and in a moment there were all three of them scampering for their lives, and singing out like pigs. (pp.14-15)

The reaction of the three little boys to Wiltshire as he comes out of his store recalls how 'the children ran away...screaming' from Keawe and Kokua when they arrive in Tahiti: indeed, it is possible to say that Wiltshire is treated as if he is somehow 'contagious' (just as Keawe and Kokua, with the Bottle Imp, are treated as if they are a leper and his 'clean assistant'). Interestingly, the name 'Falesá' may itself support this reading: George Pratt's A Samoan Dictionary: English and Samoan and Samoan and English (1862), the only Samoan/English dictionary available at the time, defines 'Fale'esea' as a verb meaning 'to dwell apart (as a sick person, a husband driven away by his wife).'³¹

Case is, of course, the cause of Wiltshire's segregation or 'contagion': just as Keawe and Kokua had to rid themselves of the diabolic

31. A Samoan Dictionary... (Samoa, 1862), p.116. Pratt's dictionary was also reprinted in 1878; and Stevenson mentioned him ('an old missionary of the unpromising name of Pratt') in a letter to Colvin on 17 January 1891, Letters, iv, 48-49, praising his recent Fables from Many Lands (London, 1890), which Pratt had translated into Samoan.

Bottle Imp in order to be 'cured,' so Wiltshire has to overthrow Case's 'Devil-Work' (to use the title of Chapter IV) in order to end his segregation and be 'restored' back into the community at Falesá. Indeed, Case's role in these terms, as the cause of 'sickness' in others, is important to notice. He had ruined previous traders on the island by literally making them ill: Johnny Adams had contracted 'Some kind of sickness' (p.2), while Underhill had been 'struck with a general palsy, all of him dead but one eye, which he continually winked' (p.42). The fate of these traders, under the 'Tiapolo' Case's influence, perhaps recalls the fate of Lotu's companions in Uma's story about the 'devil-women': under the influence of the aitus, they 'sickened, and spoke never a reasonable word until they died' (p.52). But just as Lotu resists the 'devil-women,' so Wiltshire resists the 'Devil-Work' of Case: in a prolonged battle throughout the night, Wiltshire destroys the 'Tiapolo' and (with the later eviction of 'Papa' Randall from Falesá) thus rids the island of its 'unhealthiness.'

This context of sickness and health is made clearer at the beginning of the story, when Wiltshire first arrives at Falesá. Here, the captain of the schooner tells Wiltshire about the sickness and death of the earlier trader, Johnny Adams:

'Was it thought to be the island?' I asked.
 'Well, it was thought to be the island, or the trouble, or something,' he replied. 'I never could hear but what it was a healthy place....No, I guess it's healthy.' (p.2)

The captain's remarks are, of course, ironically misleading, but at least they establish a symbolic context for Falesá: it is only at the end of the last chapter, when Case and Randall are (like Keawe's Bottle Imp) sent 'out of the story,' that the island actually does become 'a healthy place.' Indeed, the final battle against the 'Tiapolo' Case amounts to

a kind of exorcism, where the principle cause of 'sickness' is at last removed: triumphing over Case, Wiltshire not only 'restores' the island's 'health' but also 'restores' himself back into Falesá's community (with the 'racial' reservations outlined above). The story ends by drawing on familiar 'romantically comic' 'conventions' when the battle with Case, which had taken place throughout the 'extraordinary dark' (p.64) night, ends finally with the welcome relief of morning and the arrival of Maea and the missionary Mr Tarleton:

The night birds stopped after a while; and then the light began to change, the east came orange, the whole wood began to whirr with singing like a musical box, and there was the broad day. (p.73)

This 'restorative' conclusion recalls, for example, the arrival of morning at the end of 'The Pavilion on the Links' after the night-long battle with the Italian carbonari ('And the Italians? Gone too; they were night-birds, and they have all flown before daylight'); and, of course, it also recalls Stevenson's presentation of morning in 'Nuits Blanches,' where the 'nightmares' are finally over:

There is now an end of mystery and fear....the horrible caesura is over and the nightmares have fled away, because the day is breaking and the ordinary life of men is beginning to bestir itself among the streets. 32

CONCLUSION

The thesis has hoped to provide a scholarly introduction to almost all of Stevenson's published and serialised short stories. It has hoped to indicate how these stories can be read in the context of some of Stevenson's other writings, in the context of certain literary or historical sources 'adapted' by Stevenson, and in terms of various changes Stevenson had made to earlier versions (whether in serialised or manuscript form). It has also sought to direct these introductory remarks towards a new and perhaps interesting view of these stories, suggesting that they each present certain 'conventions' prescribed by two essentially opposite and controlling processes: a 'remedial' or 'restorative' process, typical of Stevenson's 'romantically comic' stories; and a process of 'deterioration' and decline, typical of Stevenson's more 'grisly winter's tales.' In many cases, these processes also reflect, respectively, the recovery or loss of health: they manifest the 'symptoms' of sickness and convalescence.

Stevenson's short stories are remarkably diverse, with settings ranging from the South Pacific islands to fifteenth-century Italy to eighteenth-century Scotland. Each chapter or part of a chapter has acknowledged this diversity, but the thesis as a whole has argued that the stories (their many differences from one another notwithstanding) share a set of 'conventions' prescribed by the processes outlined above. One shared 'convention' is the closing transformation or 'conversion' of a character: this occurs in such 'romantically comic' stories as 'The Treasure of Franchard' or 'Providence and the Guitar,' signifying the end of the 'remedial' process; it is also present in 'The Merry Men' or 'The Tale of Tod Lapraik' (where Charles Darnaway and Tam Dale are both 'converted' to 'the cause o' Christ'); and it features again at the end

of 'Markheim' where, in a story that is not at all 'romantically comic,' a 'restorative' process still finally takes place. A very different kind of transformation, however, concludes those stories which reflect a process of 'deterioration': the change in Fettes in 'The Body-Snatcher' or in Jekyll towards the end of The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde signifies that, here, the 'movement was...wholly toward the worse.'

The thesis has suggested that these two processes control the structure and 'imply' the outcome of the stories in which they operate. Those stories presenting a 'restorative' process move towards a 'comic' and celebratory conclusion, drawing on the 'conventions' of healing (where 'follies' or pretensions are 'cured') and recovery (where 'sickness' is exorcised and removed): they show that morning has arrived and that the 'nightmares' are finally over. Those stories presenting a process of 'deterioration' move by contrast towards a condition where 'sickness' is prominent. An opposite set of 'conventions' now prevail: the stories examine the 'symptoms' of inertia and confinement, of a sense of 'enslavement,' of sleeplessness and the feverish dream or 'nightmare'; and they show, instead, that morning (with its 'relief' from this condition) never arrives.

The thesis has also implied a connection between these processes, operating in fiction, and Stevenson's own condition as an invalid and a convalescent. Indeed, it has been suggested that Stevenson regarded the very act of writing (or reading) stories as essentially 'restorative': to recall his letter to John Meiklejohn in February 1880, the writer is 'a sort of doctor of the mind,' and the story itself (or, at least, the 'romantically comic' story) provides a 'drug' ('like opium') by which one is 'made well again.' This notion of the 'restorative' properties of certain stories seems to be reflected in Stevenson's own 'romantic

comedies' (several of which are actually set in those 'sanative' places Stevenson had visited to recover his health). However, Stevenson later explored an opposite kind of story where this 'restorative' process is conspicuously absent: the more pernicious effects of that 'drug' are explored in The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde. Finally, emigrating to the South Pacific islands (with their own associated healing properties), Stevenson returned to the 'romantically comic' form and again presented an essentially 'restorative' process in his short stories: as he had written to Sidney Colvin in June 1886, 'I have done too much in this carrion epoch; I will now be clean...' Stevenson had elsewhere described the 'restorative' properties of fiction in a letter to J.A. Symonds (a fellow-invalid from the Davos sanatorium) written just before the above declaration to Colvin, in Spring 1886. Stevenson had recently read, in the French, Dostoevsky's Le Crime et Le Châtiment (1884), and he remarked to Symonds on the effect this book had had on him: '...it nearly finished me. It was like having an illness.'¹ Stevenson went on to describe the effort of reading such a work (with its implied sense of 'living' what is presented), and further underlined this notion that the story is a 'drug' and the writer is 'a sort of doctor of the mind':

I divined...the existence of a certain impotence in many minds of to-day, which prevents them from living in a book or a character, and keeps them standing afar off, spectators of a puppet show. To such I suppose the book may seem empty in the centre; to the others it is a room, a house of life, into which they themselves enter, and are tortured and purified. 2

1. Letters, iii, 81.

2. ibid., p.81.

APPENDICES

INTRODUCTION

The following five appendices will tabulate in two columns the differences between earlier versions of Stevenson's stories (whether in serialised or manuscript form) and final published versions as they appear in the Tusitala Edition of Stevenson's works.

The lists will include all deleted words and passages in the manuscripts: where deletions are such that the word or passage is no longer decipherable, this will be indicated by an accompanying footnote. Single changes involving certain accidentals (commas, semi-colons and colons, hyphens and dashes) will not be noted here, mainly for reasons of space.¹ However, changes involving exclamation-marks, question-marks or the formation of new sentences will be noted. Changes to the spelling of single Scottish words will also be noted (for example, where 'wasnae' becomes 'wasna'). Changes in single words will be noted on their own, while changes involving more than one word or the insertion of new words will be noted with the last words common to both versions at the beginning, and the next word common to both versions at the end (for example, where 'had an indifferent reputation' becomes 'had a sorry reputation'). Remarks on particular changes will be given in an accompanying footnote.

1. The serialised version of 'The Beach of Falesá,' for example, made a great many changes to the manuscript involving these accidentals; and the republication of the story in Island Nights' Entertainments made further such alterations, too numerous to list here. Moreover, Stevenson was probably not responsible for such changes: they may reflect the editor's preferences or the house style (for example, the Tusitala Edition uses hyphens: Stevenson's 'today' becomes 'to-day'). They also hardly affect the meaning of the original version, and it seems more convenient to omit such changes altogether from the following tabulations.

The appendices will list the early versions or manuscripts on the left-hand side and the final published versions on the right-hand side of the page, to facilitate comparisons between changed words and passages. Page and line numbers will be given, and new lines will be indicated by a dividing type-stroke. Published and serialised versions will be single-spaced, while manuscripts of stories (in keeping with their presentation in the thesis) will be one-and-a-half-spaced.

APPENDICES

I. 'THE PAVILION ON THE LINKS'

'The Pavilion on the Links' was first serialised in Cornhill Magazine, 42 (September 1880) and 42 (October 1880), the former number containing the first four chapters. Many of the major differences between this early version and the version republished in New Arabian Nights in July 1882 have already been noted in part iii of Chapter I; but all the changes will be listed below. Numerous minor changes are a consequence of the later omission of the serialised version's opening paragraph, where Frank Cassilis addresses his children: there are, notably, 66 changes from 'your mother' in the serialised version to 'my wife' or 'Clara' in the final version since, now, the children have been removed from the framework of the story. The text from the final published version listed below appears in New Arabian Nights, i, 159-216.

Cornhill (September 1880)

p.307, 11.1-26 I believe it is now more than time, my dear and dutiful children, that/I was setting my mémoires in order before I go hence. For six months/I have been reminded day by day of human frailty; I must take the/hint before it is too late, and leave you the story for which you have so/often asked. This is a long-kept secret that I have now to disclose;/and, to all but our own nearest people, I hope it will remain one for/ever. It is told to you, my dear children, in confidence; you will see/why this is so as you read; and, as I hope, that is not by many the only/discovery you will make or lesson you will learn. For it should teach/in our family a spirit of great charity to the unfortunate and all those/who are externally dishonoured. For my part, it is with pleasure and/sorrow that

New Arabian Nights

p.159, 1.1 I

I set myself to tell you how I met the dear angel of my life./That will always be a touching event in my eyes; for if I am anything/worth, or have been anything of a good father, it is due to the influence/of your mother and the love and duty that I bore her, which were not/only delightful to me in themselves, but strengthened and directed my/conduct in other affairs. Many praise and regret their youth or their/childhood, and recall the time of their courtship as if it were the beginning/of the end; but my case is different, and I neither respected myself nor/greatly cared for my existence until then. Yet, as you are to hear, this/certainly was in itself a very stormy period, and your mother and I had/many pressing and dreadful thoughts. Indeed the circumstances were so/unusual in character that they have not often been surpassed, or, at least,/not often in our age and country; and we begin to love in the midst of/continual alarms./

I

p.308, 1.17 court

1.19 Belvidera,

11.23-24 but there sprang up a dispute between us, one March night,/which

11.40-42 ditch. So I suppose I/should, if I had not met your mother./

It 1

p.309, 1.9 pavilion

1.29 stories (sic)

p.310, 1.1 along the

1.11 then,

p.160, 1.5 part

1.8 Belvidere,

11.11-12 but one March night there sprang up/between us a dispute, which

11.33-34 ditch./
It

p.161, 1.12 Pavilion

1.36 storeys

p.162, 1.20 along with the

1.31 there,

1. This omitted sentence in the serialised version underlines Clara's 'restorative' role in the story: Cassilis would have 'died in a ditch' if not for 'your mother.'

p.311, 1.16 say truth,	p.164, 1.13 say the truth,
p.312, 1.27 Graden	p.166, 1.11 Garden (<u>sic</u>)
1.27 quays	1.11 quags (<u>sic</u>)
1.33 flow	1.17 flaw (<u>sic</u>)
p.313, 1.11 story, (<u>sic</u>)	p.167, 1.4 storey,
1.39 third	1.38 second 2
1.42 trunk, a reticule, and a pair of bandboxes. My	p.168, 11.2-3 trunk and carriage/ bag. My
1.44 apostacy (<u>sic</u>)	1.5 apostasy
p.314, 11.19-20 as--well, my dear children,/as I	1.31 as I
11.20-22 be. For this, as you will already have/divined, was no one but your dear mother in person./	11.32-33 be./
When	When
11.38-39 alone./	p.169, 11.12-13 alone./
Your mother and	My wife and
p.315, 1.18 his own uncertainty,	p.170, 1.4 his uncertainty,
11.20-24 mouth. I lost the eye-tooth on the/left-hand side; for the one with which you are accustomed to see me is/artificial, and was only put there, at your mother's request, after we had/been man and wife for a few months./	11.6-7 mouth./
I 3	I
1.32 scarce	1.17 scarcely

2. In the context of the story, Cassilis is watching sailors unload the Huddlestons' baggage into the pavilion. They had passed him once already, coming from the beach; returning to pick up a second load of baggage, they pass him a second time. Taking that second load into the pavilion, they pass him a third time: the serialised version's 'third' is thus literally correct (although they return to the pavilion a 'second' time).

3. It is clear enough why Stevenson deleted this somewhat useless piece of information, following Cassilis's account of Northmour's unexpected assault on him.

p.317, 1.36 see, my dear children,
that

1.37 interested in that lady.
She

p.318, 1.10 time your mother
remained

1.16 further

1.29 for your mother kept

11.31-33 familiarities.
Little did I dream, as I stood/
before her on the beach, that this
should be the mother of my children./
'What

1.46 'Not, I trust, to

p.319, 11.14-15 said between her
teeth./
'Why

11.28-30 which I could
properly/have explained, at that
period, to the mother of my
children./
Certainly,

1.32 of your mother. I

1.33 at the present,

p.320, 11.3-4 strange,/my children?
So

1.5 both your mother and

p.321, 1.1 spoken (sic)

1.11 me, my children, for

11.14-15 upon your mother./
'No,

11.22-23 sight. Then, O my
chil-/dren, I

1.23 loved your mother, and

11.39-40 when/your mother is

p.173, 1.21 see that

1.22 interested more than
I supposed. She

p.174, 1.5 time the girl
remained

1.12 farther

1.27 for my wife kept

11.30-31 familiarities./
'What

p.175, 1.7 'Not to

11.25-26 said./
'Why

p.176, 11.4-6 which, at that
period, I could have properly
explained/to the lady of my heart./
Certainly,

11.8-9 of her/integrity. I

1.10 at present,

1.30 strange? So

1.32 both my wife and

p.178, 1.2 spoke

1.13 me, for

11.16-17 upon her face./
'No,

1.26 sight. And then I

1.26 loved her, and

p.179, 1.8 when my wife is

p.322, 1.25 This, my dear children,
was your mother's story,

1.35 courting your mother
with

p.323, 1.7 could your mother doubt

11.12-13 vain. Your mother/
had

1.20 last, your mother
fancied,

1.31 nightmares

1.35 your mother

p.324, 1.3 to your mother. She

1.14 store-houses

1.31 for your mother. A

1.33 7501.

p.325, 1.32 gray

p.326, 1.1 Easter.

11.17-21 perished. The sun
had/broken through the clouds by a
last effort, and coloured the wide
level/of quicksands with a dusky
purple; one or two gulls, who had,
perhaps,/seen him disappear, wheeled
over his sepulchre with their usual
melan-/choly piping. I

1.34 I took possession with

1.38 This, my dear children,
was

p.327, 1.6 wakened

p.180, 1.5 This was my wife's
story,

1.17 courting his daughter
with

p.181, 1.1 could Clara doubt

1.8 vain. She had

11.16-17 last, as/Clara
fancied,

1.30 nightmare

1.34 your mother 4

p.182, 1.13 to Clara. She

1.25 stone houses

p.183, 1.6 for my wife. A

1.9 £750

p.184, 1.25 grey

p.185, 1.5 Wester. 5

11.26-30 perished. One or
two gulls,/who had, perhaps, seen
him disappear, wheeled over his/
sepulchre with their usual
melancholy piping. The sun/had
broken through the clouds by a last
effort, and coloured/the wide level
of quicksands with a dusky purple.
I

p.186, 1.8 I seized it with

1.13 This (it is not yet
forgotten) was

1.29 awakened

4. This is the only unchanged reference to Clara as 'your mother' in the final published version, and is clearly an oversight: here, of course, Cassilis is no longer addressing his children.

5. 'Wester' (referring to Graden Wester) is the correct word in this context.

1.36 story (sic)

Cornhill (October 1880)

p.430 (title to Chapter V)
NORTHMOUR, YOUR MOTHER, AND

1.2 of your mother. The

1.10 environed your mother
and

11.16-18 rain. I had to
show them my temper,' she/added,
tossing her head./
'Clara,'

1.20 For your mother, my
dear children, was

p.431, 11.2-3 between your mother
and myself./To

1.13 about your mother's
waist

1.16 'Ah,

1.26 and your mother only

11.36-37 said your mother./
'What

1.39 say you

p.432, 1.10 said your mother; 'but

1.17 returned your mother,
with

1.28 replied your mother;
'but

1.30 with peculiar

11.39-40 to your mother./
'I

1.43 a perfect cock-sparrow,
Frank!' cried

1.45 Then your mother
surprised

p.433, 1.17 What ails them at Mr.

p.187, 1.28 storey

p.188 (title to Chapter V)
NORTHMOUR, CLARA, AND

11.2-3 of/my wife. The

11.12-13 environed Clara/
and

11.19-20 rain./'
'Clara,'

1.22 For my wife was

p.189, 1.7 between us. To

1.20 about Clara's waist

1.24 'Ah!

11.36-37 and my/wife only

p.190, 11.11-12 said my wife./
'What

1.14 say that you

1.36 said Clara; 'but

p.191, 1.6 returned Clara, with

1.19 replied Clara, 'but

1.21 with a peculiar

11.31-33 to my/wife./
'I

1.37 a trump!' cried

p.192, 1.1 Then my wife
surprised

1.24 What do they want
with Mr.

1.21 in	1.30 or
1.34 by your mother, and	p.193, 1.6 by Clara, and
p.434, 1.26 this	p.194, 1.13 the
1.37 have broken his back, my dear children, for	1.25 have struck him in the face for 6
p.435, 1.4 counting your mother, only	p.195, 11.2-3 counting/Clara, only
1.15 for your mother; and	1.15 for Clara; and
1.23 see your mother slipping	11.24-25 see the/daughter slipping
11.26-27 sat, my dear children, your/grandfather, Bernard	1.28 sat Bernard
1.29 long--long and	11.31-32 long/and
1.37 painfully	p.196, 1.1 plainly 7
1.38 if your grandfather had	1.3 if he had
p.436, 11.7-8 penitent. These are all devotional works, 'he added, indicating the books by which he was surrounded. 'We	1.22 penitent. We
1.17 dreaded	1.32 derided 8
1.33-p.437, 1.23 relief. 'Well--as I was saying--ah yes! Northmour, is/that girl away?'-- looking round the curtain for your mother--'yes;/I just remembered a capital one.'/	p.197, 11.12-18 relief./ For some seconds he lay back among the pillows like a/man near to fainting; then he gathered himself together,/and, in somewhat tremulous tones, began once more to/thank me for the share I was prepared to take in his/defence./ 'One
And, leaning forward in bed, he told a story of a description with/ which, I am happy to say, I have never sullied my lips, and which, in	

6. Cassilis's hostility to Northmour (after Northmour's 'coarse familiarity' to Clara, calling her by her Christian name) is clearly more pronounced in the serialised version.

7. Both words, describing the 'hunched' body of Huddlestone in his bed, are suitable in their context.

8. The word 'derided,' describing Cassilis's reaction to Northmour's 'infidel opinions,' seems more correct in its context: 'dreaded' may have been a misreading from Stevenson's manuscript.

his/present danger and surrounded as he was with religious reading, filled/me with indignation and disgust. Perhaps, my dear children, you have/sometimes, when your mother was not by to mitigate my severity, found/me narrow and hard in discipline; I must own I have always been a/martinet in matters of decorum, and have sometimes repented the/harshness with which I reproved your unhappy grandfather upon this/occasion. I will not repeat even the drift of what I said; but I reminded/him, perhaps cruelly, of the horrors of his situation. Northmour burst/out laughing, and cut a joke at the expense, as I considered, of polite-/ness, decency, and reverence alike. We might readily have quarrelled/then and there; but Mr. Huddlestone interposed with a severe reproof/to Northmour for his levity./

'The boy is right,' he said. 'I am an unhappy sinner, and you/but a half friend to encourage me in evil.'/

And with great fluency and unction he put up a short extempore/prayer, at which, coming so suddenly after his anecdote, I confess I/knew not where to look. Then said he: 'Let us sing a hymn together,/Mr. Cassilis. I have one here which my mother taught me a great,/great many years ago, as you may imagine. You will find it very touching, and quite spiritual.'/

'Look here,' broke in Northmour; 'if this is going to become a/prayer-meeting, I am off. Sing a hymn, indeed! What next? Go out/and take a little airing on the beach, I suppose? or in the wood, where/its thick, and a man can get near enough for the stiletto? I wonder at/you, Huddlestone! and I wonder at you too, Cassilis! Ass as you are,/you might have better sense than that.'/

Roughly as he expressed himself, I could not but admit that North-/mour's protest was grounded upon common sense; and I have myself,/all my life long, had little taste for singing hymns except in church. I/was, therefore, the more willing to turn the talk upon the business of the/

hour./

'One 9

1.23 I to Mr. Huddlestone.
'Is

1.30 alas!

1.30 so,

p.438, 11.28-30 read. Of all the men it was ever my fortune to know, your/grandfather has left the most bewildering impression on my mind; but/I have no fancy to judge where I am conscious that I do not understand./CHAPTER VII 10

p.439, 1.12 we

p.440, 11.37-38 and I can assure you, my dear/children, that this

p.441, 11.33-34 and your/mother prepared

11.36-37 rallied your/mother on

p.442, 11.5-6 was banished; and we/made as merry a party of four as you could wish to see. From

11.13-14 displayed. Your/grandfather's, my dear children, was

11.26-27 interrupted/your grandfather's tale;

1.28 around

1.37 gun. Your mother was

p.443, 1.5 finger. Your mother opened

1.18 I, when he had paused. 'Is

1.25 alas

1.25 so!

p.198, 1.38-p.199 read./CHAPTER VII

p.199, 1.26 he

p.202, 1.2 and this

p.203, 1.10 and Clara prepared

1.14 rallied Clara on

11.33-35 was carefully avoided; and, considering/our tragic circumstances, we made a merrier party than/could have been expected. From

p.204, 11.4-5 displayed./Mr. Huddlestone's was

11.20-21 in-/errupted Mr. Huddlestone's tale;

1.23 round

1.33 gun. Clara was

p.205, 11.6-7 finger. His daughter/opened

9. As indicated in part iii of Chapter I in the thesis, this long passage in the serialised version amounts to the only attempt at elaborating on Huddlestone's character.

10. The general 'bewildering impression' that Huddlestone creates in the serialised version is, of course, omitted in the final published version of the story. This passage marks the end of Chapter VI.

1.22 heard your mother scream	11.27-28 heard Clara/ scream
11.24-25 me, with her arms about my neck, and/beseeking	11.29-30 me, be-/seeching
1.27 I was still busy returning her caresses, in	11.32-33 I continued to reassure her,/with the tenderest caresses and in
1.28 when	p.206, 1.1 till
1.30 put your mother aside,	1.4 put Clara aside,
11.35-37 consequences. I glanced at your mother with/warning in my eyes; but she misinterpreted my glance, and continued/to cling to me and make much of me. Northmour gazed	1.10 consequences. He gazed
1.38 see with	1.11 see us with
1.38 eye what we were doing, and	1.12 eye, and
p.444, 1.6 and	1.22 or
11.11-12 minute./ Your mother sought	11.29-30 minute./ Clara sought
1.17 cried your mother; but	1.35 cried Clara; but
1.20 the	1.38 a
1.22 attract your mother's notice,	p.207, 11.1-2 attract Clara's/ notice,
p.445, 1.1 'Enough, you dirty hound!' cried	1.31 'Enough,' cried
11.3-4 was done by your mother,/poured	11.33-34 was due/to the presence of a lady, poured
1.14 jackal 11	p.208, 1.6 being
1.21 kissed your resisting mother. Next	1.14 kissed the resisting girl. Next

11. The somewhat abusive terms 'jackal' and 'you dirty hound!' (p.445, 1.1, listed above) are used by Northmour in reference to Mr Huddleston. Again, the expressions of anger and hostility are more pronounced in the serialised version.

1.23 laughed loud and long,
and

1.28 holding your mother to

1.43 truth, one and all,
forgotten

p.446, 1.1 fire.'

1.3 doors

1.21 boots with

1.22 observed. Your mother
stood

1.29 both your mother and

p.447, 11.2-3 meantime, your/
mother, who

1.8 Huddlestone struck

11.27-28 Caulder hills.
Your grandfather,/although

11.32-33 nightmare./Your
mother, I

1.38 carrying your mother
altogether

p.448, 1.1 sure, your mother had

11.11-12 towards your
mother;/and

1.12 her

11.22-23 time, licking her
face like a dog./Stand

1.27 beside your mother, and

1.39 me, my dear children;
it

1.40 as your mother used

p.449, 11.6-7 over your/mother,
continued

1.16 laughed long and
loud, and

1.23 holding Clara to

11.38-39 truth/almost
forgotten

p.209, 1.4 fire!'

1.6 door

11.30-31 boots, still
violently trembling,/but with

1.32 observed. Clara
stood

p.210, 1.2 both Clara and

1.26 meantime, Clara, who

11.32-33 Huddlestone,
filled for the moment with a
strength/greater than his own,
struck

p.211, 11.17-18 Caulder Hills./
Bernard Huddlestone, although

11.23-24 nightmare./Clara,
I

1.30 carrying Clara
altogether

p.212, 1.4 sure, Clara had

1.16 towards the tent; and

1.17 Clara

1.29 time, and abuse her
helplessness. Stand

1.34 beside her, and

p.213, 1.8 me; it

11.9-10 as my/wife used

1.25 over Clara, continued

11.12-13 on your/mother's eyes.

1.32 on her eyes.

1.19 laved your mother's head

11.38-39 laved her/head

1.27 when your mother reopened

p.214, 1.8 when Clara reopened

11.30-31 fire for/your mother, for

1.12 fire, for

11.36-41 body. We were soon talking, sadly,/perhaps, but not unhelpfully, of our joint future; and I, with my arm/about her waist, sought to inspire her with a sense of help and protec-/tion from one who, not only then, but till the day she died, would have/joyfully sacrificed his life to do her pleasure./

11.18-19 body./
Day

Day 12

1.41 thicket.

1.20 Thicket. (sic)

1.45 consulted your mother with

1.24 consulted Clara with

p.450, 11.26-27 blood./
'Safe in Graden 13

p.215, 11.18-19 blood./
'Graden

11.27-30 Northmour. 'Four minutes and a/half, Frank! And the Italians? Gone too; they were night-birds, and/they have all flown before daylight.'/

11.19-20 Northmour./
He

He

1.43-p.451, 1.3 me.'/
Thus, my dear children, had your mother exerted her influence for/good upon this violent man. Years and years after, she used to call/that speech her patent of nobility; and 'she expects it of me' became a/sort of by-word in our married life, and was often more powerful than/an argument to mould

1.35 me. Good-bye!'

12. Cassilis is referring to himself here.

13. It is implied that Mr Huddlestone (like one of the Italians earlier in the story) has been swallowed up by the quicksands of Graden Floe.

me to her will./
 'Good-bye!'

p.451, ll.10-11 returned. 'He'll
 bless me. You let Him alone.'/
 He 14

p.216, ll.4-5 returned./
 He

14. This is Northmour's response to Cassilis's parting remark, 'Well, God bless you, Northmour!' Interestingly, Northmour has the last word in the story, and his response here, with its bitter dignity, perhaps further underlines (in contrast to Cassilis) his emergent 'nobility.'

APPENDICES

II. 'THE MERRY MEN'

'The Merry Men' was first serialised in Cornhill Magazine, 45 (June 1882) and 46 (July 1882), the former number containing the first three chapters. Many of the major differences between this early version and the version republished in The Merry Men and Other Tales in February 1887 have already been noted in part iii of Chapter IV; but all the changes will be listed below. On 21 December 1882 Stevenson wrote to the new editor of Cornhill Magazine, James Payn, complaining that the serialisation of his story here had 'contained numerous errors because it was printed before Stevenson had returned his proof.'¹ As the list below will show, there were several glaring misprints in the serialised version of 'The Merry Men,' but the total number is not large. The text from the final published version appears in The Merry Men and Other Tales, viii, 3-56.

<u>Cornhill</u> (June 1882)	<u>The Merry Men and Other Tales</u>
p.676, 1.7 lowland	p.3, 1.9 Lowland
1.9 Islands;	1.12 islands;
1.17 lowlands;	1.22 Lowlands;
11.26-27 moorcocks, as I used to/say; and	p.4, 1.8 moorcocks; and
11.32-33 Ben/Ryan, <u>the Mountain</u>	11.15-16 Ben/Kyaw. <u>The Mountain</u> ²

1. This letter is summarised by McKay, iii, 1009 (Beinecke 3214).

2. The name 'Ben Ryan' was used throughout this first number of Cornhill Magazine, but in Cornhill Magazine, 46 (July 1882) it is changed to 'Ben Kyaw,' with the following apology attached to the end of the story, on p.7: 'NOTE: In the first part, Ben Kyaw was accidentally printed Ben Ryan.'

p.677, 1.2	Ryan	1.23	Kyaw
1.40	Ryan.	p.5, 1.33	Kyaw.
p.678, 1.16	cauldrons	p.6, 1.21	caldrons
1.17	Roost	1.23	<u>Roost</u>
1.33	befel (<u>sic</u>)	p.7, 1.3	befell
p.679, 1.29	the name of Spain, from which	p.8, 1.17	the more of the way in which
1.41	king's	1.31	King's
1.43	James's	1.33	Jamie's
p.680, 1.36	aweful	p.10, 1.21	awful
p.681, 1.14	were new chairs	p.11, 11.12-13	were/chairs
p.682, 1.4	yees; 3	p.12, 1.19	eyes;
1.25	this	p.13, 1.6	thir 4
1.26	have	1.6	hae
1.26	no?	1.7	no'?
1.27	fur	1.9	for
1.29	fur	1.10	for
1.29	no	1.10	no'
1.30	fur	1.12	for
1.32	girgie,' (<u>sic</u>)	1.14	girzie,'

The 'accident,' however, may have been Stevenson's own. He had called his mountain 'Ben Ryan' in his outline of the first draft of 'The Merry Men' in his letter to W.E. Henley, Letters, ii, 160. He may have forgotten to alter the name when he submitted the first revised version of the story to Cornhill later on.

3. This Scottish word is used by Charles Darnaway to describe his uncle. Although Charles occasionally slips into Scottish dialogue (especially with Mary Ellen), he narrates his story in English: 'yees' is the only Scottish word used by Charles outside his dialogue, and may have been changed to 'eyes' later by Stevenson for the sake of consistency. It is possible, of course, that it is a misprint.

4. Both 'this' and 'thir' (Scottish for 'these') make sense in their context. The change from an English to a Scots word occurs in uncle Gordon's dialogue.

1.33 ha'e	1.15 hae
1.33 no	1.15 no'
1.39 10th	1.23 10
1.46 put	1.33 pit 5
p.683, 1.19 ha'e	p.14, 1.17 hae
1.27 ha'e't	1.26 hae't
1.32 acquaint	1.33 acquaint
1.33 sea, though I'm no misdoobtin' inspiration. But,	1.33 sea. But
1.34 wasnae	1.33 wasna 6
1.34 wasnae	1.34 wasna
1.36 spectacle	1.36 spentacle (<u>sic</u>)
1.40 draggons (<u>sic</u>)	p.15, 1.2 draygons
p.684, 1.15 'Oh, aye!'	1.25 'Ou, ay!'
1.32 growin,	p.16, 1.5 growin',
1.43 ha'e	1.19 hae
1.43 louped	1.19 lowped
1.46 fur	1.23 for
p.685, 1.2 have	1.25 hae
1.4 ane	1.27 an'
1.13 'No	1.39 'No'
1.14 ha'e	p.17, 1.2 hae
1.15 Gobart; (<u>sic</u>)	1.2 Gabart;
1.21 no	1.10 no'

5. Here, in uncle Gordon's dialogue, the word has changed from the English 'put' to the Scots 'pit.'

6. This, and other changes in the spelling of Scots words (for example, when 'ha'e' becomes 'hae'), probably simply reflects differences in house style or editorial preferences. The final 'e' is also dropped from words like 'couldnae' or 'havenae' in the final published version.

1.24 couldnae
 1.31 tops
 1.32 it?
 1.34 crawin'

p.686, 1.32 beneath

1.32 Aye?

1.36 'Aye,

1.42 'You'll

p.687, 1.26 north isles (sic)

1.40 we all

1.43-p.688, 1.6 money. All my days I have/loved and honoured you; the love and honour keep on growing/with the years; I could not think to be happy or hearty in my life/without you. Do you think you could take me for a husband?'/

'I would not ask a better,' she replied./

'Well then,' said I, 'shake hands upon it.'/

She did so very heartily; and 'That's a bargain, lad,' said she,/ which was all that passed between us on the subject, for though I loved/ her, I stood in awe of her tranquility of character./

About her father she would tell me nothing, only

1.14 couldna

1.23 taps 7

1.24 it!

1.27 crawling

p.19, 1.5 wast 8

1.5 Ay?

1.10 'Ay,

1.18 'Ye'll

p.20, 1.16 north with isles

1.32 we may all

1.36-p.21, 1.18 money.'/And at that I paused. 'You can guess fine what that/is, Mary,' I said. She looked away from me in silence,/and that was small encouragement but I was not to be/put off. 'All my days I have thought the world of you,'/I continued; 'the time goes on and I think always the/more of you; I could not think to be happy or hearty/in my life without you: you are the apple of my eye.'/ Still she looked away, and said never a word; but I/thought I saw that her hands shook. 'Mary,' I cried/in fear, 'do ye no' like me?'/

'Oh, Charlie man,' she said, 'is this a time to speak/of it? Let me be a while; let me be the way I am; it'll/not be you that loses by the waiting!'/

I made out by her voice that she was nearly weeping,/and this put me out of any thought but to compose her./'Mary Ellen,' I

7. Again, in uncle Gordon's dialogue, the word has been changed from the English 'tops' to the Scots 'taps.'

8. The change here gives the context a slightly different meaning: uncle Gordon points to a sea-rune or 'scart' that is either 'beneath' or 'wast' ('west of') the 'grey stane.'

		said, 'say no more; I did not come/to trouble you: your way shall be mine, and your time/ too; and you have told me all I wanted. Only just this/one thing more: what ails you?'/
		She owned it was her father, but would enter into no/ particulars, only 9
p.688, 1.8 havenae		p.21, 1.20 havena
1.10 lang		1.22 long 10
1.16 spearing (<u>sic</u>)		1.30 speiring
11.30-31 Danna-/ways. (<u>sic</u>)		p.22, 1.9 Darnaways.
(title to Chapter III) LAD AND LEO (<u>sic</u>)		p.23 (title to Chapter III) LAND AND SEA
1.37 peak;		1.9 knoll;
p.689, 1.5 Ryan		1.21 Kyaw
1.11 evolving		1.28 revolving 11
1.29 west		p.24, 1.18 east 12
1.46 outwardly honour		p.25, 1.1 outwardly to honour
1.46 misfortune. But I		11.1-2 mis-/fortune. I
p.690, 1.8 the last circle of		1.12 the first arc of 13

9. In the serialised version of the story, this dialogue between Charles and Mary is brief and direct, with Mary accepting the marriage proposal with boyish enthusiasm. In the final published version, however, the dialogue is much longer and the characters are less sure of their feelings. Charles's marriage proposal is now somewhat indirect (his question changes from 'Do you think you could take me for a husband?' to 'do ye no' like me?'), and the issue is postponed rather than agreed upon. Mary no longer has the 'tranquility of character' she had in the earlier serialised version.

10. Here, in Mary's dialogue, the word has been changed from the Scots 'lang' to the English 'long.'

11. Both 'evolving' and 'revolving' make sense in their context.

12. The direction 'east' seems to be more correct in the given context.

13. Both descriptions, of the half-submerged wreck of the Christ-Anna, make sense in their context.

1.9 both having (<u>sic</u>)	11.13-14 both/masts having
1.14 Swedish	1.20 Norwegian 14
1.20 tears	1.27 emotion
1.23 voiceless	1.31 noseless 15
1.44 rocks four or five fathoms	p.26, 1.17 rocks several fathoms
p.691, 11.2-3 show what it was,/but	11.22-23 show/that it was water but
1.4 and a faint lap, and now and then a	11.24-25 and now and then a faint lap and a
1.39 scoured like an alley	p.27, 1.29 scoured into the likeness of an alley
11.39-40 and even/behind me,	1.30 and before me, 16
p.692, 1.42 curious	p.29, 1.13 carrion 17
1.43 the clefts and roots of	1.14 the grain and the clefts of
p.693, 1.8 left go, leaped	11.28-29 left hold of/the tangle, leaped
1.9 on to the	1.30 on the
1.13 this	1.35 their
1.15 brean (<u>sic</u>)	1.37 ocean
p.694, 1.38 larger	p.32, 1.8 longer

14. Both 'Swedish' and 'Norwegian' refer to the location of the city, Christiania. 'Norwegian' is correct, since Christiania was the earlier name given to Norway's capital, Oslo.

15. The words 'voiceless' and 'noseless' describe the figure-head of an angel on the wrecked ship, the Christ-Anna. Both make sense, although it is not clear at all why the change to 'noseless' was made: it is possibly a misprint for 'noiseless.'

16. Charles is looking out under water here, so that both descriptions make sense in their context.

17. The word 'carrion' seems more suitable here, although, again, both words make sense in their context. The word 'curious' may have been a misreading of 'carrion' in Stevenson's manuscript.

Cornhill (July 1882)

p.56, 1.30 'Aye, aye,	p.35, 1.9 'Ay, ay,
p.57, 1.7 laying,	1.24 lying
1.16 hadnae	1.35 hadna
1.17 couldnae	1.37 couldna
1.20 bony!' (<u>sic</u>)	p.36, 1.2 bonny!'
1.27 maunnae	1.10 maunna
1.27 maunnae	1.11 maunna
11.29-30 for't!'/ A sense of loathing began to fill my	11.13-14 for't!'/ Something like fear began to creep into my
1.33 Cherlie,' (<u>sic</u>)	1.18 Charlie,'
1.35 bony!' (<u>sic</u>)	1.20 bonny!'
1.46 pared (<u>sic</u>)	1.33 pored
p.58, 11.18-19 laughing. Right or wrong, we have to/marry. If	p.37, 11.18-19 laughing./If 18
1.27 you	1.28 ye
1.28 havenae	1.29 havena
11.37-41 so.'/ I could never rightly tell the reason; but at this, like a poor child, I/began to cry. She came over to me, and put her hand upon my shoulder/kindly./ 'Charlie,'	p.38, 11.2-5 so.'/ I was a while silent, not knowing what to say; and/when I roused my head at last to speak, she got before me./ 'Charlie,' 19
1.41 neednae	1.5 needna
11.42-43 stranger/--though well loved, I can tell you that; take	1.7 stranger; take

18. Again, the direct references to marriage in this second dialogue between Charles and Mary are dropped from the final version of the story.

19. In the serialised version of the story, Mary is again 'tranquil' and perhaps even maternal (so that, with her, Charles is 'like a poor child'). This is the second time Charles sheds a tear in the serialised version: see p.690, 1.20 listed above. He is, of course, more composed in the final version of the story.

11.44-45 folk. It'll/not be me that blames you, Charlie. If you	11.8-9 folk, and/if you
1.46 years from now, you	1.10 years syne, you 20
1.46-p.59, 1.3 would be blythe and/welcome still; and there's not a soul in Aros but would say the same/with me.'/ 'Mary	11.10-11 would find me aye waiting.'/ 'Mary 21
p.59, 11.3-4 said,/yes.	1.12 said as good as yes. 22
11.4-5 am; whatever you/wish, I wish; as	1.13 am; as
1.7 around	1.15 round
11.11-12 of/your uncle, poor man, till	1.21 of my father till
1.14 upon her father. All	11.23-24 upon/my uncle. All
1.19 February 11, when	11.29-30 February/the tenth, when 23
p.60, 1.13 watch. I need not say I	p.40, 1.1 watch. I
1.14 so,	1.2 readily
1.26 ocean;	1.16 sea;
1.45 Roost. It was there, it	p.41, 11.1-2 Roost. There,/it
11.45-46 seemed,/that was	1.2 seemed, was
p.61, 1.24 a leap and a toss	1.33 a toss

20. Here, in Mary's dialogue, the words have been changed from the English 'from now' to the Scots 'syne.'

21. Interestingly, Mary expresses her loyalty to Charles more personally in the final version: in the serialised version, she compares her feelings for Charles with those held by the general Aros community, so that they are, accordingly, somewhat de-personalised.

22. Once again, a direct reference to Mary's acceptance of Charles's marriage proposal is altered in the final version. The romance between Charles and Mary stops with this second dialogue, and is not referred to again in the story.

23. The date given in the final version is correct: it has already been established that the Christ-Anna was wrecked on 10 February (see the final version, p.13, 1.23).

1.44 eyes	p.42, 1.18 eye
p.62, 1.12 cannae	1.36 canna
1.12 daurnae	1.36 daurna
11.23-35 morning.'/For a moment, he stood stupefied; then, the whisky working in his/brain, he began to gesticulate, and to bow, and to step to and fro, and/back and forward, in a sort of formless dance. We could hear him/accompany his movements, now with a snatch of a sea-drinking song;/now, as he bettered the pace, with such cries as young men utter in a/reel; and now, as again he moved more slowly, with old Scottish psalm/tunes and verses of the Psalms of David. Sometimes a gust would/strike and almost overthrow him; sometimes great, lashing sprays fell/upon us and hid him from our sight; and again, in a lull, we could hear/the words of his song, and see him modulate his steps and gestures to/the air./	p.43, 11.10-11 morning.'/ Suddenly,
Suddenly, 24	
11.41-43 command. My uncle, too,/had heard it, and had ceased his dance. He, and I, and Rorie,/crouching together	1.19 command. Crouching together
1.43 edge, waited	1.20 edge, we waited
p.63, 1.16 bank; and there my own emotion was relieved by tears. As 25	p.44, 11.4-5 bank./As
11.34-35 of/my duty to Mary to	p.45, 1.3 of duty to
p.64, 1.21 no	p.46, 1.5 no'
1.21 no	1.5 no'
1.27 'no so bad	1.12 'no' as bad

24. This passage has been remarked upon in part iii of Chapter IV. It is not at all clear why it was dropped from the final version of the story.

25. This is the third time Charles sheds a tear in the serialised version and, again, this display of 'emotion' is dropped in the final version.

1.28 cannae	1.14 canna
1.29 ord'nar;	1.15 ordnar;
1.36 o'	1.23 of
p.65, 1.3 further.'	1.39 farther.'
1.9 As	p.47, 1.6 Or
1.11 dinnae	1.8 dinna
1.11 dare	1.9 daur 26
1.12 nae	1.9 no'
1.12 amnae	1.10 am no'
1.23 bow	1.23 stem
1.24 stem	1.24 stern
p.66, 1.15 It was not possible	p.48, 1.34 It seemed scarce possible
11.21-22 us. Then/he stooped and clasped his hands, as if in supplication. At 27	p.49, 1.4 us. At
11.23-24 near./He dropped	11.5-6 near, and he, on his part,/dropped
11.25-26 hesitations, crouching and clasping his hands, and/making a world of gesticulative signals. At 28	1.7 hesitations. At
1.30 further	1.12 farther
1.31 had an indifferent reputation.	1.13 had a sorry reputation. 29

26. Here, in uncle Gordon's dialogue, the word is changed from the English 'dare' to the Scots 'daur.'

27. This passage in the serialised version makes the 'suppliant' role of the negro immediately clear.

28. The negro's animated behaviour, shown already in this passage in the serialised version, has been remarked upon in part iii of Chapter IV.

29. The context of this passage refers to the 'hospitality' given to 'castaways' by 'the people further north': it is perhaps a reference to the Shetlanders, with their 'Reluctance to Save Drowning Men,' as described in Scott's The Pirate.

1.46 negro

1.31 black 30

p.67, 1.11 negro

p.50, 1.6 black

1.12 with undisguised alarm.

As

11.7-8 with folded arms,
like one pre-/pared for either
destiny. As 31

11.12-19 nearer, I held out
my hand; and/the poor creature ran
to it, kissed it, and placed it on
his heart, breaking/at the same time
into a torrent of words that were
incomprehensible to/me. My eyes
filled with tears, partly at his
gratitude, partly at thought/of the
far different scene in February; but
I signed to my castaway that/I was
unable to comprehend him, and tried
him with a few words, first/of
English and then of Gaelic, in vain.
It was plain that we should/have to
rely 32

11.8-13 nearer, he reached/
forth his hand with a great
gesture, such as I had seen/from
the pulpit, and spoke to me in
something of a pulpit/voice, but
not a word was comprehensible. I
tried him/first in English, then
in Gaelic, both in vain; so that
it/was clear we must rely

1.19 language

1.13 tongue

11.19-22 gestures; and I was/
reminded of a book that I had read,
Robinson Crusoe, where, upon an/
island in a far part of the world,
another Englishman relates
difficulties/of the same nature with
another negro. I motioned him

1.14 gestures. Thereupon I
signed to him

1.23 he readily did. As

11.15-21 he did readily and
with a grave obeisance like a
fallen/king; all the while there
had come no shade of alteration/
in his face, neither of anxiety
while he was still waiting,/nor of
relief now that he was reassured;
if he were a/slave, as I supposed,
I could not but judge he must have/

30. The change from 'negro' to 'black' in the final version occurs eight times.

31. The change in the negro's character is made immediately clear (as he waits for Charles to come to him) in the difference between these passages.

32. This passage has been remarked upon in part iii of Chapter IV; but note that Charles sheds a fourth tear in the serialised version.

fallen from some high place in his own country, and fallen/as he was, I could not but admire his bearing. As

1.24 eyes

1.22 hands

1.24 hands

1.22 eyes

11.24-28 dead./As if to show that he understood me, he fell at once upon his knees and/appeared to offer up a prayer, looking up when he had done, nodding/and smiling, with an irreverence that somewhat shocked my notions of/religion. Then he turned, pointed

11.23-27 dead; and/he, as if in answer, bowed low and spread his hands abroad;/it was a strange motion, but done like a thing of common/custom; and I supposed it was ceremonial in the land/from which he came. At the same time he pointed

1.28 we

1.28 he

1.29 upon the top of Aros,
and

11.28-29 upon a knoll,/
and 33

11.30-32 mad./

I was anxious if possible to discover whether he belonged to the/schooner. We

11.29-30 mad./
We

1.38 once. Nodding and smiling, he took the

1.37 once, and, taking the

p.68, 1.1 negro

p.51, 1.10 black

11.2-3 scene, mingling and distinguishing the diff-/erent parts with what seemed to me the talent of an actor; now

1.11 scene, now

1.7 boatman. Lastly,

11.16-17 boatman; but all with the same solemnity of manner,/so that I was never even moved to smile. Lastly,

11.10-16 comrades. Throughout the per-/formance, for I can call it nothing else, he assumed in turn the port (sic) and/the grimace of every character he represented; now strutting and turn-/ing out his toes, now squinting and hanging the lip, so

11.21-23 comrades; and thereupon folded his arms once/more, and stooped his head, like one accepting fate./
The

33. Stevenson had changed to the word 'knoll' once before in the final version: see p.23, 1.9, listed above.

that, had I known/the parties, or even seen them nearer hand, I might have recognised each/as he appeared./

The

11.18-30 surprise, and, I thought, little sorrow; his gestures seemed/to indicate a philosophical acquiescence in the laws of nature and the/common fate of man; and next moment he had picked a flower and was/trying to explain to me, as I thought I gathered, some virtue latent in/the plant, now in words, now by vigorous pantomime, smiling the while/from ear to ear./

There was something in this poor castaway that engaged my affec-/tionate interest. For all his height, which was almost gigantic, and his/strength and activity, which seemed truly formidable, he appealed to me/rather as a child than as a full-grown man. In our necessary panto-/mime, he plainly found the relish of play; his eye and his mind were/continually wandering; and I have never seen any one who smiled so/often or so brightly. Even his black face was beautified; and

11.31-33 had entirely conquered the first repul-/sion of his looks./

To

1.38 still ravenously eating

p.69, 1.19 negro

1.37 negro,'

p.70, 1.4 negro

1.4-p.71, 1.8 me. His terror at the idea was/extreme; the more I insisted, the more abject became his signals of/reluctance and petition; and when at last, weary with the

11.25-31 surprise nor/sorrow, and, with a sudden lifting of his open hand,/seemed to dismiss his former friends or masters (which-/ever they had been) into God's pleasure. Respect came/upon me and grew stronger, the more I observed him;/I saw he had a powerful mind and a sober and severe/character, such as I loved to commune with; and 34

11.32-34 had almost forgotten, and/wholly forgiven him, his uncanny colour./

To

p.52, 1.1 still eating

1.33 black

p.53, 1.16 black,'

1.32 black

11.32-p.54, 1.2 me. He signed, with the/same clearness and quiet as before, that he knew not the/art; and there was truth apparent in his signals, it would/

34. Charles's view of the negro amounts to 'affectionate interest' in the serialised version and 'Respect' in the final version. In both cases, however, his view contrasts with his uncle's sheer terror of the 'black man.'

whole busi-ness, I swam back again to Aros, he greeted my arrival with the most/speaking pantomime of affection, submission, and gratitude for his/escape./

'Poor lamb,' said Mary, 'he durstn't. And I'll tell ye one thing,/Charlie Darnaway: whether he was sent here in Heaven's anger or/Heaven's mercy, I would think shame upon the house of Aros if we/drove him forth. Man, or bairn, or beast, I can hardly tell which to/think him, he shall have a seat at the fireside and a spoon at the table/for me.'/

Even Rorie was of much the same way of thinking. 'He will be a/fine, canny body at all,' was his opinion of the negro; and I can hardly/explain how glad I was to hear their verdict. Perhaps his special/gratitude to myself had touched me; but I have never felt a more/affectionate pity for any creature calling himself man. Indeed, in the/long hours that followed, he began to show a sympathy with our sorrow/and an intelligent understanding of its cause and nature, that endeared/him equally to all. I could never reproduce in words the series of/fantastic gestures and grimaces by which he managed to explain his/meaning; it was a strange business, and made stranger by the glee and/the noisy laughter with which he perceived he had been understood./He must have closely and thoughtfully observed our comings and/goings, and the behaviour of the maniac on the hill; for, absurd as it/may seem, we owed to his suggestion the simple and obvious plan by/which food was conveyed to my uncle. Acting, as he had done before,/two parts in succession, he climbed the hill with a basket in the/character of Rorie, observed him from the hilltop in that of the mad-/man; came higher as Rorie, ran away as my uncle; as Rorie, left the/basket on the summit and descended to the house; returned as my/uncle to his perch, and, finding the basket, opened it with every sign of/joy, and supped with the most laughable and unnecessary details, such/as licking the lips and fingers or smacking

have occurred to none of us to doubt his truth; and that, hope being over, we must all go back even as we came to/the house of Aros, the negro walking in our midst without/embarrassment./

All we could do that day was to make one more attempt/to communicate with the unhappy madman. Again, he/was

gluttonously with the/mouth./

It was like a ray of light to the rest of us, and no sooner understood/than put in execution. Rorie carried it out, Rorie speechless in admira-/tion of the negro. From that moment, in fact, the Hebridean servant/began to regard our castaway with eyes of singular respect, like some/odd sort of collie, especially intelligent and kind. And it is here, among/all these events, that I can see most plainly the mark of the hand of/God. Judging by guess, I should have thought this superstitious old/fellow would have held the stranger in the extreme degree of horror./But his superstitions were of another order; he had not been fed in/youth, like my uncle among the Cameronians, on tales of the devil ap-/pearing in the similitude of a black man, and, with cozening words and/specious pretexts, luring men to ruin. It was rather as an animal than/as a fiend that Rorie thought of our visitor; and as he found him more/and more human in his ways, he came more and more both to admire/and condescend./

Again my uncle was 35

p.71, ll.13-18 hour. The black/once more embraced and kissed my hand with the same humble grati-/tude. He even offered to follow me, but when I signed to him to stay/with Rorie, he cheerfully obeyed, nodding and smiling to his new/companion./

I

1.19 negro

1.25 negro

p.54, ll.8-9 hour./

I

1.10 black

1.18 black

35. As indicated in part iii of Chapter IV, this long passage in the serialised version has been entirely dropped from the final version of the story: all 'the most laughable and unnecessary details' have, in other words, been discarded. Note that Rorie's view of the negro, in the serialised version, also contrasts with uncle Gordon's 'horror': although Rorie comes from a similar island background, he does not share the kind of 'horrid opinions' or participate in the kind of 'sacrilegious' crimes that form a premise to uncle Gordon's view of the negro as the 'black man.'

1.32 snoring	1.26 asleep
11.39-40 stars, the countless regents of the moon,/rained	1.35 stars rained
1.46 kinsman's voice; and	p.55, 1.4 kinsman's; and
p.72, 1.22 of sea	1.30 of the sea
1.27 further,	1.37 farther,

APPENDICES

III. 'MARKHEIM'

The handwritten manuscript of the late 1884 first draft of 'Markheim' is now held in the Houghton Library at Harvard University (MS Eng 269.2). This manuscript consists of 15 pages with 34 lines per page (except for p.15 which has 30 lines): it is signed 'R. Louis Stevenson' on p.1, with the note 'M.S. to be preserved throughout.' Some of the differences between this early version and the final version published in Henry Norman's Unwin's Annual, 1886: The Broken Shaft, Tales in Mid-Ocean (December 1885) and republished in The Merry Men and Other Tales in February 1887 have already been noted in part iv of Chapter IV; but all the changes will be listed below. The text from the final published version listed below appears in The Merry Men and Other Tales, viii, 89-106.

'Markheim' (MS Eng 269.2)

p.1, 1.4 its

1.6 daylight of the streets,

1.7 his eye was not yet
accustomed to the

1.7 ~~light~~
shine

1.7 ~~of~~
in

11.7-8 the/shuttered shop.
Under ~~this crude attack~~ ^{these pointed words} and 1

11.11-12 house, and, for I
~~scarcely/know what reason,~~ ^{put}
on my shutters and make a point of
~~rather for no reason in the world~~

The Merry Men and Other Tales

p.89, 1.4 the

1.7 daylight streets,

1.8 his eyes had not yet
grown familiar with the

1.9 shine

1.9 in

11.9-10 the shop. At these
pointed words,/and

1.14 house, put up my
shutters, and make a point of
refusing

1. The word 'shuttered' is deleted, but 'stet' is written by it in the margin.

refusing

1.13 derangement,

11.14-19 books; you will have to pay for your/admittance; you will have to pay, besides, (or so it seems to me, the/closer I observe you) for a certain ~~your~~ manner that I particularly dislike in my/customers. I am no great stickler for etiquette; but a customer who/cannot look me in the eye, must pay for his timidity.' ~~of~~ ^{he} chuckled; and then/with a change of ~~course, it is all/right, as I would~~ tone, though still with irony: 'You never buy, but I am a very nervous ~~man~~ can give, I presume, a

1.20 object,'

1.21 sir.'

1.24 disbelief and shrewd dishonesty. Markheim

11.24-30 returned his/gaze and shuddered; the physical weakness of the man disarmed him; as/a ~~man~~ ^{a strong} pity, also, ~~seems to~~ 'took hold upon his mind for this frigid creature, who/had passed his days in bargaining; he could have wept to see him and/to think of the great peril where he stood; and it was only ~~after a power/~~ ^{with a strong} powerful effort, that he controlled his voice sufficiently to answer./

'This

1.16 loss of time,

11.17-23 books; you will have to pay, besides, for a kind of manner/that I remark in you to-day very strongly. I am the essence/of discretion, and ask no awkward questions; but when a/customer cannot look me in the eye, he has to pay for it.'/The dealer once more chuckled; and then, changing to his/usual business voice, though still with a note of irony,/'You can give, as usual, a 2

1.24 object?'

1.25 sir!'

1.28 disbelief. Markheim

11.29-31 returned his gaze with one of infinite pity, and a touch of/ horror./

'This 3

2. The sense that Markheim 'must pay' for his 'admittance' into the dealer's shop is evident in both versions: it gives this opening part of the story (to quote from the final version) 'a note of irony.'

3. The early hints that the dealer is in 'peril' are dropped from the final version: here, Markheim's responses are presented briefly and economically.

1.32 it ~~full~~ still intact, I
 1.32 stock exchange,
 1.34 is of a very simple nature. I
 p.2, 11.6-7 dealer incredulously weighed this/statement. The
 1.9 so!
 1.10 the
 1.10 a
 1.10 rich
 1.11 to ~~point~~ be
 1.11 obstacle!
 1.14 just
 1.14 another
 1.14 a very remarkable
 1.16 its
 1.16 his
 1.16 place. As he
 11.17-18 Markheim, and then whether bodily or mental had been hard to say; ~~his~~ and even eyes as he/took the glass ~~out~~ from of the dealer's ~~his~~ hands still trembled. 'A

11.18-19 hoarsely./'For

1.19-p.3, 1.1 not.' And he looked the little man in the face ~~between the~~

p.90, 11.2-3 it/still intact, I
 1.3 Stock Exchange,
 1.5 is simplicity itself.
 I
 11.12-13 dealer seemed/to weigh this statement incredulously. The

1.17 so.

1.18 the

1.19 good

1.19 to be

1.19 obstacle.

1.23 just

1.24 a remarkable

1.26 its

11.26-27 place; and,/as he

11.27-32 Markheim,/a start both of hand and foot, a sudden leap of many/tumultuous passions to the face. It passed as swiftly as/it came, and left no trace beyond a certain trembling of/the hand that now received the glass./

'A 4

11.32-33 hoarsely, and then paused, and re-/peated it more clearly. 'A glass? For 5

1.34-p.91, 1.22 not?'/
 'And why not?' cried the dealer. 'Why not a glass?'/

4. Markheim's first and momentary desire to murder the dealer is made more explicit in the final version.

5. In the final version, the word 'glass' is 'repeated,' perhaps to underline further its importance as a symbol here (but not in the earlier version).

all ever with/a an indefinable
 eyes/with infinite and
 expression
 yearning pity. 'Come,' he resumed,
 'you only laugh at me; you/wear
 indifference like a mask; but even
 you have some kind association with
 this/day, whether of family ties or
 pious aspirations. Own it; You have
 been a child;/and you have had
 parents, who have gone before and
 whom you sometimes weary/to rejoin;
 you have some belief or hope that
 sanctifies this holiday to your/
 affections; and were you ten times
 the greedy bargainer that I have
 known you,/you are still a Christian
 and still a man, born of woman.'/

The dealer looked at him in
 deep amazement. 'And what has this,'
 he cried,/ 'to do with a get French
 mirror?'/

'Little, if you like,' returned
 Markheim. 'Call it a pretext. I have
 an/interest that I ^{should} can find it hard
 to justify; an interest in you; in
 yourself;/the real man below the
 dealer. Tell me of him; tell me of
 your aspirations; your/beliefs; be
 human; you do not know what you may
 gain; ^{give an accounts} I have a friendship/^{can fu} for you.
 Sham; if you please; but give me an
 excuse to care for you. It is the
 day;/you know; upon this day; I would
 be friends with all men.'/

'I do not know what I am to
 think,' replied the

Markheim was looking upon
 him with an indefinable/
 expression. 'You ask me why not?'
 he said. 'Why,/look here--look in
 it--look at yourself! Do you like
 to/see it? No! nor I--nor any
 man.'/

The little man had jumped
 back when Markheim had/so
 suddenly confronted him with the
 mirror; but now,/perceiving there
 was nothing worse on hand, he
 chuckled./ 'Your future lady, sir,
 must be pretty hard-favoured,'/
 said he./

'I ask you,' said Markheim,
 'for a Christmas present,/and you
 give me this--this damned
 reminder of years, and/sins and
 follies--this hand-conscience!
 Did you mean it?/Had you a
 thought in your mind? Tell me. It
 will be/better for you if you do.
 Come, tell me about your-/self.
 I hazard a guess now, that you
 are in secret a very/charitable
 man?'/

The dealer looked closely at
 his companion. It was very/odd,
 Markheim did not appear to be
 laughing; there was/something in
 his face like an eager sparkle of
 hope, but/nothing of mirth./

'What are you driving at?'
 the dealer asked./

'Not charitable?' returned
 the other, gloomily. 'Not/
 charitable; not pious; not
 scrupulous; unloving, un-/
 beloved; a hand to get money, a
 safe to keep it. Is that/all?
 Dear God, man, is that all?'/

'I will tell you what it
 is,' began the 6

p.3, 11.1-2 with a dreary chuckle;/
but I presume your marriage is a
love-match after all, and

1.3 drinking to the

11.4-6 a ~~strange~~ ^{strange curiosity} ~~vehemence.~~

'Ah! you have been in/love! Tell ^{it} me
about, tell me all! Is it possible?
in love?'/

'I?' cried

1.6 love?

1.7 nonsense. You will not take

11.7-19 glass?'/

'The glass?' said Markheim.

'Not today: a more appropriate
present./But you try to evade me;
the glass is not the point. Some--
this of all
one day in the year, /unmask yourself
to one who asks no better than to
love you, I declare it! Only/tell:
Have you no friend; no love, nor any
hope of love; no sense of a divine
presence, /comforting or compunctious?
I will not ask so much; I see the
answer; but to/this, at least, you
have looked forward: to an ample
future, to leaving this/grim house,
to some more generous and easy life
--a cottage in the country, let/us
say, with birds and roses, or were
it but a tavern club with a bright

p.91, 11.22-24 with some/
sharpness, and then broke off
again into a chuckle. 'But/I see
this is a love-match of yours, and

1.25 drinking the

11.26-28 a strange
curiosity./'Ah, have you been in
love? Tell me about that.'/
'I,' cried

1.28 love!

11.29-30 nonsense./Will you
take

1.30-p.92, 1.5 glass?'/
'Where is the hurry?'

returned Markheim. 'It is/very
pleasant to stand here talking;
and life is so short/and insecure
that I would not hurry away from
any pleas-/ure--no, not even from
so mild a one as this. We should/
rather cling, cling to what little
we can get, like a man/at a
cliff's edge. Every second is a
cliff, if you think upon/it--a
cliff a mile high--high enough, if
we fall, to dash/us out of every
feature of humanity. Hence it is
best to/talk pleasantly. Let us
talk of each other; why should we/
wear this mask? Let us be
confidential. Who knows we/might
become friends?'/

'I have just one word to say
to you,' said the dealer./'Either
make your purchase, or walk out of
my shop.'/'

'True,

that Markheim's constant probing into the dealer's 'self' in the earlier
version is replaced in the final version with a single question and the
'eager sparkle of hope' on 'his face.' Interestingly, the dealer may have
been about to respond to Markheim's remarks at the end of this passage in
the final version ('I will tell you what it is...').

fire/and pleasant comrades?'/

'Now, sir,' replied the dealer,
'just one word: are we going on with
this/piece of business or ~~shall I be~~ ^{are we not?}

'True,

11.19-20 Markheim. 'I must be
off my mind, I think. To business,
by all means. Show

11.22-23 eyes, his round
shoulders doubling almost to a/hump.
Markheim, on his side, moved

11.24-26 lungs; his face at
the same time, was/deformed by
terror and repulsion like a
fascinated bird's, and through a
haggard/lift of the upper lip, his
teeth looked out at 7

1.27 depicted on

1.27 terror and, horror,

1.29 and as

1.31 fell three times; the
dealer

1.31 hen, fell forward,
striking

1.32-p.4, 1.4 and tumbled in a
heap upon the floor./

The clocks, some ticking to a
very stately measure, some to a
jaunty and/precipitate, counted a
score of seconds, before the cloud
had rolled away from/Markheim's eyes

p.92, 11.5-6 Markheim. 'Enough
fooling. To/business. Show

1.9 eyes as he did so.
Markheim

1.11 lungs; at

1.12 depicted together on

1.12 terror, horror,

11.15-16 and/then, as

1.18 fell. The dealer

1.18 hen, striking

11.19-31 and then tumbled
on the floor/in a heap./

Time had some score of small
voices in that shop, some/stately
and slow as was becoming to their
great age; others/garrulous and
hurried. All these told out the
seconds in/an intricate chorus of
tickings. Then the passage of a/
lad's feet, heavily running on

7. This deleted passage is given, with some changes, soon afterwards in the same sentence on 11.26-28; it also appears in the final version, p.92, 11.12-14. In both versions, the deleted image of the 'fascinated bird' is omitted.

and he began to see, before the curtain lifted from his mind and/ left him face to face with terror. The shop, in that faint illumination, was all beset/with shadows and ambiguous shapes. These ^{moved} ~~shined~~ with the shaking of the flame,/the

11.6-9 water. In this perpetual stir and parody of life, his eye was/never suffered to repose from vigilance, and his mind leaped unceasingly from/terror to terror. (The passage of a lad's feet, heavily running in the lane, alarmed and then restored him, as it died away.) An inner 8

11.9-10 stood open in the house, and stared into the ~~dim~~/shop with

11.10-11 daylight; and ~~that~~ ^{the} open door appalled him like a witness./From

1.11 ~~terror-~~ ^{fear}

1.11 roving, his eye returned

1.11 to his

1.11 he

11.12-13 small, as ~~it~~ appeared, and shabbier and/meaner

11.13-17 life; and the sight

the pavement, broke in upon/ these smaller voices and startled Markheim into the con-/sciousness of his surroundings. He looked about him/awfully. The candle stood on the counter, its flame/solemnly wagging in a draught; and by that inconsiderable/movement, the whole room was filled with noiseless bustle/and kept heaving like a sea: the

1.34 water. The inner

11.35-36 stood ajar, and peered into that leaguer of shadows/with

11.36-37 daylight like a pointing finger./
From

1.37 fear-

11.37-38 roving, Markheim's eyes re-/turned

1.38 to the body of his

1.38 it

1.39 small and strangely meaner

p.93, 11.1-3 life. In these poor,

8. The passage in parenthesis is circled by Stevenson and directed with an arrow to between 'terror.' and 'The' (1.2) above. This is where it also appears, with some changes, in the final version: see above, p.92, 11.24-27.

brought no compunction of remorse. Rather it/brought relief+. In this house, which his own terrors had peopled with phantom/witnesses, on whose most innocent feature he could not turn his eyes without a/seizure of alarm, here was, at last, one object that he could behold without emotion./He had 9

1.17 it; ^{it was the one thing he} ~~and let~~ now, ^{with} had feared to see; and

11.17-22 was as/nothing. In these poor, miserly habiliments, in that ungainly attitude, the dealer/lay like so much sawdust; ^{far} ~~far~~, indeed, from life's high-coloured force and/~~motion~~ ^{beauty}, but yet as far, or even further still, from what the murderer had dreaded to/perceive in death./

And 10

1.22 Markheim

1.23 to fascinate his intellect. Here it

1.24 here

11.24-26 found; ^{and} ~~but~~/once found, the dead flesh would find a tongue to denounce, the dead feet be/swift to pursue. Time--now

miserly clothes, in that un-/gainly attitude, the dealer lay like so much sawdust./Markheim had

1.3 it, and

11.3-4 was nothing./And

1.4 he

1.5 to find eloquent voices. There it

1.7 there

11.8-13 found. Found! ay, and then? Then would this dead/flesh lift up a cry that would ring over England, and fill/the world with the echoes of pursuit. Ay, dead or not,/this was still the enemy. 'Time was that when the/

9. Markheim's lack of 'compunction' recalls his earlier question to the dealer, 'Have you...no sense of a divine presence,/comforting or compunctious?' See above, p.3, 11.11-12.

10. The passage 'In these poor...like so much sawdust' (11.18-19) is placed one sentence earlier in the final version: see above, p.93, 11.1-2.

brains were out,' he thought;
and the first word struck/into
his mind. Time, now

1.30 announce

1.20 strike

1.32-p.5, 1.2 him. He was
besides appalled to learn that it was
so late, and the return/of the maid
to be so soon expected; nor less,
that it was still so early, and/thus
so long to that hour of bed time, for
which he looked and longed as an
im-/penetrable ambush./

1.22 him. He

He

p.5, 1.2 haunted

1.23 beleaguered

1.5 met him and

1.27 met and

11.6-7 fell, woke soft and/
voluble reverberations and seemed to
call aloud upon the neighbours. And

1.29 fell, vexed the
surrounding quiet. And

1.8 he filled his

11.29-30 he/continued to
fill his

1.12 ~~aff~~
^{he}

1.36 he

1.13 ~~labour~~
^{toiling}

1.38 toiling

1.17 distant

p.94, 1.3 remote

1.18 and all his

1.5 and his

1.19 the coffin.

1.7 the black coffin.

1.22 all neighbouring

11.11-12 all/the
neighbouring

1.23 them, each sitting

1.12 them sitting

1.24 folk wh,

1.13 people,

1.24 Christmas ^{dimly} ~~in~~ meditating
on
and the

1.14 Christmas dwelling
alone on memories of the

1.25 that sad exercise; ~~to~~
wait happy

11.15-16 that tender
exercise;/happy

11.25-26 into a/~~listening~~
silence

1.26 ~~uplifted~~ raised

1.27 hearths,

11.27-28 ~~listening for his/~~ hearkening and weaving
the rope that was to/hang him
~~life.~~

11.28-30 softly; alarmed/by
the bigness of their ticking, he was
almost moved to stop the clocks. And
then/again, ~~he grew~~ ^{his terror} changing the 11

1.32 arrest 12

1.33 house

1.34 ~~rattle~~ bustle

1.34-p.6, 1.1 the congregated
treasures/of

p.6, 11.2-4 house./

Neighbour and passer-by, near
as they were, were yet without the
walls./But

1.6 particular, had taken a

1.9 ~~But it now appeared to~~ through the brick walls and
~~him, with~~ shuttered windows

1.10 sounds, ~~and an aura of~~ ^{could penetrate;}
~~suspicion; an indis could~~ sounds, the most

1.11 he indeed alone?

11.11-12 was; alone with ~~that/~~ ^{the}

1.16 into silence

1.17 raised

1.18 hearts, (sic)

1.19 hearkening and
weaving the rope that was to hang
him.

11.20-21 softly;/the

1.23 stop

1.24 place

1.26 bustle

1.27 the contents of

11.29-30 house./
But

1.33 particular took a

1.37 through the brick
walls and shuttered windows

11.37-38 sounds/could

11.38-39 he/alone?

1.39-p.95, 1.3 was; he had

11. This deleted passage is given, with some changes, soon afterwards
in the same sentence on 11.31-32; see also the final version, p.94, 11.22-
23.

12. Coming after the murder, the word 'arrest' (in the context of 'to
arrest the clocks') perhaps had connotations that Stevenson wished to
remove.

gray heap of clothing; and

11.12-18 ^{above} ~~about~~ him, /surely
 there moved inexplicable sounds like
 footing, surely there was an/
 atmosphere of stealthy presences,
human or diabolic. Ay, surely: ^{fear} ~~it~~
 was/stronger than knowledge; surely,
^{something} ~~some being~~ lurked among the upper
 chambers/or lingered bidingly ^{upon} ~~among~~
 the stairs; eyes that had watched,
 through the/open door, the dealing of
 the blow--^{a finger} ~~hands~~ that waited to
 denounce him. To/To every 13

1.18 ^{imagination followed} ~~fancy clearly called~~
 this vision it ^{spy};

1.19 that

1.19 witness 14

1.20 again, and behold the

1.21 with hate and cunning.

With a

1.22 still repelled his

1.23 ^{cupola} ~~cupola~~

11.24-25 showed/but dimly

1.25 ^{shop} ~~shop~~. And yet,

1.26 ^{hang hovering} ~~hover~~ an a

watched the servant/set forth
 sweethearting, in her poor best,
 'out for the/day' written in
 every ribbon and smile. Yes, he
 was/alone, of course; and

p.95, 11.4-6 above him, he could
 surely hear a stir of delicate
 footing--/he was surely conscious,
 inexplicably conscious of some/
 presence. Ay, surely; to every

1.7 imagination followed
 it;

1.8 and

1.8 see

1.9 again beheld the

11.10-11 with cunning and
 hatred./

At times, with a

1.12 still seemed to repel
 his

1.13 skylight

1.15 showed dimly

1.16 shop. And yet,

1.17 hang wavering a

13. The 'atmosphere of stealthy presences' is clearly developed more fully in the earlier version of the story.

14. Words such as 'witness' or 'spy' (see above, 1.18) are used more frequently in the earlier version.

11.26-30 shadow? like a man
Was this the/ spy still watching him?
And at the thought, he ^{beheld} saw him in a
new guise, /steeping with hands on
knees, the better to observe his
victim, and nodding/and grinning to
himself./

Suddenly,

1.33 ice by a sudden pang of
fear, glanced

1.34-p.7, 1.1 man. Bless the
good laws of nature, he continued to
be still!/And

p.7, 1.1 presently, after a round
of curses, the

1.3 to do, to

1.5 and reach, at last, upon
the

1.5 of apparent

11.6-7 come; another at any
moment might/arrive and

11.7-19 obstinate. Suppose the
was to be brought
milk to come, ^{was} he condemned/to
take it in, to show his face, to
compromise the very
leave behind him elements of safety?
Was/he to leave such damning evidence
behind him? or must he decoy the/milk

11.17-18 shadow?/
Suddenly,

1.22 ice, glanced

11.22-26 man. But no! he
lay quite/still; he was fled away
far beyond ear-shot of these blows/
and shoutings; he was sunk beneath
seas of silence; and/his name,
which would once have caught his
notice above/the howling of a
storm, had become an empty sound.
And 15

1.27 presently the

11.29-30 to be done,/to

1.31 and to reach, on the

1.32 of safety and
apparent

11.33-34 come: at any
moment/another might follow and

1.34 obstinate. To

15. The final version draws a clear contrast between the reality of the lifeless body of the dealer, and Markheim's 'imagination' and fear of 'some presence': the now inanimate body confirms, to quote from the earlier version, 'the good laws of nature.'

boy within doors, and, welding crime
to crime, once more risk/everything
upon the chances of a blow? (The milk
boy would be stronger, he would show
more fight that that poor/man on the
floor; a slip, a tremor, a defect of
luck, and what a shriek scream/would
ring startle the silence of the house
and call into the street...) And the
neighbours--the accursed/neighbours,
now listening and whispering, peeping
and and spying, from the windows!/Ah! the
next time, let it be in the country,
in some beautiful ^{retired} and rural/^{in summer} spot;
too, and near a stream where he might
angle;
and even at the thought, his white-
hot fancy conjured up the/
neighbourhood, a picture and a plan
at once, and showed him the face/of
the new victim, and told him, with
the brevity of thought, the whole
details/of this imaginary crime.....
...His mind returned reluctantly to
fact; he had to spur himself to
action./To 16

1.19 not reap

1.19 the benefit, were too
 abhorred a

1.20 was his concern;

1.21 looked

1.35 not to reap

11.35-36 the profit would
 be/too abhorrent a

11.36-37 was now
 Mark-/heim's concern;

1.38 glanced

16. This passage has been remarked on in part iv of Chapter IV. As indicated there, the passage in parenthesis is written in the margin and is circled by Stevenson and directed by an arrow to where it is now placed. The entire underlined passage (as well as the passage in the margin, also underlined) is circled and crossed out by Stevenson.

11.21-22 where the shadow was/
~~whence the shade was/~~
 lingering and trembling
 still observing him; and

1.23 belly, drew

1.25 the thing
~~his task~~

1.26 Though

1.26 eye, to the touch it

1.27 significance. He

11.29-34 postures. ^{The face,} ~~and to~~
 however, took him by surprise. Robbed
~~touch, although it was indeed~~
 of all expression, /
~~unpleasing, /~~ fallen into an
 ugly pallor, and ^{coarsely stained} ~~gross daubed~~ with
 red about the temple, where/the wound
 had bled, it did not so much remind
 him of the living man whom he had/slain,
 as of certain pictures at a booth,
 ill-drawn and garishly coloured,
 where/Mrs Brownrigg was shown with
 her apprentice, and Thurtell dragging
 the body to/the mine,¹⁷ and the
 Mannings The 18

1.34-p.8, 1.2 expression, pale
 as tallow/and coarsely stained about
 the temple where the wound had bled.
 The sight transported/
~~it carried/~~ Markheim back
 to

p.8, 1.2 village; (;a gray day, a
 whistling wind, a crowd upon the
 street, the) ^{a gray day, a crowd}
~~with a windy~~

11.38-39 where/the shadow
 was still lingering and shivering:
 and

p.96, 1.2 belly, he drew

1.5 the thing

1.6 Although

11.6-7 eye, he feared/it

1.7 significance to the
 touch. He

1.10 postures. The

11.11-14 expression; but it
 was as pale as wax,/and shockingly
 smeared with blood about one
 temple./That was, for Markheim, the
 one displeasing circumstance./It
 carried him back, upon the instant,
 to

11.15-16 village: a grey
 day, a piping wind, a/crowd upon
 the street, the blare

17. This word is not clear: it may be 'mire.'

18. The entire passage 'The face, however....and the Mannings' is circled and deleted by Stevenson. It is given again, with various changes, shortly afterwards on p.7, 1.34-p.8, 1.1 and 11.4-6. See also the final version. p.96, 11.10-12 and 21-23.

upon the street, ^{blare} 19

1.3 of the drums,

11.3-4 nasal cry of ballad-singers; and before a booth, in the/ place of ^{the chief} ~~grea~~ concourse, a ~~great~~ screen ^{with} ~~of~~ pictures, ^{dismally} ~~brutally~~ designed,

1.5 and

1.6 ~~Weare in the~~
~~of Thurteill~~

1.6 celebrated

11.6-8 crimes. He/remembered with what physical revolt he had beheld them, and the memory surprised him. A

1.8 ~~that day's~~
~~the fair~~

11.8-9 memory; and was something/gross, ^{flaunting and} ~~in the air,~~ dismal in the air, he knew not what; and for

1.10 ~~weakness~~ 21

1.10 his

11.11-12 conquer. ~~He looked~~
~~to face a~~
the ma
horror/

He

1.17 of drums,

11.17-21 nasal voice of a ballad-singer; and a boy/going to and fro, buried over head in the crowd and/divided between interest and fear, until, coming out upon/ the chief place of concourse, he beheld a booth and a great/screen with pictures, dismally designed,

1.22 with

1.23 Weare in the

1.24 famous

11.24-28 crimes. The thing was as/clear as an illusion; he was once again that little boy; he/was looking once again, and with the same sense of physical/revolt, at these vile pictures; he was still stunned by the/thumping of the drums. A 20

1.28 that day's

1.29 memory; and at that,
for

1.30 weakness

1.31 the

11.31-32 conquer./
He

19. The passage in parenthesis is written on the top of the page, circled by Stevenson and directed with an arrow to where it is now placed.

20. The reminder here that Markheim imagines himself as a 'little boy' (and see also 11.17-18, listed above) recalls his question to the dealer at the beginning of the earlier version, 'You have been a child...'

21. The deleted word is indecipherable.

1.12 it wiser to
 1.12 than flee
 1.12 considerations; he looked
 the
 1.12 face; and bent his
 1.13 countenance
 1.14 pallid
 1.15 dexterous
 1.17 clock. It was in vain for
 him to reason; he
 1.17 no remorseful
 1.18 consciousness of; at best,

11.18-20 had never lived yet/
 now ~~new~~ was ~~dead~~ dead, to whose lips the
 mighty wassail-bowl of life had been
 in vain/presented, ~~and~~ who had been

1.20 that make

11.21-28 garden, and whose sole
 chance of interest and pleasure
 was ^{now finally} cut off./He wished it had been
otherwise; he should have opened the
eyes of his intended/victim, ^{have} ~~and~~
wooed him to enjoy some, have forced
the cup of pleasure to his lips;/and
yet, who knows? For had the dealer
left his ~~thrown aside~~ miserly seclusion, had/
he shown some gusto in the exercise
of life, had he been greedy of some/
intangible enjoyment, the dagger
would perhaps have trembled, the whole

1.32 it more prudent to
 1.32 than to flee
 1.33 considerations;
 looking the
 1.34 face, bending his
 1.35 face
 1.36 pale
 1.38 governable
 p.97, 11.1-2 clock. So he/
 reasoned in vain; he
 1.2 no more remorseful
 11.3-5 consciousness; the
 same heart which had shuddered
 before/the painted effigies of
 crime looked on its reality
 unmoved./At best,

1.5 had been

1.6 that can make

11.7-10 garden of
 enchantment, one who had never
 lived/and who was now dead. But of
 penitence, no, not a tremour./
 With that, shaking himself
 clear of these considerations,/he
 found

scheme, /perhaps, have been abandoned./

Markheim
He found 22

11.28-29 and braced his courage
to approach that open door, which/
still so cruelly preoccupied his
fancy. Outside,

1.30 Like
As in

1.34-p.9, 1.1 stair. Was the
spy, then, fleeing from before him?
and why, if that were so, did The 23

p.9, 1.2 loosely on
upon

1.2 threw
put

11.2-3 resolve ^{on} upon his/
resisting muscles,

1.3 pulled
pushed

1.4 bare floors and stair, on

1.5 carvings
panels

1.6 and the framed

11.7-8 house, and so strangely
did its/volume swell and dwindle,
that,

1.11 creak

1.11 ajar, beg appeared 24

11.13-14 madness. It was ^{now} ~~new~~

11.10-11 and advanced
towards the open door/of the
shop. Outside,

1.13 Like

1.18 stair. The

1.19 loosely on

1.19 threw

1.20 resolve upon his
muscles,

1.20 drew

11.21-22 bare/floor and
stairs; on

1.24 carvings

1.24 and framed

1.26 house that,

1.30 creaking

1.30 ajar, appeared

11.33-34 madness. On/every

22. The underlined passage is also circled and crossed out by Stevenson. It shows that Markheim wonders if a trace of the dealer's 'humanity' might, after all, have been found. His own 'inhuman' crime, of course, had depended on the comforting assumption that the dealer had (and still has) no 'humanity': as the final version puts it, he returns to this assumption, 'shaking himself clear of these considerations.'

23. This and other references to the 'spy' are dropped from the final version.

24. The unfinished word was probably meant to be 'began.'

not in one/direction only; but from every

11.14-15	by ^{presences} his imaginary /spy.	1.34	by presences. He
He			
1.15	him ^{them}	1.35	them
1.15	moving stealthily in	1.35	moving in
1.16	feet;	1.36	legs;
1.17	ascend	1.37	mount
1.17	and feet followed	1.38	and followed
1.17	gradually	1.38	stealthily
1.18	how qui tranquilly 25	1.39	how tranquilly
1.22	orbit,	p.98, 1.5	orbits,
1.22	were ^{on}	1.6	on
1.25	storey,	1.9	story, (<u>sic</u>)
1.25	doors all stood	1.9	doors stood
11.25-26	ajar; and these chinks were/more startling to his nerves than would have been the mouths of	11.9-11	ajar, three of them/like three ambushes, shaking his nerves like the throats/of
1.27	would	1.11	could
1.27	walled in ^{immured}	1.12	immured
1.28	eyes; the joy for which he longed, was to	11.12-13	eyes; he/longed to
1.31	supposed	1.16	said
1.31	heavenly avengers an avenging.	11.16-17	heavenly/avengers.
11.31-32	him. He/feared man, <u>the neighbours, the imaginary spy, the dreaded milkboy.</u> He 26	1.17	him. He

25. The unfinished word was probably meant to be 'quietly.'

26. The deleted passage concerning the 'dreaded milkboy' has been listed above (p.7, 11.7-19). Again, all references to the 'imaginary spy' in this earlier version are also deleted.

11.33-34 procedure,
still so conservative/
preserving/ footprints

in the mind they

1.34 witness

p.10, 11.2-3 He played a game of/
nature, jealous/
skill, depending on the rules,
perchance of his success and
calculating consequence from cause;
cunning and

1.3 and
~~but~~

1.3 if failure nature

1.4 chess-board, should break the
the mould of their succession?
his foresight by a trick. The

11.4-5 had happened to/
Napoleon, when

1.5 its appearing; the

1.6 walls become

11.6-7 doings, the/stout
timbers yield below his

11.8-10 clutch, or merely his
own nerves disastrously ^{betray} ~~betray~~ him
to a ^{and} ~~screaming~~ fit or/plunge him
into some such immobility as freezes
men in dreams. But God/he did not
fear; ^{act} ~~the~~ act

11.13-14 un-/carpetted (sic)

11.14-15 incongruous and
costly/furniture; many great

1.15 himself reflected; many

11.18-19 proce-/dure, they

1.19 evidence

11.22-24 nature. He played
a/game of skill, depending on the
rules, calculating con-/sequence
from cause;

1.24 and

1.24 if nature

11.25-26 chess-board, should
break the mould/of their succession?
The

11.26-27 had befallen
Napoleon (so/writers said) when

11.27-28 its/appearance.
The

1.29 walls might become

11.29-31 doings like/those
of bees in a glass hive; the
stout planks might yield/under his

11.32-39 clutch; ay, and
there were soberer accidents that
might/destroy him: if, for instance,
the house should fall and/imprison
him beside the body of his victim;
or the house/next door should fly
on fire, and the firemen invade
him/from all sides. These things he
feared; and, in a sense,/these
things might be called the hands of
God reached/forth against sin. But
about God himself he was at ease;/
his act

p.99, 1.5 uncarpeted

11.6-7 incongruous
furniture;/several great

11.7-8 himself at/various
angles, like an actor on a stage;
many

1.16 standing on the floor and
with

1.17 wall; a Chippendale
table; a

11.18-19 hangings, drawn round
~~it like a/tent.~~ The

1.19 extreme .

11.20-22 and the daylight
entered dis-comfortably/from above.
Before the marquetry cabinet, one of
the packing cases had been drawn/
conveniently near to be a seat. Here,

1.22 Markheim sat down and

11.25-27 him; and here,/above
all, he was shut in by door and wall
from any possible espial; here at/
last, and undeniably, he was alone.
The

11.27-29 sounded/honest and
natural; the house seemed plunged in
reassuring silence; and/from across
the street, the

1.29 ~~with~~
into

11.30-31 ~~hymn-~~, ~~One family~~ of
and presently the
voices of many children took up the
~~neighbours had desisted from~~
the ^{air} and words./
~~suspicion and/~~ returned to
their amusements. How 27

1.31 hymn!

1.32 Markheim nodded time, as

1.9 standing, with

1.10 wall; a

1.11 hangings. The

1.12 great

11.13-14 and this
concealed/him from the neighbours.
Here,

11.14-15 Markheim drew in/a
packing-case before the cabinet,
and

11.19-23 him./With the tail
of his eye he saw the door--even
glanced/at it from time to time
directly, like a besieged
commander/pleased to verify the
good estate of his defences. But
in/truth he was at peace. The

11.24-25 sounded natural
and pleasant. Presently, on the
other/side, the

1.25 to

11.26-27 hymn, and the
voices of many children took up
the air/and words. How

1.28 melody!

11.28-29 Markheim/gave ear
to it smilingly, as

27. The unfinished and deleted word in the inserted passage on 1.30 was probably meant to be 'tune.'

1.33-p.11, 1.4 keys; a little more, and he had hummed the air. For now the last danger/was at an end; he had recovered his composure; he was himself again, with/all his organs at command; let the luck but hold, and he was ^{now} sure of the result./

With the tail of his eye, he ~~could~~ ^{saw} command the door; even glanced at it from/time to time directly, like a besieged & commander pleased to verify the good estate/of his defences. And suddenly ~~he~~ ^{he} saw the handle move; the 28

p.11, 1.4 clicked, the

11.5-11 opened; and there presented himself in the aperture, a gentleman unknown to/Markheim, and of no p marked age or feature. He was gracefully at his ease;/closed the door behind him, as a thing of course; and ~~although he made no salutation,~~/regarded Markheim without surprise, but with a serious and obliging interest. The/unhappy murderer sat turned to stone; conscious of no thought, whether

1.29-p.100, 1.6 keys; and his/mind was thronged with answerable ideas and images;/ church-going children and the pealing of the high organ;/ children afield, bathers by the brookside, ramblers on the/ brambly common, kite-fliers in the windy and cloud-/navigated sky; and then, at another cadence of the hymn,/back again to church, and the somnolence of summer/ Sundays, and the high genteel voice of the parson (which/he smiled a little to recall) and the painted Jacobean tombs,/and the dim lettering of the Ten Commandments in the/chancel./

And as he sat thus, at once busy and absent, he was/startled to his feet. A flash of ice, a flash of fire, a bursting/gush of blood, went over him, and then he stood trans-/fixed and thrilling. A step mounted the stair slowly and/steadily, and presently a hand was laid upon the knob,/and the

p.100, 1.6 clicked, and the

11.6-28 opened./

Fear held Markheim in a vice. What to expect he knew/not, whether the dead man walking, or the official ministers/of human justice, or some chance witness blindly stumbling/in to consign him to the gallows. But when a face was/thrust into the aperture, glanced round the room, looked/at him, nodded and smiled as if in friendly recognition,/and then withdrew again, and closed the door behind it,/his fear broke loose from his control in a hoarse cry. At/the sound of this the visitant returned./

'Did you call me?' he asked,

28. The passage on p.11, 11.2-4, 'even glanced at...of his defences,' is given earlier in the final version, on p.98, 11.20-22, listed above.

to fly or/to resist; mere brute
wonder storming in his ears./

'You

11.11-12 believe,' observed
the gentleman./

But Markheim

1.13 must

1.13 other: 'the

1.15 consequence.'

1.16 asked

11.16-17 murderer hoarsely./

The

1.17 gentleman

1.17 smiled, and took a seat.

'You

1.18 and sought

pleasantly, and with that/he
entered the room and closed the
door behind him./

Markheim stood and gazed at
him with all his eyes. Perhaps
there was a film upon his sight,
but the outlines/of the new-comer
seemed to change and waver like
those/of the idols in the wavering
candle-light of the shop; and/at
times he thought he knew him; and
at times he thought/he bore a
likeness to himself; and always,
like a lump of/living terror,
there lay in his bosom the
conviction that/this thing was not
of the earth and not of God./

And yet the creature had a
strange air of the common-/place,
as he stood looking on Markheim
with a smile; and/when he added:
'You 29

11.28-30 be-/lieve?' it was
in the tones of every-day
politeness./

Markheim

1.31 should

1.31 other, 'that the

1.34 consequences.'

1.35 cried

11.35-36 murderer./
The

1.36 visitor 30

1.36 smiled. 'You

11.37-38 and often/sought

29. As indicated in part iv of Chapter IV, the visitant is given a kind of negative description in the earlier version ('of no...marked age or feature'), while in the final version several descriptions (or roles) are offered. Both versions, of course, emphasise the visitant's 'strange air of the common-place' and the naturalness of his entrance into the drawing-room.

30. All earlier references to the visitant as 'gentleman' are dropped from the final version.

11.19-21 ^{What are you} 'Are you the devil?'
 inquired Markheim, turning fully
 round upon the/packing case./

'What

1.22 can!'

11.22-24 does! I would not
 even cheat the devil; And/till you
 know the bottom of my heart, I would
 sooner perish than be helped by
 you!/'

'Child,' replied the gentleman,
 kindly, 'I

1.24 marrow.'

11.25-26 ^{Know me} 'Ah, not you!' cried
 Markheim. ^{Who does} 'Who can? My life is but a
 travesty and ^{and though} slander/on myself; I
 have belied my ^{it daily, my nature} nature, is still
 good. All lives are I 31

1.27 men are failures. But
 I more than most. My excuse

11.28-30 But in all things,
 if I had time and eloquence, I could/
 demonstrate the purity of my
 purpose./

'To

1.39-p.101, 1.1 'What are
 you?' cried Markheim: 'the devil?'/
 'What

p.101, 1.3 can,'

11.3-7 does! Be helped by/
 you? No, never; not by you! You do
 not know me/yet; thank God, you do
 not know me!'/

'I know you,' replied the
 visitant, with a sort of kind/
 severity or rather firmness. 'I

1.7 soul.'

11.8-9 'Know me!' cried
 Markheim. 'Who can do so?/My life
 is but a travesty and slander on
 myself. I

11.10-16 men do; all men
 are better/than this disguise that
 grows about and stifles them. You/
 see each dragged away by life,
 like one whom bravos have/seized
 and muffled in a cloak. If they
 had their own con-/trol--if you
 could see their faces, they would
 be altogether/different, they
 would shine out for heroes and
 saints! I/am worse than most; my
 self is more overlaid; my excuse

11.17-19 But, had I the
 time, I could/disclose myself.'/
 'To 32

31. The deleted passage 'I have belied my nature' is given shortly afterwards, with some changes, on 11.26-27; it also appears in the final version, p.101, 11.9-10.

32. The final version (11.10-19) returns to the theme of 'the real man'

1.30 gentleman.

1.31 all!'

1.32 since it is possible
that you

11.32-33 heart./Can

1.33 is to me hateful? can
you

p.12, 1.1 do

1.1 know

11.2-7 humanity, a sinner in
my own despite.'/'

'Believe me,' was the reply, 'I
know you well enough for my own
purposes; and/in any dealing that
may fall between us, it is not I
that will be duped. Time flies;/the
servant dallies but she still
returns; and at the same pace, death
is on the/march. Shall I tell you
where to find the money?'/

'At For

11.8-12 service,' returned
the other, with a civil inclination,

1.19 visitant.

1.20 all,'

1.21 since you

11.22-27 heart. And yet
you would/propose to judge me by
my acts! Think of it; my acts!/
I was born and I have lived in a
land of giants; giants have/
dragged me by the wrists since I
was born out of my mother/--the
giants of circumstance. And you
would judge me/by my acts! But can
you not look within? Can

1.28 is hateful to me? Can
you

1.31 Can

1.31 read

1.32-p.102, 1.5 humanity--
the unwilling sinner?'/

'All this is very feelingly
expressed,' was the reply,/'but it
regards me not. These points of
consistency are/beyond my province,
and I care not in the least by what/
compulsion you may have been dragged
away, so as you/are but carried in
the right direction. But time flies;
the/servant delays, looking in the
faces of the crowd and at/the
pictures on the hoardings, but still
she keeps moving/nearer; and
remember, it is as if the gallows
itself was/striding towards you
through the Christmas streets!/
Shall I help you; I, who know all?
Shall I tell you where/to find the
money?'/

'For

p.102, 11.6-14 service for a
Christmas gift,' returned/the
other./

hidden or 'overlaid' within Markheim. The visitant (recalling the antique
hand-mirror the dealer had earlier held up to Markheim) reflects this
'overlaid' 'real man': he allows Markheim finally to 'disclose himself.'

'for a Christmas gift.'/

'And you think that I would accept it at your hands!' cried Markheim. 'Not so/
a thousand times not so! Ere I would take your wages, ere I would resign my/hopes of good, I would ^{prefer a thousand times to die!'/} ~~willingly face death-1/~~'/

'I

1.12 gentleman.

11.13-14 cried./

'Pardon me; but when

1.15 serve and honour me,

1.15 spread unkindness under

11.15-16 to/spread misery, as you have done and will do, by a

11.16-17 with/~~their~~ desires;.

Now

1.17 can but add one

1.19 followers. Accept

11.19-20 help; live/but as you please--I ask no more; and

1.20 dusk

1.21 I will tell

11.23-29 the/man, who had slain his thousands and maimed his tens of thousands, and/in whom, for all my close attention, I had never remarked a generous or a tender/

Markheim could not refrain from smiling with a kind/of bitter triumph. 'No,' said he, 'I will take nothing/at your hands; if I were dying of thirst, and it was your/hand that put the pitcher to my lips, I should find the/courage to refuse. It may be credulous, but I will do/nothing to commit myself to evil.'/

'I

1.15 visitant.

11.17-19 cried./

'I do not say so,' returned the other; 'but I look/on these things from a different side, and when

1.20 serve me,

1.21 spread black looks under

11.21-22 to sow/tares in the wheat-field, as you do, in a

1.23 with desire. Now

1.24 can add but one

11.26-27 followers./I am not so hard a master. Try me. Accept

11.27-30 help./Please yourself in life as you have done hitherto; please/yourself more amply, spread your elbows at the board;/and

1.30 night

1.31 I tell

11.34-39 the room was/full of sincere mourners, listening to the man's last words:/and when I looked into that face, which had been set as/a flint against mercy, I found it smiling with hope.'/

'And do you, then, suppose me

impulse, died with his hands clasped
in prayer and a glory of rapture on
his/face.'/

'Do you suppose me so
preoccupied with personal salvation?'
inquired Markheim.

1.29 think it my aim to

1.29 and to evade the
punishment? Is it

1.30 hands? and is murder,
indeed, a sin so

11.32-33 murder/as

1.33 I behold your race, like
~~it is only the feet who~~
starving mariners upon
~~thinks his sine~~ a

11.33-34 crusts/from the

p.13, 1.1 acting; and I

1.2 ~~Self-righteous father who~~
pretty maid who thwarts

1.2 ~~the~~
a

1.4 also. Evil,

1.5 actions

1.5 in persons; the

1.5 act; and it

such a creature?'/ asked Markheim.

1.39-p.103, 1.1 think I
have no more generous/aspirations
than to

p.103, 11.1-3 and sin, and sin,
and, at last, sneak/into heaven?
My heart rises at the thought. Is
this, then,/your experience of
mankind? or is it

11.4-5 hands that you
presume such baseness? and is/this
crime of murder indeed so

1.8 murder, even as

11.8-9 I/behold your race,
like starving mariners on a

1.10 crusts out of the

1.12 acting; I

1.13 pretty maid who
thwarts

1.14 a

11.16-18 also;/they differ
not by the thickness of a nail,
they are both/scythes for the
reaping angel of Death. Evil,

1.19 action

1.19 in character. The

11.20-23 act, whose
fruits, if we/could follow them
far enough down the hurtling
cataract/of the ages, might yet be
found more blessed than those of/
the rarest virtues. And it 33

1.6 because your name is
Markheim,

1.8 ~~will~~ ^{tell boldly} you, then,' cried
Markheim, 'boldly. This

11.9-10 last. Hitherto, ^{I have} with
~~been driven with revolt to what I~~
~~what revolt and reiteration none~~
would not. I was a slave to poverty,/
~~would believe, I have/~~
scourged along the
~~been driven to~~ path of evil.

There

1.10 are, I know, robust

11.11-12 ^{and} with the proceeds/of

11.12-13 I rise above
compulsions; ^{I become for all things a}
~~I am free, I have~~
free actor in the world; I can be/
~~a competence, I can follow/~~
myself at last--that I forecast on
~~my own myself at last-~~
sabbath evenings

1.13 note

1.13 organ, as I

1.13 or as I talked,

11.13-15 my dead mother.'/
'This money is destined to the

stock exchange, I think?' inquired
the gentleman; 'where,/if

1.24 because you are
Markheim,

11.26-27 will lay my heart
open to you,' answered Mark-/heim.
'This

11.27-31 last./On my way to
it I have learned many lessons;
itself/is a lesson, a momentous
lesson. Hitherto I have been/
driven with revolt to what I would
not; I was a bond-/slave to
poverty, driven and scourged. There

1.31 are robust

11.33-34 and/out of

1.34-p.104, 1.1 I pluck
both warning and riches--/both the
power and a fresh resolve to be
myself. I/become in all things a
free actor in the world; I begin/to
see myself all changed, these hands
the agents of/good, this heart at
peace. Something comes over me/out
of the past; something of what I
have dreamed on/Sabbath evenings

p.104, 1.1 sound

11.1-2 organ, of/what I
forecast when I

11.2-3 or/talked,

11.3-7 my mother. There
lies/my life; I have wandered a
few years, but now I see once/more
my city of destination.'/
'You are to use this money on

the Stock Exchange,/I think?'
remarked the visitor; 'and there,
if 34

detailed in the final version: here especially (11.7-25), the visitant discusses (to use the title of an essay by Stevenson written around 1887-88) 'The Ethics of Crime.' Indeed, the visitant in the final version paraphrases parts of this essay: his remark that 'Murder is to me no special category....All sins are murder...' (p.103, 11.7-8) compares with the essay's observation, 'All sinful acts run to murder. Murder is a distinction without a difference,' Ethical Studies, xxvi, 57.

34. The visitant here recalls Markheim's remark to the dealer at the

1.15 many	1.8 some
1.16 'Ah!'	1.9 'Ah,'
1.17 lose,' rep said the	1.11 lose,' replied the
1.17 gentleman	1.11 visitor
1.18 'Ah, but I I will	1.13 'Ah, but I
1.18 ^{Markheim} the murderer.	1.13 Markheim.
11.19-20 the gentleman./ 'W Well	11.14-15 the other./ The sweat started upon Markheim's brow. 'Well,
1.20 matter?' exclaimed the young man fierily .	1.16 matter?' he exclaimed. 'Say
1.20 is be	1.16 be
1.21 worse,	1.18 worst,
11.22-23 better? Both must have play, at last. ^{Evil and good} Bad I may be-- run/strong within me, haling me I know it, all are bad	1.19 better? Evil and good run strong in me, haling me
1.24 and though I be fallen I have in my heart a to such a crime true sincerity	11.21-22 and/though I be fallen to such a crime
1.25 sorrows trials	1.24 trials
1.26 I and help	1.24 and help
11.26-28 them; I I shared my last ^{sixpence} coppers with a/blind man; out of the money I have earned today, a part shall ^{goes} go to a poor widow./And is all this And	11.24-26 them; I/prize love, I love honest laughter; there is no good thing/nor true thing on earth but I love it from my heart. And
1.28 and these virtues lie	1.27 and my virtues to lie
11.30-31 acts.'/ The gentleman raised	11.29-30 acts.'/ But the visitant raised

beginning of the story: '...I have done well on the Stock Exchange, and should more likely add to it than otherwise...' (p.90, 11.3-4).

1.31 years,' said

1.32 in

1.32 fortune, ~~in~~ ^{through} many
varieties

1.33-p.14, 1.1 steadily
sinking. This good, of which you
beast, what fruit has it brought/
forth Your desire of good has never
lessened, if you will; ^{admit me this} but
at least: that you have
~~it~~ ^{it has} grown
in/charity to yourself. Fifteen 35

p.14, 1.4 ^{detect}
~~find~~

1.4 fact.

11.5-7 you.'/'

Markheim had got upon his feet,
and he now stood looking down/into
the face of the speaker. 'It

1.7 he

1.9 living, become grow

1.9 hue

1.11 this

11.11-12 the gentleman; ^{and/} ~~are/~~
as you answer, I will read to you
you in any one particular; however
your moral horoscope
~~trifling.~~ Are you

1.13 however small trifling,

1.13 conduct?

1.31 years that you have
been in this world,' said

1.31 through

1.32 fortune and varieties

1.33 steadily fall. Fifteen

1.37 detect

1.37 fact!

1.39-p.105, 1.1 you.'/'
'It

p.105, 1.1 Markheim

1.3 living, grow

1.4 tone

1.5 one

11.5-9 the/other; 'and as
you answer, I shall read to you
your moral/horoscope. You have grown
in many things more lax;/possibly
you do right to be so; and at any
account, it is/the same with all
men. But granting that, are you

1.10 however trifling,

1.11 conduct,

35. The inserted passage 'admit me this at least: that you have' is written below 1.34, circled by Stevenson and directed with an arrow to where it is now placed, between 'but' and '~~it has~~'.

11.15-16 ^{none!} No /I own it; I	1.15 none! I
1.17 gentleman,	1.16 visitor,
1.18 upon	1.18 on
1.18 are all irrevocably	1.18 are irrevocably
1.20 gentleman	1.20 visitor
1.21 so,' said he, 'shall	1.21 so,' he said, 'shall
1.24 other; 'and two	1.23 other. 'Two
1.25 meetings?	1.25 meetings,
11.27-28 me to/do. I	1.28 me by way of duty. I
1.31 gentleman,	1.32 visitant,
1.31 ^{were} was	1.32 were
11.32-33 waiting, sprang instantly upon his feet./	11.33-34 waiting,/changed at once in his demeanour. 'The
'The	
p.15, 1.2 Once within,	1.39-p.106, 1.1 Once the girl/within,
1.4 the	p.106, 1.2 this
1.4 ^{on} in	1.3 in
1.7 'up, my friend;	1.7 'up, friend;
1.7 balance;	1.8 scales:
1.8 am	1.9 be
1.9 acts,' said he, 'there	1.10 acts,' he said, 'there
1.10 is	1.11 be
11.10-11 say/too truly,	11.12-13 say/truly,
1.12 beyond their reach. My	11.14-15 beyond the reach of all./My
11.12-13 barren-/ness; let it	1.15 barrenness; it
be so it	
1.13 my hate for evil;	1.16 my hatred of evil;
1.16 gentleman	1.19 visitor

1.17	they he	1.20	they
1.17	loving	1.21	tender
1.18	watch se 36	1.22	watch
11.21-22	medley; / ^{a scene} the picture	1.27	medley--a scene of
of			
1.23	farther	1.28	further
1.26	gazing, mingled and	1.33	gazing. And
tender thoughts. And			

36. The unfinished and deleted word was probably meant to be 'see.'

APPENDICES

IV. THE STRANGE CASE OF DR JEKYLL AND MR HYDE

Twenty-four handwritten notebook pages from the intermediate version of The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde are now held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Beinecke 6934): they are pp.58, 67, 69-84, 86-90 and 103. There are 20 or 21 lines per page, except for p.103 which has 19 lines. These pages follow the two pages from this notebook (pp.33 and 48) already presented and commented upon in Chapter V. There are a number of differences between these pages and the corresponding pages in the final published version of the story; there are also a number of deleted and inserted words and passages. The text from the final published version listed below appears in The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde, v, 45-71.

Jekyll (Beinecke 6934)

p.58, 11.1-2 alive./

'He 1

11.2-3 buried underneath the flags,' said Poole./

'He may,' (replied the lawyer,)

'or he 2

11.4-5 fled. ~~That~~ he cried, suddenly; 'What blind man's/buff is this in what ThisJekyll and Hyde

p.45, 11.26-27 alive./

Poole stamped on the flags of the corridor. 'He

11.28-29 buried here,' he said, hearkening to the sound./

'Or he

11.29-38 fled,' said Utterson, and he turned/to examine the door in the by-street. It was locked; and/lying near by on the flags, they found the key, already/

1. This page begins towards the end of Chapter VIII. 'The Last Night.' when Poole and Utterson break in to Jekyll's room and discover the dead body of Edward Hyde.

2. The passage in parenthesis is circled by Stevenson and directed by an arrow to 1.4, between 'fled' and '~~That~~'.

11.5-6 Poole. Let us/return
to

11.6-8 cabinet.' They
mounted/
Upstairs, all was as it was/
They

11.8-9 silence, and looked/
on every side. At a long table

11.9-10 chemical/experiments.
Various

11.10-11 salt,/apparently the
same, were laid out on

11.11-12 saucers; and;/then
Poole recognised as if for some
purpose in

1.13 been interrupted. On the
desk of the

stained with rust./
'This does not look like
use,' observed the lawyer./
'Use!' echoed Poole. 'Do you
not see, sir, it is/broken? much
as if a man had stamped on it.'/
'Ah,' continued Utterson,
'and the fractures, too,/are
rusty.' The two men looked at
each other with a/scare. 'This 3

11.38-39 Poole,' said the
lawyer./'Let us go back to

1.39-p.46, 1.1 cabinet./
They

p.46, 11.1-4 silence, and still,
with an/occasional awestruck
glance at the dead body, proceeded/
more thoroughly to examine the
contents of the cabinet./At one
table

1.4 chemical work, various

1.5 salt being laid on

1.6 saucers, as though for
an experiment in

11.7-34 been prevented./
'That is the same drug that
I was always bringing/him,' said
Poole; and even as he spoke, the
kettle with/a startling noise
boiled over./
This brought them to the
fireside, where the easy chair/
was drawn cosily up, and the tea
things stood ready to/the sitter's

3. The door to the by-street and the rusted key are, clearly, not mentioned in the corresponding passage in the intermediate version.

elbow, the very sugar in the cup. There were/several books on a shelf; one lay beside the tea things/open, and Utterson was amazed to find a copy of a pious/work, for which Jekyll had several times expressed a/great esteem, annotated, in his own hand, with startling/blasphemies./

Next, in the course of their review of the chamber, the/searchers came to the cheval-glass, into whose depth they/looked with an involuntary horror. But it was so turned/as to show them nothing but the rosy glow playing on the/roof, the fire sparkling in a hundred repetitions along the/glazed front of the presses, and their own pale and fearful/countenances stooping to look in./

'This glass has seen some strange things, sir,' whispered/Poole./

'And surely none stranger than itself,' echoed the/lawyer, in the same tone. 'For what did Jekyll'--he/caught himself up at the word with a start, and then/conquering the weakness: 'what could Jekyll want with/it?' he said./

'You may say that!' said Poole./

Next they turned to the 4

11.14-15 a/very large

1.35 a large

4. Clearly, the final version here is much longer than the corresponding passage in the intermediate version: now, the tea-things in Jekyll's room are described in detail (but they were not included in the intermediate version); Jekyll's 'startling blasphemies' on his 'pious' book are noted; and Utterson and Poole also look into and remark on Jekyll's unusual cheval-glass (which again was apparently not included in the intermediate version, though it is treated as a kind of enigmatic symbol here). Jekyll's room seems generally to be presented in more detail in the final version and, indeed, it is described in a way that perhaps reflects Jekyll's own 'sense of...double being': the 'very sugar' in his tea-cup provides a stark contrast to the 'white salt' also ready for use in the glass saucer (so that Jekyll has thus 'been prevented' from both the ordinary 'day-time' experience of drinking tea and the extraordinary 'nightmare' experience of transforming himself).

11.15-16 in Doctor/Jekyll's hand,	1.36 in the doctor's hand,
11.16-18 lawyer/tore it open, then and as his hand was shaking/with emotion, the enclosures	11.37-38 lawyer unsealed it, and several enclo-/sures
11.18-19 first/ that he was	1.38 first was
1.19 strange	1.39 eccentric
1.20 the first one, to act as	1.39-p.47, 1.1 the one which he had returned/six months before, to serve as
p.67, 11.1-5 conclusion of ^{the} what adventure. As the hours dragged still appeared to me a thing too on, and/I sat alone in freakish/and irrational my consulting room, trying to compose/my spirits over a medical journal, an odd I found/myself grew steady more and more attracted to the/drawer and at last, undoing the sheet, I 5	p.51, 1.30 Here I
1.6 the	1.30 its
11.6-7 contents. There was first of all a considerable/number of powders, ^{securely} neatly enough	11.30-31 contents. The powders/were neatly enough
1.7 but still not	1.31 but not
1.8 ^{the} a	1.32 the
1.8 chemist; it	1.32 chemist; so that it
11.8-9 was therefore/plain	1.32 was plain
1.10 opened the	11.33-34 opened one/of the

5. The opening two sentences of p.67 do not correspond to anything in the final version. However, the passage clearly begins with Dr Lanyon sitting in his house at night, waiting for Hyde to call for Jekyll's drawer, early in Chapter IX, 'Dr Lanyon's Narrative.' In the final version, Lanyon examines the contents of the drawer as soon as he returns to his house, while here in the intermediate version he waits for some time before 'undoing the sheet.' This passage in the intermediate version also shows how Lanyon's 'curiosity' is awakened by the strange drawer.

11.11-13 The/only other objects in the drawer ^{were} ~~was~~ a small phial,/about

1.13 half filled with a

11.13-15 liquor, and a paper/book with a series of dates. I took out the glass stopper of the/phial and smellt (sic) the contents; it was

11.15-16 pungent,/aromatic and burning, ~~tee strong~~ a and I seemed

11.16-17 to/detect the presence of ^{both} ether and phosphorus: ~~at~~ ^{of} the

1.18 I ~~had~~ could

11.18-19 The dates in/the version

1.19 covered a -----
many 6

11.19-20 years, fifteen I/
think or twenty, but

1.20 that they had ceased

p.69, 11.1-4 door, and I, when I ~~had opened it~~ found myself/
According to my reading of Jekyll's letter, I had long/ago sent the servants to bed, and was alone and/I now ~~answe~~ answered the summons myself and led into

11.35-36 The phial, to which I/next turned my attention, might have been about

11.36-37 half full/of a

1.37 liquor, which was

11.37-38 pungent to the/sense of smell, and seemed

1.38-p.52, 1.1 to me to contain phosphorus/and some volatile ether. At the

p.52, 1.1 I could

1.2 The book was an ordinary version

11.3-4 covered/a period of many

1.4 years; but

11.4-5 that the entries/
ceased

p.52, 11.26-37 door. I went/myself at the summons, and found a small man crouching/against the pillars of the portico./

'Are you come from Dr Jekyll?' I asked./

He told me 'yes' by a constrained gesture; and/when I had bidden him enter, he did not obey me without/a searching backward

11.5-6 room, a small man whom/I had certainly never seen before that night. He

1.7 small, I

11.7-10 said; he had besides a slight shortening/of some of the cords of the neck which tilted his head upon/one side; I was struck by his disagreeable expression,/by ^{his} ~~the~~ ~~great~~ remarkable

1.11 apparent constitutional debility, and,

1.12 the cause odd

1.13 neighbourhood. I do not quite know This was bore

1.14 rigor, and it was

1.18 ~~but~~ though

1.18 ~~now~~ since

1.18 believe that the

glance into the darkness of the/square. There was a policeman not far off, advancing/with his bull's-eye open; and at the sight, I thought my/visitor started and made greater haste./

These particulars struck me, I confess, disagreeably;/and as I followed him into 7

1.38-p.53, 1.1 room, I kept my hand ready on my weapon. Here,/at last, I had a chance of clearly seeing him. I had never/set eyes on him before, so much was certain. He 8

p.53, 1.2 small, as I

11.2-3 said; I was struck besides with the shock-/ing expression of his face, with his remarkable

11.4-5 apparent debility of/constitution, and--

1.5 the odd

11.6-7 neighbourhood. This/bore

1.7 rigor, and was

1.10 but

1.11 since

1.11 believe the

7. P.69 of the intermediate version begins, like the corresponding passage in the final version, with Dr Lanyon answering Hyde's 'summons.' The policeman is added in the final version; and certain other 'particulars' about Hyde are also described here.

8. Lanyon's 'weapon' is added in the final version; and here, too, the passage notes that Lanyon is the first character to see Hyde 'clearly.' Accordingly, Hyde is described at greater length in this chapter.

1.20 nobler principle than
hinge

p.70, 1.1 had from

1.2 entrance, fascinated
with
me what

1.5 were made of the richest
and soberest materials,
were

1.7 about

1.7 rolled
~~turned~~

1.8 his

1.9 sprawling wide
~~low down~~

1.10 relate
~~say,~~

11.10-11 accoutrement was/did
not tickle in my chest the nerves
of laughter.

1.14 this seemed fresh

1.16 ~~the~~ my interest in the
man's
visitors

11.16-17 character, ~~this~~
now
among added

1.19 though they have taken
~~flashed across~~ me
so great a space

1.21 on fire
~~afame~~

p.71, 1.3 sleeve

11.5-6 I./
'I

1.9 bearing

1.14 enough. 'My impatience

1.15 at the instance
~~on behalf~~

1.16 of very considerable
moment,

11.12-13 nobler/hinge

1.14 had thus, from

1.15 entrance, struck in me
what

11.18-19 were of rich and
sober fabric,/were

1.20 on

1.20 rolled

1.21 the

1.22 sprawling wide

1.23 relate,

11.23-24 accoutrement was
far/from moving me to laughter.

1.27 this fresh

11.28-29 my interest in the/
man's

1.29 character, there was
added

11.32-33 though they have
taken so great a/space

1.34 on fire

1.37 arm

1.39-p.54, 1.1 I. 'You
forget/that I

p.54, 1.4 manner

11.9-10 enough. 'What you
say is very well founded; and my/
impatience

1.11 at the instance

1.12 of some moment;

1.18 his very collected	1.14 his collected
11.19-20 of gibus/hystericus ^{the hysteric/bull}	1.15 of the hysteria--'I
--'I 9	
1.20-p.72, 1.1 drawer...'/	11.16-17 drawer...'/
I declare But	But
p.72, 1.1 on the my	1.17 on my
1.4 lay still ^{on the floor again} covered by the	1.20 lay on
and in ^{and in} sheet on	
1.5 and once again covered	1.20 and still covered
1.6 pan ^{sprang}	1.22 sprang
11.7-8 grate/together his in	1.23 grate with
his jaws with	
1.9 was ghastly	1.24 was so ghastly
11.9-10 see./	11.24-26 see that/I grew
'Compose	alarmed both for his life and
	reason./
	'Compose
11.10-11 yourself,' said I	11.26-27 yourself,' said I./
cried./	He
He	
11.11-12 and pluek/as	1.27 and, as
1.16 control, 'Can you lend	11.31-32 control, 'Have/
me a	you a
1.20 and poured ^{measured}	1.35 measured
p.73, 11.2-4 powders. The mixture	11.36-37 powders./The
which was at first of a reddish e	
tur effervesced and threw off a	
little/vapour, ^{and} while he stood and	
looked watched its/metamer The 10	

9. Dr Lanyon diagnoses Hyde's condition in the deleted passage, with a medical term.

10. The deleted passage is given, with some changes, soon afterwards in the following sentence on 11.4-7 and 10-11; see also the final version, p.54, 1.37-p.55, 1.1 and 4.

1.5 colour ^{hue} ,	1.37 hue,
1.10 waterish	p.55, 1.3 watery
1.13 with a great air	1.6 with an air
11.13-14 scrutiny and hesitation./	11.6-7 scrutiny./ 'And
'And	
1.15 guided by m? will	1.8 guided? will
1.17 more	1.10 further
1.18 the evil greed 11	1.10 the greed
11.18-19 you? Spea/Think	1.11 you? Think
1.20 you shall decide,	1.12 you decide,
1.21-p.74, 1.1 neither wiser nor unhappier , unless the sense/ of	11.13-14 neither richer nor wiser,/unless the sense of
p.74, 1.4 to power and fame shall	1.17 to fame and power shall
1.5 room, and upon	1.18 room, upon
1.8 I, I affecting	1.21 I, affecting
1.9 really ^{truly}	1.22 truly
1.9 possessing, 'I	11.22-24 possessing, 'you speak enigmas, and you/will perhaps not wonder that I hear you with no very/strong impression of belief. But I
1.9 gone rather too	1.24 gone too
11.9-10 in this/most inexplicable piece of work, to	11.24-25 in/the way of inexplicable services to
1.14 now, sir, you	1.29 now, you
11.14-15 have been/so long bound	1.29 have so long been bound
1.16 have so obstinat denied	1.30 have denied

11. The deleted adjective 'evil,' in the context of Hyde's question to Dr Lanyon '...has the ~~evil~~ greed of curiosity too much command of you?' is perhaps important to notice.

1.21-p.75, 1.1 staring before/
him with

p.75, 1.1 ~~congested~~ injected

1.4 change

1.5 ~~leaped~~ staggered

1.6 wall, with my

11.8-9 in consternation

and./

'0

1.13 stood, with his fine
stature and Henry

11.13-17 Jekyll! The/other,
~~the ghost~~, the double, the
unutterable spectre/that had drunk
the potion, was gone from before/me,
and there, in his place, was Henry
Jekyll!/
What 12

1.18 place

1.18 paper. In spite of what

1.18-p.76, 1.1 saw, my/mind
revolts ~~from~~ against belief; the
shock of that/moment has, I feel
sure, struck at the very roots of/
my life, but it has not lowered the
pride of my/scepticism; I shall die,
but I

1.35 staring with

1.35 injected

1.38 alter

1.39 leaped

p.56, 1.1 wall, my

11.2-3 in terror./
'0

1.6 stood Henry

11.6-7 Jekyll!/
What

1.8 set

1.8 paper. I saw what

11.8-14 saw, I heard what I/
heard, and my soul sickened at it;
and yet, now when/that sight has
faded from my eyes, I ask myself
if I be-/lieve it, and I cannot
answer. My life is shaken to its/
roots; sleep has left me; the
deadliest terror sits by me/at all
hours of the day and night; I feel
that my days/are numbered, and that
I must die; and yet I 13

12. The descriptions of Hyde as a 'ghost' and a 'double' are dropped from the final version: the term 'double' had perhaps, for Stevenson, wrongly implied a resemblance between Hyde and Jekyll.

13. The description of Lanyon's 'deterioration' (having seen the transformation from Hyde to Jekyll) is presented more clearly in the final version. Lanyon's 'scepticism' is also less pronounced: the passage 'my mind revolts...against belief' now becomes 'my soul sickened at it...'

p.76, 11.2-8 me,/it is matter
that I disdain to handle. He found
me an/elderly, a useful and a happy
man; that he has/blighted and
shortened what remains to me of
life,/is but a small addendum to
the monstrous tale of/his misdeeds./

Hastie

1.9 1830 15

1.9 good

1.10 good

11.10-11 parts and much
application; but with such as/might
justify the highest flights of
ambition, inclined

1.12 the wise and good
my fellows

1.13 my
our

1.13 as
it might

1.14 every g promise and
guarantee

11.15-19 future. From a very/
early age, however, I became ^{in secret} the
slave of disgraceful/pleasures; my
life was double; externally absented/
in scientific toil; never; not even

11.16-24 me, even with
tears of penitence, I cannot,
even/in memory, dwell on it
without a start of horror. I will/
say but one thing, Utterson, and
that (if you can bring/your mind
to credit it) will be more than
enough. The/creature who crept
into my house that night was, on/
Jekyll's own confession, known by
the name of Hyde/and hunted for in
every corner of the land as the
murderer/of Carew./

HASTIE 14

p.57, 1.1 18--

1.1 large

1.2 excellent

1.2 parts, inclined

1.3 the wise and good

1.3 my

1.4 as might

1.5 every guarantee

11.5-12 future./And indeed,
the worst of my faults was a
certain impatient/gaiety of
disposition, such as has made the
happiness of/many, but such as I
found it hard to reconcile with
my/imperious desire to carry my

14. Carew is not mentioned in the intermediate version since, as shown in Chapter V of the thesis, the murder victim here was called Lewsome. This passage marks the end of 'Dr Lanyon's Narrative.'

15. The intermediate version gives Jekyll's date of birth (fifty-five years before the story was written and, incidentally, twenty years before Stevenson himself was born). This is the first line of Chapter X, 'Henry Jekyll's Full Statement of the Case.'

never indifferent to/any noble
 opinion cause or and when 16

p.77, 1.1 note

11.1-2 I/fo~~und~~ myself stood at
 deeply committed

11.3-14 life. On the one side,
 I was what you/have known me, a
 man of distinction, immersed in/
 toils, open to generous sympathies,
 never slow to/befriend struggling
 virtue, never backward in an/
 honourable cause; on the other, so
 soon as night had/fallen and I could
 shake off my friends, the iron hand/
 of indurated habit plunged me once
 again into the/mire of my vices. I
 will trouble you with these no/
 further than to say that they were
 at once criminal in the/sight of the
 law and abhorrent in themselves.
 They/cut me off from the sympathy of
 those whom I otherwise respected;/
 and 17

1.15 ~~the~~ those

head high, and wear a more/than
 commonly grave countenance before
 the public./Hence it came about
 that I concealed my pleasures;
 and/that when

1.13 stock

1.14 I stood already
 committed

11.15-20 life. Many a man
 would have even blazoned/such
 irregularities as I was guilty of;
 but from the high/views that I had
 set before me, I regarded and hid
 them/with an almost morbid sense of
 shame. It was thus rather/the
 exacting nature of my aspirations,
 than any particular/degradation in
 my faults, that made me what I was,
 and,

1.22 those

16. Jekyll's 'disgraceful pleasures' are bluntly presented here, and the intermediate version goes on to describe them more explicitly than the modified final version. Parts of this deleted passage are given, with changes, shortly afterwards on p.77, 11.4-7, listed above.

17. In the intermediate version, Jekyll's 'vices' are 'criminal' and 'abhorrent'; in the final version, however, these 'vices' become mere 'irregularities' and are, it is implied, by no means as culpable or extreme. Here, the emphasis changes: while the intermediate version presents a straightforward 'double' life ('On the one side...on the other...'), the final version concentrates on Jekyll's 'high....aspirations' and suggests that they (rather than his 'vices') are responsible for what follows.

1.17 reflect more deeply	1.24 reflect deeply
1.17 upon	1.24 on
11.18-19 of all religions/and	1.25 of religion, and
1.19 is the spring of all suffering. Though	11.25-26 is one of the/ most plentiful springs of distress. Though
p.78, 1.1 I ferg laid 18	1.29 I laid
1.1 wallowed	1.29 plunged
1.4 the very direction	p.58, 1.2 the direction
1.5 investigations,	1.2 studies,
1.5 entirely wholly	1.2 wholly
1.6 transcendental	1.3 mystic
1.6 mystic	1.3 transcendental
1.10 I drew	11.6-7 I/thus drew
1.10 that great truth,	1.7 that truth,
1.11 discovery of which I	1.8 discovery I
1.11 sent doomed	1.8 doomed
1.17 multifarious and, incongruous	1.14 multifarious, incongruous
1.18 upon for	1.15 for
11.18-20 the/impulse of my own experiences and sufferings, leaned/to the moral side, and leaned ^{advanced} infallibly	1.15 the nature of my life, advanced infallibly
p.79, 1.1 case	1.17 person
1.7 most most naked	1.23 most naked
1.8 begun learned	1.24 learned
1.13 perfect	1.30 upright

18. The unfinished and deleted word was probably meant to be 'forgot.'

11.14-15 path, /no longer doing	1.31 path, doing
1.17 through ^{by}	1.33 by
1.20 sensitive ^{agonised}	1.35 agonised
p.80, 1.4 my ^{the}	1.39 the
1.8 Certain powerf agents	p.59, 1.4 Certain agents
1.9 to rent shake	1.5 to shake
1.11 a tent pavillion (<u>sic</u>).	1.6 a pavilion. For
For	
1.15 rivetted	1.10 bound
1.15 and that when	1.10 and when
1.20 incomplete. and my	1.14 incomplete. Enough,
notion Enough,	
p.81, 1.3 but discovered an agent by	11.16-17 but man-/aged to compound a drug by
11.6-7 me, although/it was	11.19-20 me/because they were the
the	
11.8-10 soul. The effieacy	11.21-22 soul./
of this drug was but/ to shake the	I
immaterial and ineffable/	
I 19	
11.10-11 the/dire test	1.22 the test
11.12-13 the/ immaterial ^{frail}	1.24 the very fortress of
pillars of	
1.13 at ^{by}	1.25 by
1.15 destroy ^{blot out}	1.27 blot out
1.15 thin ^{immaterial}	1.27 immaterial
11.16-17 temptation/was too	11.28-30 temptation of a discovery so/singular and profound.
great. I	

19. Parts of this deleted passage are given shortly afterwards in the following paragraph in 11.12-13; see also the final version, p.59, 11.23-25.

		at last overcame the suggestions/ of alarm. I
11.17-18 tincture,/though it was the work of years of killing study; I		1.30 tincture; I
1.19 firm of part 20		1.31 firm of
p.82, 1.6 racking deadly		1.38 racking
1.7 bones, an unexampled sickness deadly		1.39 bones, deadly
1.12 incredibly	p.60, 1.4	indescribably
1.14 younger, I felt lighter,	1.5	younger, lighter
1.15 within in mind ,	1.6	within
1.17 my imagination fancy,	1.8	my fancy,
1.19 touch	1.10	breath
p.83, 1.2 hands, and then I	11.14-15	hands, exulting in the freshness of these sensations; and/in the act, I
11.4-5 my/cabinet; but the night was	11.16-19	my room; that/ which stands beside me as I write was brought there later/on, and for the very purpose of those transformations./The night, however, was 21
1.5 gone into into	1.19	gone into
1.11 as far as to into	1.24	as far as to
11.11-12 yard,/and I remember well with what a wherein	1.25	yard, wherein
1.14 eternal	1.27	unsleeping

20. The unfinished and deleted word was probably meant to be 'particular.'

21. Jekyll's mirror or 'cheval-glass' is not mentioned in the intermediate version. It was also not mentioned in the passage listed above in the intermediate version, when Poole and Utterson search Jekyll's room (p.58, 11.8-13); but, as indicated, they remark on it and look into it in the corresponding passage in the final version (p.46, 11.19-33). The mirror was possibly only introduced into the final version of the story.

- 1.16 thief
- 1.19 I speak now by
- 1.19 theory. The
- p.84, 11.1-2 ~~deposed; but~~ On the/
other hand, in my
- 1.7 as ~~the~~ good
- 11.10-11 the infernal and the/
~~lethal~~
~~mortal~~ side
- 1.11 ~~left~~
~~pointed~~
- 1.11 ~~that~~
~~the~~
- 11.11-12 body ~~the~~/evidences
of
- 1.13 ~~and~~ ^{idol} image
- 11.15-16 human; ~~to~~ me In
- 11.16-17 it ~~was~~ ^{bore} and I still
consider ~~it~~ ~~to~~ be/bore an a
- 1.19 countenance ~~that~~ I was
had
- p.86, 1.1 side unchastened; and
although 22
- 11.1-2 now indeed/two
- 1.2 appearances, the one
- 1.4 Jekyll of the past, that
- 11.6-16 despair. You can see
- 1.28 stranger
- 1.31 I must here speak by
- 11.31-33 theory alone,
saying not that/which I know, but
that which I suppose to be most
prob-/able. The
- 11.35-36 ~~deposed.~~ Again,/in
the course of my
- p.61, 1.2 as good
- 11.4-5 the/lethal side
- 1.5 left
- 1.5 that
- 1.5 body an imprint of
- 1.7 idol
- 1.9 human. In
- 1.9 it bore a
- 1.11 countenance I had
- p.62, 1.1 Hence, although
- 1.1 now two
- 1.2 appearances, one
- 1.3 Jekyll, that
- 11.5-39 despair. The
movement was thus wholly toward

22. The first three words of p.86 do not correspond to anything in the final version: they are clearly part of a longer passage (following from the missing p.85) that has now been dropped.

now what was the/result; for days, I would, ^{as of yore,} ~~as~~ ~~obe~~ pursue and obey/my better ^{instincts} ~~nature~~; and then when evil triumphed, I/would again drink the cup and, impenetrably/disguised as ~~Edward~~ ^{Edward} ~~Henry~~ Hyde, ^{privately} pass out of the laboratory/door and roll myself in infamy./

The temptation of my present power can hardly be/overestimated. As ~~Henry~~ ^{Edward} Hyde (for I had so/dubbed my second self--God help me--ⁱⁿ ~~myself~~ in pleasantry), I was secure of/an immunity that never mere before was attained/by any criminal. Think

the/worse./

Even at that time, I had not yet conquered my aversion/to the dryness of a life of study. I would still be merrily/disposed at times; and as my pleasures were (to say the/least) undignified, and I was not only well known and/highly considered, but growing towards the elderly man,/this incoherency of my life was daily growing more un-/welcome. It was on this side that my new power tempted/me until I fell in slavery. I had but to drink the cup, to/doff at once the body of the noted professor, and to assume,/like a thick cloak, that of Edward Hyde. I smiled at the/notion; it seemed to me at the time to be humorous/and I made my preparations with the most studious care./I took and furnished that house in Soho, to which Hyde/was tracked by the police; and engaged as housekeeper/a creature whom I well knew to be silent and unscrupulous./On the other side, I announced to my servants that a/ Mr Hyde (whom I described) was to have full liberty/and power about my house in the square; and, to parry/mishaps, I even called and made myself a familiar object,/in my second character. I next drew up that will to which/you so much objected; so that if anything befell me in/the person of Dr Jekyll, I could enter on that of Edward/Hyde without pecuniary loss. And thus fortified, as I/supposed, on every side, I began to profit by the strange/immunities of my position./

Men have before hired bravos to transact their crimes,/while their own person and reputation sat under shelter./I was the first that ever did so for his pleasures. I was/the first that could thus plod in the public eye with a/load of genial respectability, and in a moment, like a school-/boy, strip off these lendings and spring headlong into the/sea of liberty. But for me, in my impenetrable

undo the evil done by Hyde. And
thus/his conscience slumbered./
Into 25

1.15 of ~~this~~ my shame, I
scorn to enter; I

11.27-29 of the infamy at
which I thus connived/(for even
now I can scarce grant that I
committed it) I/have no design of
entering; I

11.16-17 steps of/my
chastisement with

1.30 steps with

1.18 an

1.31 one

11.19-21 consequence, I
mention only in passing: detected
in/an act of infamy, I had to bribe
a party of young/fools to set me
free, and in

11.32-37 consequence, I
shall no more than men-/tion. An
act of cruelty to a child aroused
against me the/anger of a passer-
by, whom I recognised the other
day in/the person of your kinsman;
the doctor and the child's/family
joined him; there were moments
when I feared/for my life; and at
last, in 26

1.21-p.88, 1.1 to ~~find~~ ^{satisfy their} the
demands,/ ~~I~~ had Edward
money/

11.37-38 to pacify their
too just/resentment, Edward

p.88, 1.2 with

1.39 in

11.5-7 himself. And my true/
punishment lay in a far different
direction./

p.64, 11.3-7 himself; and when,
by sloping/my own hand backwards,
I had supplied my double with/a
signature, I thought I sat beyond
the reach of fate./

About ^a five month before the
Lewsome murder, I

Some two months before the
murder of Sir Danvers,/I 27

25. In the intermediate version, Jekyll pursues his 'criminal' 'vices' before creating Hyde: here, Hyde is simply a means by which those 'vices' are carried on with 'immunity.' In the final version, however, the creation of Hyde actually makes things worse: Jekyll's 'undignified' 'irregularities' ('I would scarce use a harder term') now become 'bestial' and 'monstrous.' Thus, in the passage listed above, 11.8-26 have no equivalent in the intermediate version: they show how Hyde initiates a process of 'deterioration' where (as the final, but not the intermediate, version expresses it) the 'movement was...wholly toward the worse.'

26. The corresponding passage in the intermediate version does not mention the little girl or the 'kinsman' Enfield: possibly, Enfield's 'Story of the Door' may not have been a part of this version.

27. Again, Lewsome is the murder victim in the intermediate version. The

1.8 on	1.7 for
1.8 excursions,	1.7 adventures,
11.8-9 returned/ about three in the morning at	11.7-8 returned/at
1.10 strange	1.9 odd
1.12 handsome	1.10 decent
1.14 the earving pattern	11.11-12 the/pattern
11.16-17 I thought I/was,	1.14 I was,
1.17 awakened	1.14 wakened
11.18-20 the inn bed and the somewhat/dreary and exiguous rooms off Gray's Inn Road,/where	1.15 the little room in Soho where 28
11.20-21 in my/character of Henry Jekyll Edward	1.16 in the body of Edward
p.89, 1.2 examine	1.17 inquire
11.2-3 illusion, drepp / occasionally, 29	1.18 illusion, occasionally,
1.6 eyes	1.21 eye
11.7-8 Jekyll, as we have often jocularly said, was eminently/ professional	1.22 Jekyll (as you have often remarked) was professional
11.9-10 comely, the hand of a lady's doctor, in a/word. Now ^{But} the	11.23-24 comely./But the
1.11 laying (<u>sic</u>)	1.25 lying

alterations to the period of time before the murder seem to be made with no specific reason.

28. Jekyll's rooms are given a different location in each version. Gray's Inn Road runs through Finsbury and Holborn, to the east of Soho.

29. The unfinished and deleted word was meant to be 'dropping': it appears later in the same sentence in both versions.

1.12 shut ~~on~~ among the

1.18 woke in

1.21 mirror. My

p.90, 1.1 exquisitely cold and yet
alive. Yes:

1.2 awakened ~~up~~ Edward

11.9-10 struck./To conceal
my face ~~was~~ ^{might, indeed, be} possible; but

11.12-14 then I remembered
(and how/I thanked God for it!)
that I had ^{accustomed} ~~prepared~~ my/servants to
the haunting presence of

1.15 dressed, had

11.16-17 back to see/the
eternal Mr

1.17 hour) and

11.19-20 down ~~to~~ breakfast/
with

p.103, 11.1-19 misfitting clothes
rendered me so marked an object/~~that~~
in the streets, that the danger of
recognition was/increased to
something close on certainty; and it
was/thus my wish to stay as long as
possible in the hotel,./~~where~~ But at
length I began to fear ~~that~~ I was
should/be judged eccentric, ^{found another} ~~and the~~
^{plan} called for my bill, ~~paid/it~~,
ordered a four wheeler, ^{to the door} and
^{sitting back} ~~concealing~~ myself in/the darkest
corner, had myself driven to a

11.25-26 shut on/the

1.31 woke up in

1.33 mirror. At the sight
that met my eyes, my

1.34 exquisitely thin and
icy. Yes,

1.35 awakened Edward

p.65, 11.3-4 struck. It might
indeed/be possible to cover my
face; but

11.6-8 then, with an
overpowering sweetness of relief,
it/came back upon my mind that the
servants were already/used to the
coming and going of

11.9-10 dressed, as well
as I was able, in clothes of my
own/size: had

1.11 back at seeing Mr

1.12 hour and in such a
strange array; and

1.14 down, with

p.70, 11.27-29 ...I arranged my
clothes as best I could, and/
summoning a passing hansom, drove
to an hotel in Port-/land Street,
the name of which I chanced to
remember.
p.71, 11.11-20 and/thence, when
the night was fully come, he set
forth in the/corner of a closed
cab, and was driven to and fro
about the/streets of the city. He.
I say--I cannot say, I. That child/
of Hell had nothing human; nothing
lived in him but/fear and hatred.
And when at last, thinking the
driver/had begun to grow suspicious,
he discharged the cab and/ventured
on foot, attired in his misfitting
clothes, an object/marked out for

remote/part of London. ^{Here} When I
 stopped ^{the driver} at a door, asked for the/
 first name that came into my head,
 was of course refused/admittance,
 and was then driven back to the
 neighbourhood/of Cavendish Square
 not very long before the hour of/my
 appointment./

You know already what occurred.
 Lanyon threw/me off from him with
 horror; it scarcely moved me;/I was
 still so full of my immediate joy,
 I was already/so conscious of the
 perpetual doom that hung above my/
 head; and when I returned home,
 carrying with me/my precious
 drugs

observation, into the midst of the
 nocturnal/passengers...

1.26-p.72, 1.2 When I came
 to myself at Lanyon's, the horror
 of my/old friend perhaps affected
 me somewhat: I do not know;/it
 was at least but a drop in the sea
 to the abhorrence with/which I
 looked back upon these hours. A
 change had/come over me. It was no
 longer the fear of the gallows, it/
 was the horror of being Hyde that
 racked me. I received/Lanyon's
 condemnation partly in a dream; it
 was partly/in a dream that I came
 home to my own house and got/into
 bed. I slept after the prostration
 of the day, with a/stringent and
 profound slumber which not even the
 night-/mare that wrung me could
 avail to break. I awoke in/the
 morning shaken, weakened, but
 refreshed. I still/hated and feared
 the thought of the brute that slept
 within/me, and I had not of course
 forgotten the appalling dangers/of
 the day before; but I was once more
 at home, in my/own house and close
 to my drugs; 30

30. There is no precise equivalent in the final version to p.103 of the intermediate version. However, the passages listed above are comparable, and it is possible to 'place' p.103 accordingly, towards the end of 'Henry Jekyll's Full Statement of the Case.' In the intermediate version, Hyde emerges from a hotel, takes a 'four-wheeler' to another hotel in 'a remote part of London,' and is driven finally to Dr Lanyon's house. In the final version, Hyde similarly emerges from the hotel 'in Portland Street,' in the cover of a 'closed cab'; but he leaves the cab later on, and makes his way to Dr Lanyon's house on foot. In the intermediate version, Lanyon's 'horror' had 'scarcely moved' Jekyll, who is still full of the 'immediate joy' of his 'excursions' as Hyde. In the final version, however, Lanyon's 'horror' had, by contrast, 'affected' Jekyll and, here, the emphasis is shifted: 'A change had come over me.' Now, Jekyll attempts to dissociate himself from Hyde ('He, I say--I cannot say, I'), and the final version presents this dissociation through Jekyll's momentary sense of liberation from Hyde, where he is at last 'in my own house and close to my drugs.' Here, the above passage shows that the 'nightmare' is temporarily forgotten, and Jekyll wakes up to the arrival of morning, 'shaken, weakened, but refreshed.'

As indicated, p.103 of the intermediate version has only 19 lines, the last of which is unfinished, with only three words. It is possible that this page marks the end of the intermediate version.

APPENDICES

V. 'THE BEACH OF FALESÁ'

The handwritten 'original manuscript' of 'The Beach of Falesá' is now held at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California (HM 2391). This manuscript consists of 58 numbered pages, as well as a title page and a contents page. There are 34 to 36 lines per numbered page, except for pp.10 (24 lines), 26 (28 lines), 35 (14 lines), 48 (31 lines) and 58 (19 lines): these exceptions are the last pages in each of the five chapters. Some differences between this manuscript, completed in October 1891, and the final version of the story published in Island Nights' Entertainments in April 1893 have already been remarked on in part ii of Chapter VI; but all the changes will be listed below. As indicated, the manuscript differs extensively from the final published version in terms of certain accidentals (commas, semi-colons and colons, hyphens and dashes), but such differences will not be listed below unless they involve the formation of new sentences. Stevenson did not use capitals in his manuscript for 'bible,' 'papa,' 'christianity,' 'papist,' 'catholic' and 'protestant': to save space, it is sufficient to say here that the final published version does use capitals for these words. The exclamatory expression 'O' is also changed to 'Oh' in the final published version. The text from the final version listed below appears in Island Nights' Entertainments, xiii, 1-75.

'The Beach of Falesá' (HM 2391)

p.1, 11.5-6 sneezing...../.....

I 1

Island Nights' Entertainments

p.1, 1.8 sneezing. I

1. Stevenson has, for some reason, drawn a series of dots and dashes between these two words in the manuscript.

1.11 'There,'	1.15 'There!'
1.27 of a sickness,	p.2, 1.18 of sickness,
p.2, 1.20 my	p.3, 1.17 the
1.26 and small smallish;	1.26 and smallish;
1.34 seemed seem	1.38 seemed
p.3, 1.3 Sāmoa	p.4, 1.4 Samoa
1.3 Sāmoa	1.4 Samoa
1.4 made her a	1.6 made a
11.13-14 There was no smarter I was pretty he trader, and none knew his business /dodgier,	11.18-19 There was no/ smarter trader, and none dodgier.
11.13-33 islands. I remember one a bit of advice he gave me that morning, and one/ story ^{yarn} he told. The bit of advice was this. 'Whenever you get hold of any money,' says he/ --'any christian money, I mean--the first thing to do is to fire it up to Sydney to the/bank. It's only a temptation to a copra merchant; some day, he'll be in a row with/the other traders, and and he'll get his baek up shirt out and buy copra with it. And the/name of the man that buys copra with gold is Damfool,' says he. That was the advice; and/ this was the yarn, which might have opened my eyes to the danger of that man for nieghbours (<u>sic</u>) ,/if I had been anyway suspicious. It seems Case was trading somewhere in the Ellices./ There was a man Miller, a Dutchman there, who had a strong hold with the natives and/handled the bulk of what there was. Well there was ^{one fine day} a schooner got in the lagoon wrecked, and Miller bought her/	1.19 islands. I

(the way these things are usually managed) for an old song, which was the ruin of him./For having a bit of trade in hand that cost him practically nothing, what/does he do but begin by cutting rates? Case went round to the other traders. 'Wants/to lower prices?' says Case. 'All right, then. He has five times the ^{turn-over} ~~turnover~~ of any/one of us; if buying at a loss is the game, he ~~loses~~ stands to lose five times more./Let's give him ^{the} bed rock; let's bilge the -----!! And so they did, and five months/after, Miller had to sell out his boat and station, and begin again somewhere in the/Carolinas./

Well, All this talk suited me,
and my new companion suited me, and
I 2

1.34	The	Our	1.21	Our
p.4, 1.8	plug	stick	1.34	stick
1.13	the	a	p.5, 1.2	a
1.18	after us with		1.11	after with
1.23	Bashaw		1.18	bashaw
1.26	said	says	1.23	says
1.28	through, and a cutty sark		1.26	through. She
at that. She	3			

2. This passage has been remarked upon in part ii of Chapter VI. It is not at all clear why it was dropped from the final published version of the story. The deleted word on 1.28 is left blank in the manuscript.

3. This passage, omitted from the final version, is part of a description of Uma when she is first seen by Wiltshire: it concludes his observation, '...all she wore was a chemise, and it was wetted through.' This extra description, of course, is an allusion to Robert Burns's well-known poem,

- | | | | |
|-------------|--|------------|--|
| 1.33 | didn't know
knew not | 1.31 | didn't know |
| p.5, 1.13 | make
be | p.6, 1.15 | make |
| 1.18 | of
where | 1.23 | of |
| 1.19 | Chinese! ^a strange ideas,
but they're common | 1.25 | Chinese! A strange
idea, but common |
| 1.21 | poorest | 1.28 | finest 4 |
| p.6, 1.4 | such a thing in my | p.7, 1.14 | such a thing in my |
| 1.10 | 'Uma?' | 1.22 | 'Uma!' |
| 1.16 | were both parasytes; (<u>sic</u>) | 1.33 | were parasites; |
| 1.29 | why in Hell I 5 | p.8, 1.13 | why I |
| 1.30 | not be | 1.15 | not come to be |
| p.7, 1.1 | wrapt | 1.22 | rapt |
| 1.21 | already
clean | p.9, 1.11 | already |
| 1.27 | 'em
them | 1.18 | 'em |
| 1.30 | he, and repeated | 1.21 | he, repeated |
| 1.34 | clean
open | 1.27 | clean |
| p.8, 11.1-2 | and whatever ^{besides,} else a
man/might care to run from I | 11.28-29 | and, besides,/I |
| 1.6 | folds | 1.34 | fold |
| 1.8 | hybiscus. | 1.38 | hibiscus. |
| 1.16 | <u>Faavao</u> | p.10, 1.10 | Fa'avao |

'Tam O'Shanter. A Tale' (1790): watching witches dancing together, Tam spies 'ae winsome wench' (1.164) with a 'cutty sark, o' Paisley harn...In longitude tho' sorely scanty' (11.171, 173). Interestingly, the entire description of Uma's wet and brief costume is omitted from the serialised version of the story in the Illustrated London News.

4. The word 'finest' is clearly a misreading of the manuscript and, indeed, does not make sense in its context, describing the meagre supplies in Case's store. The manuscript clearly reads 'poorest.'

5. Perhaps unexpectedly, the Illustrated London News kept the more offensive expression given in the manuscript (though printing 'hell' for 'Hell').

1.16 island	1.11 Island
11.17-18 one night/ only , and	11.11-12 one/week, and
11.18-19 hell next/morning.	11.12-13 hell when/he pleases. 6
1.21 register	1.15 Register
1.22 John William	1.16 William
11.23-24 Mariner./ That was a nice	11.17-18 Mariner./ A nice
1.26 White Men	1.21 white men,
1.32 my me	1.29 me
1.34 was high nearly	1.32 was nearly
1.34 smellt (<u>sic</u>)	1.32 smelt
p.9, 1.2 see no more be done with	1.37 be done with
1.4 old country	p.11, 1.1 Old Country,
1.10 in fine style;	1.9 in style--
1.10 made	1.10 mad
1.15 made a fools	1.16 made fools
1.18 the soft fall	1.22 the fall
1.22 enough-- and what	1.28 enough--what
1.29 boxes cases	1.37 cases
1.33 daunted, and Then	p.12, 1.5 daunted; then
p.10, 1.5 and even if second rate I	1.12 and I
1.8 prized	1.17 pried
1.10 back with after	1.20 back after
11.10-12 like./	11.21-22 like./
'Why you do that?' she asked./	'No
'No 7	

6. This and the previous change refer to the marriage contract, which has been remarked upon in part ii of Chapter VI.

7. In this omitted sentence, Uma asks why Wiltshire empties his bottles of

p.11, 1.2	and cliffs ran out	p.13, 1.3	and cliffs
1.2	that hid and cut off	1.3	that hid
1.3	westward,	1.4	west,
1.5	with and	1.8	with
1.6	wakened	1.8	awakened
1.16	house?	1.23	house,
1.18	woods: say quarter	1.27	woods. Say a quarter
1.26	them.	p.14, 1.11	them!
p.12, 1.1	to ^{the} another,	1.23	to the other,
1.3	lay her one	1.25	lay one
1.6	and top bits	1.30	and bits
1.7	judges; watehing me draw near I	1.33	judges. I
11.7-8	fist, walking /doing	1.33	fist, doing
11.11-12	them, two rather cooked, scampering ^{for/their lives} like/pigs and	1.39-p.15, 1.1	them scampering/for their lives, and
1.17	^{too} aise .	p.15, 1.9	too.
1.21	dissenters	1.17	Dissenters
1.23	such damfool Kanakas	1.18	such fools of Kanakas
1.28	day, the off	1.26	day, off
1.28	^{fewer} less	1.26	fewer
1.29	for semeth the	1.28	for the
1.30	and burn me up consume	1.29	and consume
11.31-32	business; and the next day/ they were all gene ^{and}	1.31	business, and
1.32	in one of the	1.32	in the

gin over the verandah. It is not clear why this sentence was left out of the final published version: it was included in the earlier serialised version in the Illustrated London News.

1.36-p.13, 1.1 But though they were taken up with something else,/I	1.38 But I
p.13, 1.1 hadn't quite forgot ^{either} me, and	1.38 hadn't forgot either, and
1.6 meantime and, I	p.16, 1.6 meantime. I
1.7 easy	1.7 easily
1.8 miss ^{blamed ass} sopping feel,	1.9 blamed ass,
11.8-9 that/----- Case 8	11.9-10 that/Case
1.11 my own new	1.14 my new
1.12 reat ^{regular}	1.16 regular
1.17 start in with a	1.24 start a
1.21 and I was dreaming	1.30 and dreaming
1.23 kant	1.31 cant
1.27 I ^{had} heard	1.38 I heard
1.30 a bit stroll	p.17, 1.2 a stroll
1.31 look ^{face}	1.4 face
1.34 says	1.8 said
p.14, 1.1 me rather eagerly	1.9 me eagerly
1.19 see if I could fish out ^{what I could pick} anything , and	1.34 see what I could pick up, and
p.15, 1.1 'Ah,'	p.18, 1.16 'Ah!'
1.1 now!	1.17 now.
1.5 of you or Captain	1.22 of your Captain 9
1.12 get ^{have}	1.31 have
1.16 dog.'	1.38 dog!'

8. The deleted word is indecipherable.

9. Both expressions (referring to Galuchet's opinion of Randall and, in the manuscript, Case as well) make sense in their context.

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 1.18 would! | | p.19, 1.2 would. |
| 1.19 shell | | 1.4 shelled |
| 1.24 copra and like | | 1.11 copra like |
| 1.24 the
a | | 1.12 the |
| 1.25 clapped
put | | 1.13 clapped |
| 11.27-28 sterness. It
frightened Papa Randall badly, he
added, with a grin:/ | | 11.16-17 sterness./
'And |
| 'And 10 | | |
| 1.31 a hell of a taking | | 1.21 a rare taking, |
| 1.32 Johnny to be had for the
in the market! and
the money administration | | 1.23 Johnny in the market;
and the administration |
| 1.34 Johnnie's | | 1.25 Johnny's |
| p.16, 1.4 the | | 1.32 a |
| 1.5 Randall had knocked | | 1.33 Randall knocked |
| 11.12-13 fun of it ; / though | | p.20, 1.5 fun; though |
| 1.13 long
finally, it is seems | | 1.6 long. it seems |
| 1.19 popey,' | | 1.14 Popey,' |
| 1.20 yarn
story
yarn 11 | | 1.16 yarn |
| 1.21 but rather inclined | | 1.17 but inclined |
| 1.27 me down to | | 1.25 me to |
| 1.28 made
thought | | 1.26 made |
| 1.30 singing, they it | | 1.30 singing, it |
| p.17, 1.11 tomorrow. When To | | p.21, 1.13 to-morrow. To |

10. This deleted sentence concludes Case's description of the death of Johnny Adams.

11. Stevenson uses the term 'yarn' several times in this story: see, for example, p.3. 1.14 listed above; see also the final version, p.20. 1.6 ('...rather a sickening yarn'). Indeed, Stevenson took up the term to describe his South Pacific fiction in particular: he uses it, for example, as a subtitle in his novel The Wrecker. Interestingly, Wiltshire describes his own story as a 'yarn' in a deleted passage in the manuscript, listed below, p.56. 1.25.

1.19	monday		1.24	Monday
1.34	waltz go		p.22, 1.5	waltz
p.18, 1.5	Mr. Randall him.		1.11	Mr Randall.'
1.6	lantern lamp		1.12	lantern
11.6-7	store, for there ^{and set out} was into the village. He was/gone no breeze of any kind--/it was just perhaps the quarter		11.12-13	store, and set out/ into the village. He was gone perhaps a quarter
1.11	understand ^{know}		1.20	know
1.11	deal with ^{manage}		1.20	manage
1.25	two ^a		p.23, 1.1	a
1.25	a dozen, ^{one}		1.1	one
1.28	in there; ^{there}		1.6	there;
p.19, 1.6	was ^{had}		1.23	had
1.8	the sain square 12		1.27	the square
1.11	are!'		1.30	are.'
1.20	White Man		p.24, 1.4	white man
1.22	give		1.7	do
1.26	rapped out my speech out pretty		1.14	rapped out my speech pretty
1.30	loud		1.19	aloud,
p.20, 1.2	my ^{his}		1.29	his
11.21-22	that wasn't /couldn't		p.25, 1.18	that couldn't
p.21, 1.3	a fellow in ^{mate when} he's in trouble a		p.26, 1.6	a mate when he's in a
1.14	mess ^{scrape}		1.22	scrape
1.17	one ^a		1.27	a
1.18	Vigours. There's ^{One} no comfort there, you		11.28-29	Vigours. One comfort,/you

1.23	won't come?' I	1.35	won't?' I
1.29	who's what	p.27, 1.3	who's
p.22, 1.3	trade with come to	1.15	trade with
1.4	trade with go to	1.16	trade with
1.4	you. And You're	1.16	you. You're
1.4	have all the	1.16	have the
1.7	all you've got to tell and when I ask you me	1.20	and all you've got to tell me
1.7	why?'	1.21	why!'
1.11	danger trouble	1.28	danger
1.16	yours.'	1.33	yours!'
1.17	holy	1.34	hot
1.18	trade stuff goods	1.35	trade goods
1.19	foolery.	1.37	foolery!
1.34	much!'	p.28, 1.18	much,'
p.23, 1.1	Ese,' eried she	1.19	Ese!' she
1.13	on,'	1.35	on!'
1.13	a blamed hurry.'	1.35	a hurry.'
1.15	candies a biscuit	1.37	candies
1.17	mean queer	p.29, 1.1	mean
1.21	on	1.6	of
1.29	true!'	1.18	true,'
1.32	wiggled shuddered	1.21	wiggled
p.24, 1.5	I had never	1.33	I never
1.34	that go keep	p.30, 1.38	that keep
p.25, 1.1	an employment a job	p.31, 1.1	an employment
1.4	this old beachcomber	1.6	this beachcomber
1.7	Uma pretty clear	1.10	Uma clear
1.9	lord	1.12	Lord

1.18	him!'	1.28	him?'
1.24	bit and I liked	1.37	bit. And I liked
1.24	hardly	1.38	no.
1.24	beginning start.	1.38	beginning.
1.28	have been be	p.32, 1.4	have been
11.30-31	alone. If they/ went to church; None None called 13	1.8	alone. None called
1.31	them ^{on the roads} by the way. If	1.9	them on the roads. If
1.34	middle ages;	1.12	Middle Ages;
1.34	it was beyond	1.13	it beyond
p.26, 1.5	soul man	1.20	soul
1.11	all- the- e	1.29	all-e-
1.17	girl'; for I	11.36-37	girl';/I
p.27, 1.7	strolled down towards	p.34, 1.11	strolled down towards
11.8-9	and/ had got	1.14	and got
1.27	cries	p.35, 1.12	cried
1.29	you!'	1.16	you.'
p.28, 1.11	queering looking at	1.36	queering
1.20	hear it them.'	p.36, 1.9	hear them.'
1.23	god-damned	1.13	God-damned 14
1.24	plain.'	1.15	plain!'
11.29-30	service, ^{I want two} in fact I services in fact want two of them; and	11.23-24	service--I want two services, in fact;/and,
p.29, 1.9	an engagement to pass by	p.37, 1.3	an engagement
1.27	Blavattsky (<u>sic</u>)	1.28	Blavatsky

13. The deleted passage begins the following sentence on 11.31-32; see also the final version, p.32, 1.9.

14. This adjective, used by Wiltshire to describe himself to the missionary Mr Tarleton, is omitted from the serialised version of the story in the Illustrated London News.

p.30, 1.6 crew and ^{for} we were to	p.38, 1.12 crew for to
1.6 and we were	1.12 and were
1.13 Taffy	1.22 taffy
1.24 said,	1.37 cried;
1.24 yarn.'	1.37 yarn!'
1.27 something a bite ,	p.39, 1.3 something,
p.31, 1.4 he we	1.21 he
1.7 of it our	1.25 of our
1.13 are were	1.36 are
11.29-30 bad, <u>even as a</u> <u>bottle is neither good nor bad.</u>	p.40, 1.23 bad. But
But 15	
11.30-31 sign be/made in idolatry, so	11.24-25 sign/made in idolatry be bad, so
1.31 idolatry bad.' And	1.25 idolatry.' And
p.32, 1.18 an some	p.41, 1.18 an
1.34 Namu ^{Case} he had	p.42, 1.4 Namu that Case had
p.33, 1.5 general paralysis palsy	1.13 general palsy
1.6 man	1.15 fellow
1.7 and ^{this} that	1.15 and this
1.11 'I was felt	1.21 'I felt
1.20 best, to a	1.35 best, a
1.24 childish, and unnecessary,	p.43, 11.2-3 childish, un-/ necessary,
1.27 distinguishing them the	1.7 distinguishing the
1.29 was still much	1.10 was much

15. Stevenson's underlining of a passage usually suggests that he is doubtful about it, although this passage was retained in the Illustrated London News. In its context, as part of the argument '...if the bottle be full of gin, the gin is bad...' the passage alludes to Wiltshire's earlier emptying of the gin bottles over his verandah, a symbolic act of cleansing that perhaps forecasts the final 'exorcism' of Case (who trades in gin).

- p.34, 1.8 it you.'
- 1.12 wished
- 1.23 How ~~did~~ he
- 1.30 does it for,' said
- 1.33 way. Gase Now
- p.35, 11.5-6 time, ~~should~~/this
- 1.6 fail, ^{and then you must} ~~what are you to~~ ^{do?} turn elsewhere. You
- 1.6 people here at
- 1.8 Ah,
- 1.12 I ~~must~~ ^{will} just see
- p.36, 1.2 round, and made
- 1.2 about dark ~~at night~~
- 1.3 and he started in to
- 1.4 kind, ~~impractical~~ old
- 1.6 tower
- 1.7 me ~~us~~
- 1.7 lonesome ~~solitary~~;
- 11.11-12 tabooed./~~But~~ And
- 1.20 ~~the nigger~~ ^{the nigger} ~~Black~~ ^{Black}.
- 1.27 only ~~trouble~~ ^{there was trouble} in
- 11.30-31 I./
- And By
- p.37, 1.1 days was to
- 1.10 green, ~~some~~ and
- 1.12 gnashing his its
- 1.13 and he went
- 1.16 mālūlū
- 1.28 it to you!'
- 1.35 wish
- p.44, 11.12-13 How/he
- 11.22-23 does/for it,' said
- 1.27 way. Now
- 1.36 time, this
- 1.37 fail, and then you must turn elsewhere. You
- 1.38 people at
- p.45, 1.2 Ah!
- 1.8 I will just see
- p.46, 11.2-3 round,/and made
- 1.4 about dark
- 1.5 and started to
- 1.7 kind old
- 1.9 Tower
- 1.10 me
- 1.11 lonesome;
- 1.18 tabooed, and
- p.47, 1.1 the nigger.
- 1.12 only there was trouble in
- 11.15-16 I./
- By
- 1.20 days to
- 1.35 green, and
- 1.38 gnashing its
- 1.39 and went
- p.48, 1.5 Malulu

11.22-23	purpose, but /to	1.15	purpose, to
1.26	forest ^{edge}	1.19	edge
p.38, 1.13	friend,'	p.49, 1.8	friend!'
11.15-16	a good-bye,/slunk	1.11	a 'Good-by,' slunk
1.19	Where	1.16	When
11.19-20	passed/ near nearest	1.16	passed me
me,			
p.39, 1.7	swore that there	p.50, 1.10	swore that there
1.21	bet,'	1.28	bet!'
1.30	at	p.51, 1.1	to
1.33	cove eat they	11.6-7	cove/they
1.34	harbour ^{haven}	1.7	haven
p.40, 1.17	red ^{scarlet}	1.36	scarlet
1.19	could	1.38	would
1.20	and prayed covered	p.52, 1.1	and covered
1.27	and made fled	1.12	and fled
1.28	drunken ^{crazy}	1.13	crazy
1.29	help them him,	1.15	help him,
1.34	mālūlū,	1.22	Malulu,
p.41, 1.11	day to the alone	1.38	day alone
1.12	kant	p.53, 1.2	cant
1.14	three ^{four}	1.4	four
1.14	four ^{five}	1.4	five
1.15	tore ^{tore off}	11.5-6	tore/off
1.16	flying ^{pegging}	1.8	pegging
1.17	trees ^{bush}	1.9	bush
1.18	bush ^{trees}	1.11	trees,
11.20-21	man and had /with	11.14-15	man/with
1.22	hollered	1.16	holla'd

- 1.22 aloud in, so
 1.23 hollered
 1.24 himself,
~~itself.~~
 1.30 out of the bush; for
 p.42, 1.19 a bit fourpenny-
 1.25 fruits--
 1.28 that. Again and again It
 rose
 came, and
 1.30 of, that it
 p.43, 1.2 country!
 1.8 met with
~~saw~~
 1.14 stood a while quite
 1.17 anyway. ^{Let's} ~~and~~ may as well
 have
 1.27 laughing. ^{A box it was,} ~~sure enough;~~
~~it was a box,~~ and
 1.29 a Tyrolean
~~an Aeolian~~ 16
 1.31 you've
 p.44, 1.1 knife ^{as I went} ~~too,~~ slicing
 1.3 carrots.
 1.13 ~~little~~ ^{bit} way
 1.16 building.
 1.20 ~~often~~ ^{ever}
 1.27 Tyrolean
~~Aeolian~~
 1.28 a little green
- 1.16 aloud, so
 1.19 holla'd
 11.19-20 him-/self.'
 1.27 out; for
 p.54, 1.24 a fourpenny-
 1.32 fruit--
 1.37 that. It rose and
 p.55, 1.1 of, it
 1.9 country.
 1.19 met with
 1.29 stood quite
 11.33-34 any-/way. Let's
 have
 p.56, 11.9-10 laughing./
 A box it was, sure enough,
 and
 1.13 a Tyrolean
 1.15 you
 1.21 knife as I went,
 slicing
 1.24 carrot.
 p.57, 1.3 bit
 1.8 building!
 1.14 ever
 1.27 Tyrolean
 1.28 a green

16. Stevenson has written 'Aeolian?' in the margin here, and may have been uncertain about which word to use. The final published version provides a footnote with the alternative and more appropriate word in this context, 'Aeolian.'

1.30 last	1.31 best 17
p.45, 1.10 are se pious 18	p.58, 1.13 are pious
11.11-12 and think it/rather	1.16 and rather
1.17 bum 19	1.23 hum
1.21 himself?	1.30 himself!
1.23 than	1.33 then (<u>sic</u>)
1.25 he him	1.35 him
1.25 a	1.36 his
p.46, 1.2 might ^{may}	p.59, 1.12 may
1.9 you the a	1.21 you a
1.27 went home the	p.60, 1.9 went the
1.31 waiting for me.	1.14 waiting me.
1.31 cape	1.15 Cape
11.32-33 and/ there was no	11.16-17 and/no
1.33 about the ^{it} matter, ^{there} was ^a	1.17 about it. There was a
1.33 armed sentries were squatting	11.17-18 armed sentinels/ squatting
1.34 Uma te must	1.19 Uma must
p.47, 1.1 seized; and the . For	1.20 seized. For
1.1 was since taken	1.20 was taken
1.2 like for ^{by} me.	11.21-22 like with/me.
1.3 nearer, things which	1.23 nearer, which

17. Both 'last' and 'best' make sense in their context, but the manuscript clearly reads 'last.'

18. The unfinished and deleted word was probably meant to be 'some.'

19. Stevenson certainly uses the somewhat unlikely word 'bum' here, since he wrote the word again in capitals above it, presumably for clarification (a technique he often employs in this manuscript, facilitating the reading of his generally poor handwriting). The word 'hum,' which seems more appropriate in its context, was also used in the Illustrated London News.

- 1.4 man ^{guest} at home
- 11.6-7 smoking; and what was he a cigarette--
 smoking? none of your European
~~not none of these fooleries that~~
 cigarettes fit for a cat;/not
 white man/^{makes}
 even
 believe to smoke; but the
- 11.8-9 broke; ^{but a cigar} At the sight
 and one of my own/
 of this; my heart started/beating-
 at that, that I could swear to
 Mexicans; out of my store. At 20
- 1.10 was his over,
- 1.12 thorough
 the proper
- 1.15 were like to stand from p.61, 1.1 were from
- 1.22 business in my 11.11-12 business/my
- 1.22 fifty
 two 1.13 fifty
- 1.23 I gave him the price of the
~~credit? I would~~
 beach and a quarter cent better, and
 have given
 as for credit, I would have advanced him
- 1.24 him; and. I 1.17 him. I
- 1.26 he
 and 1.19 he
- 1.27 through Uma for
 interpreter, 21 11.20-21 through/the
 interpreter,
- p.48, 1.1 ^{said} told me 1.31 said
- 1.8 kids p.62, 1.3 kid
- 1.22 the ticket, then,
 time of day!' said 1.24 the ticket, then!' said
- 1.24 and see mind 1.27 and mind
- 1.25 man, 1.28 man!
- 1.27 hilts, 1.33 hilt,

20. The deleted passage 'At the sight of this, my heart started beating' begins, with one minor change, the following sentence, 1.9; see also the final version, p.60, 1.32.

21. In the manuscript, Uma acts as Maea's interpreter as he talks to Wiltshire. This passage is, incidentally, retained in the Illustrated London News.

1.29 sir!'	1.35 sir,'
1.30 glory.'	1.37 glory!'
p.49, 1.1 smashed up destroyed	p.63, 1.2 smashed up
1.7 idea; what	1.10 idea. 'What
1.7 use good	1.10 use
1.7 her?	1.11 her?'
1.8 thought; some of her I had much own better chopped	1.11 thought; some of her own chopped
1.12 your blamed Kanaka	1.17 your Kanaka
1.16 can dare	1.24 can
1.23 tore torn	p.64, 1.4 torn
1.23 hair out. 'Now	1.4 hair. 'Now,
1.31 like with	1.16 like
1.33-p.50, 1.1 real/ plant essence of	1.20 real plant of
p.50, 1.4 up.	1.26 up!
1.6 lamp in light of	1.28 lamp in
11.19-20 yet/ I thought it was a dreary dreary walk,	p.65, 11.10-11 yet I/thought it was a dreary walk,
1.22 rope's-	1.14 rope-
1.26 the a	1.20 the
1.26 used to shine gimmers	1.20 used to shine
1.26 had have	1.20 had
1.26 a match lucifer. 22	1.21 a lucifer.
p.51, 1.1 good-bye.	1.35 good-by.
1.9 side of Cape	p.66, 11.8-9 side of/Cape
1.10 noises sounds . 23	1.10 noises.

22. The change to 'lucifer' may be of interest, given Wiltshire's battle against the 'Tiapolo' Case in this last chapter.

23. The context in which this change occurs, where 'the bush woke and

1.11 noises sounds	1.10 noises
1.11 brush;	1.12 rush; 24
1.16 held the up	11.18-19 held/up
1.19 a woman devil-	1.23 a devil-
1.19 just the	1.24 just as the
1.31 Faavao	p.67, 1.2 Fa'avao
1.34 trees, ^{she got her} gave her a line	11.7-8 trees, she got/her line
1.34 only when after	1.8 only when
p.52, 1.1 top and ^{or} when I was	11.8-9 top or/was
1.6 yarn was serious	1.17 yarn serious
1.10 ^{safer} better	1.23 safer
1.28 ^{it was too late} afraid to	p.68, 1.11 afraid to
1.33 and was	1.17 and
p.53, 1.1 is; and the	11.20-21 is./The
1.3 off; ^{but} but fer for	1.23 off. But for
1.8 tunnel eeffar	1.32 tunnel,
1.12 ^{no man could} you couldn't	p.69, 1.1 no man could
1.13 fire, se and	1.2 fire, and
1.16 a couple of two	1.7 a couple of
1.19 slip. Fer after The	1.12 slip. The
1.19 thing had began	1.13 thing began
1.20 island; and the	11.13-14 island;/the
1.21 scattered ever with	11.15-16 scattered/with

became full of little noises' (probably due to Case's 'Tyrolean harp'), perhaps alludes to Caliban's description of Prospero's isle in Shakespeare's The Tempest: 'Be not afeard; the isle is full of noises....Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments/Will hum about mine ears' (III. 2. 140, 142-43).

24. Both words make sense in their context, but the manuscript clearly reads 'brush.'

1.22 seattered ^{all}	1.17 all
1.32 that bit of burning	1.31 that burning
1.33 then it I	1.33 then I
p.54, 1.1 whistled ^{screechd}	1.37 screechd
1.9 let out a howl ^{out} like	p.70, 1.9 let a howl out like
1.11 sensible Kan woman 25	11.11-12 sensible/woman,
1.19 go ^{got}	1.24 got
1.30 hair!	1.39 hair.
1.33 said ^{thought}	p.71, 1.4 thought
p.55, 1.3 the ^{he}	1.10 he
1.5 was a little knocked	1.14 was knocked
1.6 with , 26	1.15 with,
1.7 fixed	1.17 fastened
1.8 cared!	1.18 cared.
1.10 too.	1.22 too!
1.11 Underhill.	1.23 Underhill!
1.11 Adams.	1.23 Adams!
1.12 you.'	1.25 you!'
1.15 dead.	1.29 dead?
1.15 so,'	1.29 so!'
11.23-24 and made ^{did} me/feet	p.72, 1.4 and did me good.
good.	
1.26 answered; it ^{and I} came into my	1.7 answered, and I made
mind she must be dead; and made	
1.30 but-	1.12 butt-
p.56, 1.6 had aug ploughed	1.27 had ploughed

25. The unfinished and deleted word was clearly meant to be 'Kanaka.'

26. This heavily deleted word is indecipherable.

- 1.9 settled
~~eat~~
- 1.9 was ^{for} neither ~~for~~ use
- 1.20 smashing down the path
and
- 11.20-21 a/whole lot
- 1.21 quite
~~mighty~~
- 1.24 left his boat and walked
~~having walked~~ the
- 11.24-25 lantern./
Well, that's about the best of
~~my yarn.~~ They
- 1.26 the place hole
- 11.33-34 limp/~~like~~ ^{teasing} a -----
to 27
- p.57, 1.4 and the chickens
- 1.6 Sāmoan
- 1.8 mālūlū
- 1.10 seems
~~seemed~~
- 1.11 with ^{the dynamite} a ~~shell~~; and either
- 1.12 shell
~~thing~~
- 1.17 where he ^{found} ~~find~~ men
- 11.19-20 corroborree, ^{and} ~~which~~
I'm sure I hope he was to their
~~was the end of him and I'm sure I~~
fancy!
hope he was to their fancy-/
So
- 1.28 round. But ^{the truth is, it} ~~it~~ used
did use _{to}
- 1.30 ^{my} these
- 1.31 settled
- 1.32 was for neither use
p.73, 11.8-9 smashing/and
- 1.9 a lot
- 1.10 quite
- 1.14 having left his boat
and walked the
- 11.15-16 lantern./
They
- 11.16-17 the/hole
- 1.28 limp to
- 1.33 and chickens
- 1.37 Samoa
- p.74, 1.1 Malulu
- 1.4 seems
- 11.5-6 with the dynamite;/
either
- 1.7 shell
- 11.14-15 where he found/men
- 11.16-18 corro-/borree, and
I'm sure I hope he was to their
fancy!/
So
- 11.31-32 round; but the
truth is,/it did use to
- 1.35 my

27. The last word in the deleted passage is indecipherable. The word 'teasing' may also not be correct: this passage is heavily scrawled over.

1.32 keep ^{your} an eye ^{lifting} upon her,
she

p.58, 1.3 ^{down}
~~near~~

11.8-9 best. ~~What bothers me~~ ^{But what bothers}
~~is the girls. I can't reconcile it~~
with They're

11.10-11 got; and/I

1.11 ^{my}
~~their~~

1.12 whites? Unless

11.13-19 Did I ever find out
what the yarn was about Uma? No, I
never did. But Mr Tarleton/had it out
of Namu; and it The End appeared it
was something about Ananias/and
Saphira (sic) --no, that's not the
party--Antichrist, that was the name.
Case made out/that if Uma got spliced
and had a kid, there was to be the
trouble and all. All I can say/is,
I've seen none of it. The old lady's
about as good as her nieghbours, (sic)
and the kids are/quiet enough, if you
get round ^{after} ~~among~~ them now and then with
a bunch of sinnet./

The End 29

11.37-38 keep your eye
lifting/she

p.75, 1.6 down

11.13-14 best. But what
bothers me is the girls./They're

1.16 got. I

1.17 my

1.18 whites? 28

28. This marks the end of the final published version of the story.

29. This additional paragraph in the manuscript is circled and crossed out by Stevenson. It also seems to have been written after the story had been declared to end: the words 'The End' are deleted on 1.14, indicating that this paragraph was written over them. The paragraph refers back to Case's 'ban' on Uma, perhaps implying that Case had claimed that Uma's child would be the 'Antichrist.' It is not clear why Wiltshire mentions Ananias and Sapphia (Acts 5. 1-10).

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